Marriage, Cohabitation and Happiness: A Cross-National Analysis of 27 Countries

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we investigate how the reported happiness of married and cohabiting individuals varies cross-nationally with societal gender beliefs and the religious context. Using hierarchical linear models and the 2002 International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) data from 27 countries (N = 40,044), we specify models with macro-micro level interactions in order to examine how the social-institutional context affects happiness at the individual-level. Consistent with previous research, we find a happiness gap between married and cohabiting persons. In the case of women (but not for men), this gap is moderated by the gender climate or the religious context in the country. This suggests that, at least for women, this gap is not intractable but is rather an outcome of the social context. For men, the happiness gap between married and cohabiting persons persist across the different social contexts studied.

Key words: *cohabitation, cross-national analysis, happiness, gender*

Earlier research on family and marriage has consistently found that marriage improves both physical and subjective well-being. Marriage, it is argued, provides a certain level of economic and social stability which is associated with better health and greater happiness not experienced by unmarried persons (Waite and Gallagher 2000). Although the empirical evidence is seemingly insurmountable, some scholars questioned whether it is marriage per se or the act of union formation that is associated with happiness (Soons and Kalmijn 2009). Cohabitation has the potential to improve the quality of life for many persons, especially for women, by liberating and empowering them from the formal constraints of marriage. This stream of inquiry led to empirical research which examines how happiness varies by marital status, with particular focus on the happiness gap between married and cohabiting persons. Much of the evidence thus far upholds the benefits of marriage, with married persons reportedly experiencing greater happiness than do cohabiting persons (e.g. Stack and Eshleman 1998).

In this paper, we hypothesize that the happiness gap between married and cohabiting persons is not universal across countries, but rather depends on the social-institutional context of the countries involved. Our primary areas of interest concern the institutions of family and religion. How is the happiness gap affected by the gender roles and gender norms at the country-level? Similarly, how is the happiness gap influenced by the society's religious climate? We investigate these questions through a cross-national investigation of general happiness using multi-level models.

BACKGROUND

An individual's happiness is a function of both their individual characteristics and the context in which they live. Although greater attention has been paid to happiness at the

individual-level, we argue an attention to the correlates of happiness at both the individual and societal level is important to an understanding of how happiness varies cross-nationally.

The Social and Institutional Context of Happiness

In order to understand the happiness gap between married and cohabiting individuals, it is informative to look at this gap cross-nationally. Stack and Eshleman (1998) and Diener, Gohm, Suh, and Oishi (2000) contributed to this question through an examination of happiness among cohabiters and married couples cross-nationally. Soons and Kalmijn (2009) specifically examined the role of attitudes toward cohabitation in moderating the happiness gap between married and cohabiting individuals in Europe. What remains to be investigated, however, is how other specific social and institutional factors (such as social norms about the family and religious climate) shape reports of happiness by marital status. Is it only attitudes toward cohabitation that matter in shaping the relative happiness of married and cohabiting persons? How do other characteristics of the social context influence happiness, and the happiness of men versus women, and cohabiters versus the married in particular?

Existing social conventions regarding gender and the religious context may influence the extent to which cohabitation is condoned in society, which may ultimately affect people's happiness. Religion and marriage are closely related since most religious denominations uphold the institution of marriage. Evidence of the relationship between religion and family life on the individual level is abundant (see, e.g., Eggebeen and Dew 2009; Thornton, Axinn, and Hill 1992). Other scholars have moved beyond the individual level to think about the ways in which the institutions of family and religion are linked (Edgell 2005) and how trends in religious commitment are related to societal trends in family formation (e.g., Thornton, Axinn, and Hill

1992). In his conceptualization of the second demographic transitions, Lesthaeghe (1998) has argued that ideational shifts towards greater individual autonomy have motivated changing family behavior (including increased incidence of non-marital cohabitation). This increased autonomy is evidenced by increasing secularism (as well as increasing post-materialism and egalitarianism).

Cohabitation may therefore be less accepted in societies with high levels of religiosity. The "moral boundaries" (Edgell, Gerteis, and Hartmann 2006) symbolically separating the married moral "in-group" from the cohabiting moral "out-group" are likely to be more clearly defined and rigid in societies with strong religious identification. The social stigma of cohabitation may in turn lower the happiness of cohabiting persons in such conservative religious climates. Given the centrality of women in kin networks (DiLeonardo 1987), we expect that the effect of religious climate on happiness may vary by gender as well. In addition to religious beliefs, per se, social conventions may prevent couples from entering into cohabitation if norms and beliefs uphold the institution of marriage, and alternative forms of partnership may be deemed socially unacceptable (Soons and Kalmijn 2009). The role played by societal religiosity vis-à-vis societal attitudes towards cohabitation in influencing the happiness of married and cohabiting individuals will be examined in this analysis.

Additionally, we explore the role played by gender norms in a country in investigating the relative happiness of men and women. Previous research on the U.S. has focused on the relationship between a woman's *individual* beliefs about gender and her reported *marital* happiness (Frisco and Williams 2003; Wilcox and Nock 2006). The current research, however, probes deeper into the interaction between gender beliefs at the individual-level, and gender norms at the societal level. We expect that individuals whose beliefs about gender are consistent

with those in the larger society will be happier than those who personal beliefs conflict with societal beliefs.

We first examine the relationship between societal gender beliefs and individual happiness for the full sample of men and women. We then analyze the sample separately by gender in order to further isolate variations in the institutional effects on happiness between men and women. We also examine how societal beliefs about gender are related to the relative happiness of cohabiting and married men and women. Although we are not aware of research that has specifically looked at these associations, we expect that cohabiters will report greater happiness in countries with more egalitarian gender expectations in the family. This is based on previous research in the U.S. that cohabiters are more likely to adopt non-traditional gender roles than are their married counterparts (Clarkberg, Stolzenberg, and Waite 1995; Smock 2000). We expect that the adoption of such non-traditional family roles will have more negative consequences for happiness in societies that embrace traditional gender roles in the family. We also expect that because of women's central role in their families (Di Leonardo 1987), these negative consequences will be greater for women than for men.

In addition to these social and cultural influences on happiness, we also expect economic conditions to have some impact on happiness. Although research has found that higher GDP is not necessarily related to higher happiness across countries (Layard 2005), there is some evidence of an overall positive association between income and happiness within countries (Blanchflower and Oswald 2004; Clark and Oswald 1996; Easterlin 2001). GDP is also a standard control for level of economic development in many cross-national studies (see, e.g., Fuwa 2005; Stack and Eshleman 1998)

Happiness at the Individual Level

Scholars have more extensively investigated the individual-level correlates of happiness. A large literature documents the relationship between marriage and general happiness or well-being (see, e.g., Hansen and Shapiro 2007; Haring-Hidore, Stock, Okun, and Witter 1985; Kim and McKenry 2002; Waite and Gallagher 2000). Explanations of the greater happiness and well-being of married individuals point to: the relatively weaker bond between cohabiters (Popenoe and Whitehead 2002; Waite and Gallagher 2000), the protective benefits of being married (Stack and Eshleman 1998), the incomplete institutionalization of cohabitation and the relatively weaker social support received by cohabiters (Diener, Gohm, Suh, and Oishi 2000), as well as to the selection effects into marriage (examined, for example, by Stack and Eshleman 1998). The protective benefits of marriage include the social and financial support received from spouses, whereas selection-based explanations argue that marriage does not cause happiness but rather that happier people are more likely to get married. Explanations focused on the institutionalization of cohabitation suggest that married people are happier because they receive great social support than cohabiters because cohabitation is not as socially acceptable as a lifestyle. Overall, most research has attributed the relationship between marriage and happiness or well-being to the protective effects of marriage (Kim and McKenry 2002; Stack and Eshleman 1998), rather than to selection effects.

Other individual-level characteristics associated with general happiness in the literature are gender, parental status, age, employment status, educational attainment, income, religion, and beliefs about gender. Overall, women report greater life happiness than do men, despite the effects of gender discrimination and structural inequality (Aldous and Ganey 1999; Wood, Rhodes, and Whelan 1989). Parents of young children report lower levels of life satisfaction

than childless persons (McLanahan and Adams 1987). Working mothers in particular experience lower levels of well-being associated with parenting because of their greater involvement in child care, compared to fathers (Nomaguchi, Milkie, and Bianchi 2005). Recent work finds that there is an overall increase in happiness with age (Yang 2008), that happiness is greater among the employed (compared to the unemployed and particularly for men), and that educational attainment is positively associated with happiness (see, e.g., Veenhoven 1996). The relationship between education and happiness varies by a country's wealth, however, with a weaker relationship found in relatively richer countries. There is an overall positive association between income and happiness (Blanchflower and Oswald 2004; Clark and Oswald 1996), although recent research has found that this relationship varies by gender and by country (Lee and Ono 2008).

Religious individuals have been found to be happier than the non-religious (Ferriss 2002; Stark and Maier 2008). Religious participation and commitment have also been found to be related to marital union formation, with those who are active in their religious communities more likely to enter a marital, rather than a non-marital union (Eggebeen and Dew 2009; Thornton, Axinn, and Hill 1992). Thornton et al (1992) posit that young adults may choose to avoid nonmarital cohabitation in order to avoid embarrassing their parents or creating conflict with them. More generally, Smith (2003) argues that religion influences the lives and behaviors of young adults (in the U.S.) by providing a moral order, learned competencies (e.g., community and leadership skills, cultural capital), and social and organizational ties. In the context of our paper, the moral order provided by religion is expected to play an important role in shaping the happiness of cohabiters in a society.

As we mentioned earlier, previous research has investigated the relationship between a woman's individual beliefs about gender and her reported *marital* happiness (Frisco and Williams 2003; Wilcox and Nock 2006). Most research has found that traditional gender attitudes are associated with greater marital happiness (Wilcox and Nock 2006), for women in particular (Amato and Booth 1995; Frisco and Williams 2003). Our primary interest in examining individual gender beliefs is in interaction with the societal gender context in predicting *general* happiness. We expect that consistency and fit between an individual's beliefs and societal gender beliefs will be associated with greater happiness.

METHOD

We analyze data from the 2002 International Social Survey Program's (ISSP) "Family and Changing Gender Roles" module. These data allowed us to examine the family characteristics and gender beliefs related to happiness in 27 countries in different geographic regions and stages of economic development (East and West Germany are treated as separate countries in the analysis, however, resulting in 28 Level-2 cases). Cyprus, Israel, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Japan, and Ireland were dropped from the analytic sample because of missing data on key variables of interest (societal religious context, presence of children in the home, cohabitation). In all of our analyses, we exclude respondents over the age of 75 in order to minimize the heterogeneity resulting from old age, attributable to mortality, declines in physical health, and retirement. We chose 75 as the maximum age in order to achieve consistency across countries (Finland did not include respondents over the age of 75 in their sample) and on the basis of a sensitivity analysis in which we tested our models with different age cutoffs (e.g., age 55, 65, and 75). Results of these additional tests confirmed that our analysis is robust to different

specification of age limits and only 4.5% of the total sample is lost through this age restriction. We also removed respondents under the age of 18 from the analysis (an additional 0.6% of the original sample), owing to the fact that the legal age of marriage is 18 and above in all of the countries that we consider here. The final sample size for our analysis is 40,044 respondents.

Although there is an underrepresentation of developing countries in the ISSP, we chose it because the ISSP includes a wide range of countries with regard to global region, GDP, and other macro-level indicators. Countries from East Asia, Southeast Asia, the Americas, all of the regions of Europe, as well as Australia and New Zealand are represented in the sample. Based on the work of Inglehart and colleagues, we might expect that with the variation in stage of economic development in the sample, with emerging and developing economies (e.g., Philippines, Brazil, and Mexico) as well as advanced economies (e.g. U.S., Norway, the U.K., Switzerland) represented, there will also be variation in gender egalitarianism across the countries in this sample (Inglehart and Baker 2000) as well as in the extent of secularization (Norris and Inglehart 2004).

Inglehart and Norris (2003) argue that economic development is associated with a shift towards more tolerant values, including gender egalitarianism and Norris and Inglehart (2004) argue that economic development is associated with secularization overall (with the U.S. being an obvious outlier). Studies of religiosity and secularism in Europe have found considerable variation between countries in religious beliefs and religious service attendance with the Netherlands, Czech Republic, and Russia representing some of the more secular countries in Europe and Poland representing the more religious end of the spectrum (Halman and Draulans 2006). To this cross-national variation in Europe, our sample adds additional global variation in

religiosity, in particular other more religious countries outside of Europe: the Philippines, Mexico, Brazil, and the U.S.

Level-1 Variables

The dependent variable in all equations is the respondent's self-reported response to the survey question on general life happiness. "If you were to consider your life in general, how happy or unhappy would you say you are, on the whole?" Responses range from *1 = completely unhappy* to *7 = completely happy.* Descriptive statistics by country for the Level-1 variables are presented in Table 1; descriptive statistics by country for the Level-2 variables are presented in Table 2. Key independent variables at the individual level are the respondent's gender (*1 = female*), marital status (dummy variables for cohabiting and single [not married or cohabiting], with married as the reference category), religion (*1 = respondent indicated they were not part of a religion*), presence of children (*1 = presence of a child under 18 in the home*), and household income.

We control for household income. Because income varies considerably across countries in both absolute and relative terms, income is generally not comparable between countries. We follow the convention used by Ruiter and van Tubergen (2009) among others, and estimated Z-scores of individual incomes per country. We imputed missing income cases on the basis of other attributes included in the equations.

Measures of the respondent's beliefs about gender in the family are indicated by a factor loaded variable that was constructed from a battery of six questions relating to gender roles in a society from the ISSP. We then performed a factor analysis of the correlation matrix to produce the principal-component factor, which we subsequently refer to as "traditional gender beliefs."

Table 3 lists the individual indicators used to construct the factor variables included in this analysis. Higher values on this variable represent more traditional gender ideology. Standard control variables for the respondent's age, age-squared, employment status (*1 = full-time employment, 0 = part-time employment, unemployed, or student*), and educational attainment (*1 = has completed a college degree or more*) are also included in the analysis.

Level-2 variables

At the country level, although there are a number of variables that could potentially be related to happiness, we focus our investigation on the measures that are of greatest theoretical significance to this analysis: societal measures of religiosity, gender norms, and the economy. "Traditional gender beliefs" is constructed by calculating the mean factor score by country for our individual-level gender belief factor. We conducted a factor analysis of the correlation matrix of the twelve measures of religion in a society, to create the principal-component factor which we refer to as "religious context." The twelve measures are taken from the 2003 U.S. State Department's International Religious Freedom Reports as compiled and archived by the Association of Religion Data Archives. The individual indicators used to construct this factor variable are listed in Table 2. A higher score on this factor variable indicates a stronger religious context with clearer guidelines regarding right and wrong. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in nominal terms is included as a measure of the stage of economic development (Source: World Bank). We were concerned about the correlation between GDP and our key Level-2 variables but VIF tests to check for multicollinearity indicated that multicollinearity was not a significant factor in our model estimation. We also conducted sensitivity analyses with other indicators of economic development which are highly correlated with GDP but not with our

other Level-2 variables (i.e. a dummy variable indicating whether a country was part of Eastern Europe or not) and reached the same substantive conclusions in our analysis. We chose to present the results including the more standard measure of economic development, GDP.

We tested other potential moderators of the relationship between marital status and happiness; these results are available from the authors upon request. For example, we estimated a model which includes the Gini index of inequality as a comparison, but even after accounting for cross-national variance in Gini, a statistically significant happiness gap between married and cohabiting individuals persisted in the countries we studied. In addition, we examined measures of the institutionalization of cohabitation in a society as a test of Soons and Kalmijn's (2009) finding that societal attitudes toward cohabitation are an important moderator of the relationship between marital status and happiness. Looking at both the proportion of respondents in a society who are cohabiting at the time of the survey as well as societal beliefs about cohabitation, we did not find that societal acceptance of cohabitation moderated the relationship between marital status and happiness. These variables are too highly correlated with religious context and societal gender beliefs to include them together in the same model. We therefore present in the paper the models that gave us the most theoretical and statistical leverage in modeling the interaction between societal context and the gap in happiness between married and cohabiting individuals.

Multilevel Models

Multilevel models (estimated using Hierarchical Linear Modeling [HLM]) are used to address the non-independence of observations from the same country (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002). When such clustering is ignored, the standard errors of the parameters tend to be

underestimated (Guo and Zhao 2000). We estimate 2-level ordered logistic regression models, predicting general happiness. The Level-1 ordinal logistic regression model is as follows:

$$\log\left(\frac{\phi_{mij}}{1-\phi_{mij}}\right) = \beta_{0j} + \sum_{q=1}^{Q}\beta_{qj}X_{q1j} + \sum_{m=2}^{M}\delta_m \qquad (1)$$

where ϕ_{mij} is the probability that respondent i in country j is at or above response option m in their response to the question of how happy they are with their life in general (Raudenbush, Bryk, Cheong, Congdon, and du Toit 2004). β_{0j} is the intercept for country j and β_{qj} is the coefficient for independent variable q in country j. δ_m is a threshold that separates categories m – 1 and m (Raudenbush et al. 2004).

The Level-2 pooled-gender equations reported in Table 4 model the intercept (equation 2a) and the slopes of female (equation 2b), cohabiting (equation 2c), and being single (equation 2d) as randomly varying across countries. The error terms of all other independent variables are modeled as fixed across countries. For example, in the case of Model 2 in Table 4, we have the following set of Level-2 equations with random error terms:

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\text{GDP per capita})_j + \gamma_{02}(\text{Societal Gender Beliefs})_j + u_{0j} \qquad (2a)$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}(\text{Societal Gender Beliefs})_j + u_{1j} \qquad (2b)$$

$$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + \gamma_{21}(\text{Societal Gender Beliefs})_j + u_{2j} \qquad (2c)$$

$$\beta_{3j} = \gamma_{30} + \gamma_{31}(\text{Societal Gender Beliefs})_j + u_{3j} \qquad (2d)$$

The coefficient for societal gender beliefs in equation 2b (γ_{11}) indicates the interaction of gender beliefs in a country and gender (female). Similarly in equations 2c and 2d, the coefficient for

societal gender beliefs indicates the interaction of living in a country with traditional expectations regarding gender roles in the family and being a cohabiter (γ_{21}) and being single (γ_{31}), respectively. After estimating happiness in a single model for both men and women, separate models by gender are then estimated to investigate the multiple hypothesized gender interactions discussed earlier (for example, interactions between gender and parenthood status, employment, income, as well as marital status and the Level-2 variables).

FINDINGS

We first present the results from three models of happiness estimated for both women and men using multilevel models (Table 4). Model 1 is a baseline model without cross-level interactions. Model 2 examines the role of the institutional context of gender in the family and Model 3 the societal religious context in determining happiness. In Models 2 and 3, we include GDP per capita as our Level-2 control variable. The intercept and coefficients for gender, cohabiting, and being single are all modeled as randomly varying. The results consistently show that happiness is statistically significantly higher in higher GDP countries.

Beliefs about gender in the family are statistically significant predictors of happiness at both the individual (Models 1-3) and societal levels (Model 2). At the individual-level, we find that traditional gender beliefs are associated with lower levels of happiness. This relationship is not significantly moderated by the mean gender beliefs in the country (Model 2). Traditional gender beliefs in a society are positively associated with happiness and this effect is moderated by gender. Model 2 shows that the interaction effect between female (Level-1) and societal gender beliefs (Level-2) is significant and negative. Living in a country with traditional gender beliefs is more strongly associated with happiness for men than for women. This finding may

not be surprising in light of the potential benefits for men who live in societies that espouse traditional gender beliefs. In such countries, people are more likely to embrace the ideology of the traditional division of labor by gender, where women are responsible for household work, and men are responsible for market work. Men presumably benefit from such arrangements, at the expense of women.

As for the relationship between union status and happiness, societal beliefs about gender are a statistically significant (at the 10% level) moderator of the happiness of single, but not cohabiting, individuals. Surprisingly, the negative effect of being single on happiness (relative to married individuals) is weakened in societies with more traditional beliefs about gender. This surprising finding will be further explored in the separate gender models.

Religious context also plays an important role in influencing the relative happiness of married and cohabiting individuals (Model 3). We found that the negative association between cohabiting (versus being married) and happiness is even stronger in countries with rigid religious contexts (Model 3). This interaction term is only statistically significant at the 10% level, however, and we will further explore the relationship between marital status and religious context when we estimate separate models for men and women. It is clear from this model that we must consider religious context if we are to understand the relative happiness of cohabiters and married individuals cross-nationally. When we calculate the simple slopes of cohabitation at the minimum and maximum levels of the religious context variable (Preacher, Curran, and Bauer 2006), the simple slope of cohabiting (reference group is married individuals) in the most lenient religious contexts is 0.03 (and not statistically significant) while in the most rigid religious context it is -0.72 (and statistically significant). The happiness of cohabiters varies significantly across countries, according to the rigidity of the religious context.

The happiness gap between men and women

In our final analysis, we examine how the predictors of happiness vary by gender in order to explore the possibility that the institutional factors may affect men and women differently. Based on our hypothesis that many of the predictors of happiness would vary by gender (e.g. marital status, presence of children, beliefs about gender, employment), we first estimated a pooled-gender model with all covariates interacted with the respondent's gender. The gender interaction effects were found to be statistically significant in several key areas, warranting separate analysis by gender. Since the pooled model may mask the pure effects of gender, e.g. if the effects move in opposite directions, we proceed by estimating models separately for men and women. These models focus on our key indicators of social institutional context (societal beliefs about gender in the family and religious context). The results (reported in Table 5) highlight a number of gender asymmetries, and we discuss these below.

Although a marriage gap in happiness persists in these separate-gender models, a fuller understanding of the role of religious context and societal gender beliefs in determining the happiness of cohabiters emerges. In Table 5 (Model 1 and 3), it becomes clear that living in a society characterized by traditional beliefs about gender has different consequences for the happiness of cohabiting men and women. For women (Model 1), there is a statistically significant negative relationship between cohabiting and traditional gender beliefs in a society. Although women are, overall, happier in more gender-traditional societies, the gap in reported happiness between married and cohabiting women is much greater in gender-traditional societies than in more egalitarian societies. Although married and cohabiting women have about the same odds of happiness in the most gender egalitarian societies, the odds of reporting a higher level of

happiness are 1.9 times greater for married than cohabiting women in the most gender-traditional societies. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 1. (The statistical appendix includes a discussion of the methods used to create Figures 1 and 2). For those living in countries with a societal gender belief score of less than -0.39 (i.e., East Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway), there is not a statistically significant difference in the reported happiness of married and cohabiting women. However, a statistically significant happiness gap by marital status is found for women in countries with very traditional gender beliefs, such as Brazil.

For men, on the other hand, there is again a large, statistically significant and positive direct effect of living in a traditional gender climate but *no* statistically significant interaction between cohabiting and societal gender norms. In other words, regardless of the gender climate, married men are happier than cohabiting men. This gender asymmetry suggests that women who cohabit are more constrained by social norms and conventions than are their male counterparts, and that these social constraints are associated with their happiness. Some light is also shed on the surprising finding that the negative association between being single and happiness is moderated by societal gender beliefs. Although no interaction between being single and societal beliefs was found for women, the negative association between being single and happiness is decreased for those men living in gender-traditional societies. It seems that the benefits to men of living in a society marked by traditional gender beliefs may offset some of the negative effect of being single (compared to being married) on happiness.

Similarly, we also find that religious context is a significant moderator of the happiness of cohabiting and single women, but *not* men (Table 5; Models 2 and 4). Interaction terms for marital status and religious context do not reach statistical significance in the models for men. For women, however, there is a statistically significant, negative interaction between cohabiting

and living in a rigid religious context. Figure 2 illustrates the relationship between marital status and happiness for women that is found when happiness is modeled in relation to religious context (Table 5; Model 2). In countries with a rigid religious context (like the Philippines), a large and statistically significant gap between the happiness of married and cohabiting women exists, all else equal. The predicted odds of reporting a higher level of happiness are more than two times greater for married than cohabiting women in the most rigid religious context. However, in more lenient religious contexts (like the Czech Republic), no statistically significant gap in the happiness of married and cohabiting women is found. As shown in this figure, religious context affects the gap between married and cohabiting women. This suggests that, looking cross-nationally, differences in the reported happiness of cohabiting and married women are affected by the religious context in which the women are living.

Some gender differences in the relationship between individual-level demographic characteristics and happiness were also observed in these models. Happiness for women is not affected by full-time employment. Men, however, report higher happiness with full-time employment. This effect is moderated by societal gender beliefs with men in traditional societies reaping even greater returns to full-time employment (in terms of happiness). The effect of having children on happiness is found to be negative for women, but there is no relationship between happiness for men and the presence of children. (In a sensitivity analysis not shown here, this finding persists across different birth cohort groups.) The negative effect of children on happiness for women is even greater in societies with traditional gender beliefs. (This finding is of borderline statistical significance). Such gender differences may be attributed to the gendered expectations in many countries that men be employed full-time and that women are largely responsible for the care of home and children.

DISCUSSION

This research has shed light on the social-institutional context of happiness; more specifically, we have investigated how religious context and societal beliefs about gender are related to the relative happiness of married and cohabiting individuals cross-nationally. Consistent with previous research, individual characteristics such as income (Blanchflower and Oswald 2004), the presence of children (McLanahan and Adams 1987), religious involvement (Stark and Maier 2008), and marital status (Waite and Gallagher 2000) were found to be important correlates of happiness, but this is not the whole story. The statistically significant relationships found between country-level measures of gender beliefs and religious context with the happiness of cohabiting and single individuals suggest that, in order to understand cross-national variation in happiness, we must consider the specific social and institutional context in which respondents live.

The inclusion of measures of beliefs about gender in a country and the religious context of a country has helped to moderate differences by gender and by marital status in reported happiness. In the case of beliefs about gender, we found some contrasting effects at the individual and country levels. According to our model of happiness for women, there is some evidence that the relationship between personal gender beliefs and happiness is moderated for women by societal gender beliefs. Although women are less happy when they personally hold more traditional gender beliefs, this negative effect of traditional beliefs disappears for women living in more traditional gender climates. (This relationship is only of borderline statistical significance, however). For men, there is not a statistically significant interaction between personal gender beliefs and societal gender climate.

We also found other important differences between men and women with respect to the interaction of marital status and societal gender beliefs. For women, the direct effect of living in a society with traditional gender beliefs is large and positive but it is counterbalanced by the negative interaction between being a cohabiter and living in a country with traditional beliefs about gender. While we see no statistically significant gap in the happiness of married and cohabiting women in the most gender-egalitarian countries, a gap exists in those countries with more traditional beliefs about gender. For men, however, the direct effect of living in a country with traditional beliefs about gender is large (and positive) and there is no statistically significant interaction between cohabiting and societal gender beliefs. If we are trying to explain the relative happiness of cohabiting and married individuals, our results suggest that the gap in the reported happiness of married and cohabiting individuals varies with the gender climate for women but not for men.

As for religious context, we again found that it is an important moderator of the relationship between marital status and happiness for women in particular. (In the models estimated separately by gender, we found no statistically significant interaction between religious context and marital status for men.) We showed graphically that, in fact, in the countries with the most lenient religious contexts, there is no gap in the reported happiness of married and cohabiting women. We found that this relationship between religious context and happiness for cohabiters was preferred to measures of societal attitudes toward cohabitation in moderating the married-cohabiting gap in happiness.

Although we were not able to find a moderator of the married-cohabiting happiness gap for men, we feel that our findings for women are an important contribution to the literature addressing the relationship between happiness and marital status (Kim and McKenry 2002; Lee,

Seccombe, and Shehan 1991; Soons and Kalmijn 2009; Stack and Eshleman 1998). Consistent with the literature that women are more embedded in kin networks (DiLeonardo 1987) and that women's happiness is more closely associated with family and interpersonal ties than is men's (Aldous 1999), the moral judgments of others impact the happiness of women more than men when involved in a relationship which violates those moral guidelines. Being part of the religious or moral "out group" with respect to marital status is more detrimental to women's happiness than to men's. By taking into account specific measures of the social-institutional context that vary cross-nationally, we were able to account for much of the reported gap in the happiness of married and cohabiting individuals. This lends support to the argument in the literature that it is the relatively weaker social support received by cohabiters (Nock 1995) that explains much of the happiness gap by marital status.

Other family and work roles mattered differently for men and women. Women were less happy when they had small children in the home (particularly when they were living in societies with traditional beliefs about gender) but men's happiness was unaffected by children. For men, full-time employment was associated with greater happiness (particularly when they were living in societies with traditional beliefs about gender) but women's happiness was not related to employment status. This contributes to the literature addressing the relationship between gender and happiness (e.g., Aldous and Ganey 1999) as well as the literature examining happiness in a cross-national framework (e.g., Stack and Eshleman 1998).

Methodologically, we have shown that multilevel modeling is the appropriate empirical strategy to examine happiness across countries. We demonstrated in our empirical analysis that it is the interaction between the country-level factors and individual-level attributes that advances our understanding of happiness across different cultures. Such a conclusion would have been

overlooked had we employed other methods that do not account for the hierarchical nature of individuals that are embedded in the larger socioeconomic context. This research is part of a larger project investigating happiness internationally using HLM. In other research we focus on public spending and how taxation policy shapes the happiness of married, cohabiting and single people differently (Ono and Lee 2010). Both studies contribute to our understanding of how social context shapes happiness through an analysis of how happiness varies with state policies and social-institutional context cross-nationally.

By accounting for gender norms and religious context, we were able to show country-level variation in the happiness gap between married and cohabiting individuals. This paper speaks to both sociology of the family and economics of happiness literatures in examining the social embeddedness of happiness. In order to understand what makes married and cohabiting people happy, we argue that it is necessary to look beyond individual characteristics alone to the interplay of individual characteristics and the social context as defined by the gender climate and religious context.

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APPENDIX

This section describes the procedure that we employed to plot graphs and estimate regions of significance. We illustrate this using the following example which estimates the difference in happiness between married and cohabiting women as a function of societal gender beliefs.

We begin with the general form of the regression model:

$$Y = \alpha + \beta_1 x + \beta_2 w + \beta_3 w{\cdot}x + \mathbf{Xb} \quad \text{(A.1)}$$

where Y is the expected probability of belonging to a higher category of happiness, and w is the Level-2 variable that measures the society's gender beliefs. w ranges from a minimum of –.71 to a maximum of .74. **Xb** is the vector of other covariates in the equation. x is the dummy variable for marital status which is coded 0 if married and 1 if cohabiting, such that equation (A.1) can be rewritten:

$$Y_{\text{Married}} = \alpha + \beta_2 w + \mathbf{Xb} \quad \text{(A.2)}$$
$$Y_{\text{Cohabit}} = \alpha + \beta_1 + (\beta_2 + \beta_3) w + \mathbf{Xb} \quad \text{(A.3)}$$

Note that $Y_{\text{Married}} = Y_{\text{Cohabit}}$ when $\beta_1 + \beta_3 w = 0$, or when $w = -\beta_1/\beta_3 = -.75$ In other words, $Y_{\text{Married}} > Y_{\text{Cohabit}}$ as long as $w > -.75$ Since this is smaller (or more negative) than the minimum value of w (= –.71), the predicted happiness of married persons is *always* greater than that of cohabiting persons, ceteris paribus, *and if we do not account for the lower and upper bounds of statistical significance*.

We next estimate the region of significance following the algorithm described in Bauer and Curran (2005). Our estimations indicate that the difference in predicted happiness between married and cohabiting persons is significant when the gender belief scale is greater (or more positive) than –.39 (output available upon request). As shown in Figure 1, some countries (such as East Germany) that espouse liberal gender beliefs lie within the region of *in*-significance, meaning that there is no statistical difference in predicted happiness between the married and cohabiting persons among these countries.

In our final step, we substitute the minimum and maximum values of gender beliefs into equations (A.2) and (A.3), and exponentiate to obtain the odds ratios. These are shown in Figure 1. In the case of cohabiting women, for example, the predicted odds of happiness increase as the societal gender beliefs increase (since the slope of the curve is positive i.e. $\beta_2 + \beta_3 > 0$, in equation [A.3]). The corresponding predicted odds for cohabiters are .06 in the most liberal gender climate versus .14 in the most conservative gender climate. In other words, the predicted odds of being in a higher category of happiness improve by a ratio of 2.5 (= .14/.06) by moving from the most liberal to the most conservative gender climate. However, the predicted odds of happiness for married individuals improve by a ratio of 4.5 by moving from the most liberal to the most conservative gender climate.

Table 1. Level-2 Descriptive Statistics. ISSP 2002 (*N* = 28)

	Traditional gender beliefs	GDP per capita	Religious climate
Australia	-0.11	42,279	0.10
Austria	0.06	46,019	0.18
Belgium	-0.02	43,430	-0.50
Brazil	0.74	8,114	1.51
Chile	0.59	9,645	1.28
Czech	-0.01	18,139	-1.71
Denmark	-0.70	55,992	-0.92
Finland	-0.24	44,491	0.14
France	-0.26	41,051	-0.88
Germany East	-0.73	40,873	-1.15
Germany West	-0.19	40,873	-1.15
Hungary	0.37	12,868	-0.56
Latvia	0.16	11,616	-0.17
Mexico	0.49	8,000	1.71
Netherlands	-0.15	47,917	-0.83
New Zealand	-0.11	29,000	0.01
Norway	-0.47	79,089	-0.58
Philippines	0.16	1,745	2.00
Poland	0.05	11,273	1.45
Portugal	0.31	21,414	0.94
Russia	0.26	8,676	-0.36
Slovak	0.18	16,176	0.48
Spain	-0.06	31,774	-0.40
Sweden	-0.53	43,654	0.11
Swiss	0.01	63,629	-1.18
Taiwan	-0.06	16,400	-0.08
U.K.	-0.25	35,165	0.31
USA	-0.26	46,436	1.50

Table 2. Level-1 Descriptive Statistics (*N* = 40,044)

	Happiness	Tradition. gender beliefs	Female	Age	Full-time employ-ment	Child under 18	Cohabit	Married	Single	College educated	No religion	Household Income z-scores
Australia	5.378	-0.112	0.536	47.671	0.380	0.516	0.073	0.685	0.242	0.248	0.284	0.014
	(0.924)	(0.826)	(0.499)	(14.161)	(0.486)	(0.500)	(0.260)	(0.465)	(0.428)	(0.432)	(0.451)	(1.013)
Austria	5.553	0.060	0.611	44.012	0.562	0.366	0.100	0.529	0.370	0.089	0.170	0.065
	(0.930)	(0.868)	(0.488)	(14.744)	(0.496)	(0.482)	(0.300)	(0.499)	(0.483)	(0.285)	(0.376)	(1.003)
Belgium	5.198	-0.022	0.514	45.806	0.462	0.330	0.082	0.652	0.265	0.074	0.199	0.038
	(0.898)	(0.789)	(0.500)	(15.510)	(0.499)	(0.470)	(0.274)	(0.476)	(0.441)	(0.262)	(0.400)	(1.017)
Brazil	5.424	0.737	0.508	38.196	0.402	0.644	0.162	0.439	0.411	0.054	0.066	-0.005
	(0.890)	(0.803)	(0.500)	(14.972)	(0.490)	(0.479)	(0.368)	(0.496)	(0.492)	(0.226)	(0.248)	(0.948)
Chile	5.540	0.589	0.559	42.047	0.417	0.644	0.095	0.524	0.381	0.074	0.103	0.016
	(1.019)	(0.590)	(0.497)	(15.778)	(0.493)	(0.479)	(0.294)	(0.500)	(0.486)	(0.261)	(0.303)	(1.014)
Czech	5.029	-0.006	0.637	42.351	0.616	0.382	0.082	0.583	0.333	0.083	0.635	0.016
	(0.991)	(0.819)	(0.481)	(14.628)	(0.487)	(0.486)	(0.274)	(0.493)	(0.471)	(0.275)	(0.482)	(0.996)
Denmark	5.341	-0.696	0.545	45.213	0.579	0.376	0.169	0.559	0.269	0.127	0.088	0.056
	(0.955)	(0.938)	(0.498)	(15.213)	(0.494)	(0.485)	(0.375)	(0.497)	(0.443)	(0.333)	(0.283)	(1.001)
Finland	5.242	-0.244	0.552	45.604	0.544	0.445	0.190	0.520	0.290	0.153	0.112	0.006
	(0.957)	(0.813)	(0.497)	(15.087)	(0.498)	(0.497)	(0.393)	(0.500)	(0.454)	(0.361)	(0.315)	(1.023)
France	5.251	-0.256	0.670	43.233	0.522	0.458	0.180	0.566	0.263	0.282	0.347	0.010
	(0.947)	(0.956)	(0.470)	(14.472)	(0.500)	(0.498)	(0.384)	(0.496)	(0.440)	(0.450)	(0.476)	(1.012)
Germany West	5.158	-0.194	0.512	44.806	0.461	0.321	0.168	0.600	0.233	0.121	0.150	0.023
	(0.848)	(0.866)	(0.500)	(15.810)	(0.499)	(0.467)	(0.374)	(0.490)	(0.423)	(0.326)	(0.358)	(1.008)
Germany East	5.031	-0.734	0.473	46.324	0.475	0.300	0.151	0.624	0.225	0.144	0.649	0.039
	(0.649)	(0.868)	(0.500)	(15.129)	(0.500)	(0.459)	(0.358)	(0.485)	(0.418)	(0.351)	(0.478)	(1.016)
Hungary	5.038	0.368	0.584	47.731	0.412	0.320	0.075	0.566	0.359	0.049	0.051	0.037
	(1.112)	(0.745)	(0.493)	(16.005)	(0.492)	(0.467)	(0.263)	(0.496)	(0.480)	(0.216)	(0.221)	(1.014)
Latvia	4.851	0.159	0.576	42.683	0.561	0.467	0.068	0.531	0.401	0.171	0.331	7.40E-09
	(0.966)	(0.665)	(0.494)	(16.177)	(0.497)	(0.499)	(0.252)	(0.499)	(0.490)	(0.377)	(0.471)	(1.000)
Mexico	5.583	0.494	0.600	39.380	0.378	0.615	0.031	0.610	0.359	0.154	0.020	0.011
	(1.061)	(0.686)	(0.490)	(15.118)	(0.485)	(0.487)	(0.172)	(0.488)	(0.480)	(0.361)	(0.140)	(0.997)
Netherlands	5.285	-0.153	0.517	44.466	0.371	0.339	0.117	0.576	0.309	0.347	0.654	0.002
	(0.815)	(0.755)	(0.500)	(14.525)	(0.483)	(0.474)	(0.322)	(0.494)	(0.462)	(0.476)	(0.476)	(0.987)

Table 2. Level-1 Descriptive Statistics (N = 40,044) continued

	Happiness	Tradition. gender beliefs	Female	Age	Full-time employ-ment	Child under 18	Cohabit	Married	Single	College educated	No religion	Household Income z-scores
New Zealand	5.479	-0.109	0.577	47.690	0.490	0.405	0.109	0.653	0.238	0.181	0.304	0.059
	(0.963)	(0.789)	(0.494)	(14.239)	(0.500)	(0.491)	(0.312)	(0.476)	(0.426)	(0.386)	(0.460)	(0.997)
Norway	5.297	-0.475	0.532	44.250	0.578	0.434	0.196	0.571	0.233	0.269	0.091	0.027
	(0.920)	(0.801)	(0.499)	(14.584)	(0.494)	(0.496)	(0.397)	(0.495)	(0.423)	(0.443)	(0.288)	(0.999)
Philippines	5.407	0.160	0.500	38.620	0.349	0.779	0.006	0.729	0.265	0.011	0.003	0.001
	(1.255)	(0.623)	(0.500)	(13.882)	(0.477)	(0.415)	(0.077)	(0.445)	(0.442)	(0.104)	(0.058)	(1.004)
Poland	4.974	0.052	0.570	45.768	0.408	0.482	0.022	0.604	0.374	0.104	0.078	0.026
	(1.025)	(0.777)	(0.495)	(15.219)	(0.492)	(0.500)	(0.147)	(0.489)	(0.484)	(0.306)	(0.268)	(1.019)
Portugal	5.188	0.314	0.585	45.109	0.510	0.378	0.026	0.600	0.375	0.121	0.103	0.067
	(1.058)	(0.723)	(0.493)	(16.645)	(0.500)	(0.485)	(0.159)	(0.490)	(0.484)	(0.326)	(0.304)	(1.001)
Russia	4.866	0.265	0.603	45.324	0.508	0.540	0.059	0.534	0.407	0.200	0.244	0.026
	(1.144)	(0.705)	(0.489)	(16.308)	(0.500)	(0.499)	(0.236)	(0.499)	(0.491)	(0.400)	(0.430)	(1.016)
Slovak	4.891	0.175	0.521	42.564	0.537	0.406	0.028	0.601	0.371	0.086	0.121	0.007
	(1.052)	(0.841)	(0.500)	(15.798)	(0.499)	(0.491)	(0.164)	(0.490)	(0.483)	(0.280)	(0.326)	(0.998)
Spain	5.262	-0.061	0.517	43.245	0.447	0.350	0.060	0.567	0.372	0.084	0.176	0.060
	(0.888)	(0.743)	(0.500)	(16.178)	(0.497)	(0.477)	(0.238)	(0.496)	(0.484)	(0.278)	(0.381)	(1.006)
Sweden	5.239	-0.530	0.544	45.848	0.538	0.374	0.250	0.494	0.256	0.239	0.183	0.016
	(0.966)	(0.867)	(0.498)	(15.426)	(0.499)	(0.484)	(0.433)	(0.500)	(0.437)	(0.427)	(0.387)	(1.010)
Swiss	5.523	0.014	0.503	47.073	0.486	0.314	0.105	0.540	0.355	0.155	0.177	0.084
	(0.772)	(0.769)	(0.500)	(13.877)	(0.500)	(0.464)	(0.306)	(0.499)	(0.479)	(0.362)	(0.382)	(1.016)
Taiwan	5.187	-0.064	0.512	41.940	0.601	0.540	0.004	0.642	0.355	0.160	0.252	0.020
	(1.104)	(0.494)	(0.500)	(15.123)	(0.490)	(0.498)	(0.061)	(0.480)	(0.479)	(0.366)	(0.434)	(1.005)
U.K.	5.421	-0.249	0.562	45.423	0.481	0.330	0.080	0.497	0.423	0.167	0.444	0.091
	(1.003)	(0.774)	(0.496)	(15.213)	(0.500)	(0.470)	(0.271)	(0.500)	(0.494)	(0.373)	(0.497)	(1.000)
USA	5.518	-0.257	0.573	42.906	0.544	0.328	0.072	0.488	0.440	0.240	0.148	0.034
	(0.962)	(0.977)	(0.495)	(14.829)	(0.498)	(0.470)	(0.258)	(0.500)	(0.497)	(0.427)	(0.356)	(1.012)

Table 3. Individual Indicators used in Factor Variable Construction.

Factor Variable	Individual Indicators
Beliefs about Gender	A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work.
	A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works.
	All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job.
	A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children.
	Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.
	Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person.
Religious Context	Percent belonging to a religious denomination.
	Percent identifying as a religious person.
	Percent attending religious services at least once a month.
	Percent believing in God.
	Percent believing in heaven.
	Percent believing in hell.
	Percent believing in life after death.
	Percent believing that there are clear guidelines on good and evil.
	Percent finding comfort and strength from religion.
	Percent considering religion important.
	Percent considering that God is not at all important in their life.
	Percent confident in religious organizations.

Table 4. Ordered logit regression models predicting general happiness

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Coef		S.E.	Coef		S.E.	Coef		S.E.
Level-2 Variables									
Intercept	-2.105	***	(0.109)	-2.116	***	(0.082)	-2.134	***	(0.076)
GDP per capita				1.8E-05	**	(5.0E-06)	1.4E-05	**	(4.0E-06)
Country-level traditional gender beliefs (TGB)				1.095	**	(0.319)			
Religious Context							0.355	***	(0.084)
Level-1 Variables and Cross-Level Interactions									
Female	-0.067	†	(0.037)	-0.059		(0.035)	-0.054		(0.038)
Female X Country-level TGB				-0.263	*	(0.103)			
Female X Religious Context							-0.060		(0.038)
Traditional gender beliefs (TGB)	-0.067	***	(0.018)	-0.063	***	(0.014)	-0.063	***	(0.014)
TGB X Country-level TGB				0.054		(0.039)			
Cohabiting	-0.281	***	(0.037)	-0.318	***	(0.049)	-0.317	***	(0.048)
Cohabit X Country-level TGB				-0.222		(0.131)			
Cohabit X Religious Context							-0.104	†	(0.052)
Single	-0.920	***	(0.026)	-0.942	***	(0.041)	-0.948	***	(0.041)
Single X Country-level TGB				0.213	†	(0.118)			
Single X Religious Context							0.084	*	(0.039)
Child under 18 in the home	-0.019		(0.024)	-0.019		(0.024)	-0.020		(0.024)
No religion	-0.169	***	(0.028)	-0.167	***	(0.028)	-0.165	***	(0.028)
No religion X Religious Context							-0.007		(0.035)
Household Income z-scores	0.149	***	(0.011)	0.142	***	(0.011)	0.143	***	(0.011)
Age	-0.111	***	(0.009)	-0.109	***	(0.005)	-0.109	***	(0.005)
Age square	0.001	***	(5.0E-05)	0.001	***	(0.000)	0.001	***	(5.0E-05)
Full-time employment	0.109	***	(0.024)	0.105	***	(0.024)	0.106	***	(0.024)
College education	0.100	**	(0.031)	0.099	**	(0.031)	0.099	**	(0.031)
Random effects									
Intercept	0.228	***		0.159	***		0.133	***	
Female				0.021	***		0.026	***	
Cohabit				0.022	*		0.019	*	
Single				0.027	***		0.026	***	

*** $p<.001$, ** $p<.01$, * $p<.05$, † $p<.10$

Table 5. Ordered logit regression models predicting general happiness, separately by gender.

	Women						Men					
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Coef		S.E.	Coef		S.E.	Coef		S.E.	Coef		S.E.
Level-2 Variables												
Intercept	-2.136	***	(0.085)	-2.148	***	(0.077)	-2.149	***	(0.092)	-2.173	***	(0.085)
GDP per capita	2.1E-05	**	(5.0E-06)	1.7E-05	**	(4.0E-06)	1.4E-05	*	(6.0E-06)	1.2E-05	*	(4.0E-06)
Country-level traditional gender beliefs (TGB)	1.044	**	(0.004)				0.674	†	(0.355)			
Religious Context				0.326	**	(0.326)				0.328	**	(0.089)
Level-1 Variables and Cross-Level Interactions												
Traditional gender beliefs (TGB)	-0.068	***	(0.018)	-0.066	***	(0.018)	-0.057	**	(0.021)	-0.053	*	(0.021)
TGB X Country-level TGB	0.099	†	(0.054)				0.028		(0.059)			
Cohabiting	-0.315	***	(0.056)	-0.313	***	(0.052)	-0.314	***	(0.062)	-0.308	***	(0.062)
Cohabit X Country-level TGB	-0.421	**	(0.148)				0.010		(0.156)			
Cohabit X Religious Context				-0.203	**	(0.057)				0.041		(0.068)
Single	-0.787	***	(0.051)	-0.793	***	(0.048)	-1.154	***	(0.054)	-1.160	***	(0.056)
Single X Country-level TGB	0.129		(0.148)				0.335	*	(0.146)			
Single X Religious Context				0.094	†	(0.047)				0.073		(0.050)
Child under 18 in the home	-0.072	*	(0.032)	-0.074	*	(0.032)	-0.012		(0.037)	-0.015		(0.037)
Child in home X Country-level TGB	-0.163	†	(0.089)				0.056		(0.100)			
No religion	-0.127	**	(0.039)	-0.132	**	(0.040)	-0.201	***	(0.040)	-0.196	***	(0.040)
No religion X Religious Context				-0.033		(0.048)				0.025		(0.050)
Household Income z-scores	0.150	***	(0.016)	0.149	***	(0.015)	0.145	***	(0.017)	0.143	***	(0.017)
Age	-0.095	***	(0.006)	-0.095	***	(0.006)	-0.128	***	(0.007)	-0.130	***	(0.007)
Age square	0.001	***	(6.7E-05)	0.001	***	(6.7E-05)	0.001	***	(7.8E-05)	0.001	***	(7.8E-05)
Full-time employment	-0.002		(0.032)	-0.002		(0.032)	0.198	***	(0.039)	0.215	***	(0.039)
FT employment X Country-level TGB	0.071		(0.092)				0.294	**	(0.099)			
College education	0.092	*	(0.043)	0.093	*	(0.043)	0.093	*	(0.046)	0.094	*	(0.046)
Random effects												
Intercept	0.166	***		0.130	***		0.173	***		0.141	***	
Cohabit	0.012			0.003			0.011			0.010		
Single	0.038	***		0.031	**		0.027	*		0.031	**	

*** $p<.001$, ** $p<.01$, * $p<.05$, † $p<.10$

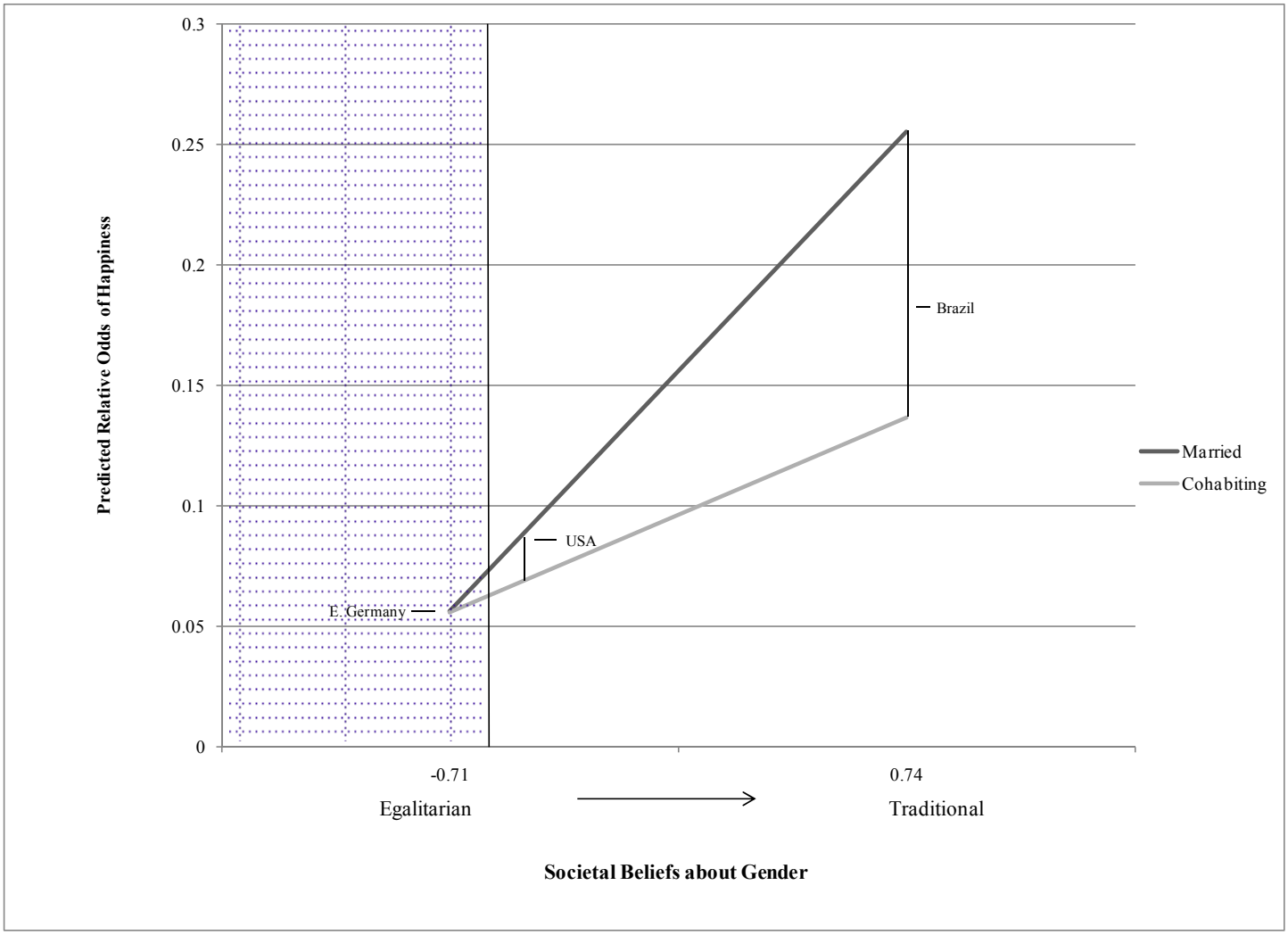

Figure 1. Predicted Happiness for married and cohabiting women as a function of gender context. Cross-hatch area of the graph indicates a non-significant happiness gap.

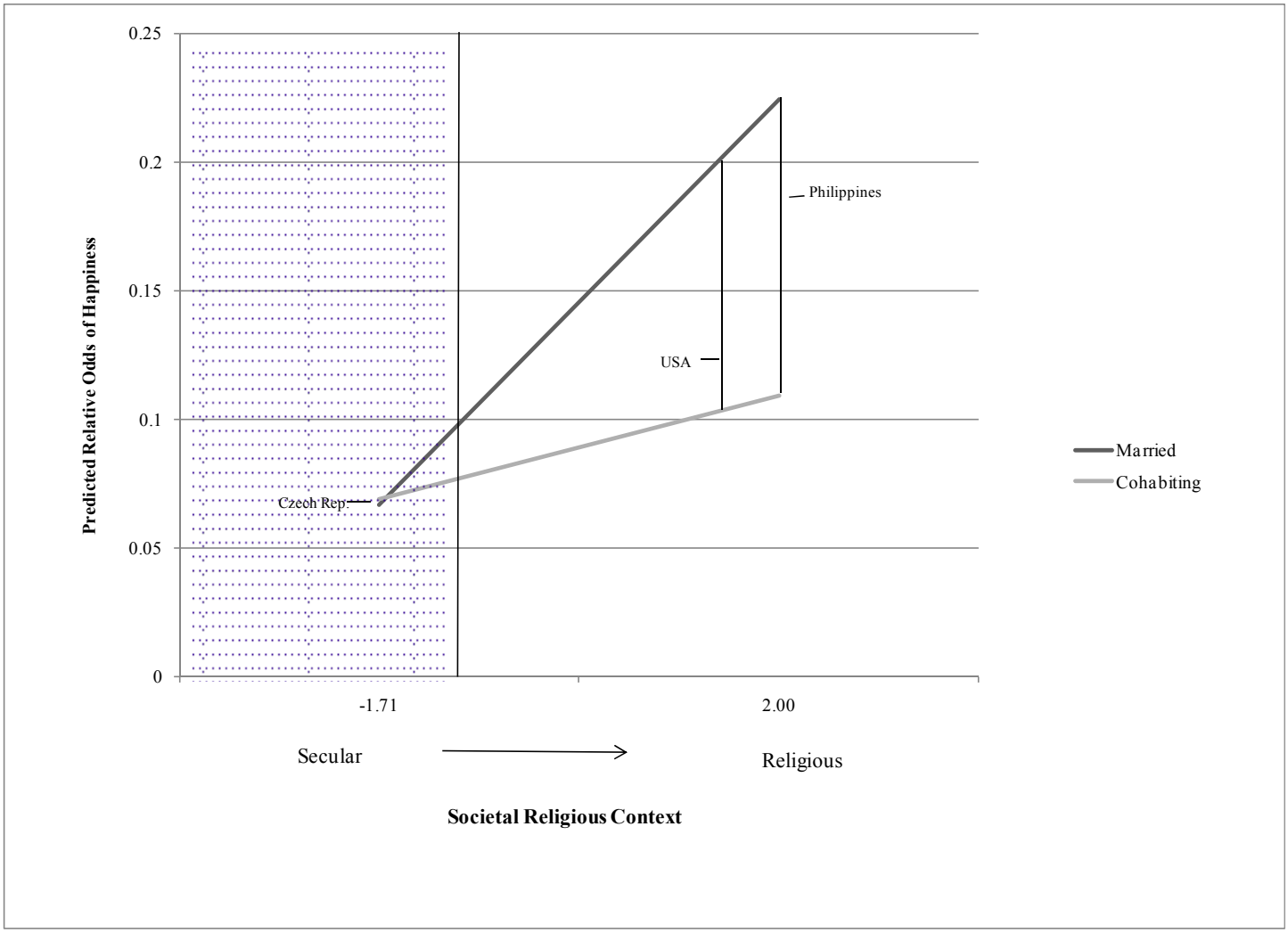

Figure 2. Predicted Happiness for married and cohabiting women as a function of religious context. Cross-hatch area of the graph indicates a non-significant happiness gap.