When the first baby arrives and the second loses chance. Couples' adjustment to parenthood and fertility expectations after the first child[1]

DRAFT
The paper is going to be updated including data from the last waves of the HILDA panel dataset (waves from 10 to 12)

Abstract

Our work explores under which conditions individuals' fertility expectations are modified by the experience of parenting after the first child. We show that the expectations about having the second child are not stable after becoming a parent: the more difficult (and unforeseen) the adjustment to parenthood is, the stronger the decline of partners' expectation towards having a second child. Women – overburdened by gender imbalanced childrearing responsibilities – reduce their fertility expectations mainly because of the difficulties in reconciling work and family (and the consequent increasing conflict and dissatisfaction with the partner). Men first increased dissatisfaction with the partner relationship and only then decreased expectation about having another child.

The analysis is conducted on nine waves (starting from 2001) of the HILDA Australian Panel Survey, applying piecewise multilevel growth models to test how fertility expectations depend on unexpected parenting difficulties after childbirth and on family satisfaction and work adjustment.

Keywords: fertility expectation; marital satisfaction; second child

[1] Paper by Francesca Luppi and Letizia Mencarini (Università degli Studi di Torino and Collegio Carlo Alberto). The authors gratefully acknowledge financial support from the European Research Council under the European ERC Grant Agreement no StG-313617 (SWELL-FER: Subjective Well-being and Fertility, P.I. Letizia Mencarini).

1. Introduction

This paper explores under which conditions individual's fertility expectations are modified by the experience of the first childbearing. In particular, following Miller and Pasta Trait-Desire-Intention-Behaviour (TDIB) model (1995a, 2004) and their idea that "childbearing motivation is made one birth at a time" (Miller and Pasta, 1995b), we argue that the expectations about having the second child are not stable before and after the transition to the parenthood. While Miller and Pasta's (1995b) study assesses the effect of subsequent childbirths on parents' childbearing motivations and desires, we explore which are the changes in parents' life that might impact on their fertility expectations after the arrival of the first child. We use data from a sample of Australian couples to model the changes in parents' fertility expectation, as a result of a complex of changes in new parents' life conditions after the first childbirth.

Which are the most evident changes that the arrival of the first child leads in the life of the couple? The transition to parenthood implies a considerable dedication of time to the new arrival, but requires also a re-distribution of priorities in reconciling family and work commitment. Re-organizing one's life is not an easy task and it might be – at least temporary – a source of dissatisfaction with the way new parents' are facing the new challenges. The more difficult the adjustment process to parenthood, the less convinced become partners to have a second child in the short-run. On the contrary where couples have resources to adjust quickly, the transition to the second child can be considered more acceptable. We argue that while economic, social and psychological resources might help couples to adjust to the transition to parenthood, positive and negative feelings about their new life are important indicators of the adjustment process. For this reason, changes in subjective wellbeing are important preconditions for understanding changes in fertility expectations, and they are consequences of the couple's ability and resources to adjust to the first childbirth. Resources might be derived from the availability of external support (e.g. relatives and/or family policies), the consistency between parents' expectations and their real life, and the individual's dispositions that allow to positively react to potentially stressful situations. While the first kind of resources depends by the context, the second and the third are more linked to individual's psychological characteristics, preferences and attitudes. Indeed, personality traits and genes have been found among the determinants of fertility motivation (Miller, 1992; Miller *et al.* 1999). For this reason, a macro-perspective on the Australian context and a micro-perspective on personality traits have been included in the analysis.

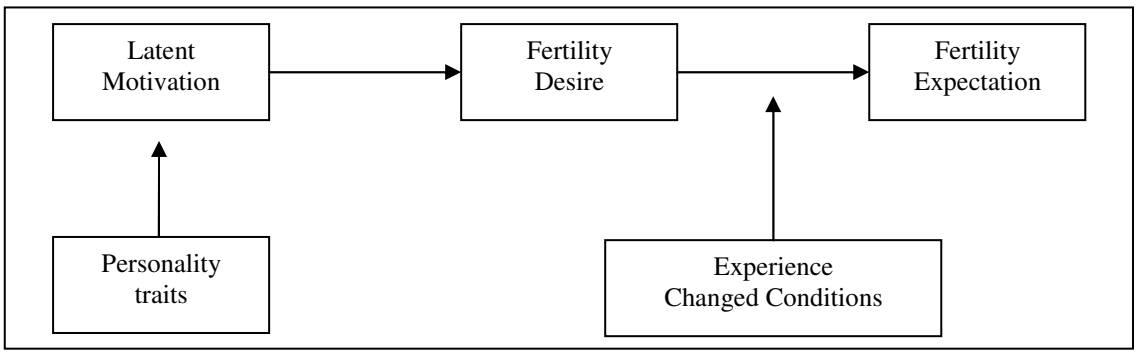
The motivation for developing this study derives from the limited attention given to the psychological mechanisms behind fertility behaviours. More specifically, scarce attention has been made to what can affect fertility expectations of the parents after the first child, as prerequisite for realizing higher parities. Another source of interest lays on the fact that even if fertility expectations are the closest indicator for childbearing, the correlation between fertility expectations and realization is not so high, due to the presence of unpredictable and unknown intervening factors – such as difficulties to get pregnant; unexpected pregnancies; unpredicted changes in situational factors (Shoen *et al*., 1999). For these reasons, in order to understand which factors impact on couple's decision to have a/another child it is important to consider which conditions influence childbearing expectations more than childbearing itself.

2. Transition to parenthood and changes in partners' satisfaction and fertility expectation: a review of the literature

2.1. The psychological determinants of fertility expectation.

Desires, intentions and expectations about fertility are the common concepts used to refer to individuals' predispositions towards childbearing. Intentions and expectations are usually interchangeable terms. Even if Miller (1992) suggests that expectations consider also the passive role of the individual in the couple, the author uses both expectations and intentions in formulating and testing his TDIB model (Miller, 1992). On the contrary, in the TDIB model (Miller and Pasta, 1995a) the authors suggest the existence of a difference between fertility desires and intentions/expectations: in particular, desires are resulting from fertility motivation and antecedents of intentions and expectations, that for this reason are closer to fertility behaviours (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. The relation between Motivation, Desire and Expectation according to Miller and Pasta (1995a; Miller, 2011)



Miller and Pasta's theory have been derived by the psychological (TPB) Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1985; Ajzen and Klobas, 2013). According to this theory, the actual behaviour is

the result of a process that comes from beliefs, attitudes and intentions to behave. The main contribution of Miller and Pasta's model is the application of the TPB to demographic behaviours, underling the role of the situational context in determining the timing of the relation between latent motivation, intentions and behaviour.

A more recent study by Miller (2011) tests the three-steps-motivational sequence, finding that fertility desires are intermediate between motivation evolution and intentions changes, underlining the mistake in using the two concept interchangeably. Another Australian study supports Miller's conclusions. Gray, Evans and Reimonds (2013) find that fertility desires and expectations are correlated, but fertility desires are often higher than fertility expectations: in particular the study reveals as fertility desires change only in the long-term, as consequences of a persistent decrease/lower level of fertility expectation. While desires are closer to the ideal situation that the individual wants to achieve (Miller and Pasta, 1995a), expectations are the individual's estimation of the likelihood to realize the fertility desires (Warshaw and Davis, 1985). In this sense, expectations are more connected with the practical evaluation of the current favourable (or not) conditions than desires. As a consequence, fertility expectations more than fertility desires are related to fertility behaviour. This also means that changes in the situational factors can positively or negatively affect fertility expectations in the short term, even without changing fertility desires and motivations (Berrington, 2004; Mitchell and Gray 2007; Hayford, 2009).

Another important contribution of the TDIB model regards the studies of the genetic determinants of the fertility motivation and behaviours. In particular, Miller (1992) and collegues (1999; 2000) theorize and test whether personality traits in the adulthood might be fundamental prerequisite for determining fertility motivation first, and fertility intentions later. Their results support the idea that genes and personality traits (as indicators of genetic predispositions) are responsible at least in part of fertility motivation. Most of the further studies on this topic have mainly considered the link between personality, genes and fertility outcome, while less attention has been reserved to better understand the link with fertility expectations. In particular, according to the psychological theory of adaptation (Headey and Wearing, 1989) we can suppose that personality traits might be considered as responsible not only for fertility motivations, but also for understanding how individuals react to the modification of the situational conditions. In this sense they represent an important control for studying the mechanism that link the changes in the situation with the subsequent changes in fertility expectations.

2.2. The relationship between fertility expectations and subjective wellbeing.

There are evidences that the arrival of the first child often implies changes in new parents' subjective well being (Cowan *et al*., 1985; Belsky and Rovine, 1990; Kalmuss *et al*. 1992). In particular, "life satisfaction" more than "happiness" represents the rational cognitive evaluation of the present life condition, compared with the desired conditions of life (Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers 1976). Life satisfaction, being a multidimensional concept, derived by an overall evaluation of satisfaction within single different life spheres (satisfaction with job, with the partner, with the home in which she lives, etc.). Satisfaction with specific life dimensions has been found usually more sensible to life events respect to the satisfaction with life in general (Veenhoven, 1993; Diener *et al*., 1999). Therefore there is more variability to be studied in the single dimension of life satisfaction than in its global assessment.

On the one hand, the transition to the first child affects parents' subjective wellbeing; on the other hand, changes in subjective wellbeing as consequence of the arrival of the child modify couple's fertility expectations. In the literature we found these represent two distinct perspectives of research. The first perspective focuses on the effect of childbearing on couple's subjective well being (Hoffenaar *et al*. 2010; Belsky and Rovine, 1990; Cowan *et al*., 1985; Glenn and McLanahan, 1982): this will help in identify the most important dimensions of life affected by the transition to the first parenthood. The second perspective looks to the effect of couple's subjective well being on fertility (Parr, 2010; Rijken and Liefbroer, 2008; Billari, 2009; Perelli-Harris, 2006) and will allow us to understand which mechanisms are behind the relationship between changed life conditions and changed fertility expectations. We will report the main results of the two fields of research in two distinct sections.

The distribution of costs and benefits related to having offspring varies over a child's age. Focusing on the short-term effects of childbearing on new parents' satisfaction with life, many psychological studies draw attention to the multidimensionality of the consequences: in couple's relationship (Twenge 2003; Meijer and Van den Wittenboer, 2007; Lawrence *et al*. 2007; Nomaguchi and Milkie, 2003), in family life (MacDermid *et al*. 1990; Mencarini and Sironi 2011) and work domain (Berger, 2009; Zimmermann and Easterlin, 2006; Stanca, 2009). Moreover, traditionally the attention on the stressful consequences of becoming parent has been usually concentrated on women's side, as the parent suffering more for the stressful condition after childbirth (Kandel *et al*., 1985; Campione 2008). Nevertheless the loss of satisfaction in many dimensions of life and in particular in couple's subjective wellbeing seems to affect both new fathers and new mothers (Lawrence *et al*., 2007; Moss *et al*. 1986).

One of the causes of loss in subjective wellbeing is related to an unexpected more negative parenting experience than the one anticipated: in this case women's satisfaction their relationship with the partner decline in the short term after the transition to the first parenthood (Belsky, Ward and Rovine 1986; Belsky, 1985). The effect of postnatal violated expectations is stronger during the first year of life of the child (Belsky, 1985), as this sense is given by the contrast with the prenatal expectations. Matching expectations regarding the gender division of domestic labour and childcare are among the primary source of dissatisfaction in the couples experiencing the transition to parenthood (Ruble *et al*. 1998).

It seems that some of the source of dissatisfaction and difficult marital adjustment after the arrival of the first child are also linked to the changes in fertility expectations. As Miller (2011) argues, "using intentions [...] one is measuring something that already reflects adjustment and compromises to what individuals would really like, changes that are a results of situational constraints and internal conflicts." (p. 93). In this sense, the changes in subjective wellbeing are indicators of part of the adjustment process to the transition to the first parenthood, that might be mirrored by the changes in fertility expectations.

Despite the relevance of such a topic, there are very few studies that analyse the link between subjective wellbeing and fertility expectations, and as far as we know no one has considered the adjustment to first parenthood. Some recent papers show how subjective well being can be a determinant of fertility expectations: Perelli-Harris (2006) shows that in Russia, subjective well being is significant and positively related to wanting and having additional children. Using the European Social Survey, Billari (2009) found that happier people are more likely to intend to have a(nother) child. Meanwhile recent analysis confirms that the additional happiness that parents anticipate from having (additional) children becomes a key driver of childbearing decisions (Billari and Kohler 2009). It has been found that its effect will depend on parity (Margolis and Myrskylä 2011), simply because those who have already had a child will learn from their experiences. For example, Newman (2008) describes examples of women and men whose positive parenting experiences had contributed to their desires to have another child, as well as others who had been deterred from doing so by negative experiences.

The fact that the experience with the first child matters on future fertility decisions has been found in the few studies on the topic. Specifically, some literature points out how the most important factors for deciding to have a second child are conditioned by the maintenance of a good level of satisfaction with the household and childcare share between the partners (Del Boca, 2002; Goldscheider *et al*., 2013). Moreover, couples with a preference of egalitarian roles have a higher

likelihood to intend to have a/another child while satisfaction with the division of household tasks has a positive effect on the intention to have another child as well (Bernardi *et al*., 2007, Mills *et al*. 2008). The indication of what parents considered a fare share of housework and childcare is linked with what they consider right in term of gender division of labour – i.e. to gender equity (McDonald, 2013), and therefore is more important for personal satisfaction than the shared number of hours in doing gender equality of the role-set (Craig and Siminski, 2010).

The effect of work adjustment on fertility expectations involves relevant gender differences. For men it seems that there is not a relationship between job satisfaction and fertility desires, except for the negative effect of job and income uncertainty (Wicki, 1999; Kreyenfeld, 2010). On the women's side the reconciliation between work and family reduces parents' stress associated with job (Haddock *et al*., 2006; Rogers, 1996) and favour the transition to higher fertility especially for highly educated women (Baxter, 2013). Nevertheless we did not find specific studies on work adjustment after the transition to parenthood and its effects on fertility expectations.

2.3. The Australian context

The context in which couple lives can be relevant for the adjustment to the transition to the first parenthood, influencing subsequent couple's fertility plans. The Australian case seems to be particularly interesting for the aim of our study. Even if among Western countries the Australian fertility rate is quite high (but under the replacement level), the absence of adequate family policies to sustain mothers employment has been cause of gender inequity (McDonald, 2000) that become more evident after the first childbirth.

Similarly to other Western countries, since the 70s Australia experienced a strong increase of the female employment rate, followed by a strong decrease in the fertility rate (stagnating between 1.7 and 1.8[2] since the beginning of the 90s) especially among high educated women. The decline of fertility became a source of concern for the Australian government, and new family policies introduced between 1992 and 2006[3] aimed openly to increase Australian couples' fertility. These policies have been mainly based on economic benefits, directed to those families with young children with only one member employed and, as a consequence, favouring male-breadwinner family model (Brennan, 2007). Most of the policies have been developed to sustain non-working mothers, with the idea that promoting the traditional division of gender roles would easily increased couple's fertility (Brennan, 2007). Consistently, until 2009 the possibility to access to paid parental-leave was not widespread, both among mothers and among fathers. In fact, until this date, parental leaves were not regulated at public level, but by the private bargaining process and agreement

[2] Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (various years).
[3] During these years right-wing party won all the elections, guaranteeing a continuity in the legislation.

between the employer and the employee. The consequence is that about one-fourth of first-time working mothers become inactive the year of the birth of the first child[4]. Among women leaving the labour market after the birth of the first child, more than half were full time workers in the private sector (Whitehouse *et al.*, 2006).

The lack of policies supporting reconciliation between motherhood and working commitment lead women to rethink their priorities in terms of labour force participation and family-care involvement. In this sense, without policy support, the adjustment to the transition to parenthood might be even more difficult in Australian couples, especially if we consider the partially unexpected shift they live, from a quite egalitarian gender role-set of childless couples to a more traditional gender balance after the transition to parenthood (McDonald, 2001; Baxter, 2000; Craig and Siminski, 2010; Dempsey, 1997). Some studies revealed as the Australian family policies structure until 2009 was generating problems of gender equality especially after the transition to the first child (McDonald, 2000; 2013).

3. Hypotheses and data

Our hypotheses are formulated starting from the TDIB model: in particular, the changes in the subjective life conditions after the arrival of the first child, as indicators of the adjustment to parenthood, would affect also the adjustment of fertility expectations to the actual life conditions. In particular, we want to test how parents' adjustment in the couple, family and work spheres partners' shape the changes in fertility expectations. The idea is that changes are important *per se* but they are affecting more fertility expectations if they are unforeseen.

As long as unexpected difficulties in parenting and difficulties to adjust to parenthood negatively affect couple and individual's subjective wellbeing at the transition to parenthood, we expect that a difficult adjustment to parenthood might lead to a decline of fertility expectations. In particular:

H1: parents who have difficulties to adjust in couple, family and work spheres after the arrival of the first child are more likely to decrease the expectation to have a second child, compared to those who adjust easily.

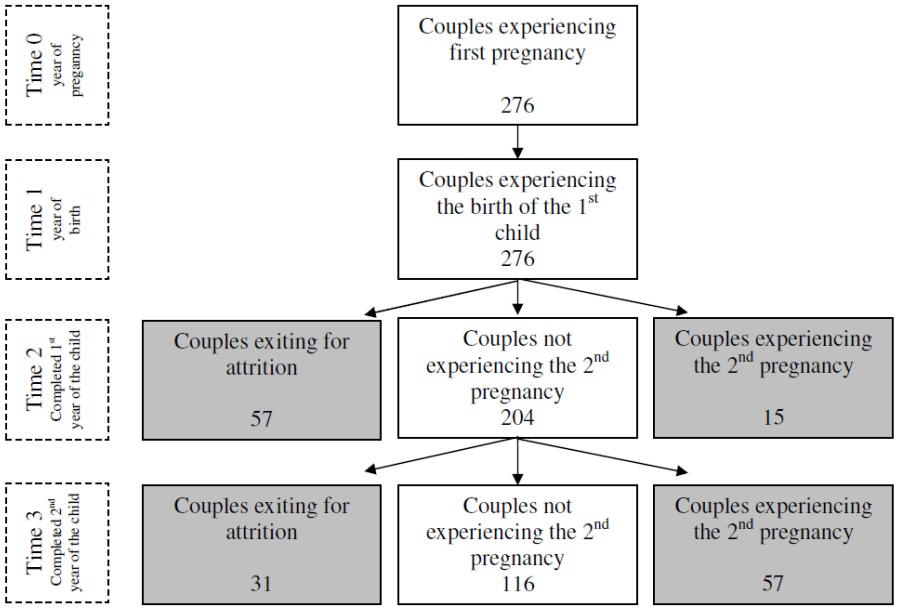
H2: first time parents who experience unexpected difficulties in parenthood are more likely to reduce their expectation to have a second child compared to those who do not face unexpected difficulties; the satisfaction with their life acts as a mediating factor both for men and women.

[4] The Parental Leave in Australia Survey (2005)

For the analyses we used the first 9 waves (2001-2009) of the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia panel survey. We selected couples of first time parents, with women aged less than 45 years old, both partners never separated or divorced, having not experienced the death of a previous child or partner, and - neither the parents' nor the child - suffering for serious health problems (it counts about 580 couples). A further selection has been made based on the fact that couples have complete information on the year of the pregnancy and the birth of the first child. Then we kept couples with complete information on anticipation and adjustment to parenthood, and fertility expectations. From the 421 couples resulting from the selection, we kept couples with complete information on personality traits[5] for both the partners: the final sample counts 276 couples.

A time variable has been created to count the years since the pregnancy of the first child (time 0); at time 1, 276 couples already had the first child; at time 2 we have 204 couples 204 which have already experienced the completed first year of life of the child, and they are still childless; at time 3 116 couples are childless. As Figure 2 shows, the sample reduction with time is caused on one hand by the attrition and, on the other hand, by the event of a second pregnancy. In both the situations, couples exit the panel. Almost the 38% of the sample experiences the transition to the second child during the three years since the first pregnancy.

Figure 2. Description of the sample



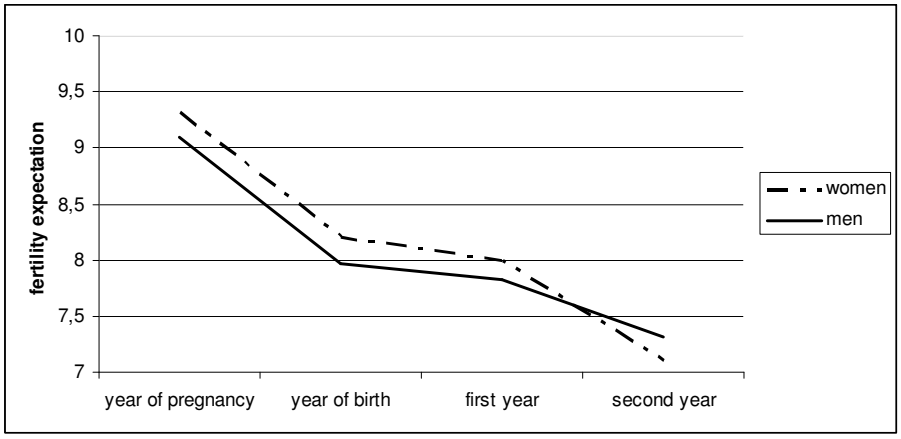
[5] Questions on personality traits are included only in HILDA wave 5 and wave 9.

4. Main Variables and Descriptive Results

Fertility expectations: the dependent variable.

Information about fertility expectations have been collected through the question "How likely to have a child/more children in the future?", asked every year. Individual position is scaled 0 (very unlikely) to 10 (very likely). The percentage of individuals with "strong" (i.e. very likely) expectation about having another child decreases after the birth of the first child (from 60% of women at the year of the first pregnancy to 25% after 3 years; and from 50% to 25% for men). The change of the expectations between the year of the first pregnancy and the year of the birth of the first child is higher for women (women "very likely to have another child" pass from 60% to 35%) than for men (from 50% to 35%). So, if during the pregnancy of the first child, women are usually more convinced, compared to men, that they will have a second child, after one year both women and men lie on a similar level. This is true for individuals with "very strong expectation" (very likely fertility expectation = 10) as for individuals with a "strong" expectation (fertility expectation > 7). The decreasing trend of fertility expectation for women and men is well observable in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Fertility expectation before and after the first child, for women and men (Couples with a first child born between 2001-2009)



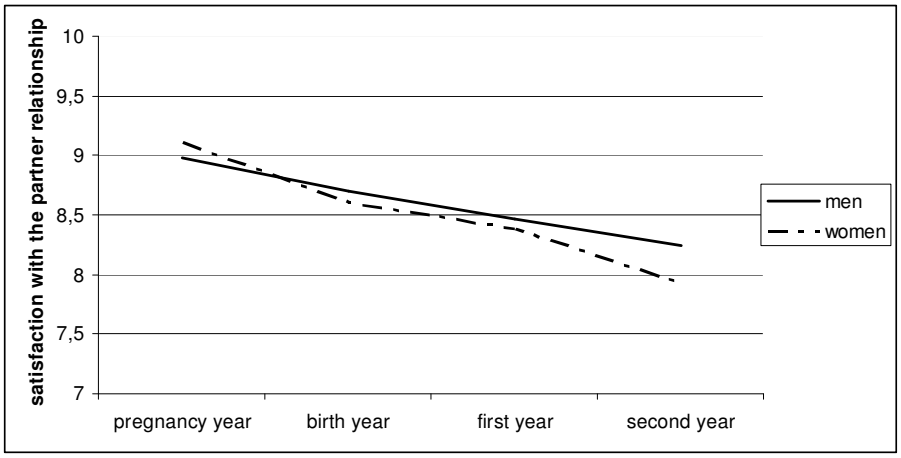
Data: HILDA waves 2001-2009.

Satisfaction for the relationship with the partner

The satisfaction with the relationship with the partner is asked individually with the question "How satisfied are you with your relationship with your partner?", scaled from 0 (completely unsatisfied) to 10 (completely satisfied). As Figure 4 shows, the relationship with the partner is less and less satisfying on average for both women and men starting since the birth of the first child. The decrease trend in partner satisfaction is similar for women and men, but it is more accentuated for women, who start from an higher level of satisfaction and end up with a lower level compared to

men. In particular, the year of the birth of the child is the most "shocking" for the partners, even if part of this loss can be a compensation for the increase of partner satisfaction during the pregnancy year (anticipation effect).

Figure 4. Satisfaction about relationship with the partner before and after the first child (Couples with a first child born between 2001-2009).



Data: HILDA waves 2001-2009.

Unexpected difficulties in parenthood

HILDA surveys disconfirmed expectations on how parenthood would be hard by asking about individual's level of accordance with the sentence "Being parent is harder than I thought it would be", scaled 1 to 7, where 1 is "strongly disagree" and 7 is "strongly agree". In our sample, 47% of women and 35% of men at the year of the birth of the first child declare that being parent is harder than imagined (individuals answering more than 4 on the scale). Whereas more specific questions on different expectation would represent a better tool, the HILDA variable can be treated as a general indicator of violated expectations regarding the difficulties in being parent (Lawrence *et al*., 2007). We use this variable as indicator for an individual anticipation process regarding the difficulties of parenthood. Moreover, a new variable has been constructed for all the possible combinations of partners' experience: both experiencing unexpected difficult, both not experiencing unexpected difficulties, she/he is the only partner in the couple experiencing unexpected difficulties.

Family and work adjustment to parenthood and fertility expectation

HILDA provides several questions regarding satisfaction with many life dimensions and different kind of possible consequences/impacts of becoming parent. This set of variables aims to derive information about the stress parents experience in both family and work dimensions, as consequences of having a child. To be parsimonious, we discard variables with the higher correlations, selecting some variables from each dimension, as indicators of adjustment to

parenthood in family and work life, looking at the distribution of the sample along categories of each variable (see Table 1).

Table 1. Variables for adjustment to parenthood in family and work life spheres.

Dimensions of adjustment:		
Adjustment to parenthood within the personal and family life	Time with family is less enjoyable*	1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*
	I'm doing more than the fair share in childcare	1 = *I do much more than the fair share*; 5 = *I do far less than the fair share*
	I'm doing more than the fair share in housework	1 = *I do much more than the fair share*; 5 = *I do far less than the fair share*
	Satisfaction with the free time	0 = *completely unsatisfied*; 10 = *completely satisfied*
Adjustment to parenthood at work	Time at work is less enjoyable*	1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*
	I had to turn down some work opportunities*	1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*
	Satisfaction with the job*	0 = *completely unsatisfied*; 10 = *completely satisfied*

*Available only for employed respondents

Control variables.

Near to the main covariates, some additional controllers have been considered in the analysis. In particular, according to Miller (1992) and Miller and collegues (1999; 2000), personality traits should be considered as important factors shaping fertility motivations. Moreover, personality traits are also shaping the level and the adjustment of the individual's subjective wellbeing to experienced life events (Soons and Liefbroer, 2009; Headey, 2006; Lavner and Bradbury, 2010). In HILDA, personality traits are derived by the 36-items of the TDA Five Factors Personality Inventory, that allows to reconstruct the individual position on the five personality traits described in the Big Five Model (McCrae, 1991; McCrae and Costa, 1990; Montag and Levine, 1994): Openness, Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Agreeableness and Extraversion[6].

Other controllers introduced are the educational homogamy in the couple (both partners are highly educated, she/he more educated, both partners are low educated), the occupational status and in particular the employment trajectory of the mother before and after the birth of the first child and partners' ages.

5. Method and results

In order to test our research hypotheses we apply piecewise growth models, which satisfy our needs: 1) to know how the individual changes her/his position over time on fertility expectation; 2)

[6] For more details see chapter 2.

to relate this change to some predictors; 3) to allow that individual trajectories might differ each other; 4) to allow that the same independent variable might change its effect with time.
Growth models are basically multilevel models for change. At level 1 they allow the inclusion of fixed effects (individual trajectories over time that might be determined by some predictors) while at level 2 we find random effects shifting the curve across the individual (Singer and Willett, 2003). Moreover, the individual change function (level 1) might change with time. In particular the hypothesis is that it can change its slope, because each independent variable might play different effect passing time. So far, we need to include some "discontinuity points" for our function, corresponding to the years we identify in our panel: the pregnancy year (*preg*), the year of birth (*birth*), the first year of life of the child (*first*), the second year of life of the child (*second*).

In our case, the formal shape of the piecewise growth model is:

$$Y_{ij} = \pi_{0i} + \pi_{1i}\, preg_{ij} + \pi_{2i}\, birth_{ij} + \pi_{3i}\, first_{ij} + \pi_{4i}\, second_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

$$\pi_{ni} = \gamma_{n0} + \xi_{ni}$$

Other predictors have been gradually included at level 1. In order to shape the piecewise part, predictors for unexpected difficulties in parenthood and adjustment to parenthood are included as distinct variables for each year. In this way we allow each variable to play different effects on the dependent variable according to the time spell. At the year of the pregnancy, where these variables do not have any effect, they take value zero (0). The equation for the model is:

$$Y_{ij} = X_{ii}\beta + \pi_{1i}\, preg_{ij} + \pi_{2i}\, birth_{ij} + \pi_{3i}\, first_{ij} + \pi_{4i}\, second_{ij} + Z_{ii}t_i\lambda + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

One of the advantages of the multilevel estimation model is that we do not need a balanced design (Skrondal and Rabe-Hesket, 2008). Imbalance in research design (e.g. due to attrition) may be cause of invalidation of inferences in case of generalization. Under the missing at random assumption (MAR) we can generalize our results from growth model without biases (Laird, 1988). In fact, if data are MAR, the probability of missingness can depend on either the predictors or the outcome (Singer and Willet, 2003, p. 158). On the other side, we need to be sure that the probability of missingness does not depend upon unobserved values of either predictors or outcome. Maximum likelihood estimation can produces consistent results if the previous conditions are present (Rubin, 1976).

In our case attrition has two origins: because individuals exit the survey (or the survey stops), or because individuals experience the pregnancy of the second child. While in the first case censored cases are random, in the second case we can assume that missingness can depend on previous outcome values[7]. As a consequence, we can say that the fact that couples experience the second pregnancy depends on high fertility expectations during the previous year.

We estimate three different models for women and men (see Table 2). [1] The first model ("Unexpected Difficulties") includes some variables regarding unexpected hardness of being parents and marital adjustment – i.e. experience of unmet expectations about parenthood in each time period; different combinations of experienced unexpected difficulties among the partners; interaction between unexpected difficulties in parenting and the satisfaction with the partner's relationship. [2] The second model ("Family Adjustment") adds the variables related to family adjustment – i.e. doing more than fair share in childcare; doing more than fair share in housework; family time less enjoyable. [3] The third model ("Work Adjustment") provides estimations also for the variables of the adjustment in the work sphere – i.e. satisfaction with the job; satisfaction with the free time; work time less enjoyable; having to turn down some job opportunities.

As expected, good couple relationship seems to be an important precondition for planning the arrival of another child. In fact, marital satisfaction is a strong predictor for increasing fertility expectation for both women and men. Nevertheless, having a satisfying relationship seems not to be the most important condition for working mothers and working fathers (Table 2 "Work Adjustment"): in this case the determinants for a change in fertility expectation are others and more related to the work adjustment. This result underline the existence of other difficulties that weigh on dual-earner couples expectations to have a second child, at least in the short run. We will discuss later how this is more due to the difficult reconciliation in family and work commitment.

Another strong variable associated with changes in fertility expectations is represented by experiencing unexpected difficulties at the transition to parenthood. If excluding the effect of the satisfaction with the partner, unexpected difficulties in parenthood decrease fertility expectations for both the partners (see Appendix). But including relationship satisfaction (Table 2 "Unexpected Difficulties"), if parenthood is harder than anticipated it negatively affects only women's fertility expectation, especially starting from the completed first year of life of the child. For women, a strong source of (unexpected) difficulties is the reconciliation between parenting and job

[7] The mean level of fertility expectation among couples remaining with one child is significantly lower (more than 1 point) compared to the mean level of fertility expectation for individuals experiencing the second pregnancy the subsequent year (mean comparison test among groups: $Pr(T < t) = 0.000$ both for women and men).

commitment: in fact, including family and in particular work adjustment variables, the significance of the unexpected difficulties variables decreases. On men's side, if controlling for the satisfaction with the relationship with the partner, only a persistent unmet expectations about parenthood seems to decrease men's fertility expectation (at the second year of life of the child). On the same time, the combined effect of unexpected difficulties in parenting with an unsatisfying relationship with the partner after the year of the birth seems to have some negative effects on men's expectations to have another child, especially in dual-workers couples. This result suggests that, for men, marital adjustment acts as a mediating variable between unexpected difficulties in parenthood and fertility expectation.

Men and women differ also in the way the reconciliation of family and work commitment impacts on their fertility expectation. This result is expected: the lack of family policies for working parents in Australia, before 2009, generate inequalities between couples, but especially mothers, with and without children. Dual earner couples, if not supported by external help (e.g. relatives, formal childcare services), need to find difficult compromises between family and work, that in Australia usually ends with mothers' renunciation to their full-time involvement in their work. Maybe for this reason, difficulties in family adjustment seem to affect only working mothers' fertility expectation[8]. It means that, if working mothers have difficulties to reconcile, they will adjust (reducing) their fertility expectation. It is interesting to note which factors are increasing or decreasing fertility expectation for working women. First of all, both declaring that time at work less enjoyable as that woman is doing more than the fair share in childcare are increasing women's expectation about having a second child. On the contrary after the first year of the child, "loosing career opportunities" and "doing more than the fair share in housework" decrease women's expectation of having another child. These two relations seem to describe two different situations: in the first case, women dedicating more energies to parenting and not finding a pleasant job situation would invest more on fertility; in the second case, women not self-realizing in the labour market, and facing most of the housework commitment in the couple, are less prone to the idea of having a second child. Satisfaction with the free time seems to play a relevant role in increasing working mother's intention to have a second child.

For mothers the years following the year of the birth of the first child are the most demanding in terms of difficult reconciliation and, maybe for this reason, the most affecting their fertility expectations. On the contrary, for fathers the year of the birth of the child seems to be the

[8] In the model for Family Adjustment, if we exclude variables of unexpected difficulties, doing more than the fair share in housework decreases significantly women's fertility expectation. This means that the negative effect of the perception to do more than the fair share in housework is present only if women do not expect the hardness of the unfair distribution of domestic tasks.

most emotionally intense at least if we consider how many factors are affecting their expectations about having a second child during this period. In both the cases, parents' implications in family tasks seem to affect also the way they think the possibility to have additional children. Childcare remains a female prerogative at least during the first period, and doing more than the fair share in childcare for men decreases male's fertility expectation. But doing more than the fair share in housework seems a prerequisite for men to increase their expectation to have another child. The increasing fertility expectations for fathers involved in family tasks might mean two things: family oriented men are more inclined to participate to household activities and to have additional children; the cooperation between the partners in facing the new family needs might facilitate the adjustment to parenthood, creating positive expectations about having additional children. In this sense, housework is the important bargaining field for planning the transition to a second child. Also the fact that turning down some work opportunities is related to increasing men's fertility expectations could mean that reducing work commitment and increasing family commitment by fathers, makes the second child more affordable. It might be interesting to see under which conditions turning down work opportunities can be related to a previous positive parenting experience for fathers, which would be the real condition for increasing fertility expectation.

To sum up, the different results for women and men might suggest a different meaning that women and men give to parenting. Women, invested with a gender unbalanced responsibility of childrearing, reduce their fertility expectation – among several possible reasons – because they find difficult to reach a satisfactory level of management of their priorities and preferences, such as the reconciliation between work and family, or because of the increase in conflicts and dissatisfaction in couple's relationship. Among men, the unpredicted difficulties of parenthood affect first and foremost the relationship with the partner and then, only in turn, this reduces their expectation about having another child. It seems that most of the men's perspective about having a second child lies more on the impact of the first child on the quality of the couple's relationship and only secondarily on the difficulties to adjust family and work life to parenthood needs and priorities.

Looking to the results for the control variables, we can derived some interesting conclusion, especially related to personality traits. We see that personality traits are not significant, except for some weak results for "openness". We might think that, consistently with Miller and Pasta's theory, while personality traits might be relevant in determining the latent motivation and desires, the changes in fertility expectations are mainly derived by the changes in the situational factors.

Table 2. Piecewise linear growth models for fertility expectation (couples with a first child born in 2001-2009).

	Women			Men		
	Unexpected difficulties[b]	**Family Adjust.[c]**	**Work Adjust.[a,d]**	**Unexpected difficulties[b]**	**Family Adjust.[c]**	**Work Adjust.[c]**
Time:						
Birth year	-0.12	-0.20	-0.73	-1.17**	-0.95	-0.80
First year	0.41	-0.52	-0.17	-1.46**	-1.58	-0.84
Second year	0.98	0.32	2.71	-0.18	0.05	0.02
Unexpected difficulties in parenthood:						
Unexpected difficulties (birth y.)	-0.18*	-0.20*	-0.36*	-0.02	-0.06	-0.03
Unexpected difficulties (first y.)	-0.28***	-0.27**	-0.36	0.13	0.12	0.09
Unexpected difficulties (second y.)	-0.55***	-0.58***	-0.58**	-0.38*	-0.40*	-0.45*
Both unexpected difficulties	0.09	0.07	0.16	-0.42	.0.42	-0.37
She unexpected difficulties	0.40	0.38	0.64	-0.21	-0.24	-0.25
He unexpected difficulties	0.07	-0.09	-0.58	-0.04	-0.03	-0.08
Unexp.diff *partner dissatisfaction (birth y.)	0.04	-0.01	-0.01	-0.14	-0.11	-0.17
Unexp.diff *partner dissatisfaction (first y.)	0.02	-0.01	-0.18	-0.21*	-0.21*	-0.25**
Unexp.diff *partner dissatisfaction (second y.)	-0.05	-0.04	-0.28	0.21	0.22	0.08
Marital Adjustment:						
Satisfaction relationship with partner	0.25***	0.26***	0.10	0.18***	0.18***	0.10(*)
Family Adjustment:						
more than fair share childcare (birth y.)		0.28(*)	0.66***		-0.47**	-0.49**
more than fair share childcare (first y.)		0.16	0.65**		-0.10	-0.40
more than fair share childcare (second y.)		0.71(*)	0.51		-0.09	-0.36
more than fair share housework (birth y.)		-0.19	-0.27		0.38**	0.37**
more than fair share housework (first y.)		0.05	-0.22		0.15	0.10
more than fair share housework (second y.)		-0.63(*)	-0.97*		-0.02	0.03
family time less enj. (birth y.)			-0.19*			0.02
family time less enj. (first y.)			-0.08			-0.14
family time less enj (second y.)			0.21			-0.04
satisfaction with free time			0.07*			0.04
Work Adjustment:						
work time less enj. (birth y.)			0.41***			0.01
work time less enj.(first y.)			0.21			0.05
work time less enj. (second y.)						-0.05
job satisfaction			-0.01			0.01
turn down work opp. (birth y.)			-0.12			-0.01
turn down work opp.(first y.)			-0.50***			0.23**
turn down work opp. (second y.)			0.25			0.42**

	Women			Men		
	Unexpected difficulties[b]	Family Adjust.[c]	Work Adjust.[a,d]	Unexpected difficulties[b]	Family Adjust[c]	Work Adjust[c]
Control variables						
Personality traits						
Extraversion	0.08	0.07	0.14	-0.13	-0.13	-0.03
Agreeableness	-0.01	0.01	0.11	0.15	0.15	0.13
Emotional Stability	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.11	0.12	0.08
Conscientiousness	0.09	0.10	0.03	-0.01	-0.02	-0.05
Openness	-0.12(*)	-0.11	-0.06	-0.13	-0.13	-0.15*
Demographic characteristics:						
age	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.09***	-0.04	-0.04	-0.02
Partner's age	-0.07	-0.06	-0.05	-0.10***	-0.10***	-0.11***
She higher education	0.03	0.03	0.26	-0.24	-0.08	-0.01
He higher education	0.10	0.12	0.21	-0.36	-0.38	-0.38
High educational homogamy	-0.17	-0.17	-0.40	0.07	0.12	0.21
He employed	-0.03	-0.09	0.02	0.63**	0.55(*)	
Employment trajectories:						
Inactive (preg y.)	-0.27	-0.28		-0.79***	-0.79***	-0.70***
Employed (preg y.) – Inactive (birth y.)	0.03	-0.13		0.34	0.35	0.17
Inactive (preg y.) – Employed (birth y.)	-0.83	-0.71		-0.45	-0.49	-0.48
Inactive (preg y.) – Inactive (birth y.)	-0.76*	-0.95**		-0.64(*)	-0.57	-0.81*
Employed (preg y.) – Inactive (first y.)	0.16	0.32		0.30	0.30	0.45
Inactive (preg y.) – Employed (first y.)	-0.77	-0.80		-0.89	-0.84	-0.78
Inactive (preg y.) – Inactive (first y.)	-1.45***	-1.31**		-0.96**	-0.97**	-1.15**
cons.	9.80***	9.29***	9.16***	10.94***	10.92***	11.91***

Note: * = $p \leq .5$; ** = $p \leq .01$; *** = $p \leq .001$
Note: [a] only dual earner couples
Note: [b] N=836; [c] N=764; [d] N=548

6. Conclusion

This study aimed to find how the adjustment to the first parenthood affects parents' future fertility plans. In particular, following Miller and Pasta TDIB model (1995), we assess the effect of parents' changed life conditions after the arrival of the first child on their fertility expectations. We specifically looked at the perception and the judgment about the changes in first time parents' life conditions, for both women and men, considering the gains and losses in their subjective wellbeing. The main finding of our research is that couple's expectations to have a second child change after the arrival of the first child, decreasing on average, and this change mirrors a complex process of adjustment to parenthood in many life spheres. The fact that personality traits are never significant for explaining the changes in fertility expectations is consistent with the TDIB model. In fact, while

personality represents stable traits that concur to build stable fertility motivation (personality traits are supposed to be stable, especially in the short term), the changeable experience of the life conditions is the strongest predictor for the changes in fertility expectations. The dependence of the fertility expectations by the situational factors has been highlights also by further results: the effect of the process of adjustment to parenthood on partners' fertility expectation can vary passing time, depending on the persistence of difficulties to adjust to parenthood.

The fact that the reconciling process of family and work commitment after the transition to the first parenthood affect differently new mothers and new fathers suggests the presence of gendered factors affecting adjustment to parenthood. An important role can be played by contextual factors, such as family policies. In Australia, at least until 2009, the absence of adequate family policies to sustain both fertility and mother's employment, have been accused to be responsible of high gender inequity and, on the same time, not to increase fertility. If fertility expectations can change during reproductive life, enjoying satisfying conditions of life in the couple, family and work are important precondition for maintaining high fertility expectations. If both parents, and especially mothers, are supported in reconcile family and work preferences and roles, the consequences of the first parenthood would be lighter. This is policy relevant: in fact, we can read in the difficulties that reduce fertility expectations the common causes that also negatively affect individual's fertility realization. Family policies can play a key role in supporting the reconciliation between motherhood and work, and promoting an active fatherhood. The result of such family-reconciliation policies, according to our findings, would be a quicker and easier adjustment to the revolution of the first birth: consequently, first time parents would experience (or event not experience) a lower decrease of subjective wellbeing, and therefore the maintenance of higher propensity to proceed to higher parities. In this sense, keeping high the expectations about having additional children should reduce childbirth spacing and, as a consequence, the gap between the desired fertility and the realized fertility: the existence of such a gap is one of the most widespread evidences of the difficulties to reach the fertility replacement level in the Western societies.

References

Ajzen I. (1985), *From intentions to actions: A theory of planned behavior*. In J. Kuhl & J. Beckman (Eds.), "Action-control: From cognition to behavior": 11-39. Heidelberg: Springer.

Ajzen I. and Klobas J. (2013), *Fertility intentions: An approach based on the theory of planned behavior*, Demographic Research, Vol. 29: 203-232.

Baxter J. (2000), *The joys and justice of housework*, Sociology, Vol. 34: 609-631.

Baxter J. (2013), *Employment and the Life Course: Birth Cohort Differences of Young Australian Women*, in (eds. Evans A. and Baxter) Negotiating the life course. Stability and Change in Life Pathways: 99-120.

Belsky J. (1985), *Exploring Individual Differences in Marital Change across the Transition to Parenthood: TheRole of Violated Expectations,* Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol. 47, No. 4: 1037-1044.

Belsky J., Ward M. and Rovine M. (1986), *Prenatal expectations, postnatal experience and the transition to parenthood*, in (eds. Ashmore R.D. and Brodzinsky D.M.) "Thinking about the Family: views of parents and children": 119-143. New York: Psychology Press.

Belsky J. and Rovine M. (1990), *Patterns of Marital Change across the Transition to Parenthood: Pregnancy to Three Years Postpartum*, Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol. 52, N.1: 5-19.

Berger E. M. (2009), *Maternal Employment and Happiness: The Effect of Non-Participation and Part-Time Employment on Mothers' Life Satisfaction*, In SOEP paper No. 178. DIW Berlin Discussion Paper No. 890, May 1.

Bernardi L., Keim S. and von der Lippe H. (2007), Social Influences on Fertility, Journal of Mixed Methods Research, Vol.1, N.1: 23 -47.

Berrington, A. (2004), *Perpetual Postponers? Women's, Men's and Couple's Fertility Intentions and Subsequent Fertility Behaviour*, Applications and Policy Working Papers. Southampton, UK: Southampton Statistical Research Institute.

Billari F. C. (2009), *The Happiness Commonality: Fertility Decision in Low-Fertility Settings*. In UNECE (Ed.), "How Generations and Gender Shape Demographic Change" (pp. 7-38), New York and Geneva: United Nations.

Billari, F.C. and Kholer H.P. (2009), *Fertility and happiness in the XXI century: Institutions, preferences, and their interactions*. Paper presented at the XXVI IUSSP International Population Conference in Marrakech, Morocco, 27 September-2 October, 2009.

Brennan D. (2007), *Babies, Budgets, and Birth rates: Work/Family Policy in Australia 1996–2006*, Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society, Vol.14: 31–57.

Campbell A., Converse P. E. and Rodgers W. L. (1976), "The quality of American life: Perceptions, evaluations, and satisfactions". New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Campione W. (2008), *Employed Women's Well-Being: The Global and Daily Impact of Work,* Journal of Family and Economic Issues, Vol.29, N.3: 346-361.

Cowan C.P., Cowan P.A., Heming G., Garrett E., Coysh W.S., Curtis-Boles H. and Boles A.J. (1985), *Transitions to Parenthood*, Journal of Family Issues, Vol.6; N.4: 451-481.

Craig L. and Siminski P. (2010), *Men's housework, women's housework and second births in Australia*, Social Politics, Vol.17, N. 2: 235-66.

Del Boca D. (2002), *The effect of child care and part time opportunities on participation and fertility decisions in Italy*, Journal of Population Economics, Vol. 15, N.3: 549-573.

Dempsey K. (1997), "Inequalities in marriage", Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Diener E., Suh E. M., Lucas R. E. and Smith H. (1999), *Subjective well-being: Three decades of progress*, Psychological Bulletin, Vol.125: 276-302.

Glenn D. and Mc Lanahan S. (1982), *Children and Marital Happiness: A Further Specification of the Relationship*, Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol. 44, N.1: 63-72.

Goldscheider F., Bernhardt E. and Brandén M. (2013), *Domestic gender equality and childbearing in Sweden*, Demographic Research, Vol. 29, N. 40: 1097-1126.

Gray E., Evans A. and Reimondos A. (2013), *Childbearing desires of childless men and women: When are goals adjusted?*, Advances in Life Course Research, Vol.18, N.2: 141-149.

Haddock S., Zimmerman T., Lyness K. and Ziemba S. (2006), *Practices of Dual Earner Couples Successfully Balancing Work and Family*, Journal of Family and Economic Issues, Vol.27, N.2: 207-234.

Hayford S. (2009), *The evolution of fertility expectations over the life course*, Demography, Vol.46, N.4: 765-783.

Headey B. and Wearing A. (1989), *Personality, life events, and subjective well-being: Toward a dynamic equilibrium model*, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol.57, N.4: 731-739.

Headey B. (2006), *Happiness: Revising Set Point Theory and Dynamic Equilibrium Theory to*

Account for Long Term Change, DIW-Diskussionspapiere.

Hoffenaar P., van Balen F. and Hermanns J. (2010), *The Impact of Having a Baby on the Level and Content of Women's Well-Being*, Social Indicators Research, Vol.97, N.2: 279-295.

Kalmuss D., Davidson A. and Cushman L. (1992), *Parenting Expectations, Experiences, and Adjustment to Parenthood: A Test of the Violated Expectations Framework*, Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol. 54, N.3: 516–526.

Kandel D. B., Davies M. and Raveis V.H. (1985), *The Stressfulness of Daily Social Roles for Women: Marital, Occupational and Household Roles*, Journal of Health and Social Behaviour, Vol.26, N.1: 64-78.

Kreyenfeld M. (2010), *Uncertainties in Female Employment Careers and the Postponement of Parenthood in Germany*, European Sociological Review, Vol.26, N.3: 351-366.

Laird N.M. (1988), Missing data in longitudinal studies, Statistics in Medicine, Vol.7, N. 1-2: 305-315.

Lavner J.A. and Bradbury T.N. (2010), Patterns of Change in Marital Satisfaction Over the Newlywed Years, Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol.72, N.5: 1171-1187.

Lawrence E., Nylen K. and Cobb R. (2007), *Prenatal Expectations and Marital Satisfaction over the Transition to Parenthood*, Journal of Family Psychology, Vol.21, N.2:155–164.

MacDermit M., Huston T.L. and McHale S.M. (1990), *Changes in Marriage Associated with the Transition to Parenthood: Individual Differences as a Function of Sex-Role Attitudes and Changes in the Division of Household Labor*, Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol.52, N.2: 475-486.

Margolis R. and Myrskylä M. (2011), *A global perspective on happiness and fertility*, Population and Development Review, Vol.37, N.1: 29-56.

McCrae R.R. (1991), *The Five-Factor Model and Its Assessment in Clinical Settings*, Journal of Personality Assessment, Vol.57, N.3: 399-414.

McCrae R.R. and Costa, P. (1999) *A Five-Factor Theory of Personality.* In Pervin, L and John, O. (eds.) "Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research", Chapter 5, New York: Guilford Press.

McDonald P. (2000), *Gender equity in theories of fertility transition*, Population and Development Review, Vol. 26, N.3: 427-439.

McDonald P. (2001), *Family support policy in Australia: the need of a paradigm shift*, People and Place, Vol.9, N.2: 14-20.

McDonald P. (2013), Social foundations for explaining low fertility: Gender equity, Demographic Research, Vol.28, N.34: 981-994.

Meijer A.M. and van den Wittenboer G.L.H. (2007), *Contribution of Infants' Sleep and Crying to Marital Relationship of First-Time Parent Couples in the 1st Year after Childbirth*, Journal of Family Psychology, Vol.21:49-57.

Mencarini L., and Sironi M. (2012), *Happiness, Housework and Gender Inequality in Europe European Sociological Review*, European Sociological Review, Vol.28, N.2: 203-219.

Miller W.B. (1992), *Personality Traits and Developmental Experiences as Antecedents of Childbearing Motivation*, Demography, Vol.29, N.2: 265-285.

Miller W.B. and Pasta D.J. (1995a), *Behavioral intentions: Which ones predict fertility behavior in married couples?* Journal of Applied Social Psychology, Vol.25: 530-555.

Miller W.B. and Pasta D.J. (1995b), *How does childbearing affect fertility motivations and desires?* Biodemography and Social Biology, Vol. 42, N.3-4: 185-198.

Miller W.B., Pasta D.J., MacMurray J., Chiu C., Wu S. and Comings D.E. (1999), *Genetic influences on childbearing motivation: a theoretical framework and some empirical evidence*, in (eds. Severy J.L. and Miller W.) Advances in population: psychosocial perspectives, Volume 3: 53-102. Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Miller W.B., Pasta D.J., MacMurray J., Muhleman D. and Comings D.E. (2000), *Genetic Influences on Childbearing Motivation: Further Testing a Theoretical Framework*, in (eds. Rodgers J.L., Rowe D.C. and Mill W.B.) "Genetic Influences on Human Fertility and Sexuality, Theoretical and Empirical Contributions from the Biological and Behavioral Sciences": 35-66. Springer.

Miller W., Severy L. and Pasta D. (2004), *A Framework for Modelling Fertility Motivation in Couples*, Population Studies, Vol. 58, N.2: 193–205.

Miller W. (2011), *Differences between fertility desires and intentions: implications for theory, research and policy*, Vienna Yearbook of Population Research 2011, V.9: 75-89.

Mills M., Mencarini L. Tanturri M.L. (2008), *Gender equity and fertility intentions in Italy and the Netherlands*, Demographic Research, Vol.18: 1-26.

Mitchell D. and Gray E. (2007), *Declining fertility: Intentions, attitudes and aspirations*, Journal of Sociology, Vol.43, N.1: 23–44.

Montag I. and Levine J. (1994), *The five-factor personality model in applied settings*, European Journal of Personality, Vol.8: 1-8.

Moss P., Bolland G., Foxman R. and Owen C. (1986), *Marital Relations During the Transition to Parenthood*, Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology, Vol.4, N.1-2: 57–67.

Newman L. A. (2008), *Why planned attended homebirth should be more widely supported in Australia*, Australian and New Zealand Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Vol.48, N.5: 450-453.

Nomaguchi K. M. and Milkie M.A. (2003), *Costs and Rewards of Children: The Effects of Becoming a Parent on Adults' Lives*, Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol. 65, N.2: 356-374.

Parr N. (2010), *Satisfaction with life as an antecedent of fertility : Partner + Happiness = Children?*, Demographic research, Vol.22, N.21: 635-662.

Perelli-Harris B. (2006), *The influence of informal work and subjective well-being on childbearing in post-Soviet Russia*, Population and Development Review, Vol.32, N.4: 729-753.

Rijken A. J. and Liefbroer A.C. (2008), The Influence of Partner Relationship Quality on Fertility, European Journal of Population / Revue Européenne De Démographie, Vol. 25, N.1: 27–44.

Rogers S. (1996), *Mothers' Work Hours and Marital Quality: Variations by Family Structure and Family Size*, Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol.58, N.3: 606-617.

Rubin D.B.(1976), *Inference and missing data*. Biometrika, 63:581–592, 1976.

Ruble D.N., Fleming A.S., Hackel L.S. and Stangor C. (1988), *Changes in the marital relationship during the transition to first time motherhood: Effects of violated expectations concerning division of household labor*, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol.55: 78-87.

Schoen R., Astone N.M., Kim Y.J., Nathanson C.A. and Fields J.M. (1999), *Do fertility intentions affect fertility behavior?*, Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol. 61, N. 3: 790-799.

Singer J. and Willett J. (2003), "Applied Longitudinal Data Analysis. Modeling change and event occurrence", Oxford University Press.

Skrondal A. and Rabe-Hesket S. (2008), Multilevel and Related Models for Longitudinal Data, in J. de Leeuw, E. Meijer (eds.), Handbook of Multilevel Analysis, Springer

Soons J. P. M. and Liefbroer A. C. (2008), *Together is better? Effects of relationship status and resources on young adults' well-being*, Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, Vol.25: 603–624.

Stanca L. (2009), *Suffer the little children: Measuring the effects of parenthood on well-being worldwide*, W.P. No. 173, Dept. of Economics, University of Milan Bicocca.

Twenge J.M., Campbell W.K. and Craig A. (2003), *Parenthood and Marital Satisfaction: A Meta-*

Analytic Review, Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol.65, N.3: 574-583.

Warshaw P.R. and Davis D.F. (1985), *Disentangling behavioral intention and behavioral expectation*, Journal of experimental social psychology, Vol.21, N.3: 213-228.

Whitehouse G., Baird M., Diamond C. and Soloff C. (2007), *Parental leave in Australia: beyond the statistical gap*, Journal of Industrial Relations Vol.49, N.1: 103-112.

Wicki W. (1999), The Impact of Family Resources and Satisfaction with Division of Labor on Coping and Worries after the Birth of the First Child, International Journal of Behavioral Development, Vol.23, N.2: 431 -456.

Zimmermann A. and Easterlin R. (2006), *Happily ever after? Cohabitation, marriage, divorce and happiness in Germany*, Population and Development Review, Vol. 32, N.3: pp. 511-528.

APPENDIX. Growth model for fertility expectations including control variables and unexpected difficulties covariates, for women and men.

	Women	Men
Time:		
Birth year	- .416	- .458
First year	.153	- .629
Second year	.768	.023
Unexpected difficulties in parenthood		
Unexpected difficulties (birth y.)	- .171*	- .205**
Unexpected difficulties (first y.)	- .292***	- .137
Unexpected difficulties (second y.)	- .604***	- .353**
Both unexpected difficulties	- .094	.007
She unexpected difficulties	.278	- .111
He unexpected difficulties	- .316	.346
Controllers		
Personality traits		
Extraversion	.144	- .105
Agreeableness	- .009	.184
Emotional Stability	.029	.106
Conscientiousness	.072	- .010
Openness	- .136	- .154
Demographic characteristics		
age	- .085***	- .033
Partner's age	- .028	- .097***
secondary education	.021	.172***
tertiary education	.072	.028
high homogamy	- .343	.125
He employed	.056	.647**
Employment trajectories		
Inactive (preg y.)	- .318	- .694**
Employed (preg y.) – Inactive (birth y.)	.228	.416
Inactive (preg y.) – Employed (birth y.)	- .813	- .575
Inactive (preg y.) – Inactive (birth y.)	- .722*	- .599
Employed (preg y.) – Inactive (first y.)	.176	.438
Inactive (preg y.) – Employed (first y.)	- .692	- .729
Inactive (preg y.) – Inactive (first y.)	-1 .400***	- .863
cons.	11 .957***	11 .680***

Note: * = $p \leq .5$; ** = $p \leq .01$; *** = $p \leq .001$ Note: N = 836