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Social Mobility and the Wellbeing of Individuals

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Abstract

Several papers published in recent years have revived interest in Sorokin's dissociative thesis: the view that intergenerational social mobility has detrimental effects on the social relationships and wellbeing of individuals. In this paper, I test the dissociative thesis using data from the British Household Panel Survey and Understanding Society. On a wide range of indicators that measure participation in civic associations, contact with parents, close personal relationships, social support, subjective wellbeing, etc. individuals who have achieved long-range upward mobility (i.e. those who move from working class origin to salariat destination) tend to fare better than those who are immobile in the working class. Those who have experienced long-range downward mobility (moving from salariat origin to working class destination) do about as well as second-generation members of the working class. Overall, there is no support for Sorokin's thesis.

Keywords: Social mobility; Wellbeing; Dissociative thesis

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1 Sorokin's dissociative thesis

Does intergenerational social mobility exact a toll on the wellbeing of individuals? It is not difficult to imagine the frustration, perhaps even the pain, that is felt by those who had skidded down the class structure. But do the upwardly mobile also pay a price for their occupational success? Some sociologists argue that they do. In this paper, I assess their claims with recent, large-scale and nationally representative survey data.

The view that social mobility has negative and disruptive effects on individuals and society has a long pedigree, going back in particular to the dissociative thesis of Sorokin (1959). Sorokin accepts that mobile societies are more dynamic, versatile and inventive (p. 515). But he also thinks that social mobility puts severe strain on individuals, leading to higher rates of 'mental diseases and nervousness, psychoses, and neuroses' (p. 515) and greater 'skepticism, sometimes even cynicism' (p. 519). Moreover, it is much harder for individuals to form intimate relationships in a mobile society where 'man more often cuts off the ties which bind him to his native place, occupation, party, state, religion, family, citizenship, and so on. He becomes less and less attached to anything and to anybody' (p. 523). The weakening of personal ties then leads to social isolation, loneliness (p. 522), and higher levels of suicide, hedonism and crime (p. 524).

Sorokin writes in a speculative and largely data-free manner.[1] And the first round of empirical tests of the dissociative thesis have produced rather mixed results. For example, Ellis and Lane (1967) and Mirande (1973) report supportive evidence, while Vorwaller (1970) and Wegner (1973) find the opposite. But as these studies are all based on small, local samples of quite specific social groupings,[2] it is difficult to know which of these conflicting findings are more credible or generalisable.

In a follow-up inquiry of the Oxford Social Mobility Study, Goldthorpe (1987) has collected self-completed life history notes from a subsample of 247 respondents. Summarising these notes, he argues that the upwardly

[1] Some of Sorokin's claims are plainly bizarre. For example, he argues that 'the mobile character of present social life facilitates also a skeptical attitude and a lack of very firm faith and convictions ... Skepticism, sometimes even cynicism, is spreading. Relativism begins to reign supreme in sciences and intellectual constructions. It finds its supreme expression in Einstein's theory of relativity' (Sorokin, 1959, p. 519).

[2] Ellis and Lane (1967) was based on a survey of 126 male students entering Stanford University in 1958. Mirande (1973) was based on a sample of 275 respondents drawn from a small community of about 5,000 people. Wegner (1973) was based on 1,588 undergraduates of the University of Hawaii. Vorwaller (1970) was based on two samples: one of white males in Cambridge and Belmont, Massachusetts; the other being white mothers of elementary schoolchildren in Detroit, Michigan.

mobile men of his sample 'had not for the most part experienced their mobility as socially stressful' (p. 248) and that there is 'little support for the idea that mobility leads to social marginality and isolation' (p. 245). It should be noted, however, that only 27% of those selected for that study returned the life-history notes. Consequently, the representativeness of the life-history data set, as Goldthorpe (1987, p. 220) himself concedes, has to be 'viewed with . . . extreme caution.'

1.1 The dissociative thesis redux

Scholarly interest in the dissociative thesis has ebbed since the 1980s. But several recent papers have revived interests in Sorokin's argument. For example, in her Presidential Address to the American Sociological Association, Lareau (2015) recounts the mobility experience of a medical doctor of working class background, noting that '[h]is journey has not been without . . . emotional costs . . . the world he lives in now often leaves him feeling "isolated" and estranged from aspects of his past' (Lareau, 2015, p. 20).

More forcefully, Friedman (2014, p. 354) argues that social mobility has 'adverse effects on kinship ties, intimate relationships, and most significantly on the ontological coherence of the self.' Drawing on, among other things, the (autobiographical) writings of Bourdieu, he describes the socially mobile as being caught in 'a "painful" position of social limbo, of "double isolation" from both their origin and destination class' (Friedman, 2016, p. 132). This is a state of 'habitus clivé, a sense of self torn by contradiction and internal division . . . [with] the crippling insecurity of a "self-made Parvenu"' (Friedman, 2016, pp. 129–130).

Summarising the work of Musgrove, Stacey, and Sennett and Cobb, Friedman (2014, p. 358) says that they 'all found that the upwardly mobile frequently experienced problems of "isolation", "vulnerability" and "mental disorder".' Indeed, 'mobility was more likely to be "pathogenic" in the UK because greater "status rigidity" ensured that it was harder for the "mobile to acquire a legitimate position in the status hierarchy"' (2014, p. 358).

Friedman also refers to the writings of other scholars, such as Ebiron, Ingram, Lahire, Reay, and Skeggs, and discusses 'the acute discomfort of a habitus split between two worlds' (2016, p. 133), of 'the substantial psychic costs incurred by working class boys . . . [who seek] educational success' (2016, p. 133), of the 'serious threat [of social mobility] to the individual's sense of "mental coherency" . . . leading to "discomfort", "paralysis" and "suffering", and leaving the individual plagued by a "central in-

ternal conflict that organizes every moment of existence"' (2014, p. 362). Moreover, his 'own empirical work has supported this conception of mobility as exhausting and discomforting' (Friedman, 2014, p. 362).

Other scholars also discuss upward mobility in similar terms. Thus, Lee and Kramer (2013, pp. 18–19) maintain that students of low and middle-income background attending elite colleges need to learn 'elite mannerisms, behaviors, and "rules of the game" . . . caus[ing] a "cleft" between the students' college identity and habitus and their home communities.' Curl (2013, p. 293) argues that many of the upwardly mobile 'express disdain for and struggle internally with some of the changes they have made and undergone . . . [they have] difficulty in maintaining connection with their families of origin and therefore feel distance from their roots and what once made them who they are.' This 'creates pain, loss and guilt and represents a significant cost to mobility not yet theoretically developed or popularly understood' (Curl, 2013, p. 298).[3]

Given the above, Friedman (2016, p. 145) argues that 'upward mobility may not always be so straightforwardly "beneficial", particularly at the individual, subjective level.' And he calls for 'a large-scale re-examination of the mobility experience' (2014, p. 360).[4] Similarly, Curl (2013, p. 292) calls for 'a "reshaping" of our nation's conception of upward mobility' and Reay (2013, p. 660) seeks to 'problematize dominant discourses of social mobility.'

Much of the recent support of the dissociative thesis comes from qualitative interviews or autobiographical writings. But it is important to note that not all qualitative studies come to the same conclusion. In particular, Reay *et al.* (2009) carry out in-depth interviews with nine working-class students at an elite English university. As their research is framed by the Bourdieusian notion of habitus, they had expected to find the working class students having difficulties 'maintain[ing] connections to one's social background, including family, friends and the wider community.' But, to their surprise, 'this rarely seemed to be the case. There was not "the disconnection from family and cultural backgrounds"' (Reay *et al.*, 2009, p. 1005).

[3] See also Baxter and Britton (2001), Franceschelli *et al.* (2016), Lehmann (2009), and Ingram (2011).

[4] Towards the end of his 2016 paper, Friedman rows back from some of his stronger claims. 'I should emphasize that this is not to say, as some previous literature has suggested . . . that these individuals were unhappy people or suffered from psychological disorder. Not only is it far beyond my expertise to make such an assertion, but I must add that most interviewees seemed to be battling this multitude of emotions valiantly, even perhaps "successfully"' (Friedman, 2016, p. 145). I regard this statement as inconsistent with the his overall position, given that he repeatedly uses terms such as pain, suffering, paralysis, crippling, . . . to refer to the upwardly mobile.

Reay *et al.* (2009, p. 1006) note that their working class respondents have not had 'middle-class cultural practices such as out-of-school dance, drama, art and music lessons or private tuition . . . their schooling did not provide easy access to forms of dominant cultural capital sanctioned and recognised by the educational system.' And whilst the students recognise that their elite university is a 'middle-class bubble', they do not seem to be torn between home and college. Instead, they have 'visits from family and home friends. There are accounts not just of parents visiting their colleges and staying overnight but also of siblings, grandparents, even aunts and uncles' (p. 1111).

Insofar as these students have anxiety about university, it has more to do with the academic demand than with 'the social aspects of the experience' (p. 1112). Indeed, Reay *et al.* (2009) observe that '[a] majority of these working-class students had faced the paradoxical situation of being more like a "fish out of water" in their largely working-class state secondary schools . . . they have a greater sense of fitting in as learners in elite HE than they had at school surrounded by people like them' (p. 1115). Overall, Reay *et al.* (2009) conclude that 'academically successful working-class students gain enormously from studying at [elite] institutions . . . flourishing as learners and growing in confidence both academically and socially, whilst retaining . . . a commitment and sense of loyalty to family and home background' (p. 1116).

It is interesting to compare the account of Reay *et al.* (2009) with her own personal experience. In an autobiographical essay, she writes that 'social mobility can often be a difficult, alienating process alongside its more positive aspect of educational success and fulfilment. It can tear community and sometimes even the family out of the heart of individuals. I struggled to keep my family close despite moving so far away in terms of social space . . . [it] is difficult to avoid a sense of treachery and overwhelming guilt. As a result, despite immense relief and gratitude at my privilege, I have an enduring ambivalence about what I have and who I have become that characterizes many of the upwardly mobile' (Reay, 2013, pp. 672–673).

How do we reconcile Reay *et al.* (2009) with other qualitative studies or, indeed, with Reay (2013)? Clearly, the experience of social mobility is very variable. But such variability underlines the need for large-scale and nationally representative data for us to gain a reliable view of whether, overall, social mobility has an adverse effect on the wellbeing of individuals. As Marshall and Firth (1999, p. 30) point out, 'writers of autobiography are almost by definition truly exceptional individuals . . . Case-studies of small groups among the socially mobile may or may not be representative

and might well therefore point to misleading conclusions.'

Marshall and Firth (1999) analyse survey data from ten countries of the International Social Justice Project[5] and report that 'individuals who move from working-class origins to middle-class destinations are no more likely to be systematically satisfied or dissatisfied with life than are the socially immobile' (Marshall and Firth, 1999, p. 28). Houle and Martin (2011, p. 193) analyse data from the Wisconsin Longitudinal Survey and 'find little evidence for Sorokin's hypothesis; mobile individuals are no more likely to be psychologically distressed than their non-mobile counterparts.'[6]

Pooling data from 18 waves of the British Household Panel Survey and using job satisfaction and overall life satisfaction as dependent variables, Clark and D'Angelo (2013, p. 2) show that 'the most satisfied individuals are those . . . who have experienced the most upward social mobility.' Similarly, Nikolaev and Burns (2014, p. 82) analyse pooled General Social Survey data and 'find that downward mobility . . . has a negative effect on the self-reported level of happiness and subjective health while upward mobility is associated with positive outcomes in subjective well-being.'

Several points about these four survey-based papers are notable. First, Clark and D'Angelo (2013) and Nikolaev and Burns (2014) report that the upwardly mobile fare better than the immobile. So their findings are stronger than those of Marshall and Firth (1999) or Houle and Martin (2011) who report no difference in wellbeing by mobility experience. This discrepancy might partly be due to the different ways in which social mobility is measured, and/or the different analytical models used.[7] Second, such discrepancy notwithstanding, it is clear that all recent studies that draw on large-scale survey data do not support the dissociative thesis.[8]

[5]The ten countries are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Great Britain, Estonia, Poland, Russia, Slovenia, West Germany, and the USA.

[6]Houle (2011) examines the dissociative thesis in the context of intragenerational mobility, and comes to the same negative conclusion.

[7]Marshall and Firth (1999) and Houle and Martin (2011) define social mobility as movement between discrete social classes. But Clark and D'Angelo (2013) measures social mobility with the continuous Hope-Goldthorpe scale. Nikolaev and Burns (2014) define social mobility using measures of educational attainment, income and social class. As regards analytical model, Marshall and Firth (1999) and Houle and Martin (2011) use the diagonal reference model (Sobel, 1981), while Clark and D'Angelo (2013) and Nikolaev and Burns (2014) use OLS models.

[8]A reviewer kindly refers me to two recent papers. Based on data from a Flemish survey, Daenekindt (2016, p. 1) 'find[s] no detrimental consequences of both upward and downward mobility, the results do not provide evidence for the dissociative thesis.' Hadjar and Samuel (2015) use panel data from Switzerland and the UK to examine the impact of intergenerational *and* intragenerational mobility on subjective wellbeing. Using fixed effects models, they claim to have found support for the dissociative thesis for the UK but

Third, the dependent variables considered in these four papers are self-reported subjective measures of one kind or another, e.g. overall life satisfaction or psychological distress. The literature on the dissociative thesis, however, speaks to broader issues of social isolation, kinship networks, civic participation, and social ties in general. Also, Layard (2005) points out that some of the most important determinants of the wellbeing of individuals are the social ties that they have with family, community and friends. Given this, further investigation of the impact of social mobility on a range of social relational outcomes as well as subjective wellbeing measures is warranted.

2 Data and analytical strategy

The data that I analyse come from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and Understanding Society. BHPS began in 1991 with a nationally representative sample of about 5,500 households. All members of these households and their children (when they reach the age of 16) have been followed in annual interviews in subsequent years. After 18 waves, BHPS was superseded in 2009 by a new household panel survey called Understanding Society which has a sample of about 30,000 households and over 54,000 individuals. At the time of writing, five waves of Understanding Society data are available for analysis.

There is a wealth of data in the BHPS and Understanding Society that speaks directly to the dissociative thesis. There are, for example, questions on intimate relationships and on routine social interaction. There are measures of civic participation, of subjective wellbeing, and of social support. Many of these questions are repeated every few years. Where this is the case, I use the most recent data in the analysis. To be clear, I analyse BHPS and Understanding Society data as though they were cross-sectional in nature.[9] This is because my goal in this paper is to establish the direction of the association between social mobility and the wellbeing

not for Switzerland. That is to say, they claim that in the UK intergenerational upward mobility is associated with lower levels of subjective wellbeing. I would argue that their analysis is flawed. As is well known, with fixed effects, all time-invariant predictors drop out from the models, and the social origin of individuals (i.e. parental social class when the respondent was 14 years of age) is precisely one of those time-invariant predictors.

[9]Thus, where applicable, each respondent contributes one observation to each regression model. The N of the regression models ranges from 3,668 to 15,795 (see the Appendix). Such a large range is mainly due to the much larger sample size of Understanding Society.

of individuals.

I restrict my analysis to respondents aged 20 to 64 at the time of the relevant interview. The main explanatory variables are the social origin and destination of the respondents,[10] coded to the threefold version of the Goldthorpe class schema (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992). The three classes are the salariat (S), the intermediate class (I) and the working class (W). Broadly speaking, this class schema seeks to capture key differences in employment relations. Two factors are important: first, employment status, i.e. whether someone is an employer, a self-employed person, or an employee; and, second, among employees, whether someone has a 'service contract' as opposed to a 'labour contract'. 'Members of the salariat are advantaged over members of the working class in that they experience i) greater long-term security of income . . . ii) less short-term . . . fluctuation of income . . . and iii) better prospects of steadily increasing income over the life course' (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 2002, pp. 33–34). For these reasons, Erikson and Goldthorpe (2002, p. 34) argue that the Goldthorpe class schema 'serves as a good proxy for [what economists call] permanent income.'[11]

Duncan (1966, p. 91) points out that 'one is not entitled to discuss "effects" of mobility . . . until he has established that the apparent effect cannot be due merely to a simple combination of effects of the variables used to define mobility.' In other words, to speak of social mobility effects, we need to establish not only the main effects of origin and destination, but also their interaction effect (i.e. particular combinations of origin and destination) on the outcome of interest. There are various ways to model the interaction effects of origin and destination. In this paper, I parameterise the interaction effects by cross-classifying class origin and class destination, distinguishing nine mobility trajectories.[12]

The dissociative thesis holds that mobile individuals are socially isolated, bereft of social support, have lower level of wellbeing, and so on. Given this, my analytical strategy is to regress relevant measures of social

[10] Class destination is the current class position of the respondent. Class origin is defined as parent's social class when the respondent was aged 14. In cases where there is social class information for both father and mother, I take the higher of the two as representing class origin.

[11] The details of the Goldthorpe class schema and its derivative, the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC), can be found in Rose *et al.* (2005).

[12] Table 5 in the Appendix shows how the respondents are jointly distributed by class origin and class destination in the various surveys analysed. Each of the nine cells of this mobility table represents a mobility trajectory. They are parameterised as eight dummy variables, each contrasted against the reference category of being immobile in the working class (the bottom-right cell).

ties, civic engagement, subjective wellbeing, etc on the respondent's mobility trajectory. My regression models control for the basic demographic characteristics of individuals, namely their age, sex, ethnicity, marital status, parental status, and employment status. Some basic descriptive statistics of the covariates are shown in Table 4 in the Appendix.

3 Results

In view of the large number of outcome variables considered in this paper, I will focus on the estimates of four mobility trajectories: immobility in the working class (W→W, i.e. the bottom-right cell of Table 5) which is the reference category, immobility in the salariat (S→S, the top-left cell), long-range upward mobility from the working class to the salariat (W→S, the bottom-left cell), and long-range downward mobility from the salariat to the working class (S→W, the top-right cell).[13] The contrast between immobility in the salariat and immobility in the working class reveals the overall class difference in wellbeing. But it is the estimates of W→S and S→W that are of particular interest, because if there are any social mobility effects on wellbeing, they should be most apparent in cases of long-range upward and downward mobility.

3.1 Routine social interaction

Let us start with two measures of routine social interaction. In 2008, BHPS respondents were asked 'How often do you talk to any of your neighbours?' and 'How often do you meet friends or relatives who are not living with you?' Table 1 reports the distribution of their response to these questions. I dichotomise the two variables by contrasting the first response category ('most days') against the rest, and use them as the dependent variable in logistic regression models.[14] The full results of these (and other) regression models are reported in the Appendix. Figure 1 shows the predicted probabilities, along with the 95% confidence intervals, of our respondents having almost daily contact with neighbours (left panel) or with friends or

[13] Full regression results, including sample size, estimation method, and the parameter estimate and standard error of all predictors are reported in Tables 6 to 13 in the Appendix.

[14] I have repeated the analyses with a threefold contrast between 'most days', 'once or twice a week', and 'less often'. Using the trichotomised variables in multinomial logit models, I obtain similar results as those reported here. Details are available on request.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by frequency of talking to neighbours and meeting friends or relatives (column percentage)

	talk to neighbours	meet friends or relatives
most days	33.0	43.3
once or twice a week	38.4	39.4
once or twice a month	18.2	14.7
less than once a month	7.6	2.5
never	2.8	0.1
N	5,409	5,409

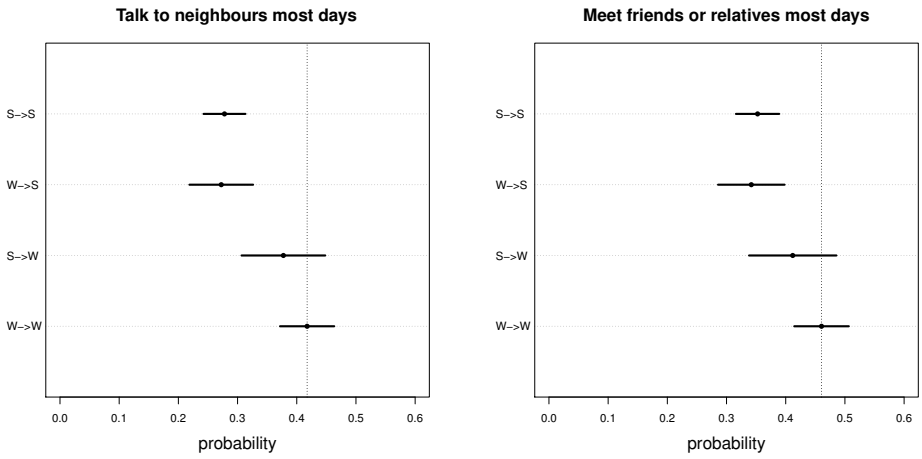

Figure 1: The probability of talking to neighbours (left panel) and meeting friends or relatives most days (right panel) by mobility trajectories

relatives (right panel).[15] In this and similar figures of this paper, the vertical line of each panel represents the point estimate of the reference category of those individuals who are immobile in the working class.

The left panel shows that, under our model, 28% of the second-generation

[15]The predicted probabilities are calculated as follows. For, say, the W→S trajectory, I set class origin as W and destination as S, while all other covariates take on their actual values. I then compute, based on the logit model of Table 6, the predicted probability of each individual having almost daily contact with neighbours. Finally, the predicted probabilities are averaged. In other words, the predicted value of W→S shown in Figure 1 is the mean of the individual predictions, not the predicted probability evaluated at the mean of the covariates. This process is then repeated for other combination of class origin and destination. The predicted probabilities of all other panels and figures are calculated in an analogous way.

salariat and 27% of the upwardly mobile talk to their neighbours almost daily, compared with 38% of the downwardly mobile and 42% of the immobile working class (the reference category). A very similar pattern holds for almost daily meeting with friends or relatives (right panel). Overall, it is clear that working class respondents are more likely to have very frequent contact with neighbours, friends or relatives. But the determinant of such everyday social interaction is current class position, *not* mobility experience. Indeed, if class origin and class destination are entered as main effects into the logit models without the interaction term, none of the class origin parameters are statistically significant.[16]

3.2 Civic engagement, volunteering and giving to charities

In 2011–12 (wave 3), respondents of Understanding Society were asked: 'Are you currently a member of any of the kinds of organisations on this card?', and 'Whether you are a member or not, do you join in the activities of any of these organisations on a regular basis?'[17] Figure 2 reports the distribution of the response to these two questions. As the modal response for either variable is, by a long way, 0, the level of formal civic engagement in the UK is rather low (the mean for membership is .9, and that for activity is .8).

I use these two count measures as the dependent variable in separate Poisson regressions. The top panels of Figure 3 show a clear gradient by mobility trajectories in formal civic engagement. In terms of membership, the mean for those who are second-generation salariat are 1.5, followed by the upwardly mobile (1.2), the downwardly mobile (.9) and the immobile in the working class (.6). All of these means are significantly different from each other. A very similar pattern holds for being active in civic organisations.

In wave 4 (2012–13) of Understanding Society, respondents were asked: 'In the last 12 months, have you given any unpaid help or worked as a volunteer for any type of local, national or international organisation or char-

[16] Details are available from the author.

[17] The types of organisation listed are: (1) Political party, (2) Trade Unions, (3) Environmental group, (4) Parents'/School Association, (5) Tenants'/Residents' Group or Neighbourhood Watch, (6) Religious group or church organisation, (7) Voluntary services group, (8) Pensioners group/organisation, (9) Scouts/Guides organisation, (10) Professional organisation, (11) Other community or civic group, (12) Social Club/Working men's club, (13) Sports Club, (14) Women's Institute/Townswomen's Guild, (15) Women's Group/Feminist Organisation, (16) Other group or organisation.

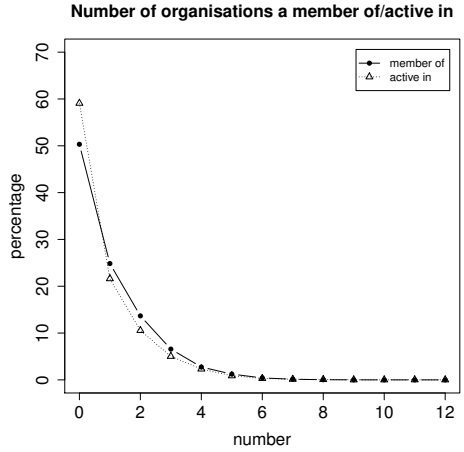

Figure 2: Distribution of the number of civic organisations of which respondents are members or in which they are active

ity?' and 'In the last 12 months, have you donated any money to charities or other organisations?' Overall, 18% of the respondents have volunteered and 67% have donated money to charities. I use these two measures as the dependent variable in logistic regression models. The bottom-left panel of Figure 3 shows that, under this model, 26% of the second-generation salariat have volunteered, compared to 20% of the upwardly mobile, 15% of the downwardly mobile, and 9% of those who are immobile in the working class. A similar gradient can be observed for charitable-giving (see the bottom-right panel).

Overall, Figure 3 shows that in terms of involvement in civic organisations, volunteering and charitable giving, the socially mobile are in-between those who are immobile at the top or the bottom of the class structure. But contrary to the dissociative thesis, there is no evidence that mobile individuals are socially disengaged.

3.3 Contact with parents

Echoing the functionalist claim that the extended family is not compatible with the high level of social mobility in industrial societies (Parsons, 1949), Friedman, Curl, and others argue that social mobility has adverse effects on kinship ties. This view is directly testable with data from wave 5 (2013–14) of Understanding Society. In that survey, respondents with a non-coresident mother and/or a non-coresident father were asked how often they see mother and father, or contact them by telephone, email

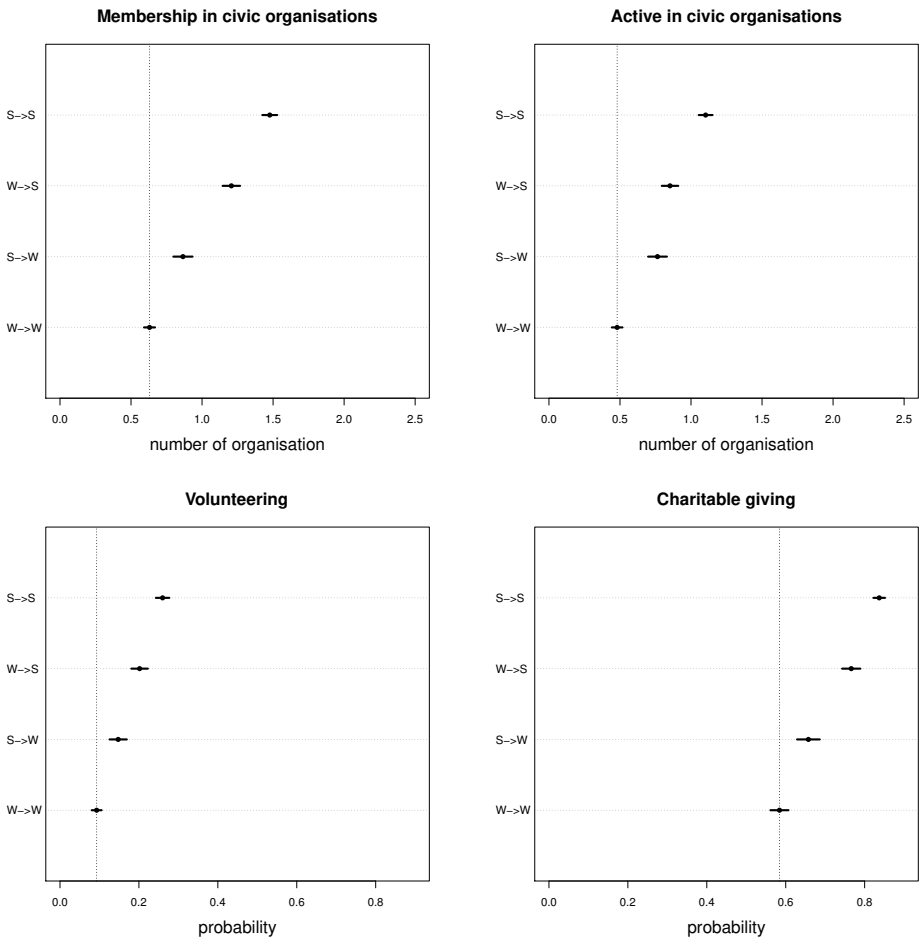

Figure 3: Probability of participation in civic organisations, volunteering and giving to charities by mobility trajectories

or letter. Table 2 shows the distribution of the frequency of intergenerational contact. I dichotomise these measures (contrasting the first three response categories against the rest), and use them as the dependent variable in logistic regression models.[18]

Table 2: Frequency of contact with non-coresident mother and father

		mother		father	
		see	contact	see	contact
regularly	daily	10.8	26.1	8.6	14.2
	at least once a week	38.5	51.9	33.5	48.1
	at least once a month	17.8	11.2	18.7	16.8
rarely	several times per year	18.1	2.8	19.4	5.9
	less often	11.6	2.3	13.1	5.0
	never	3.2	5.7	6.7	10.0
N		15,855	15,855	12,893	12,895

The top-left panel of Figure 4 shows that, compared with individuals who are immobile in the working class, second-generation salariat and the social mobile (whether upwards or downwards) are *less* likely to see their mother regularly. This finding is consistent with Friedman's claim. However, it is well known that for a number of reasons salariat parents and children tend to live farther apart. For example, salariat job opportunities may be more dispersed geographically. The higher income and greater wealth of the salariat could also lead them to search for housing opportunities over a broader area (see e.g. Chan and Ermisch, 2015a,b).

When I control for intergenerational proximity, the pattern is reversed, with 68% of those immobile in the salariat, 65% of the upwardly mobile, 66% of the downwardly mobile, and 62% of the immobile working class report seeing their mother regularly (see top-central panel of Figure 4). In other words, although intergenerational social mobility is often accompanied by geographical mobility which, in turn, constrains the frequency of face-to-face meeting, this does not necessarily imply a weakening of the intergenerational bond. Within the same broad category of intergenerational proximity, the socially mobile are actually slightly *more* likely to see their mother regularly.

Further support for this argument can be found when we turn to consider intergenerational contact by telephone, email or letter, i.e. means

[18] I have repeated the analysis by trichotomising the original six-fold response categories. This gives substantially the same result as that reported here. Details are available from the author on request.

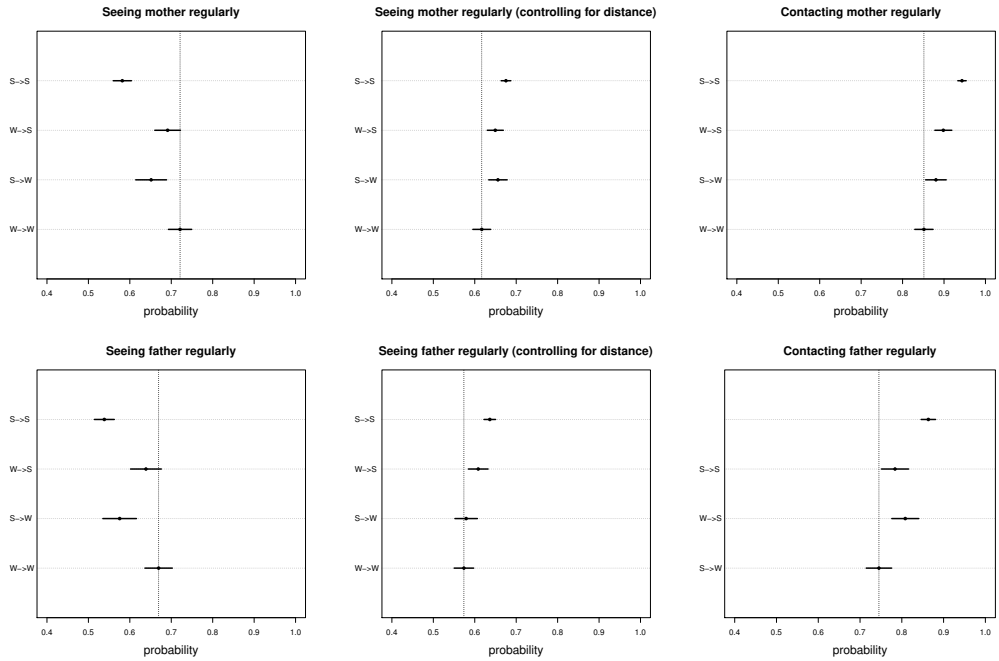

Figure 4: The probability of seeing/contacting non-coresident mother (top row) and father (bottom row) regularly by mobility trajectories

of contact that are not constrained by physical distance. The top-right panel shows that, compared with the second-generation working class, the socially mobile are *more* likely to be in regular contact with their mother through such methods. Very similar results are obtained regarding meeting or contacting father (see the bottom panels of Figure 4).

3.4 Close personal relationships

In addition to contact with parents, wave 5 of Understanding Society (2013–14) contains the following questions that tap how the respondents relate (separately) to their partner/spouse, members of immediate family, and friends: (1) 'How much do they really understand the way you feel about things?' (2) 'How much can you rely on them if you have a serious problem?' (3) 'How much can you open up to them if you need to talk about your worries?' (4) 'How much do they criticise you?' (5) 'How much do they let you down when you are counting on them?' (6) 'How much do they get on your nerves?' I use the response to these questions to form three additive scales, with higher scores denoting closer personal relation-

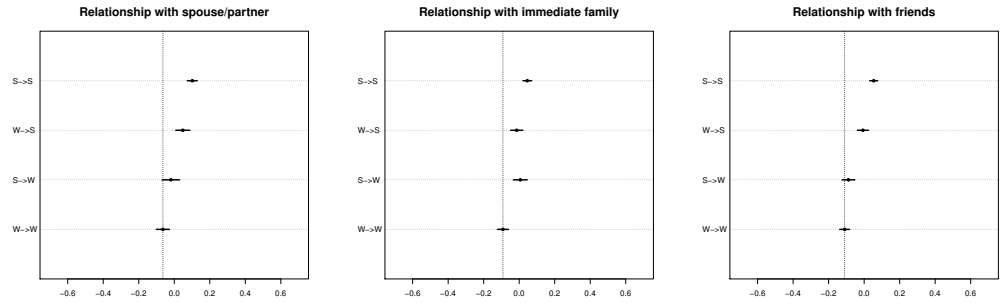

Figure 5: Close personal relationships by mobility trajectories

ships.[19]

Using the scale scores as the dependent variable in OLS regressions, Figure 5 shows that, compared to immobile individuals in the working class, second-generation salariat report *more* positive relationships with their partner/spouse, immediate family, and friends. And crucially for our present purpose, the same is true of the upwardly mobile.[20] So there is no support for the view that upward mobility is achieved at the cost of intimate relationships.

3.5 Social support

Does close personal relationship translate into social support? In 2007, BHPS respondents were asked: 'Is there anyone you could rely on to help you from outside your own household, (1) if you were feeling depressed?' (2) 'if you needed help finding a job for yourself or a member of your family?' (3) 'if you needed to borrow money to pay an urgent bill like electricity, gas, rent or mortgage?' Overall, 84%, 63% and 78% of the respondents replied 'yes' to these three questions respectively.[21]

Figure 6 shows how the level of social support from outside the household varies with mobility trajectories under logistic regression models. In all three cases, when compared to individuals who are immobile in the

[19]There are four response categories to these questions, ranging from 'a lot' through to 'not at all'. The Cronbach's alpha of the three scales equals .79, .76 and .71 respectively.

[20]Regarding relationship with partner/spouse, the magnitude for the upward mobility parameter is .11, compared to the absolute magnitude of the gender parameter of .08. Thus, the upward mobility effect is about a third larger than the gender difference. The standard deviation of all three scales is just under .7.

[21]There are actually three response categories to each of these questions: 'Yes', 'No' and 'Not sure'. I combine the last two categories and contrast them against the first.

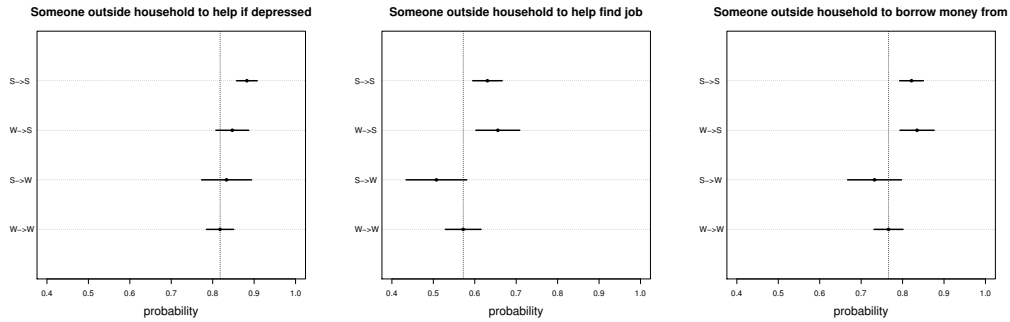

Figure 6: The probability of having support from someone outside the household by mobility trajectories

working class, second-generation salariat fare better and the downwardly mobile are not worse off. As regards the upwardly mobile, they are significantly more likely to receive support of an instrumental kind. Specifically, 66% of them have someone to help them find jobs and 83% have someone from whom they could borrow money. The figures for the second-generation working class are 57% and 77% respectively. Thus, contrary to the dissociative thesis, upwardly mobile respondents are not bereft of social support.[22]

3.6 Job satisfaction, life satisfaction, and GHQ

In wave 5 of Understanding Society, respondents were asked: 'On a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 means "Completely dissatisfied" and 7 means "Completely satisfied", how dissatisfied or satisfied are you with your present job overall?' They were also asked to evaluate their life overall using the same seven-point scale. The left panel of Figure 7 shows that the modal response to both questions is 6 ('Mostly satisfied'), and the top two categories (i.e. 'Mostly satisfied' and 'Completely satisfied') jointly account for about half of the respondents. In other words, most respondents are quite

[22]There is a further set of five questions on the emotional and moral support that respondents might have: (1) 'Is there anyone who you can really count on to listen to you when you need to talk?' (2) 'Is there anyone who you can really count on to help you out in a crisis?' (3) 'Is there anyone who you can totally be yourself with?' (4) 'Is there anyone who you feel really appreciates you as a person?' (5) 'Is there anyone who you can really count on to comfort you when you are very upset?' At least 95% of the respondents said 'yes' to each of these questions, and there is very little difference by mobility trajectories in the level of emotional or moral support received. Details are available from the author.

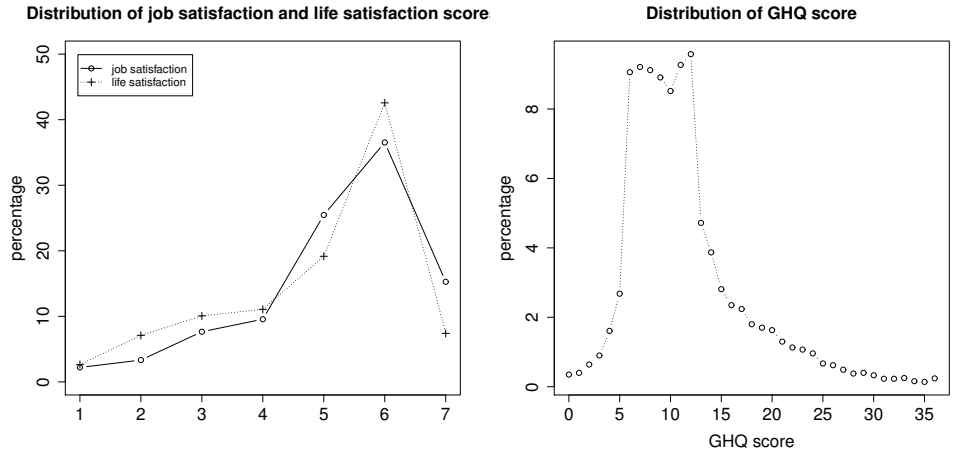

Figure 7: Distribution of job satisfaction, life satisfaction and GHQ score

content with their job or with their life overall.[23]

In addition, the survey contains the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ), which was originally devised as a screening tool for identifying minor psychiatric disorders in the general population. But it is also commonly used as a measure of subjective wellbeing. The GHQ measure in Understanding Society is constructed from twelve items.[24] Its scores range from 0 (least distressed) to 36 (most distressed). The right panel of Figure 7 plots the distribution of the GHQ score of the respondents.

Figure 8 shows that, compared with those who are immobile in the working class, upwardly mobile respondents and second-generation members of the salariat are more satisfied with their job (left panel) and with their life overall (central panel). These differences are statistically significant, but they are relatively small in substantive terms. For example, re-

[23]There are three further life satisfaction questions, dealing with how satisfied the respondents are with their income, health and leisure. Analyses of these items give similar results to those reported here. Details are available from the author on request.

[24]The twelve questions are as follows: 'The next questions are about how you have been feeling over the last few weeks. (1) Have you recently been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing? (2) Have you recently lost much sleep over worry? (3) Have you recently felt that you were playing a useful part in things? (4) Have you recently felt capable of making decisions about things? (5) Have you recently felt constantly under strain? (6) Have you recently felt you couldn't overcome your difficulties? (7) Have you recently been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities? (8) Have you recently been able to face up to problems? (9) Have you recently been feeling unhappy or depressed? (10) Have you recently been losing confidence in yourself? (11) Have you recently been thinking of yourself as a worthless person? (12) Have you recently been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered?'

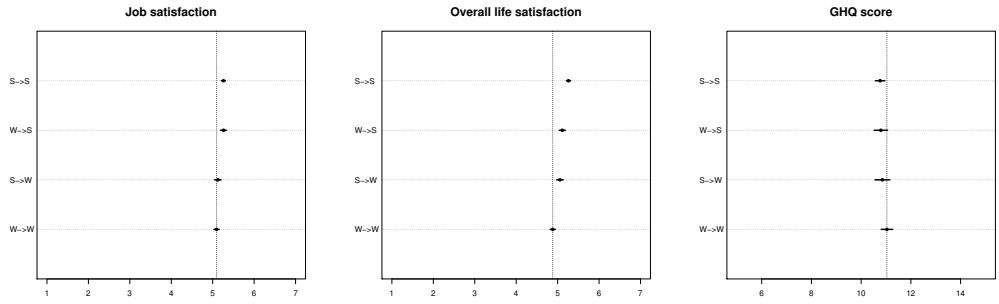

Figure 8: Job satisfaction, life satisfaction and subjective wellbeing by mobility trajectories

garding overall life satisfaction, the mean for second-generation salariat is 5.3, followed by the upwardly mobile (5.1), the downwardly mobile (5.1) and the immobile working class (4.9). Finally, second-generation salariat and the upwardly mobile seem to be slightly less distressed than those who are immobile in the working class. But these differences are, at best, on the borderline of statistical significance (right panel).[25] Overall, though, the results of this Section do not support the dissociative thesis.

3.7 Life evaluation

Kahneman and Deaton (2010) argue that there are two related but different dimensions of subjective wellbeing, each has its own covariates. First, there is '[e]motional wellbeing . . . [which] refers to the emotional quality of an individual's everyday experience—the frequency and intensity of experiences of joy, stress, sadness, anger, and affection that make one's life pleasant or unpleasant' (Kahneman and Deaton, 2010, p. 16,489). But this is quite different from the second dimension of 'life evaluation' which is about how individuals think about their life in a more reflective and longer-term perspective. The GHQ score considered above is more akin to Kahneman and Deaton's first dimension, i.e. emotional wellbeing. But there are also a couple of measures in the BHPS which tap life evaluation.

In wave 16 of the BHPS, respondents were asked whether they think a list of statements apply to themselves, two of which seem particularly relevant to our present concern: 'On balance, I look back on my life with

[25] Using population register data from Sweden, Tiikkaja *et al.* (2013, p. 1) show that 'downward mobility was associated with increased risk and upward mobility with decreased risk of psychiatric disorder.'

Table 3: Distribution of responses regarding life evaluation

	look back with happiness	satisfied with way life has turned out
often	54.2	42.4
sometimes	37.8	45.9
not often	6.9	9.6
never	1.1	2.0
N	5,745	5,743

a sense of happiness', and 'I feel satisfied with the way my life has turned out'. There are four response categories to these statements: 'Often', 'Sometimes', 'Not often' and 'Never'. I contrast the first category against the rest (see Table 3), and use the two binary variables thus formed as the dependent variable in logistic regression models.

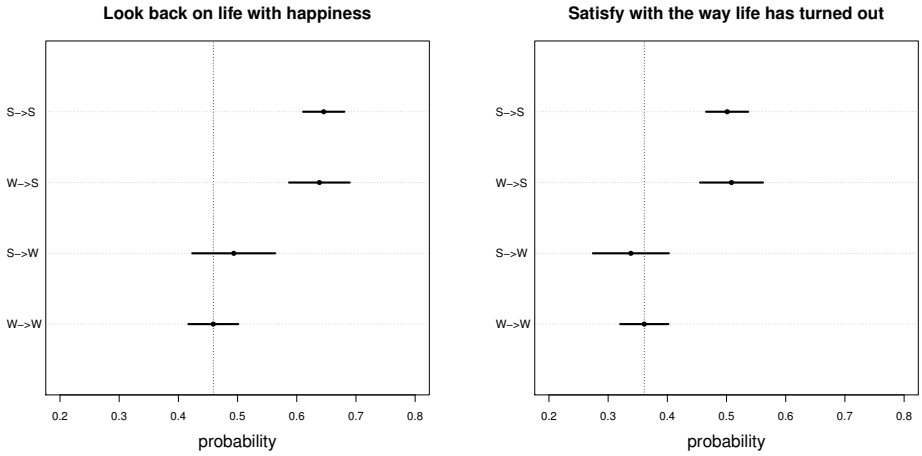

Figure 9: The probability of positive life evaluation by mobility trajectories

The left panel of Figure 9 shows that 65% of the second-generation salariat and 64% of the upwardly mobile often look back on life with happiness, compared to 49% of the downwardly mobile and 46% of the immobile working class. A similar picture holds for whether the respondent often feels satisfied with the way life has turned out (the right panel).

It seems clear that the upwardly mobile evaluate their life quite positively, at least more so than those who are immobile in the working class. It is difficult to reconcile these findings with the view of the upwardly mobile as angst-ridden individuals, suffering from a 'crippling insecurity', with

'a sense of self torn by contradiction and internal division.'

4 Summary and discussion

Sorokin (1959), Friedman (2014, 2016), and several other scholars have argued that social mobility comes at a high price to the individuals who experience it. They claim that the upwardly mobile are socially isolated, bereft of support, less likely to form intimate relationships, have lower level of wellbeing, and so on. In this paper, I test these claims with data drawn from two recent, large-scale and nationally representative surveys, namely the British Household Panel Survey and Understanding Society.

Members of the working class, whether they are of the first or the second generation, are more likely to have almost daily interaction with neighbours, friends or relatives. But if the salariat are less likely to drop in on someone, they (and the socially mobile) are more likely to be involved in civic organisations or to volunteer. So rather than suggesting that the salariat or the socially mobile are less sociable, it seems more accurate to say that individuals of differing mobility experience favour different forms of sociability.

The socially mobile and the salariat are less likely to see their parents at least once a month. But this is entirely due to the greater geographical distance between parents and children in these cases. Once physical proximity has been taken into account, the pattern is reversed. That is to say, within broad categories of intergenerational proximity, the socially mobile are actually *more* likely to see their parents regularly. Social mobility is often accompanied by geographical mobility, which constrains the frequency of face-to-face meetings between the generations. This does not, however, imply a weakening of the intergenerational bond. In this sense, there is no evidence that social mobility adversely affects kinship ties.

Moreover, the upwardly mobile and the second-generation salariat report more positive relationships with partner/spouse, members of immediate family, and friends. They report higher levels of job satisfaction and overall life satisfaction. They are more likely to have someone from outside the household to offer instrumental support; more likely to look back on life with happiness, or to feel satisfied with the way life has turned out. And there is no evidence that upward mobility is associated with greater psychological distress.

All in all, the evidence from large-scale systematic surveys is pretty clear. They do not support the dissociative thesis. On a range of social relational indicators as well as on several direct measures of wellbeing,

the upwardly mobile tend to do as well as, and in many cases better than, those who are immobile in the working class.[26]

How do we make sense of these findings? It seems to me that the arguments that Goldthorpe sets out in relation to his 1974 data are still relevant. That is, despite the large and persisting inequality in relative mobility chances that prevails in the UK (Goldthorpe, 2013), a considerable number of people of working class origins do manage get into the salariat (Goldthorpe, 1987, p. 207). Being upwardly mobile is not really such a rare and isolating experience.

Furthermore, although a status order, in the classical Weberian sense, can still be identified in contemporary British society, deference is undeniably in long-term decline (see e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2004; Runciman, 1997). The empirical evidence is that social status is an important predictor of particular aspects of life choice, but not of life chances in general (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007). And it would be misleading to consider contemporary British society to be so hidebound in social status that the upwardly mobile are frozen out of social relationships.[27]

Friedman and other scholars are right to be wary of politicians' declared support for promoting social mobility. For example, Nick Clegg, then Deputy Prime Minister, writes that 'improving social mobility is the principal goal of the Coalition Government's social policy.'[28] As Corak (2013, p. 79) argues, 'an emerging body of evidence suggests that more inequality of incomes in the present is likely to make family background play a stronger role in determining the adult outcomes of young people, with their own hard work playing a commensurately weaker role.'[29] In other words, a precondition for more social mobility is actually a more egalitarian so-

[26] Friedman argues that the experience of social mobility might be particularly problematic for women and ethnic minorities. I have repeated the analyses of this paper with subsamples of women or of ethnic minorities. I have also repeated the analyses for younger respondents between the ages of 20 and 35. In all these sensitivity tests, the results obtained are broadly in line with those reported in the paper. Details are available from the author on request.

[27] As Goldthorpe (1987, p. 207) puts it, '[e]ven if we were to accept that the service-class core, or even smaller groupings within it, may still seek to preserve their status exclusivenss and will refuse social acceptance to *arrivistes*, this would still in no way imply that the latter would be deprived of opportunities for sociability within their class of destination. And of course the very extent of the inflow into the service class must in itself have increased the difficulty of maintaining status barriers.'

[28] The quote is from the 2011 policy paper 'Opening doors, breaking barriers: a strategy for social mobility' published by the Cabinet Office and the Deputy Prime Minister Office.

[29] Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) make a similar point when they note that while the pattern and levels of relative social mobility are generally speaking very similar across nations, egalitarian Sweden seems to be more fluid than the other cases in their sample.

ciety, something many politicians are less keen on. Even more starkly, Goldthorpe (2013) and Goldthorpe and Jackson (2007) point out that most politicians of all complexions might not fully realise that in order to equalise relative mobility chances, there must be more downward mobility from the salariat. It is hard to see how any political party will ever campaign for more children of the better off skidding down the class structure.

But it would be wrong to suggest that upward mobility is in general a negative experience for those who have achieved occupational success. There is simply no support in the data for the dissociative thesis. We should bear in mind that individuals in advantaged social positions tend to have lower divorce rates (Härkönen and Dronkers, 2006) and better health (Marmot, 2010); they are less likely to experience long-term or recurrent unemployment (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007), and are less likely to live with a fear of crime (Pantazis, 2000). Given that a stable marriage, good health, a safe physical environment, and financial security are among the most important determinants of wellbeing, should we not expect the upwardly mobile to fare better than those who are immobile in the working class?

Finally, our result is asymmetric in the sense that although the upwardly mobile tend to fare better than the immobile working class, those who have experienced long-range downward mobility are not worse off. This asymmetry is puzzling given the Easterlin paradox and loss aversion. To elaborate, the Easterlin paradox (Easterlin, 1974, 1995) suggests that social comparison is key to the subjective wellbeing of individuals. As it is reasonable to assume that individuals compare their own circumstances with those of their parents, this could explain why the upwardly mobile do better than the immobile working class.[30] But how then do we explain the finding that the downwardly mobile are not worse off than those who are immobile in the working class? Moreover, it is well established that subjectively speaking loss is felt much more keenly than gain of the same magnitude (Kahneman and Tversky, 1984). Perhaps this is an example of habituation (Brickman *et al.*, 1978) whereby people return to their previous level of wellbeing after experiencing a large gain (e.g. winning a lottery) or a large loss (e.g. becoming a paraplegic in an accident). In other words, even among the downwardly mobile, many do adapt to their loss over the medium and long run. But clearly more research on the experience of downward mobility is called for.

[30] Indeed, both Clark and D'Angelo (2013) and Nikolaev and Burns (2014) refer to Easterlin.

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A Online appendix: descriptive statistics and the full results of regression analyses

Table 4: Descriptive statistics of the covariates*

	BHPS			Understanding Society		
	2006	2007	2008	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14
female	52.2	52.4	52.5	52.0	51.5	51.6
couple	70.3	70.3	70.3	67.7	67.1	65.8
single	20.0	20.1	20.1	22.6	23.3	24.8
wid/sep/div	9.8	9.7	9.6	9.7	9.6	9.4
have children	34.1	34.1	33.9	35.1	35.1	35.8
white	94.8	94.6	94.8	90.6	90.5	90.6
non-white	5.2	5.4	5.2			
mixed				1.1	1.2	1.3
asian				4.2	4.2	4.2
black				2.3	2.3	2.2
others				1.8	1.8	1.8
employed	75.4	75.5	75.3	72.7	74.1	74.9
dest–salariat	40.6	41.4	42.3	42.3	42.6	43.1
dest–intermediate	26.4	26.4	25.7	23.3	23.6	23.0
dest–working	33.0	32.2	32.0	34.4	33.8	33.9
origin–salariat	27.4	32.5	32.3	36.5	37.0	38.1
origin–intermediate	33.2	34.8	34.9	26.3	26.4	26.3
origin–working	39.5	32.7	32.8	37.2	36.6	35.7
age (mean)	42.6	42.7	43.0	42.6	42.6	42.5
age (sd)	12.6	12.5	12.5	12.6	12.6	12.7

Note: * percentages, except for age.

Table 5: Distribution of respondents by class origin and class destination (cell percentages)

	destination		
origin	S	I	W
S	19.8	7.0	5.4
	20.4	6.8	5.3
	20.7	6.8	5.4
	21.2	8.6	9.0
	21.7	8.8	8.9
	22.5	8.5	9.3
I	13.8	10.8	9.9
	14.0	10.7	10.0
	14.9	10.2	9.8
	10.8	7.0	8.8
	10.9	7.3	8.5
	10.8	7.2	8.6
W	8.8	9.3	15.3
	8.7	9.3	14.7
	8.8	8.9	14.6
	11.2	7.6	15.8
	11.2	7.3	15.4
	11.0	7.2	15.0

Note: the six figures in each cell, from top to bottom, refer to BHPS wave 16 ($N = 4,397$), BHPS wave 17 ($N = 4,164$), BHPS wave 18 ($N = 3,922$), Understanding Society wave 3 ($N = 15,975$), Understanding Society wave 4 ($N = 14,804$), and Understanding Society wave 5 ($N = 13,922$) respectively. Thus, for example, 19.8% of the respondents in BHPS wave 16 are second generation salariat, compared to 20.4% of those in BHPS wave 17, and 20.7% of those in BHPS wave 18, and so on.

Table 6: Determinants of routine social interaction: talking to neighbours and meeting relatives or friends most days

	talk to neighbour		meet people	
	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$
female	.155	.081	.257**	.076
age	−.015	.030	−.039	.028
age squared	.025	.034	.027	.033
single	.091	.157	.229	.143
sep/div/wid	.090	.134	.267*	.126
have children	.456**	.096	.116	.089
non-white	.074	.208	−.018	.200
not employed	.512**	.103	.352**	.101
S→S	−.635**	.135	−.459**	.128
I→S	−.685**	.148	−.325*	.137
W→S	−.663**	.172	−.506**	.162
S→I	−.441*	.177	−.314	.168
I→I	−.394*	.158	−.294	.152
W→I	−.222	.158	−.111	.157
S→W	−.171	.184	−.202	.185
I→W	−.096	.155	−.102	.154
constant	−.554	.651	.780	.617
est.method	logit		logit	
N	3,668		3,668	
R^2	.031		.021	

Table 7: Determinants of participation in civic organisations, volunteering and giving to charities

	member		active		volunteering		giving	
	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$
female	$-.005$	.020	$.052*$	.024	$.208**$	.048	$.410**$	.043
age	$.024**$	.007	.014	.009	$-.014$	.016	$.056**$	.015
age-sq	$-.009$	.008	$-.000$	.010	.037	.019	$-.043*$	.018
single	$-.014$	.032	.021	.038	$.298**$	.074	.033	.069
wid/div/sep	$-.132**$	.036	$-.105*$	.044	$-.100$	.083	$-.260**$	.074
children	$.081**$	.023	$.277**$	.029	.080	.060	.000	.053
mixed	.004	.083	.122	.094	.109	.229	$-.454*$	.187
asian	$-.176**$	.053	$-.035$	.060	$-.085$	.116	$-.008$	.094
black	$.374**$	.048	$.434**$	.052	$-.097$	.126	$-.402**$	.111
others	$-.232**$	.074	$-.214**$	.082	$-.068$	.181	$-.511**$	.132
not employed	.119	.067	$.207**$	.072	$.617**$	.142	$-.093$	.135
S→S	$.851**$	.036	$.831**$	.046	$1.242**$	.089	$1.323**$	.074
I→S	$.728**$	.041	$.721**$	.052	$1.042**$	.100	$1.158**$	.088
W→S	$.649**$	.040	$.573**$	.052	$.909**$	.101	$.865**$	.083
S→I	$.447**$	.047	$.552**$	.059	$.965**$	.109	$.640**$	.087
I→I	$.207**$	.052	$.359**$	.062	$.874**$	.115	$.671**$	.093
W→I	$.159**$	.052	$.264**$	.063	$.404**$	.122	$.497**$	.091
S→W	$.317**$	.050	$.464**$	.059	$.527**$	.117	$.320**$	.083
I→W	.067	.051	$.133*$	.061	.130	.128	.047	.082
constant	$-1.353**$	.157	$-1.495**$	.190	$-2.581**$	.349	$-1.332**$	.304
est.method	Poisson		Poisson		logit		logit	
N	15,795		15,794		14,739		14,734	
R^2					.032		.057	

Table 8: Determinants of seeing/contacting mother regularly

	seeing		seeing		contacting	
	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$
female	.346**	.051	.504**	.081	.528**	.080
age	−.089**	.021	−.121**	.036	−.005	.032
age-sq	.100**	.025	.135**	.044	−.036	.038
single	.019	.084	.050	.137	−.245	.126
wid/div/sep	.175	.097	.132	.156	−.161	.138
children	.270**	.059	.252**	.095	.178	.094
mixed	−.858**	.189	−.107	.333	−.823**	.253
asian	−1.504**	.111	.090	.196	.725**	.223
black	−1.465**	.133	.450	.314	−.269	.190
others	−2.436**	.186	.030	.253	.118	.271
not employed	−.724**	.198	−.702**	.240	−.144	.294
15–30 min			−.710**	.151		
30–60 min			−1.807**	.144		
1–2 hours			−3.305**	.135		
$>$ 2 hours			−5.198**	.136		
abroad			−7.657**	.379		
S→S	−.663**	.091	.706**	.149	1.091**	.134
I→S	−.389**	.105	.722**	.169	.905**	.155
W→S	−.155	.110	.384*	.173	.445**	.148
S→I	−.428**	.113	.673**	.181	.651**	.162
I→I	.092	.125	.873**	.195	.526*	.167
W→I	.168	.136	.562*	.218	.386*	.168
S→W	−.348**	.118	.463*	.189	.258	.154
I→W	−.122	.120	.187	.189	.156	.160
constant	2.708**	.429	5.103**	.747	2.367**	.684
est.method	logit		logit		logit	
N	9,399		9,371		9,400	
R^2	.061		.559		.054	

Table 9: Determinants of seeing/contacting father regularly

	seeing		seeing		contacting	
	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$
female	.268**	.054	.204*	.080	.249**	.067
age	−.021	.023	−.020	.034	.031	.027
age-sq	.018	.029	.015	.042	−.048	.034
single	−.195*	.082	−.180	.121	−.368**	.096
wid/div/sep	−.022	.106	−.073	.164	−.221	.123
children	.227**	.061	.120	.090	.071	.075
mixed	−.890**	.196	−.447	.289	−.840**	.227
asian	−1.148**	.123	.429*	.195	1.314**	.234
black	−1.651**	.156	−.370	.275	−.693**	.156
others	−2.105**	.202	−.109	.428	.199	.265
not employed	−.367	.200	−.315	.294	−.086	.242
15–30 min			−1.160**	.134		
30–60 min			−1.779**	.139		
1–2 hours			−3.363**	.132		
$>$ 2 hours			−5.000**	.136		
abroad			−6.589**	.307		
S→S	−.578**	.095	.634**	.142	.784**	.113
I→S	−.294**	.111	.611**	.167	.607**	.131
W→S	−.142	.117	.344*	.170	.218	.129
S→I	−.422**	.117	.442*	.178	.513**	.140
I→I	−.062	.131	.278	.198	.130	.143
W→I	.075	.139	.133	.199	.274	.153
S→W	−.421**	.119	.053	.177	.372**	.137
I→W	−.175	.125	−.031	.179	.121	.137
constant	1.183**	.448	3.177**	.673	.545	.533
est.method	logit		logit		logit	
N	7,807		7,726		7,808	
R^2	.043		.494		.029	

Table 10: Determinants of the quality of close personal relationship

	partner		family		friends	
	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$
female	$-.079**$	.014	$.091**$	.011	$.310**$	.010
age	$-.016**$	.005	$-.015**$	.004	.001	.003
age-sq	$.015*$	.006	$.018**$	.005	$-.000$	.004
single			$-.013$	.018	$.035*$	.016
wid/div/sep			$.044*$	.022	$.063**$	.020
children	$-.129**$	.016	$-.025$	.014	.011	.013
mixed	$-.158*$	.071	$-.046$	.051	$-.000$	.046
asian	$-.193**$	.036	.058	.032	$-.066*$	.028
black	$-.211**$	.058	$-.102*$	.042	$-.285**$	.038
others	$-.132*$	.053	$-.031$	.045	$-.150**$	.040
not employed	$-.224**$	.058	$-.099*$	.040	$-.041$	.036
S→S	$.165**$	.023	$.137**$	.019	$.163**$	.018
I→S	$.131**$	.027	$.106**$	.023	$.128**$	.021
W→S	$.112**$	.027	$.077**$	.023	$.102**$	.021
S→I	$.103**$	.030	$.116**$	.025	$.088**$	.023
I→I	.056	.031	$.096**$	.026	$.107**$	.024
W→I	.021	.032	$.080**$	.026	$.110**$	.024
S→W	.044	.031	$.097**$	.025	.021	.022
I→W	.046	.031	.047	.025	.043	.023
constant	$.438**$	.120	.166	.085	$-.336**$	.077
est.method	OLS		OLS		OLS	
N	9,018		12,247		12,156	
R^2	.028		.012		.080	

Table 11: Determinants of social support from someone outside the household

	help if depressed		help find job		could borrow money	
	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$
female	$.826**$	$.100$	$.034$	$.074$	$.272**$	$.087$
age	$-.098*$	$.044$	$-.104**$	$.030$	$-.116**$	$.039$
age squared	$.090$	$.048$	$.074*$	$.034$	$.087*$	$.042$
single	$.190$	$.190$	$-.187$	$.144$	$-.186$	$.161$
sep/div/wid	$.087$	$.166$	$.117$	$.118$	$.047$	$.137$
have children	$-.003$	$.121$	$.043$	$.090$	$.226*$	$.108$
non-white	$-.189$	$.240$	$.160$	$.199$	$-.023$	$.228$
not employed	$-.392**$	$.123$	$-.438**$	$.092$	$-.396**$	$.109$
S→S	$.528**$	$.173$	$.255*$	$.124$	$.353*$	$.147$
I→S	$.062$	$.169$	$.234$	$.134$	$-.047$	$.150$
W→S	$.217$	$.198$	$.369*$	$.156$	$.451*$	$.188$
S→I	$.267$	$.225$	$.154$	$.165$	$.160$	$.199$
I→I	$.204$	$.18$	$.271$	$.147$	$.015$	$.166$
W→I	$-.037$	$.185$	$.359*$	$.153$	$-.052$	$.169$
S→W	$.110$	$.254$	$-.273$	$.182$	$-.188$	$.205$
I→W	$-.098$	$.183$	$-.139$	$.147$	$-.207$	$.164$
constant	$3.720**$	1.001	$3.509**$	$.679$	$4.590**$	$.894$
est.method	logit		logit		logit	
N	4,060		4,042		4,047	
R^2	.038		.040		.046	

Table 12: Determinants of satisfaction with job, with life overall and GHQ scores

	job satisfaction		life satisfaction		GHQ score	
	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$
female	.133**	.024	.051*	.024	.846**	.092
age	−.026**	.008	−.074**	.008	.203**	.032
age-sq	.033**	.010	.079**	.010	−.224**	.039
single	−.084*	.036	−.372**	.037	.798**	.140
wid/div/sep	−.118*	.045	−.523**	.047	1.099**	.174
children	.039	.030	.033	.030	.055	.114
mixed	−.049	.104	−.084	.107	.124	.399
asian	.250**	.062	−.065	.064	−.300	.241
black	−.189*	.082	−.324**	.086	−.909**	.318
others	.277**	.090	−.190*	.092	−.467	.343
not employed	.066	.089	−.211*	.083	1.937**	.311
S→S	.164**	.040	.378**	.041	−.274	.153
I→S	.092	.048	.306**	.049	−.306	.183
W→S	.166**	.047	.231**	.048	−.243	.181
S→I	.201**	.051	.158**	.053	.137	.197
I→I	.280**	.054	.190**	.055	−.259	.208
W→I	.302**	.054	.201**	.055	−.083	.207
S→W	.029	.050	.173**	.052	−.179	.193
I→W	.110*	.051	.204**	.052	−.560**	.196
constant	5.507**	.173	6.600**	.178	6.045**	.662
est.method	OLS		OLS		OLS	
N	13,774		12,665		12,669	
R^2	.010		.031		.019	

Table 13: Determinants of life evaluation

	look back with happiness		satisfied way life turned out	
	β	$s.e.$	β	$s.e.$
female	$.269**$	$.070$	$.364**$	$.070$
age	$-.057*$	$.026$	$-.108**$	$.026$
age squared	$.084**$	$.029$	$.122**$	$.030$
single	$-.330*$	$.132$	$-.893**$	$.144$
sep/div/wid	$-.595**$	$.116$	$-1.011**$	$.128$
have children	$.151$	$.084$	$.010$	$.084$
non-white	$-.328$	$.199$	$-.150$	$.212$
not employed	$-.300**$	$.090$	$-.317**$	$.092$
S→S	$.782**$	$.119$	$.602**$	$.121$
I→S	$.369**$	$.127$	$.476**$	$.130$
W→S	$.750**$	$.146$	$.632**$	$.147$
S→I	$.551**$	$.153$	$.403**$	$.155$
I→I	$.344*$	$.137$	$.249$	$.141$
W→I	$.389**$	$.143$	$.329*$	$.149$
S→W	$.142$	$.171$	$-.103$	$.179$
I→W	$.124$	$.141$	$-.011$	$.148$
constant	$.579$	$.553$	$1.755**$	$.572$
est.method	logit		logit	
N	4,275		4,275	
R^2	.031		.045	