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## Well-being among young Australians: effects of work and home life for four youth in transition cohorts.

Nicole Fleming  
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youth*

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Research Report Number 6

**WELL-BEING AMONG YOUNG AUSTRALIANS:  
EFFECTS OF WORK AND HOME LIFE FOR  
FOUR YOUTH IN TRANSITION COHORTS**

Nicole Fleming

Gary N. Marks

September 1998

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report examines the relationship of well-being (happiness) with a variety of demographic and economic factors among Australian young people. On the basis of past research, important influences include gender, income, marital status and employment status. We analysed data from the *Youth in Transition* study, a longitudinal study of four nationally representative cohorts of young people. The cohorts were born in 1961, 1965, 1970 and 1975. We investigated the impact on well-being of gender, income, occupational status, employment status, marital status, the presence and number of children and residence. In addition, we examined changes over time, both ageing and cohort effects.

This report shows that for young Australians, employment, relationships and sufficient income are important for maintaining subjective well-being and happiness, with the influences of some of these factors being sensitive to age and cohort effects.

The key findings are as follows:

- women reported being happier than men, especially with interpersonal relationships;
- increasing income (and socioeconomic status) was associated with increasing levels of happiness;
- the unemployed were less happy than the employed by a large amount and there are indications that the negative influence of unemployment on well-being is strengthening;
- single people were less satisfied with their lives (in particular, home life) than people in *de facto* relationships or those who were married, with married people experiencing the most satisfaction;
- in general, people with children did not experience higher or lower levels of well-being than those without children at home;
- the relationship of well-being to living with parents was moderated by age.



# **Well-Being among Young Australians: Effects of Work and Home Life for Four Youth In Transition Cohorts**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Most societies see happiness as a desirable state of affairs. A happy populous is generally believed to lead to a more productive society with less crime and other social problems. Indeed the rise of the 'welfare state' derives from the idea that providing for people's basic needs will ensure a certain level of well-being and thus, a more moral as well as a better functioning society. Increasing unemployment, the breakdown of local communities, increasing social isolation and rapid social change cast doubt on the assumption that modern societies can maintain high levels of well-being among their members. Furthermore, young people are particularly vulnerable to social and economic changes. Higher unemployment, the decline of the youth labour market and increasing competition in both education and employment appear to be making life more difficult for young people.

The aim of this report is to investigate the link between survey measures of subjective well-being and a variety of demographic and economic factors among Australian young people. (The terms well-being, happiness and life satisfaction are used interchangeably throughout this report.) Specifically, we examine the relationship between well-being and gender, income, occupational status, employment status, marital status, the presence and number of children, and whether or not the respondent is living with their parents. We are particularly interested in changes over time, both ageing and cohort effects.

## **PAST RESEARCH**

Over the last 20 years there has been a considerable amount of research on well-being, but with a surprisingly limited number of conclusions on what are the important influences. Much of the research focuses on the demographic contours of well-being, such as differences between gender, age, marital and ethnic groups. Less research has investigated its relationship with labour market characteristics such as income, occupational status and unemployment. There is little research on changes over the life span and changes between cohorts over time. The psychological literature tends to focus on personality traits such as extroversion, neuroticism, locus of control and self-esteem. The review below will outline findings pertaining to demographic and labour market variables, since these are the focus of the report.

It is common to find generalisations about which age or gender group is happier than others. However, the literature on the subject is equivocal. Some studies find an increase in happiness with age (Headey, 1988; Diener, 1984) but the increase tends to be small and only apparent over long age spans. The image of the brooding adolescent and angry young man is not supported by research work. Controversy surrounds gender differences, with some studies reporting that men are happier while others claim women are happier. To some extent the finding depends on the measure used (depression, mental health, happiness, unhappiness) although the differences tend to be overstated.

Meta-analytical studies have shown that gender differences in well-being and happiness are small with a tendency for women reporting themselves to be happier (Haring et al., 1984; Inglehart, 1990; Veenhoven, 1996).

Marital status has strong effects on levels of well-being. In general, married people tend to be happier than those who are single, divorced or widowed (Diener, 1984). In a study of 19 countries, Mastekaasa (1994) found that married people are happier than single people. Diener (1984) claims that satisfaction with marriage and family life are the greatest sources of happiness and Headey (1988) found that satisfaction with family life correlated highly with overall life satisfaction. Despite the apparent importance of marriage in fostering well-being, adding children to the picture does not increase happiness levels. For example, Headey (1988) found that those couples with children at home were less happy than couples who are without children or whose children are no longer at home. Single parents tended to be very dissatisfied with their lot, being both without a partner and with children. Diener (1984) reports that most studies find a negative influence of the presence of children on well-being. In contrast, Mastekaasa (1994) concluded that there was no consistent relationship between the presence of children and well-being. Veenhoven (1996), in his review of life satisfaction research, concluded that children did not contribute to happiness but among those who had children the amount of contact that they had with their children was important in increasing well-being.

Surprisingly, within countries, income tends to have a weak, although positive, influence on well-being (Diener et al., 1993; Headey, 1988). However, across countries there is a clear relationship between income and well-being (Myers & Diener, 1995; Veenhoven, 1996). That is, a positive relationship exists between income and happiness but it is subject to 'the law of diminishing returns' (Veenhoven, 1991: 10): once basic needs are met income has only a weak influence on happiness. Within poorer countries there is a much stronger relationship between income and well-being than in richer countries. This suggests why increases in real income in wealthy countries do not result in corresponding increases in happiness (Myers & Diener, 1995; Veenhoven, 1991).

While income has been included in several studies of well-being, less is known about the impact of occupation. Some studies use socioeconomic status as a background or control variable and do not report any substantial influence (for example, Winefield et al., 1991). Another study reported only small correlations with happiness but at least it was in the expected direction: increases in income lead to increases in happiness (Headey, 1988). Veenhoven (1996) reported that occupational status shows a consistent relationship with well-being, with professionals and managers displaying the highest levels.

In contrast with income and socioeconomic status, unemployment has a strong influence on happiness and mental health. In a study of well-being among job-seekers in Finland, Lahelma (1992) found that the unemployed displayed lower well-being than the group of employed people. In addition, the greatest improvement in well-being over a one year period was for the group that went from unemployment to employment.

Based on the findings reviewed above, we generate several hypotheses on well-being among young people in Australia. We hypothesise that there will be only weak relationships between well-being and gender, income and occupational status. In contrast, marital status and unemployment are hypothesised as strong influences. The presence of children is expected to have little or no effect. Since there is little research using panel data, the literature gives us little guide to ageing and cohort effects. We expect that the effects of being single and unemployed should be stronger among older young people since these are perceived generally as less desirable social states amongst older age groups. In addition, the deterioration of the youth labour market over the last two decades suggests that unemployment should have a stronger negative impact in younger compared to older cohorts. Since social norms regarding marriage are changing (for example, the average age of first marriages has increased) it is expected that the effect of marital status would be weaker in younger cohorts.

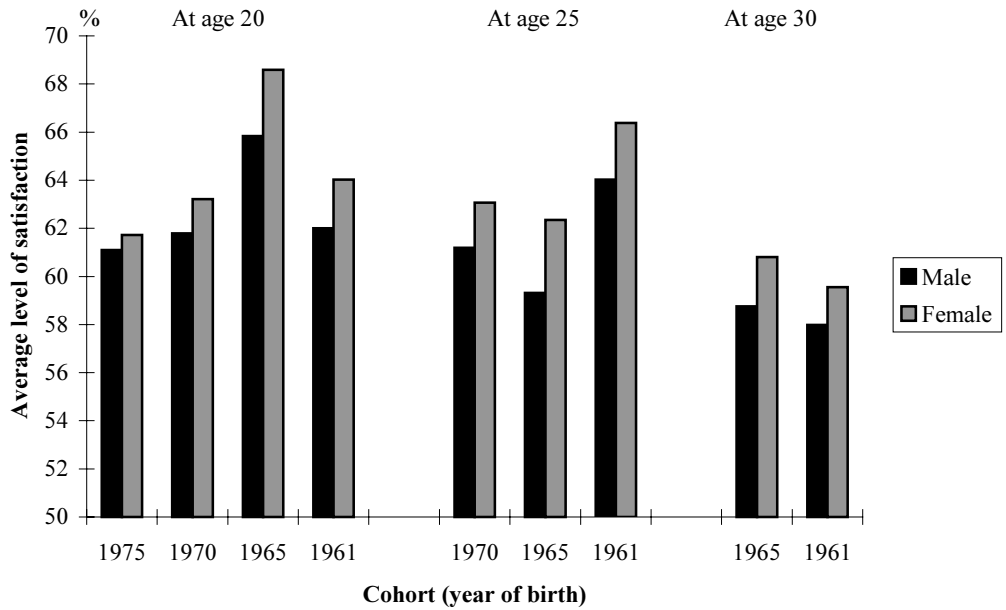
## RESULTS

In this section we present and discuss the correlations between well-being and demographic and labour market factors. The well-being indices were created by combining responses to the individual items. (Details are provided in Appendix 1). Initially, the correlations were performed with the well-being index followed by correlations with the individual constituent items. The correlations were performed at three ages, 20, 25 and 30 years of age. The four cohorts (born in 1961, 1965, 1970 and 1975) were used for comparisons at 20 years of age, the three oldest cohorts for comparisons at 25 years of age and only the two oldest cohorts for comparisons at 30 years of age. The correlations with the index show which social background and labour market factors are correlated with general well-being. The correlations with the individual items show which aspects of well-being had the strongest relationships with the independent variable analysed. However, because of the large numbers of correlations generated, these are reported in terms of the three strongest positive and three strongest negative correlations. Unless indicated otherwise, all correlations are statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ). Appendix 1 presents the data and measures used in these analyses. The correlations are presented in Tables A1 and A2 of Appendix 2.

### Demographic Factors

#### Gender

It is often believed that women are less satisfied with life than men. In these data, however, young women reported being happier by a few scale points than young men (see Figure 1). This result was in accordance with much of the literature, although generally, the relationship between gender and life satisfaction is weak. Appendix 2 presents the correlations at ages 20, 25 and 30 for all the cohorts and indicates a range between 0.02 to 0.08. For both sexes, the results show that more recent cohorts tend to be slightly less happy than older cohorts.



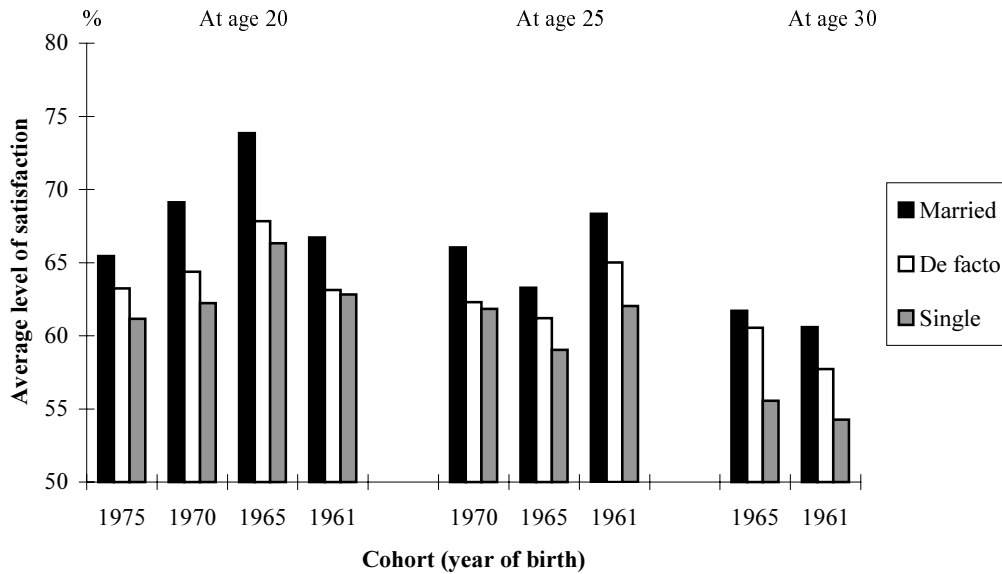
**Figure 1 A comparison of the average level of satisfaction reported by males and females**

At 20 years of age results showed that the gender gap declined over time (between cohorts). For the youngest cohort the gender gap is negligible. This result does not support the proposition that young men are becoming more disenchanted relative to young women. Similarly, at 25 years of age the gender gap is smaller for the 1970 cohort compared to the 1961 and 1965 cohorts. Within cohorts, no ageing effects were found.

A more detailed analysis of the association between life satisfaction and gender did not reveal a consistent pattern across all cohorts at all ages. However, the item most often found to be among the three highest correlations with gender was satisfaction with 'getting on with people in general'. This indicates that in general women were happier with their interpersonal relationships than men and this supports some research evidence of greater levels of happiness experienced by women. Men tended to report greater satisfaction than women with how they spent their spare time, the state of the economy and the way the country was run.

#### Relationships and Children

Figure 2 presents the average levels of satisfaction according to respondents' marital status (married, *de facto* or single). Whether one is single or not appeared to have a moderate effect on life satisfaction (correlations ranged between -0.05 and -0.17). Results indicated higher levels of satisfaction for those who were married or in a *de facto* relationship than for singles. The married group reported greater life satisfaction than those in a *de facto* relationship.



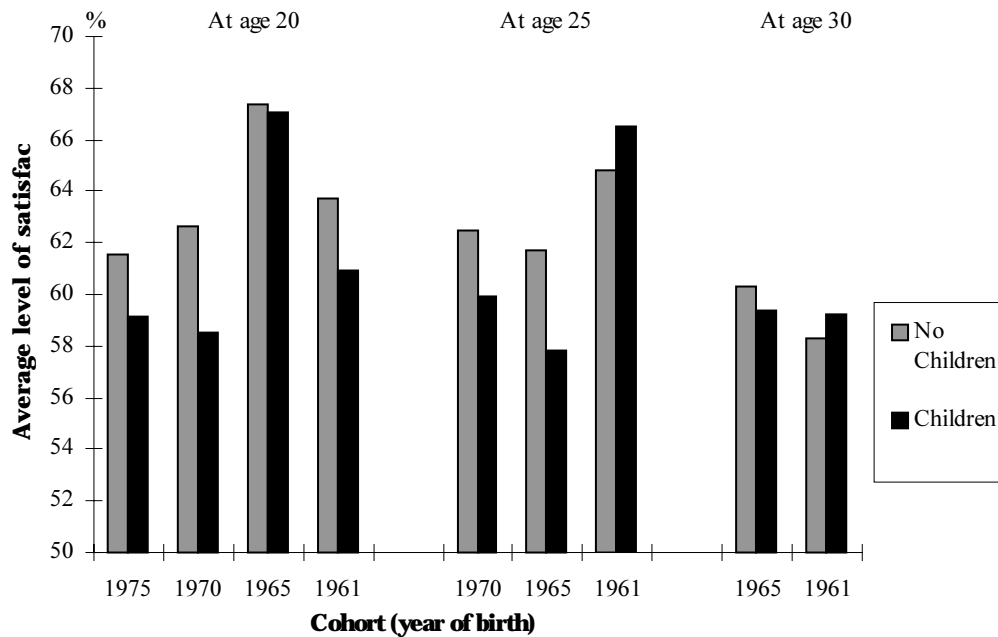
**Figure 2** A comparison of the average level of satisfaction reported by married couples, *de facto* couples and single people

While there could be numerous confounding variables involved (such as emotional stability, home ownership etc.), this result suggests that marriage is associated with something especially beneficial to well-being.

In our analysis of different aspects of life satisfaction, satisfaction with ‘life as a whole’ always featured in the three strongest correlations with marital status (sometimes greater than 0.2). Satisfaction with ‘life at home’ was also important as indicated by correlations rising to above 0.3, suggesting that home life is one of the major reasons for the relatively strong relationship between well-being and marital status. The other variable found often in the top three was satisfaction with the future – having someone to support you results in a certain level of optimism.

Results indicate that there was little association between having children and life satisfaction. In accordance with the literature, few significant relationships were found. The differences in mean satisfaction for those with and without children are presented in Figure 3. Among those with children, lower levels of well-being were found only among the youngest cohorts at 20 and 25 years of age. This result may reflect special difficulties faced by parents in this age group.



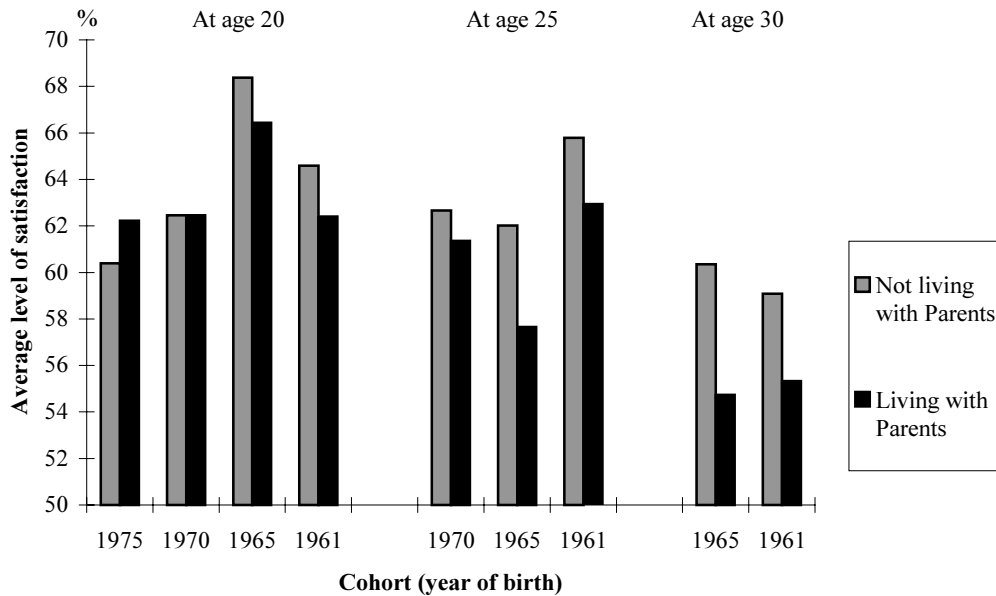


**Figure 3 A comparison of the average level of satisfaction reported by those with children and those without children**

An investigation of which aspects of well-being are most affected by children reveals a similar pattern to that for marital status. Reduced life satisfaction because of children appears to be associated with reduced levels of independence. However, among the older cohorts, the items about happiness with 'home life' and 'life as a whole' were more important. Interestingly, satisfaction with the work one does showed a relatively strong positive relationship with having children. Because this question included work at home it is difficult to conclude whether it is referring only to home-makers who derive greater satisfaction from their work as a parent versus the satisfaction derived by non-parents from other sorts of work, or whether having children heightens satisfaction with work in general. It would be interesting to investigate this issue further.

#### *Living with Parents*

There are both positive and negative aspects for young people living with their parents – while the situation might reduce independence, there are some economic advantages and other forms of support. Thus it was difficult to hypothesise the direction of the relationship with well-being. At 20 years of age an interesting cohort effect was found. For the two oldest cohorts, living with parents showed a negative relationship with life satisfaction, for the third cohort (1970) there was no difference, and for the youngest cohort (1975) there was a positive relationship (see Figure 4).

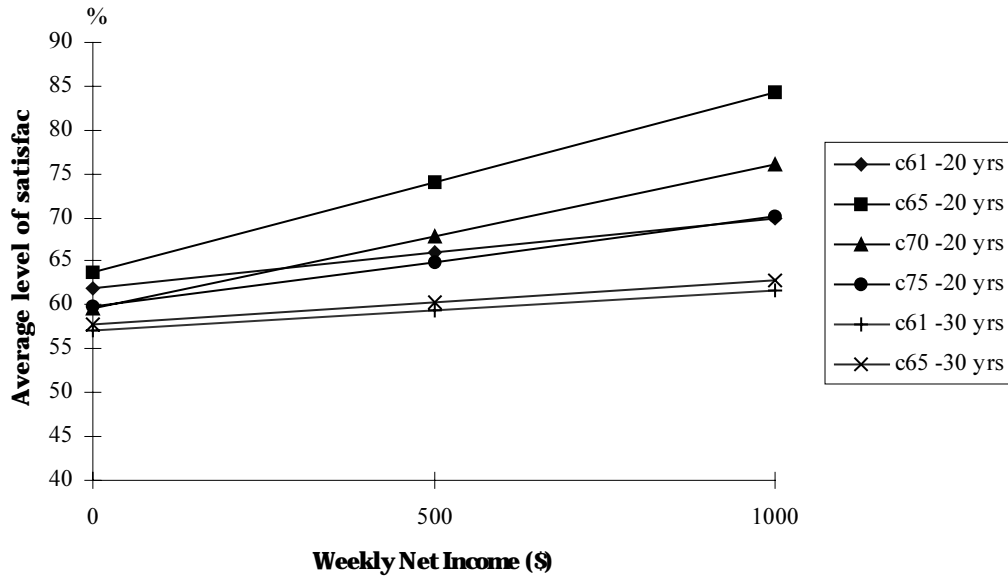


**Figure 4** A comparison of the average level of satisfaction reported by those living with their parents and those not living with their parents.

This turnaround suggests a change in social norms, relating to the higher proportion of young people in their twenties now living at home. Perceptions about the social acceptability of this situation and its advantages in providing for full-time study and financial support, may account for the change.

As cohorts get older there is an increased difference in well-being between those living and not living in the parental home. At 25 years of age the differences are larger than at 20 years of age and larger again at 30 years of age. It is interesting to note that the difference at age 25 in the 1970 cohort is considerably smaller than in the 1961 and 1965 cohorts. This result may reflect the same changes in social norms that appear to be occurring at age 20.

Focusing on individual items, we find that at age 20 the most important item in distinguishing the two groups was happiness with their 'standard of living'. Interestingly, the positive relationship with standard of living was less strong for the two oldest cohorts (1961 and 1965) than for the two younger cohorts (1970 and 1975). For the youngest cohort this correlation was above 0.2. The only consistent negative influence was happiness with 'independence'. At age 25 and 30, there were few positive correlations with whether or not someone was living with their parents, and the negative correlations were with happiness with 'home life' and 'life as a whole', not 'independence'. The first of these probably reflects increased inter-generational tensions but the second may be a confounding effect due to being single or unemployed.



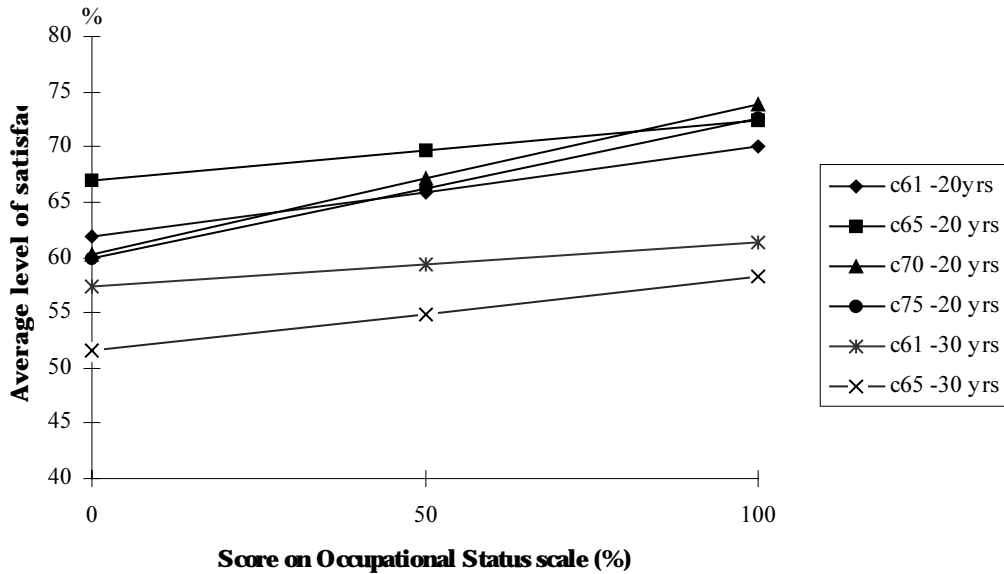
**Figure 5** A comparison of the average level of satisfaction reported according to level of income received each week

## Labour Market Factors

### *Income*

Income was an influence on well-being among the cohorts at all ages investigated, although the strength of the relationship was variable (Figure 5). The smallest correlation found was  $r=0.06$  (for the 1961 cohort at age 30) but most of the correlations clustered around 0.1. Interestingly, the relationship between income and life satisfaction became weaker with age. One possible explanation is that older young people are more likely to be in relationships (such as living with a partner) in which case their standard of living might be based on dual incomes and shared living expenses, rather than on one personal income. An alternative explanation is that people may be more content with (or resigned to) their lot at age 30. A further consideration is that higher incomes enable purchase of material consumer items which are novel and relatively uncommon among younger young people starting out but standard among older young people.

Of the individual items, happiness with 'money received each week', not surprisingly, showed the strongest correlation with income. (All these correlations were found to be above 0.2.) Satisfaction with one's standard of living was found frequently among the three strongest correlations, which is again not surprising, given that standard of living is closely linked to income. What is interesting is that satisfaction with prospects for promotion was also relatively strongly related to income, suggesting that prospects for promotion relate to income level.



**Figure 6** A comparison of the average level of satisfaction reported according to level of occupational status

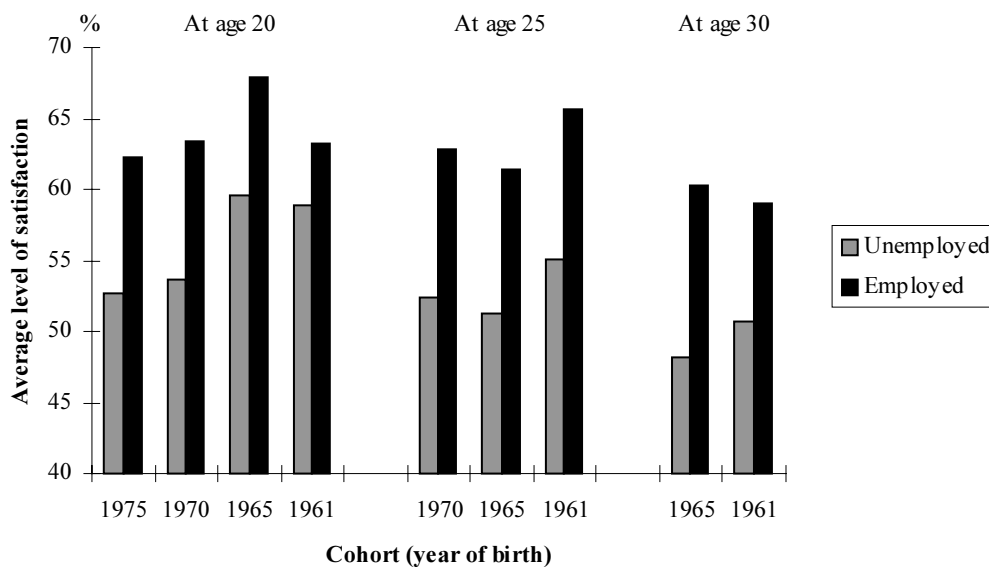
#### Occupational Status

Occupational status also shows a relatively strong relationship with life satisfaction. There are indications that, like income, occupational status at age 20 had a stronger influence than at older ages. This was especially apparent for the three younger cohorts (Figure 6).

The lowest correlation between occupational status and well-being was 0.05 (for the 1961 cohort at age 30) and the highest was 0.13 (for the 1970 cohort at age 20). Reflecting the variability in the strength of the relationship, the aspects of life satisfaction that correlate most highly with occupational status differ among age and cohort groups. However, some common aspects were found. Satisfaction with prospects for promotion was the most important constituent item, and some of the correlations with occupational status were above 0.2. Other items with substantial correlations are on 'work', 'money received each week' and 'standard of living'. Satisfaction with likely prospects in the future also featured but to a more limited extent.

#### Employment Status

There was a strong negative relationship between being unemployed and subjective well-being, as would be expected (Figure 7). The correlations range between -0.06 and -0.15 ( $p < 0.001$ ) with most being above -0.1. Interestingly, the negative effect of unemployment on well-being at age 20 was stronger in the younger cohorts. This result may reflect increases in the length of time spent unemployed and the fewer employment opportunities for young people in more recent years. Results also showed that the negative relationship of unemployment with well-being grew stronger as the sample aged.



**Figure 7 A comparison of the average level of satisfaction reported by employed and unemployed**

No one constituent item could be identified as responsible for the association between unemployment and life satisfaction. Rather, there were several common factors: satisfaction with ‘money’, ‘life as a whole’, ‘the future’ and to a lesser extent ‘standard of living’ and ‘work’. Thus, the depressive effects of unemployment relate more to the economic aspects of well-being. However, (smaller) negative correlations were also found with the social aspects of well-being indicated by the constituent items: happiness with ‘getting on with other people’ and ‘social life’.

## CONCLUSION

Generally, this study confirms the findings of past research into the correlates of subjective well-being. The effect of gender was weak, with women expressing slightly higher levels of satisfaction. Married people reported greater happiness than those in *de facto* relationships who, in turn, were generally happier than single people. This study confirms earlier findings that income and occupational status had weak to moderate effects on well-being. The unemployed reported considerable less satisfaction than their peers. The literature review suggested that marriage and unemployment were substantial influences and this study supports those hypotheses.

This study goes further than most previous work in examining cohort and ageing effects. It showed that the effect of living with parents on well-being changes according to age and that income and occupational status have less effect on well-being among older young people. Generational effects were also found, suggesting changes in social norms and expectations, particularly in regard to living with parents and to unemployment.

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## APPENDIX 1: DATA AND MEASURES

The data employed in this investigation are from the Australian *Youth in Transition* study which is a longitudinal study of four nationally representative cohorts of Australian young people. The cohorts were born in 1961, 1965, 1970 and 1975 (and were referred to as c61, c65, c70 and c75 in this report). The oldest cohort were first asked questions on life satisfaction in 1979 when they were 18 years old and were asked again 9 times until 1994 when they were 33. The second cohort began in 1982 when they were 17 and were asked again 9 times until 1995, at age 30. The third cohort were asked 8 times from 1986 (aged 16) until 1994 (aged 24), while the fourth cohort began in 1992 (aged 17) and were asked every year until 1995 (aged 20). Thus, we have a comprehensive picture of young people in Australia from 1979 to the present. However, for the present report, only data collected at ages 20, 25 and 30 were used, resulting in nine combinations of cohort and age: the 1961 and 1965 cohorts at 20, 25 and 30 years of age; the 1970 cohort at 20 and 25 years of age; and the 1975 cohort at 20 years of age.

Respondents were asked questions on how happy they felt about a number of aspects of life, relating to general happiness, home life and work. In total, there were 15 items. The response categories were 'Very Happy', 'Happy', 'Fairly Happy' and 'Unhappy'. These responses were associated with the numbers 1 to 4 in the self-completion questionnaires. From the responses to these items a well-being index was constructed. Initial analyses revealed that items on 'the state of the economy' and 'the way the country was run' had only moderate correlations with the other items so were not included in the index. Items that were irrelevant to large proportions of the sample such as items about paid employment and school ('your prospects for promotion', 'the people you work with' and 'the way school prepared you for a job') were also excluded from the index. The nine items that formed the subjective well-being index were: 'life as a whole', 'the work you do' (which included study and unpaid work), 'what you do in your spare time', 'how you get on with people', 'the money you get each week', 'your social life', 'your independence', 'your standard of living' and 'your future'. The inter-item correlations were high, as was the measure of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha > 0.8). There was no statistical indication that deletion of an item or items would improve the reliability of the index. For ease of interpretation, the well-being indices were adjusted to range from 0 to 100.

The independent variables used in the analyses were gender, marital status, presence of children, residence (living in the parental home or not), income, socioeconomic status and unemployment. Income was measured by weekly net income from the respondents' main job. Occupational status was measured by the ANU2 and ANU3 occupational status scales which are derived, respectively, from the CCLO and ASCO occupational coding schemes. The other variables are categorical except an addition measure of the number of children. Unemployment was measured by whether the respondent was out of work and looking for work in October of the survey year.





## APPENDIX 2: TABLES OF RESULTS

Table A1 Correlations of Well-Being with Demographic and Labour Market Factors

	1961	1965	1970	1975
<b>20 YEARS</b>				
1. Gender	0.06*	0.08*	0.04	0.02
2. Income	0.09*	0.11*	0.10‡	0.10*
3. Occupational Status	0.07*	0.05	0.10*	0.10*
4. Unemployed	-0.06*	-0.12*	-0.15*	-0.14*
5. Married	0.09*	0.14*	0.07†	0.03
6. <i>De facto</i>	-0.01	0.01	0.03	0.03
7. Single	-0.07*	-0.12*	-0.06†	-0.05†
8. Children	-0.04†	-0.004	-0.05	-0.02
9. Number of children	-0.08	0.004	-0.22	-0.28‡
10. Live with parents	-0.07*	-0.06†	0.01	0.05†
<b>25 YEARS</b>				
1. Gender	0.07‡	0.08*	0.05†	
2. Income	0.12*	0.09*	0.13*	
3. Occupational Status	0.08‡	0.11*	0.12*	
4. Unemployed	-0.11*	-0.11*	-0.14*	
5. Married	0.17*	0.1*	0.12*	
6. <i>De facto</i>	-0.004	0.01	-0.01	
7. Single	-0.17*	-0.10*	-0.10*	
8. Children	0.04	-0.09*	-0.03	
9. Number of children	-0.07	0.02	-0.002	
10. Live with parents	-0.07‡	-0.11*	-0.03	
<b>30 YEARS</b>				
1. Gender	0.04†	0.06†		
2. Income	0.06†	0.10*		
3. Occupational status	0.05†	0.08‡		
4. Unemployed	-0.08*	-0.12*		
5. Married	0.14*	0.13*		
6. <i>De facto</i>	-0.02	0.01		
7. Single	-0.14*	-0.15*		
8. Children	0.03	-0.03		
9. Number of children	-0.00	-0.03		
10. Live with parents	-0.05‡	-0.09*		

\* p&lt;0.001, ‡ p&lt;0.01, † p&lt;0.05

**Table A2 Correlations of Well-being Items with Demographic and Labour Market Factors (3 Strongest Correlations)**

<b>20 YEARS</b>	<b>1961</b>	<b>1965</b>	<b>1970</b>	<b>1975</b>
<b>1. Gender</b>	Whole 0.08*	People 0.10*	People 0.08‡	StdLiv 0.06‡
	People 0.07*	Work 0.10*	Work 0.06†	People 0.05†
	Future 0.07*	WPeop 0.09*	Home 0.05†	Spare -0.08*
		Spare -0.05†		Econ -0.05†
<b>2. Income</b>	Money 0.24*	Money 0.23*	Money 0.27*	Money 0.20*
	Indep 0.09*	Std Liv 0.14*	Promot 0.12*	Promot 0.13*
	StdLiv 0.05†	Promot 0.09‡	Work 0.09‡	Work 0.08*
				CRUn -0.05†
<b>3. Occupational Status</b>	Future 0.07*	Promot 0.15*	Promot 0.10‡	Promot 0.20*
	Work 0.07*	Work 0.10*	Money 0.10*	Work 0.14*
	Whole 0.07*	Future 0.06†	Work 0.07†	Future 0.12*
		Lived -0.06†		
<b>4. Unemployed</b>	Future -0.08*	StdLiv -0.11*	Money -0.18*	Money -0.14*
	Work -0.07*	Future -0.11*	Home -0.12*	Future -0.11*
	WPeo -0.07*	Whole -0.10*	Whole -0.12*	Work -0.11*
<b>5. Married</b>	Home 0.28*	Home 0.25*	Home 0.09*	Home 0.11*
	Whole 0.18*	Whole 0.22*	Future 0.08‡	Whole 0.08*
	Future 0.13*	Future 0.12*	Whole 0.08‡	Future 0.07*
<b>6. De facto</b>	Home 0.04†	Home 0.06†		Home 0.09*
	Indep 0.35†	Lived -0.05†		Indep 0.07*
	Spare -0.04†			Future 0.06‡
<b>7. Single</b>	Home -0.26*	Home -0.24*	Whole -0.09*	Home -0.13*
	Whole -0.17*	Whole -0.19*	Home -0.09*	Future -0.08*
	Future -0.11*	Future -0.12*	Future -0.09*	Whole -0.07*
<b>8. Children</b>	Home 0.09*	Home 0.08*	Econ 0.05†	Lived -0.06‡
	Whole 0.05‡	Work 0.07‡	Spare -0.07‡	Social -0.06‡
	Work 0.04†	Whole 0.07‡	Indep -0.06†	Indep -0.06‡
	Indep -0.09*	Indep -0.07‡	StdLiv -0.05†	
	StdLiv -0.07*	Social 0.07‡		
	Social -0.06*			
<b>9. Number of Children</b>	Indep -0.16†		Econ 0.54‡	Whole -0.28‡
			Lived -0.42†	Lived -0.28†
				Social -0.25†
<b>10. Live with Parents</b>	StdLiv 0.05‡	Lived 0.07‡	StdLiv 0.13*	StdLiv 0.20*
	Home -0.18*	StdLiv 0.07‡	Lived 0.13*	Lived 0.14*
	Indep -0.13*	Spare 0.06‡	Spare 0.08‡	Money 0.10*
	Whole -0.07*	Indep -0.18*	Indep -0.16*	Indep -0.15*
		Home -0.11*		
	Whole -0.08*			

\* p&lt;0.001, ‡ p&lt;0.01, † p&lt;0.05

<b>25 YEARS OLD</b>	<b>1961</b>	<b>1965</b>	<b>1970</b>
<b>1. Gender</b>	Wpeop 0.09*	Home 0.12*	Home 0.08‡
	Future 0.08*	People 0.09*	Social 0.07‡
	Money 0.08*	StdLiv 0.08*	People 0.06†
	Spare -0.05†		Econ -0.07‡
<b>2. Income</b>	Money 0.25*	Money 0.22*	Money 0.24*
	Promot 0.18*	Promot 0.14*	Work 0.10‡
	StdLiv 0.12*	Indep 0.07†	StdLiv 0.10‡
<b>3. Occupational Status</b>	Promot 0.16*	Promot 0.17*	Money 0.17*
	Future 0.12*	Money 0.17*	Work 0.15*
	Money 0.10*	Work 0.12*	Promot 0.13*
	Spare -0.07‡		
<b>4. Unemployed</b>	Promo -0.11*	Money -0.12*	Money -0.16*
	Future -0.11*	StdLiv -0.12*	Work -0.13*
	Whole -0.11*	Promot -0.09*	Whole -0.11*
<b>5. Married</b>	Home 0.36*	Home 0.31*	Home 0.26*
	Whole 0.27*	Whole 0.22*	Whole 0.22*
	Future 0.19*	Future 0.13*	Future 0.17*
	Indep -0.07‡	Indep -0.08*	Indep -0.06†
	Econ -0.05†		Econ -0.05†
<b>6. De facto</b>	-	-	-
<b>7. Single</b>	Home -0.35*	Indep 0.08*	Indep 0.07‡
	Whole -0.29*	Home -0.32*	Econ 0.06†
	Future -0.18*	Whole -0.23*	Home -0.26*
		Future -0.14*	Whole -0.21*
		Future -0.18*	
<b>8. Children</b>	Home 0.14*	Home 0.1*	Indep -0.19*
	Whole 0.14*	Whole 0.06†	Lived -0.07‡
	Work 0.12*	Indep -0.21*	Econ -0.05†
	Indep -0.15*	StdLiv -0.10*	
	Econ -0.06‡	Social -0.09*	
<b>9. Number of Children</b>	Promo -0.12†		
	Money -0.10†		
<b>10. Live with Parents</b>	Home -0.16*	Home -0.2*	StdLiv 0.06†
	Whole -0.12*	Whole -0.17*	Future -0.10*
	Future -0.10*	Future -0.13*	Home -0.09*
			Whole -0.07‡

\* p&lt;0.001, ‡ p&lt;0.01, † p&lt;0.05

<b>30 YEARS OLD</b>	<b>1961</b>	<b>1965</b>
<b>1. Gender</b>	Wpeop 0.1*	Future 0.09*
	People 0.08*	People 0.09*
	Future 0.07*	Work 0.09*
		Econ -0.08*
		Crun -0.05†
<b>2. Income</b>	Money 0.23*	Money 0.22*
	Promot 0.15*	StdLiv 0.13*
	StdLiv 0.11*	Promot 0.13*
<b>3. Occupational Status</b>	Promot 0.16*	Money 0.18*
	Money 0.14*	Promot 0.16*
	Work 0.06*	StdLiv 0.14*
	Spare -0.07‡	Spare -0.06†
<b>4. Unemployed</b>	Money -0.08*	Money -0.18*
	Whole -0.08*	StdLiv -0.12*
	Future -0.07‡	Whole -0.11*
<b>5. Married</b>	Home 0.3*	Home 0.28*
	Whole 0.26*	Whole 0.25*
	People 0.15*	StdLiv 0.15*
	Indep -0.11*	Indep -0.12*
<b>6. De facto</b>	Econ 0.06‡	Social 0.05†
<b>7. Single</b>	Indep 0.12*	Indep 0.1*
	Home -0.31*	Econ 0.06‡
	Whole -0.27*	CRun 0.06†
	People -0.15*	Home -0.32*
		Whole -0.27*
	Future -0.16*	
<b>8. Children</b>	Whole 0.16*	Home 0.11*
	Home 0.15*	Work 0.09*
	People 0.09*	Whole 0.09*
	Indep -0.20*	Indep -0.23*
		Econ -0.08*
	Spare -0.08‡	
<b>9. Number of children</b>	Promot 0.07†	StdLiv -0.08†
<b>10. Live with parents</b>	Whole -0.12*	Whole -0.13*
	Home -0.09*	Home -0.13*
	Lived -0.08*	Future -0.1*

\* p<0.001, ‡ p<0.01, †p<0.05

LEGEND: Whole = 'Your life as whole'      Work = 'The work you did - on the job, at school, at home'  
Spare = 'What you did in your spare time (sport, hobbies, music, etc.)'      Home = 'Your life at home'  
People = 'How you got on with people in general'      Money = 'The money you got each week'  
Social = 'Your social life'      Indep = 'Your independence - being able to do what you wanted'  
W.Peop = 'The people you worked with'      Promot = 'Your prospects for promotion in your job'  
StdLiv = 'Your standard of living'      Lived = 'Where you lived'  
C.Run = 'The way the country was run'      Econ = 'The state of the economy'      Future = 'Your future'