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EVIDENCE FROM 103 COUNTRIES

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Well-being Increases in Age Among Workers: Evidence From 103 Countries

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ABSTRACT

We examine how workers' and non-workers' wellbeing varies by age across 171 countries in eight international surveys. In 103 countries (60%) we find evidence that workers' wellbeing rises with age and workers' illbeing falls with age. This relationship appears to have strengthened over time in some countries. Patterns are different among non-workers and are sensitive to survey mode. Where surveys are conducted using Computer-Assisted Web-based Interviews (CAWI) non-workers' wellbeing is U-shaped, but this is less clear-cut when the data are collected with Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI). The change in the age profile of workers' wellbeing may reflect changes in selection into (out of) employment by age, changes in job quality, or changes in young workers' orientation to similar jobs over time. But changes in smartphone usage – often the focus of debate regarding declining young peoples' wellbeing – are unlikely to be the main culprit unless there are sizeable differences in smartphone usage across young workers and non-workers, which appears unlikely.

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1. Introduction

Recent empirical research for the United States indicates that the changing age-pattern in subjective well-being and ill-being has been driven by increasing ill-being among young workers (Blanchflower and Bryson, 2025a, Blanchflower and Bryson, 2026). This is apparent across every state and major city in the United States. The changes in despair in the United States in these papers are presented in **Charts 1a-1c** for non-workers, workers and all respectively. Among non-workers the age profile has remained hump-shaped since the early 1990s, though the incidence of despair has risen more among those aged under 40 years. Among workers, despair has been downward sloping throughout, but the gradient of the slope has tilted markedly, with despair rising faster the younger the worker. The age pattern in despair for all has shifted from hump-shaped to downward sloping. These results are mirrored with respect to subjective well-being: the upward age gradient in life satisfaction among workers has steepened over time.

These new findings have occasioned debate as to why ill-being (well-being) has risen (fallen) among young workers, an issue we return to in the discussion. However, the purpose of this paper is to establish whether improvements in well-being by age among workers – and the decline in ill-being – are apparent in countries other than the United States. We confirm this pattern exists, not only in the United States, but in another 102 countries from every continent.¹ The list includes 29 of the top 40 richest countries in the world based on Gross National Income (GNI) per capita (2021 PPP \$) as reported by the UN.² This is the first time this empirical finding has been established.

Earlier studies have established that differences in survey mode can play an important role in the way that people respond to questions about their subjective well-being, especially among the young (Blanchflower, 2025; Blanchflower and Bryson, 2025c; and Blanchflower, Bryson and Cui, 2025). We find this is also true in our data, especially when examining age patterns in the wellbeing of non-workers.³

¹ Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belarus, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, DR Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Hong Kong, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Korea South, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukraine, UAE, UK, USA, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Yemen, and Zimbabwe.

² The GNI country rankings are 1=Liechtenstein; 2=Norway; 3=Singapore; 4=Qatar; 5=Ireland; 6=Luxembourg; 7=Switzerland; 8=Denmark; 9=Brunei Darussalam; 10=United States; 11=United Arab Emirates; 12=Hong Kong, China (SAR); 13=Iceland; 14=Netherlands; 15=Sweden; 16=San Marino; 17=Andorra; 18=Germany; 19=Belgium; 20=Austria; 21=Australia; 22=Finland; 23=Kuwait; 24=France; 25=Canada; 26=United Kingdom; 27=Bahrain; 28=Italy; 29=Malta; 30=Saudi Arabia <https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/human-development-index#/indicies/HDI>

³ We do not find these patterns for many other countries, and we simply report evidence for the countries we do find it for. In Europe we see no evidence of these patterns for Eastern European countries as well as for most less developed countries in the GWP or WVS surveys. In the GWP there are 168 countries. In the Eurobarometer files there are 41 and in the WVS there are 107. We did not find these patterns in these 68 countries for which we had data. Albania; Andorra; Belize; Bhutan; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Botswana; Burkina Faso; Burundi; Cambodia; Central African Republic; Chad; Comoros; Congo(Kinshasa); Congo Brazzaville; Cuba; Djibouti; DR Congo; Eswatini; Ethiopia; Gabon; Greece; Guyana; Haiti; Indonesia; Iran; Jamaica; Jordan; Kosovo; Laos; Lebanon; Lesotho; Liberia; Libya; Macau; Malawi; Maldives; Mali; Mauritania; Moldova; Mongolia; Montenegro; Myanmar; Namibia; Nepal; Niger; Northern Cyprus; Northern Macedonia; Oman; Palestinian Territories; Senegal; Serbia; Sierra Leone; Slovakia;

2. Data and Estimation Methods

2.1: Data

We examine data from eight international datasets – four collected data via computer-assisted telephone interviewing (or CATI), three used computer-assisted web interviewing (CAWI), and one using both. The CATI based surveys are the Eurobarometer surveys (EB), 2004-2024; the World Values Surveys (WVS) 1981-2023; the Gallup World Poll (GWP), 2005-2025; and the European Social Survey (ESS), 2018-2023. The survey using both CATI and CAWI is the 2022 Global Flourishing Study (GFS). The remaining 3 CAWI-only surveys are the EU Loneliness Survey of 2022; the Come-Here (CH) 2020-2025 for France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Sweden; and the Global Minds Surveys (GM) of 2020-2026.

We analyze a variety of well-being and ill-being measures ranging from life satisfaction and happiness to loneliness, sleep quality, anxiety, worry and four composite negative affect scores. These are discussed below and in the appendix.

2.1.1: Eurobarometers, 2004-2024 (<https://www.gesis.org/en/eurobarometer-data-service/data-and-documentation>)

We analyze the Harmonized Eurobarometer file 2004-2021.⁴ We focus on a 4-step life satisfaction question which asks:

Q1. “Would you say you are very satisfied =4, fairly satisfied=3, not very satisfied=2 or not at all satisfied=1 with the life you lead?”

2.1.2: World Values Survey, 1981-2023 (<https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp>)

We analyze life satisfaction on a 10-step scale (1=dissatisfied...10=satisfied) over six waves of data for 10 countries.

2.1.3: Gallup World Poll, 2005-2025 (<https://www.gallup.com/analytics/318875/global-research.aspx#ite-657077>)

We examine responses to Cantril's 11-step life evaluation ladder question:

Q3. “Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from zero at the bottom to ten at the top. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. If the top step is 10 and the bottom step is 0, on which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?”

2.1.4: European Social Survey (ESS), 2002-2023 (<https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>)

We examine life satisfaction data across 11 sweeps of the ESS with a sample size of 537,938 across 39 countries including all 27 EU countries plus Albania, Israel, Georgia, Kosovo, Norway,

Slovenia; Somalia; Somaliland region; South Sudan; Suriname; Syria; Taiwan; Tajikistan; Thailand; The Gambia; Togo; Turkey; Turkmenistan; Vietnam and Zambia.

⁴ https://search.gesis.org/research_data/SDN-10.7802-2539 and <https://doi.org/10.7802/2539>

Montenegro, North Macedonia, Russia, Serbia, Switzerland, Ukraine and the UK. The question asked is 11-step:

Q4. *"All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays? Please answer using this card, where 0 means extremely dissatisfied and 10 means extremely satisfied."*

The survey has taken place every second year since 2002.

2.1.5: EU Loneliness Survey of 2022 (<https://data.jrc.ec.europa.eu/dataset/82e60986-9987-4610-ab4a-84f0f5a9193b>)

We examine ill-being data from the EU Loneliness Survey of 2022 (Schnepf, d'Hombres and Mauri, 2024). The survey was conducted using CAWI only in November and December 2022. The survey consists of two samples: the EU27 and the EU4 samples. We examine the EU27 sample, which was collected through a non-probabilistic online survey targeting the general population aged 16 and above in all 27 EU Member States. Data were collected for a total of 25,646 respondents, recruited from established consumer panels. We construct a not flourishing variable which is the sum of six ill-being questions

Q5. *Not flourishing defined as the sum of the six variables below/6.*

Over the past week how frequently have you felt the following way

i) Angry, ii) nervous iii) hopeless, iv) restless or fidgety, v) depressed vi) worthless 6=always; 5=very frequently; 4=occasionally; 3=rarely; 2=very rarely 1=never.

The variable therefore runs from 1 (never feeling this way on any of the variables) to 6 (always feeling this way on all six items).

2.1.6: Global Flourishing Survey (GFS) 2022 (<https://globalflourishingstudy.com/>)

The GFS collected data using CAWI only in seven countries and both CATI and CAWI in sixteen countries. We have previously examined these data in Blanchflower and Bryson (2025a) and Blanchflower, Bryson and Cui, (2025) and criticized the vast majority of papers assessing wellbeing using these data without accounting for survey mode.

Q5. *Life - Overall, how satisfied are you with life as a whole these days? 0=not at all satisfied.....10=completely satisfied.*

Q6. *Cantril - Life evaluation - today 0=worst possible 10=best possible.*

Q7. *Happy - In general, how happy or unhappy do you usually feel? 0=extremely unhappy ..10=extremely happy. Q*

Q8. *Not Lonely - How often felt lonely - always 0 never 10.*

Q9. *Anxious - feeling nervous, anxious or on edge – 1=not at all, 2=several days, 3=more than half, 4=nearly every day.*

Q10. *Worry - Not being able to stop or control worrying– 1=not at all, 2=several days, 3=more than half, 4=nearly every day.*

Q11. *Not flourishing is (Anxious+Depressed+Worry+No interest)/4. (As defined in Blanchflower and Bryson, 2025c).*

2.1.7: Come-Here Survey, 2020-2025 (<https://www.uni.lu/fhse-en/research-projects/pandemic-uni-lu/pandemic-come-here-survey/>).

The COME-HERE panel survey (COVID-19, Mental Health, Resilience and Self-regulation) has been conducted since April 2020. The data is collected by Qualtrics to produce representative samples of adults (aged 18 or over) in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Sweden. Stratification ensured that the data in Wave 1 was representative in terms of gender, region and age within each country. Respondents in all countries are asked to complete an on-line questionnaire that takes approximately 20 minutes. The survey collects information at both the individual and household levels and is longitudinal. There are currently 14 waves of data available to us (n=66,875). We treat the sample as pooled cross-sections. Observations by country are France=14,920; Germany=13,132; Italy=14,469, Spain=15,201 and Sweden=9,130 with 16 observations in other countries. For an earlier analysis using these data see Blanchflower, Bryson, Lepinteur and Piper (2024). The main questions we examine are as follows.

Q12. Life satisfaction Overall, in the past week, how satisfied have you been with your life? Not at all=0...10=completely. (N=66,875).

Q13. In the past week, to what extent have you felt the things you are doing in your life are worthwhile? Not at all=0 completely=10

Q14. How would you rate your sleep quality during the last week on average? 1=very poor 7=excellent

Q15. UCLA loneliness scale – 0-24

Q16. GAD7 anxiety - scale 0-21

Q17. PSS stress- scale 0-40

Q18. PHQ depression scale 0-27

How the multiple component questions Q15-Q18 are constructed is explained in the Appendix.

2.1.8: Global Minds, 2020-2026 (<https://brainbase.io/projects/189/download>)

This is an internet-based survey which has been running since 2020. We restrict the sample to workers only and there is a total of 942,766 observations across 81 countries with at least 500 worker observations. We examine an MHQ score which is a positive affect measure ranging in value from -100 to +200 and developed by Bala, Newson and Thiagarajan (2024). The MHQ scores are classified as follows Distressed (-100 to -49) struggling (-50 to 0) enduring (0 to 50) managing (50 to 100) succeeding (100-150) and thriving (150-200).

Global Minds only contains banded age – it does not include a continuous age variable – so results are presented by banded age.

2.2: Estimation

We start with life satisfaction in the four CATI surveys thus extending the analysis of Twenge and Blanchflower (2025) of six English speaking countries. In the CAWI surveys we make use of life satisfaction but also analyze four other positive affect measures – happiness, Cantril's life ladder, sleep quality and not being lonely. In addition, we look at two single negative affect measures

including anxiety, worrying plus multi-item measures of depression (PHQ), anxiety (GAD), stress (PSS) and not flourishing (Blanchflower and Bryson, 2025c). These are discussed in more detail below.

We examine how various well-being and ill-being metrics vary by age. We do by estimating a series of regressions, and where appropriate also include year and country fixed effects and gender. We estimate equations

- a) with a continuous age variable,
- b) that include age and age squared where the relationship is U-shaped (age negative age squared positive) or hump shaped (age positive, age squared negative). A minimum/maximum can be calculated by differentiating with respect to age and setting to zero and solving,
- c) that include only an age 18-24 variable.

We report separate results for workers and non-workers. In our regression analyses we capture age effects among workers with a continuous age variable while in the non-worker equations we include both age and age squared. When the age variable is significantly negative, and the squared term is significantly positive (where the t-statistic is above 1.6) this suggests a U-shape. The minimum can be calculated by differentiating with respect to age and solving. We report current estimates and compare them with earlier estimates from the data files.

To illustrate the various relationships, we chart single year of age plots either as means or from a regression which includes single year of age variables. The idea here is to hold constant gender, year and country effects. We extract the age coefficients and add them to the constant.

3: Results

3.1: Time series of cross-section CATI surveys

Table 1 estimates life satisfaction for 15 selected countries in Eurobarometer controlling for age, gender and year. We present separate estimates by country for workers and non-workers for 2020-2024 (part a) and 2004-2019 (part b).

Among workers in the period 2020-2024 life satisfaction declines with age in the pooled country regression (first row). However, the result is driven by four large countries in the data (France, Germany, Italy and Spain). In the remaining eleven countries life satisfaction rises in age among workers. Among non-workers life satisfaction is U-shaped in age in all 15 countries and in the pooled country regression.

In the earlier period life satisfaction is also declining in age for workers in the pooled country regression and in the separate country regressions for France, Germany, Italy and Spain. In this earlier period, life satisfaction was also declining in age for workers in Finland, Iceland, and the Netherlands. In none of the 15 countries is workers' life satisfaction rising in age.

By contrast, the U-shape in life satisfaction for non-workers is apparent for all 15 countries in 2024-2019 as it is for 2020-2024. There are no data for Norway or Switzerland in the earlier period.⁵

Thus, what we see in Eurobarometer is consistency over time and by country in the age pattern in life satisfaction by age among non-workers, but a shift in the satisfaction-age relationship among workers in 11 countries with workers experiencing rising life satisfaction in age after 2020.

Table 2 runs similar analyses for the 10-step life satisfaction question in the WVS. Panel a) presents separate worker and non-worker regressions for the period 2010-2023 for 10 countries. Among seven of the ten countries life satisfaction is rising in age among workers. It is falling in age in Singapore, Germany and Spain. Among non-workers life satisfaction is U-shaped in age eight of the ten countries. It is also U-shaped in Sweden and Germany, but not statistically significantly. Panel b) is confined to workers in the period 1981-2009. We present estimates for nine countries, all showing life satisfaction rising with age (although in Singapore the estimate is only on the margins of statistical significance).

Table 3 has a similar structure to earlier tables with separate results for workers and for non-workers for 27 countries from the Gallup World Poll. The top half presents results for 2020-2025 and the bottom half for 2005-2019.

Cantril is rising in age for workers in the period 2020-2025 in all countries except France and Germany – where age is negative but statistically non-significant - Italy where it is negative and statistically significant, and Spain and Austria where the positive coefficient does not reach statistical significance. In the earlier period (panel b) there is a positive and statistically significant coefficient in 12 of 16 countries, whilst age is negative and significant in four countries (France, Germany, Italy and Spain).

Cantril is U-shaped in age for non-workers in all but 8 countries in 2020-2025 and all but two (Austria and Sweden) in 2005-2019.

We do not see this pattern in the majority of countries in the GWP for the period 2020-2025. **Appendix Table A1** reports the sign and significance of a continuous age variable in separate regressions that include gender and year dummies. The coefficient is significantly positive in 22 countries, insignificant in 51 and significantly negative in 79. This is especially the case in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (see Blanchflower and Bryson 2025e) and Latin American countries (see Blanchflower and Bryson 2025f). An obvious question arises: why are these age correlations apparent in some countries and not in others?

In **Table 4** we report estimates for workers and non-workers in the ESS. The top half of the table presents results pooled for the period 2018-2025 whilst the bottom half shows results for the period 2002-2016. Both panels, report results for the same 14 countries.

⁵ The EU also conducts a further CATI survey in Europe - the Survey of Income and Living Conditions (SILC). It reported for 2023 on 11-step life satisfaction by three age bands 18-24, 25-64 and 65+ across member countries. In only five countries was the life satisfaction of those age 18-24 lower than the other two age groups - Finland, Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland (<https://qery.no/life-satisfaction-in-european-countries/>).

In 2018-2025 life satisfaction is rising in age and is statistically significant in eight countries; it is positive but non-significant in another four; and falling in age in France and Italy. In the earlier period (2002-2016) life satisfaction was only rising in age among workers in four countries, was falling significantly in five more, and was not significantly associated with age in another five countries.

Among non-workers we see a clear U-shape in the age-life satisfaction relationship which is apparent for all countries in the table except Austria in 2002-2016. U-shapes are also apparent in 2018-2025 in all the countries shown, and significantly so in all but four.

A recent paper by Vishkin and Bkheet (2025) noted that in the European Social Survey in which the data is collected via an interviewer, in sweep #10 nine countries switched to CAWI – Austria, Cyprus, Germany, Israel, Spain, Latvia, Poland, Serbia and Sweden. We went to the ESS and looked at how life satisfaction changed by country between sweeps #9 (2018), #10 (2020) and #11 (2023) with weights imposed as suggested by the survey (*anweight*).⁶ The 10th sweep was taken in 2020 at the time of COVID, but we do have a split sample who used telephone and self-response methods and the 8 CAWI sampled countries don't look that different from the continuing CATI samples. We also get to see what happens when the countries switch back CATI in sweep #11.

Table 5 shows mean life satisfaction by country for 18 countries in ESS for Sweeps 9, 10 and 11 separately. The top eight countries used CATI in Sweep 9, switched to CAWI in Sweep 10, then reverted to CATI in Sweep 11, whereas the bottom 10 countries used CATI throughout. Two points stand out. First, mean life satisfaction declines among the top 8 countries between Sweeps 9 and 10 when they switched to CAWI. Austria experienced the smallest drop (.43 of a point) whereas Serbia experienced the greatest drop (.87 of a point). Where survey mode remained constant, only three countries (the UK, Netherlands and Iceland saw a drop, and they changes were small. Second, when the 8 countries returned to CATI in Sweep 11 life satisfaction rose in every case. This didn't happen in any of the 10 countries who remained CATI throughout. It seems CAWI elicits lower wellbeing scores than CATI.

Count #1. Using the four CATI surveys we have found evidence of worker well-being rising in age in 31 countries - Australia; Austria; Bahrain, Belgium; Canada; China; Cyprus, Denmark, Egypt; Finland; Germany, Guinea, Hong Kong, Iceland, Ireland; Kuwait, Latvia, Luxembourg, Mauritius, Netherlands, New Zealand; Norway; Qatar, Saudi Arabia; Singapore; Sweden, Switzerland; United Arab Emirates; United Kingdom; United States and Uzbekistan. However, we have not seen it for seventeen EU countries – Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, France, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and Greece.

We now turn to four international databases that sample differently – online rather than by interviewer. We find evidence for well-being rising in age for workers in all but four of these countries – Greece, Portugal, Slovenia and Slovakia and for many more around the world. This begs the question: why is there a difference between the various surveys for these four countries? We argue it is the survey mode used to collect the data. Using interviewers seems to instill rather

⁶ <https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/methodology/ess-methodology/data-processing-and-archiving/weighting>

more positive responses than when responses are self-reported and private, consistent with social desirability bias.

We now move on and find worker well-being rises in age in a further seventy-two countries.

3.2. Three CAWI and one CATI/CAWI datasets since 2020

In [Table 6](#) we use the EU Loneliness Survey 2022 and regress the not flourishing variable on an age 15-24 dummy variable plus gender by country for workers and non-workers separately. Results are reported in [Table 6](#). We find positive and significant coefficients on this youth variable for both workers and non-workers in 20 countries indicating that the young were more likely to say they were not flourishing than those aged 25 and over, whether they were working or not working.

[Chart 2](#) plots by single year of age the not flourishing variable pooled across all 27 EU countries. Controls also include gender and country, and the coefficients are extracted and added to the constant, separately for workers and non-workers. Both slope down although the worker plot is clearly linear.

Count #2. We find that loneliness declines in age in ten additional countries eight from Eastern Europe – Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Romania and two from Southern Europe – Italy and Malta. This takes our list of countries to 41.

We now turn to examining data from the Global Flourishing Study of 2022 to explore the pattern of responses for workers and non-workers. We report results for workers in the USA, UK, Germany, Spain and Sweden. We have singled out the last three because they are also included in the COME-HERE datafile we examine next. All five of these countries had data collected only via CAWI. In [Appendix Table A1](#) we present equivalent estimates for non-workers.

We start out by looking at evidence for the United States and compare it to the evidence we presented in Blanchflower and Bryson (2025a, b). We move on to the UK and then look at three of the five countries – Germany, Spain and Sweden, we examine in the next section using the Come-Here survey.⁷

[Table 7a](#) for the USA shows that, for *workers*, life satisfaction, Cantril's life ladder, happiness and not being lonely all increase in age. In addition, for workers anxiety, worrying and not flourishing all decline in age. [Table 7b](#) for the UK has very similar patterns with well-being improving in age and ill-being declining in age for workers. In [Tables 7c and 7d](#) for Germany and Sweden, we see that, for workers, life satisfaction, worthwhileness, happiness and not feeling lonely improve with age and ill-being declines with age. For non-workers for Germany there are obvious U-shapes for life satisfaction, worthwhile and happy while not lonely improves with age as does anxiety, worry and not flourishing.

⁷ Two recent studies simply reported the (weighted) means of many well-being and ill-being variables using the GFS but did not conduct any formal analysis of the data other to show how they varied by characteristics. Both found that well-being rose in age and ill-being declined in age - Bittár et al (2025) for Sweden and Ortega et al (2025) for the USA, which used CAWI to collect the data.

In the case of Spain in [Table 7e](#) for workers the picture is more mixed. There is little relation with age for life satisfaction, worthwhile and happiness. Not feeling lonely rises in age. But the three negative affect variables are consistent with the other four countries showing declining ill-being as the respondent ages. There is also consistent evidence that all three negative affect variables decline in age in Spain as we saw for the other countries. in the and is U-shaped for non-workers.

The age profile of life satisfaction for workers in these countries is presented in Charts 3a-3e. The best-fit line *rises* by age for workers in all countries except Spain. Chart 3f plots the not flourishing profile by age which declines in all five countries as workers age.

We then examined data for sixteen countries in the GFS that used *both CATI and CAWI survey modes* and examined the age patterns as a way of trying to understand why survey methods generate differential age responses to well-being questions. All of the countries we examined in the GFS to this point – Germany, Spain, Sweden, UK and USA – had data collected only via CAWI. But an additional sixteen countries had data collected from both CATI and CAWI. The countries are listed below with the number of responses by mode.

	CATI	CAWI	Total
Argentina	1,451	5,273	6,724
Brazil	1,265	11,938	13,203
Egypt	4,508	221	4,729
India	12,549	216	12,765
Indonesia	3,620	3,372	6,992
Israel	2,743	926	3,669
Japan	542	20,001	20,543
Kenya	9,917	1,472	11,389
Mexico	1,559	4,217	5,776
Nigeria	5,609	668	6,827
Philippines	4,174	1,118	5,292
Poland	625	9,764	10,389
South Africa	2,010	641	2,651
Tanzania	8,790	285	9,075
Türkiye	840	633	1,473
China	844	4,178	5,022
Total	61,046	64,923	124,969

We examined these sixteen countries now to show how different the reports are by the two survey modes. In [Charts 4a](#) and [Chart 4b](#) we present the age profile of life satisfaction for workers and non-workers recovered from separate life satisfaction equations. We include controls for single year of age, gender and country. We extract the coefficients and add them to the constant. The first chart is confined to respondents who received the survey via CATI. The second chart is confined to respondents who received the survey via CAWI.

[Chart 4a](#) suggests life satisfaction is U-shaped for workers and non-workers who were surveyed with CATI, with a minimum around age fifty. Life satisfaction levels at age 70 in both cases are

below those at age 18. In contrast in [Chart 4b](#), for the same group of countries, using CAWI respondents only, both functions appear to take the form of a hockey stick, with life satisfaction levels of those age 70 markedly higher than those age 18.

[Charts 4c and 4d](#) do the same as [Charts 4a and 4b](#) but this time for not-flourishing. The differences are even starker than for life satisfaction. For workers and non-workers where responses are via CATI there are apparent hump shapes, with a maximum around age 46. In contrast, among CAWI respondents not-flourishing for non-workers is markedly higher than for workers and both slopes downwards in age.

Count #3. Based on the GFS it seems we can add Spain to our list of countries – which now reaches 42 - where worker wellbeing rises with age.

We now move on to examine the Come-Here survey which includes Germany, Spain and Sweden as well as France and Italy who in all three surveys we examined earlier showed no evidence of rising well-being in age among workers nor U-shapes for non-workers. However, in the CAWI Come-Here data we now see that, for every one of the five countries, well-being among workers rises with age.

First, we show scatter plots by age in [Charts 5a-5e](#) for all five countries using life satisfaction for workers and non-workers combined. In all five cases the best fit line slopes upwards. [Chart 5f](#) plots for all five countries again the average PHQ10 depression score which all slope downwards.

We now proceed to [Table 8a\)-8e\)](#) which report for the five countries in the survey, results for workers for the seven questions Q12-Q18 and the patterns are everywhere consistent for France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Sweden. In [Appendix Table A2](#) we report estimates for non-workers.

Life satisfaction, worthwhile, sleep quality, all rise in age for workers and loneliness, anxiety (GAD7), stress (PSS) and depression (PHQ10) all decline in age and there are U-shapes for the three positive effect variables and hump shapes for non-workers. The patterns are consistent across all measures and countries. Evidence from Come-Here is consistent with that for the US. In all five countries, for the first time, we see young workers have low levels of life satisfaction and high levels of depression. U-shapes are gone. It remains unclear why results from this CAWI survey for France, Germany, Italy and Spain are so different to those we obtain from CATI datasets for the same countries. It doesn't seem to have to do with the nature of the question asked – 10-step versus 4-step life satisfaction, sample sizes or even positive versus negative affect. It seems it is down to whether the sample is online versus via an interviewer.

[Charts 6a-6c](#) report the results of estimating regressions of life satisfaction, worthwhile, GAD and PHQ scores on age, gender and country for workers and non-workers. The coefficients are then extracted and added to the constant. Results are clear for workers: life satisfaction rises in age whilst the PHQ and GAD fall with age. Among non-workers, both PHQ and GAD also fall with age but the pattern is less clear in the case of life satisfaction which appears to follow a U-shape in age for non-workers.

Count #4. We now add France to our list of countries making a total of 43. We now add a further sixty from Global Minds.

Our dependent variable in Global Minds is the MHQ score referred to earlier and in the Appendix. It rises in age. Overall, across workers the average scores are as follows. 18-24=36; 25-34=55; 35-44=73; 45-54=87; 55-64=99; 65-74=111; 75-84=116 and 85+=113. The distribution by year is as follows for workers - 2020=20,123; 2021=97,624; 2022=215,593; 2023=224,815; 2024=209,343; 2025=183,503; 2026=4,789 and total=955,790.

In [Table 9](#) we report the results for workers only in all the countries with at least 500 observations. The table presents the coefficient and t-statistic for the age 18-24 dummy variable for each country-level regression which also controls for year and gender. The age dummy is negative and statistically significant for every one of the **81** countries with at least 500 observations. This includes 20 of the prior 43 countries - Australia; Austria; Belgium; Canada; China; Egypt; Finland; France, Germany, Ireland; Italy; New Zealand; Saudi Arabia; Singapore; Switzerland; Spain; United Arab Emirates; United Kingdom; United States and Uzbekistan. We now find the same in an additional 60 countries that we examined in earlier papers and showed that MHQ scores overall for workers and non-workers combined sloped down in age (Blanchflower, 2025). We found significant negative coefficients on the youth dummy among workers in the following areas.

- 1) One country in Western Europe –Portugal (Blanchflower and Bryson (2025d).
- 2) Twelve in the Middle East and Asia – Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, South Korea and Sri Lanka (Blanchflower and Bryson, 2025c).
- 3) Eight in Central Asia - Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Ukraine (Blanchflower and Bryson, 2025e).
- 4) Nineteen in Latin America - Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela (Blanchflower and Bryson, 2025e).
- 5) Twenty in Africa - Algeria, Angola, Benin, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, DR Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Morocco, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, Yemen, Zimbabwe, (Blanchflower and Bryson (2025g).

Count #5. We can now add an additional 60 countries to the 43 obtained above in Count #4. This makes 103 countries in all.

Of note is that we did not find a significant negative for any of these countries when we ran equivalent equations, using Cantril as the dependent variable above, using the CATI level Gallup World Poll survey for 2020-2025. It does seem that survey mode matters. In addition, there was a negative sign on the age 18-24 variable for all but one of these countries, with Rwanda being the odd one out, when the same equations were estimated for non-workers. See [Appendix Table A3](#).

4: Discussion

There is evidence that a major explanation of the decline in the well-being of the young has been the increased usage of smart phones, especially in the years since around 2012 (Haidt, 2024, Twenge, 2023). It also seems that the effect is causal as shown by Pugno (2024); the random spread of broadband globally, resulted in a deterioration of youth mental health especially among women. A recent paper for the US showed similarly that the spread of broadband increased suicidal ideation (Churchill and Johnson, 2026). To this point though we have little information on smartphone usage, either in childhood or currently that helps in determining why the well-being of young *workers* has declined globally. Did young workers have greater access to smartphones when they were young? Did they have bigger impacts from the COVID lockdown. Have they accessed smartphones for longer durations than non-workers? We don't know the answer to these questions which are the subject of ongoing work.

In earlier work (Blanchflower and Bryson, 2025a, b) we found evidence that there had been a dramatic worsening of the mental health of young workers in the United States. Traditionally well-being of workers improved in age, but that function steepened in the last decade (**Charts 1a-1c**). This had the effect of removing the overall U-shape in age and analogously the hump shape in age in ill-being. This was found in surveys conducted by CATI and CAWI.

In this paper we have examined four sets of cross-section data files across multiple countries, including the US where the respondents gave information to an interviewer. We found evidence across 43 countries, in the years since 2020 that life satisfaction declined in age for workers and was U-shaped in age for non-workers. Evidence was also present in the ESS that life satisfaction dropped sharply between sweep 9 and 10 when nine countries switched from CATI to CAWI and then a big rise when they switched back. We found evidence for an additional 60 countries from around the globe from Global Minds showing that well-being rose in age. The question is why would there, be such a difference given the questions were essentially the same as was the time frame? The survey mode seems the main candidate. It made little difference which variables we examined.

Rickwood and Coleman-Rose (2023) note that there is evidence that people completing interviewer administered questionnaires are more likely to provide socially desirable responses than those completing self-administered questionnaires (see Milton et al (2017), D'Ancona (2014) and Burkill et al (2016). This they call **social desirability bias**. This they argue “*is the tendency to under-report socially undesirable attitudes and behaviours and over-report more desirable attributes. This may happen for two reasons: first, for impression management, which is the deliberate presentation of self to conform to an audience's normative expectations; and second, due to self-deception, which is based on motivation to maintain a positive self-concept that may be unconscious.*” The literature suggests that different survey modes may differently affect an individual's response process leading to systematic differences in responses.

Rickwood and Coleman-Rose (2023), for example, looked at two large national community samples of young Australians aged 12–25 years conducted in 2020 and 2022 which used both interviewer-administered and self-report modes of data collection. Results showed participants reported lower psychological distress and higher wellbeing in the interviewer-assisted compared with the self-report mode. Kocjan, Lavtar & Sočan (2023), in a study in Slovenia reported

statistically significant and notable differences in latent means, suggesting that individuals who respond face-to-face systematically report better psychological functioning than individuals who respond over the web.

5. Conclusion

Young worker ill-being has been rising especially in rich countries, but we now also have evidence for this phenomenon in many of the world's poorer countries. In this paper we have found wellbeing rises in age and ill-being declines in age in 103 countries. There is evidence in some countries that this was the case in the past but with the decline in young worker mental health the function has steepened as young workers relative mental health deteriorated – in relation not only to older workers but also to those without jobs.

One potential explanation for the increase in wellbeing with age among workers is selection out of employment among the least happy workers as they age. This is plausible if older workers can access alternative forms of income as they age, such as pensions and incapacity benefits. This might also help to explain why wellbeing rises later in life among non-workers as part of the U-shape in non-workers wellbeing. To observe this process, one really needs longitudinal data tracking individuals over time to assess whether this sort of selection process does take place.

But how might one explain the change over time in workers' wellbeing in particular? One possibility is that the selection process described above has become more acute over time. Certainly, there is evidence for a sub-set of countries like the United Kingdom that employment rates among older individuals have declined following COVID, leading to increases in labor market inactivity and benefit receipt.⁸ Further research is required to establish whether such a process is widespread and accounts for the findings we present in this paper.

Other factors may be at play. In Blanchflower and Bryson (2026) we floated the possibility that job quality may have declined over time, especially for the young, resulting in an increase in the ill-being of young workers. We showed, for the United States, that the young rate their job quality more poorly than older workers, lending some limited support to this proposition. The idea is worthy of further empirical investigation.

Another possibility is that there has been a cohort-related shift in wellbeing. There has been a rise in the illbeing in the years since around 2012 and it is global and applies especially to the young. The timing matches well the rising availability of the broadband, the internet and smartphones. Young people now compare themselves to others in ways they haven't in the past. There is a growing literature that shows the effect looks to be causal. Jean Twenge (2023) has noted that in the US Gen Z, born from 1995-2012 are different, in that they are especially in despair, anxious, depressed and lonely.⁹

⁸ See 'Economic labour market status of individuals aged 50 and over, trends over time: September 2025', Department of Work and Pensions. https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/economic-labour-market-status-of-individuals-aged-50-and-over-trends-over-time-september-2025/economic-labour-market-status-of-individuals-aged-50-and-over-trends-over-time-september-2025?utm_source=chatgpt.com

⁹ Twenge (2023) also notes that, that in comparison to past generations US 12th graders, are less sexually active or to have had a date (p.370), say they are likely to get married (p.377), are less likely to have tried alcohol, hold a driver's license (p.377), had a job for pay, go out with friends (p.409), regularly eat breakfast or exercise (p.417), expect a professional job or to own more than their parents (p.420). It is unclear how much this pertains in the rest of the world.

We found some evidence that the scale of the problem depends somewhat on how the data is collected. National statistical agencies like the ONS in the UK and the BLS in the USA are having trouble with low and declining response rates to surveys since COVID. This phenomenon was not caused by COVID as it preceded it and the lockdowns simply exacerbated pre-existing trends. Young people don't make phone calls or make them and don't answer the door. An issue then is the extent to which there is a selectivity bias online – do the most unhappy individuals not show up? The evidence mostly suggests the opposite as online surveys tend to get more pessimistic responses. But why are we seeing young workers being especially hard hit. We have no evidence to suggest they used their phones more than non-workers.

In the US the phenomenon of declining young worker well-being, both absolutely and relatively, seems to have little or nothing to do with the labor market as youth relative wages have been rising and until recently relative youth employment and unemployment rates have been improving. As youth well-being declined the labor market steadily improved over the post-recession period 2010-2019. In the US the young ages 18-24 are not an especially large cohort. These factors will vary somewhat by country. Student debt is high and childcare unavailable in the US but not in other countries. Of interest, of course, by country is how the decline varies by race, gender, education and location and other characteristics.

The search is on for something common to explain this across all these 103 countries from every continent, rich and poor. All have seen the coming of broadband and the internet rapid adoption of smartphones and internet usage over the past decade. One possibility is that young workers have changed their comparator group through their contact with Facebook, TikTok etc. Young workers may no longer have realistic expectations. Professional athletes and entertainers who earn enormous salaries may be the group young less educated workers compare themselves to in a way they didn't in the past. We don't know and there is much work to be done.

The concern is that bad outcomes are on their way – lack of family formation, unemployment, disability, hospitalizations for self-harm, drug and alcohol abuse and even suicide. The policy toolbox at this time seems particularly empty.

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Table 1. Relationship between age and life satisfaction for workers Eurobarometers 2004-2024 – selected countries.

a) 2020-2024

	Workers		Non-workers		
	Age	N	Age	Age ²	N
All	-.0031 (56.48)	489,953	-.0284 (67.92)	.0003 (63.31)	219,611
Belgium	.0018 (2.05)	7,333	-.0310 (16.11)	.0003 (16.56)	8,083
Denmark	.0030 (6.33)	7,659	-.0120 (5.86)	.0002 (8.65)	7,596
Finland	.0018 (3.41)	7,159	-.0075 (3.15)	.0001 (5.17)	8,114
Iceland	.0037 (4.81)	2,029	-.0229 (3.44)	.0003 (3.97)	862
Ireland	.0023 (4.76)	8,657	-.0121 (5.22)	.0002 (7.50)	6,717
Luxembourg	.0019 (2.53)	4,624	-.0134 (4.32)	.0002 (5.41)	3,167
Netherlands	.0032 (6.32)	8,452	-.0333 (11.01)	.0004 (12.41)	6,937
Norway	.0062 (7.34)	3,576	-.0286 (7.12)	.0004 (9.10)	2,616
Sweden	.0045 (8.81)	8,188	-.0023 (0.99)	.0001 (3.36)	7,335
Switzerland	.0063 (7.35)	3,610	-.0137 (3.79)	.0002 (5.80)	2,658
UK	.0024 (3.96)	5,522	-.0057 (2.17)	.0001 (4.15)	4,844
France	-.0065 (16.24)	6,901	-.0316 (15.33)	.0003 (13.99)	8,195
Germany	-.0008 (1.82)	11,795	-.0171 (10.19)	.0002 (11.56)	11,274
Italy	-.0043 (7.69)	8,115	-.0211 (9.68)	.0002 (7.73)	7,274
Spain	-.0036 (6.65)	7,508	-.0274 (14.33)	.0003 (12.93)	7,654

b) 2004-2019

	Workers		Non-workers		
	Age	N	Age	Age ²	N
All	-.0045 (53.08)	441,371	-.0339 (114.84)	.0003 (104.56)	468,156
Belgium	-.0008 (1.90)	13,739	-.0252 (18.23)	.0003 (18.86)	15,759
Denmark	-.0004 (1.15)	14,638	-.0142 (10.83)	.0002 (12.16)	14,686
Finland	-.0038 (10.23)	13,067	-.0139 (10.55)	.0001 (9.26)	16,163
Iceland	-.0017 (2.23)	2,735	-.0274 (7.35)	.0003 (6.41)	1,796
Ireland	.0005 (0.12)	14,698	-.0193 (11.81)	.0002 (13.41)	14,265
Luxembourg	.0007 (1.19)	7,217	-.0093 (4.95)	.0001 (5.84)	7,433
Netherlands	-.0020 (4.92)	15,649	-.0234 (15.44)	.0002 (15.14)	13,894
UK	-.0006 (1.75)	17,147	-.0196 (15.45)	.0002 (17.36)	20,213
Sweden	-.0004 (1.03)	15,828	-.0121 (7.81)	.0001 (9.14)	13,693
France	-.0068 (14.76)	13,556	-.0285 (19.44)	.0003 (17.71)	15,926
Germany	-.0007 (1.88)	20,870	-.0283 (22.18)	.0003 (23.76)	23,737
Italy	-.0042 (8.36)	15,905	-.0197 (10.66)	.0002 (8.97)	13,658
Spain	-.0047 (9.84)	11,925	-.0296 (20.42)	.0003 (18.80)	17,347

Notes. Coefficients and t-statistics reported here on an age variable in a regression also including year dummies and gender and country dummies in the overall equation. Eurobarometer Surveys 93.1, 93.2, 94.1, 95.1, 95.2, 95.3, 96.1, 96.3, 97.3, 97.5, 98.2, 99.4, 100.2, 101.3, 1014

Table 2. 10-step Life satisfaction using the World Values Survey, 1981-2023

Workers			Non-workers		
Panel a) 2010-2023					
	Age	N	Age	Age ²	N
Canada	.0088 (3.16)	2,323	-.0398 (2.75)	.0007 (4.84)	1,695
China	.0074 (2.72)	3,446	-.0764 (3.78)	.0010 (4.34)	1,655
Cyprus	.0131 (2.62)	1,135	-.0493 (2.03)	.0006 (2.21)	841
Egypt	.0174 (2.87)	1,084	-.0975 (4.03)	.0011 (4.11)	1,635
Netherlands	.0036 (1.56)	2,082	-.0348 (2.78)	.0005 (4.21)	1,667
Singapore	.0094 (3.61)	2,432	-.0411 (2.95)	.0005 (3.41)	1,515
USA	.0086 (3.67)	2,957	-.0472 (3.06)	.0007 (4.44)	1,793
Sweden	.0189 (4.54)	718	-.0403 (1.63)	.0005 (2.14)	481
Germany	-.0105 (3.47)	1,984	-.0222 (1.49)	.0003 (1.79)	1,570
Spain	-.0216 (3.55)	501	-.0912 (4.64)	.0009 (4.56)	666
Panel b) 1981-2009 Workers only					
	Age	N			
Australia	.0093 (3.66)	2,674			
Canada	.0060 (2.17)	2,220			
Hong Kong	.0144 (2.15)	614			
Japan	.0052 (2.18)	3,566			
New Zealand	.0187 (4.47)	1,265			
Singapore	.0087 (1.63)	864			
Sweden	.0089 (2.48)	1,332			
Switzerland	.0066 (2.35)	2,319			
USA	.0109 (4.01)	2,411			

Notes. Coefficients and t-statistics on age variable in a worker equation and age and age squared in a non-worker equation. Includes gender dummy and in part a) a wave 7 dummy.

Table 3. Cantril using the Gallup World Poll, 2005-2025

2020-2025	Workers		Non-workers		
	Age	N	Age	Age ²	N
Australia	.0143 (7.15)	2,559	-.0223 (1.77)	.0004 (3.76)	2,279
Austria	.0015 (0.66)	2,717	-.0267 (2.21)	.0003 (2.42)	2,272
Bahrain*	.0075 (2.59)	5,322	-.1312 (7.97)	.0015 (7.29)	2,729
Canada	.0189 (9.01)	2,819	.0053 (0.38)	.0002 (1.75)	2,049
China	.0151 (5.98)	3,968	-.0885 (5.32)	.0011 (6.03)	1,555
Denmark	.0117 (7.14)	3,487	-.0654 (4.60)	.0008 (5.86)	1,529
Finland	.0125 (7.69)	2,906	.0184 (1.69)	-.0000 (0.24)	2,107
Guinea	.0102 (2.83)	2990	-.0542 (2.73)	.0005 (2.21)	1825
Hong Kong	.0039 (1.76)	3091	-.0052 (0.41)	.0001 (0.64)	1,882
Iceland	.0041 (2.16)	1,862	-.0370 (1.99)	.0005 (2.79)	631
Ireland	.0050 (2.25)	2,978	-.0682 (5.13)	.0007 (5.73)	1,991
Kuwait	.0115 (2.35)	2,232	-.1246 (3.61)	.0014 (3.16)	820
Mauritius	.0073 (2.85)	3,032	-.0750 (5.33)	.0008 (5.49)	1914
New Zealand	.0157 (8.90)	3,080	-.0150 (1.21)	.0004 (3.42)	1807
Norway	.0148 (8.52)	3,474	-.0074 (0.54)	.0002 (1.83)	1,544
Qatar**	.0192 (4.89)	2,724	-.0683 (4.43)	.0008 (4.26)	2,113
Saudi Arabia*	.0059 (2.30)	8,722	-.0503 (2.72)	.0007 (2.90)	3,899
Singapore	.0189 (9.01)	2,819	-.0449 (2.35)	.0005 (2.58)	824
Sweden	.0146 (8.52)	3,363	.0334 (2.50)	-.0002 (1.61)	1,647
UAE	.0126 (3.25)	4,566	-.0644 (2.79)	.0007 (2.15)	2,258
UK	.0068 (2.84)	2,476	-.0257 (2.18)	.0003 (2.60)	2,502
USA	.0181 (9.38)	2,976	-.0592 (4.69)	.0008 (6.92)	2,003
Uzbekistan	.0115 (6.15)	6,285	-.0468 (3.27)	.0006 (3.92)	2,676
France	-.0018 (0.77)	2,530	-.0093 (0.81)	.0001 (0.92)	2,444
Germany	-.0013 (0.58)	2,579	.0020 (0.16)	-.0000 (0.11)	2,366
Italy	-.0071 (3.18)	2,664	-.0629 (5.47)	.0006 (5.37)	2,335
Spain	.0027 (1.10)	2,628	-.0063 (4.70)	.0006 (4.75)	2,368
2005-2019	Age	N	Age	Age ²	N
Australia	.0043 (2.97)	5,285	-.0128 (1.50)	.0003 (3.70)	4,612
Austria	.0029 (2.05)	7,499	-.0140 (1.74)	.0001 (1.28)	4,431
Canada	.0077 (6.82)	8,198	-.0284 (3.63)	.0004 (5.39)	4,725
Denmark	.0041 (3.62)	7,111	-.0378 (4.98)	.0005 (6.63)	4,653
Ireland	.0043 (2.84)	6,944	-.0502 (5.99)	.0006 (6.63)	4,386
Kuwait	.0140 (4.41)	5,345	-.1465 (8.28)	.0018 (8.22)	2,596
Netherlands	.0024 (2.32)	6,854	-.0331 (4.76)	.0004 (5.91)	3,864
New Zealand	.0101 (7.88)	6,560	-.0552 (6.72)	.0006 (8.51)	3,600
Norway	.0066 (5.24)	5,534	-.0245 (2.69)	.0003 (3.62)	3,472
Sweden	.0062 (5.38)	7,294	-.0126 (1.71)	.0001 (2.04)	4,423
UK	.0041 (4.33)	17,987	-.0393 (7.59)	.0005 (9.50)	12,761
USA	.0077 (5.85)	7,245	-.0562 (6.43)	.0007 (8.80)	4,734
France	-.0063 (3.88)	6,775	-.0229 (3.35)	.0002 (2.80)	5,862
Germany	-.0039 (4.29)	17,624	-.0453 (10.90)	.0004 (8.61)	15,201
Italy	-.0089 (5.42)	6,771	-.0620 (8.31)	.0005 (7.05)	6,071
Spain	-.0105 (5.62)	5,466	-.0759 (9.03)	.0007 (8.22)	4,536

*2015-2024 **2009-2015

Table 4. Life satisfaction using the European Social Survey, 2002-2023

Workers			Non-workers		
2018-2023	Age	N	Age	Age ²	N
Austria	.0045 (1.77)	3,415	-.0147 (1.48)	.0002 (2.45)	3,237
Belgium	.0045 (1.80)	2,319	-.0664 (7.11)	.0007 (7.40)	2,359
Denmark	.0059 (1.82)	827	-.0502 (2.99)	.0006 (3.31)	734
Finland	.0090 (4.20)	2,425	-.0275 (2.97)	.0004 (4.12)	2,458
Germany	.0083 (4.40)	6,800	-.0378 (4.92)	.0005 (6.57)	5,695
Iceland	.0103 (3.83)	1,573	-.0433 (2.78)	.0005 (3.32)	999
Ireland	.0055 (2.11)	2,832	-.0525 (4.98)	.0006 (6.37)	3,030
Netherlands	.0051 (2.67)	2,607	-.0331 (3.97)	.0004 (4.64)	2,151
Norway	.0114 (4.84)	2,485	-.0485 (3.91)	.0006 (5.07)	1,615
Sweden	.0120 (4.85)	2,549	-.0066 (0.61)	.0002 (1.90)	2,416
Switzerland	.0093 (4.13)	2,569	-.0184 (1.77)	.0003 (2.79)	1,812
France	-.0206 (6.14)	2,926	-.0807 (7.22)	.0007 (6.74)	2,766
Italy	-.0077 (3.18)	3,696	-.0262 (3.16)	.0001 (1.80)	4,232
Spain	.0038 (1.17)	2,844	-.0365 (3.56)	.0004 (3.84)	2,823
2002-2016	Age	N	Age	Age ²	N
Austria	-.0101 (4.56)	5,719	-.0060 (0.74)	.0001 (0.66)	4,870
Belgium	-.0026 (1.58)	6,924	-.0556 (10.03)	.0006 (10.06)	7,251
Denmark	.0079 (5.56)	5,893	-.0349 (5.49)	.0005 (7.16)	4,573
Finland	-.0021 (1.67)	8,119	-.0556 (11.66)	.0006 (12.37)	8,055
Germany	-.0002 (0.14)	11,344	-.1015 (18.52)	.0011 (19.29)	11,699
Iceland	.0019 (0.68)	1,314	-.0710 (4.44)	.0007 (4.56)	840
Ireland	.0063 (3.85)	8,031	-.0651 (11.00)	.0008 (13.30)	9,832
Netherlands	-.0033 (2.46)	7,376	-.0518 (9.81)	.0005 (10.41)	7,714
Norway	.0014 (1.04)	8,048	-.0568 (8.93)	.0006 (9.49)	5,156
Sweden	.0036 (2.72)	8,227	-.0486 (7.84)	.0006 (8.88)	6,101
Switzerland	.0038 (2.65)	7,741	-.0277 (4.61)	.0003 (5.65)	6,011
France	-.0274 (11.30)	7,350	-.1227 (17.00)	.0012 (16.50)	7,672
Italy	-.0061 (1.68)	2,233	-.0482 (4.21)	.0004 (3.24)	2,400
Spain	-.0080 (4.41)	7,472	-.0635 (10.68)	.0006 (9.90)	7,842

Country dummies, gender and CAWI dummy included in part a). Round 1= 2002; 2=2004; 3=2006; 4=2008; 5=2020; 6=2012; 7=2014; 8=2016; 9= 2018, 10=2020, 11 =2023.

Table 5. Mean life satisfaction by country sweeps) 9, 10 and 11 European Social Survey

	Sweep 9	Sweep 10	Sweep 11	N
Austria	7.92	7.49	7.86	6,838
Cyprus	7.05	6.24	6.35	2,326
Germany	7.59	6.97	7.51	13,412
Latvia	6.66	6.01	6.50	3,175
Poland	7.06	6.22	7.44	4,956
Serbia	6.24	5.37	6.94	5,049
Spain	7.42	6.65	7.47	5,757
Sweden	7.85	7.25	7.81	5,044
Belgium	7.50	7.60	7.41	4,697
Finland	8.01	8.06	7.87	4,890
France	6.54	7.00	6.75	5,707
Iceland	8.13	7.94	7.67	2,598
Ireland	7.22	7.35	7.38	5,956
Italy	6.88	6.91	6.66	8,068
Netherlands	7.89	7.87	7.87	4,801
Norway	7.84	7.85	7.74	4,140
Switzerland	8.15	8.28	8.11	4,436
UK	7.29	7.20	7.07	5,028

All sweeps used CATI except for the top 8 countries that used CAWI for Sweep #10.

Table 6. Not flourishing. EU Loneliness Study, 2022 coefficient on age 15-24 dummy

	Workers			Non workers		
	Coefficient	T	N	Coefficient	T	N
Austria	.408	2.57	663	1.101	5.75	309
Belgium	.347	1.67	555	.584	3.43	407
Bulgaria	.340	2.04	690	.322	1.67	268
Croatia	.690	3.45	666	.362	2.25	328
Cyprus	.515	2.25	345	.546	2.55	148
Czechia	.483	2.00	615	.936	6.58	348
Denmark	.741	4.12	539	.427	2.90	413
Estonia	.593	3.69	668	.514	3.07	289
France	.512	2.60	589	.912	5.61	394
Germany	.408	1.93	661	.708	2.39	414
Hungary	.521	2.82	612	.623	3.55	368
Ireland	.330	2.33	710	.416	2.56	238
Italy	.515	2.40	533	.642	3.52	440
Lithuania	.467	2.95	681	.627	3.54	282
Malta	.460	2.87	362	.327	1.74	143
Netherlands	.546	3.48	613	.710	4.25	351
Poland	.379	1.82	662	.697	4.38	301
Romania	.350	1.99	624	.067	0.37	346
Spain	.354	1.68	656	.529	3.30	320
Sweden	.516	2.85	596	.786	4.88	382

Not flourishing is the sum of depression, worthless, nervous, angry, hopeless and restless/6. All coded 1=never; 2=very rarely; 3=rarely; 4=occasionally; 5=very frequently 6=always.

Table 7. Workers - GFS, 2020-2022 also includes other sex variable. (T-statistics in parentheses)

a) USA	Life satisfaction	Cantril	Happiness	Not Lonely	Anxious	Worry	Not flourishing
23-29	.2100 (1.50)	.1574 (1.35)	.1150 (0.91)	.6388 (3.21)	-.0483 (0.75)	-.0750 (1.16)	-.3406 (1.60)
30-39	.4442 (3.40)	.3298 (3.04)	.3457 (2.93)	1.0067 (5.44)	-.2102 (3.48)	-.2685 (4.45)	-1.0198 (5.16)
40-49	.5597 (4.28)	.4387 (4.04)	.4817 (4.08)	1.3430 (7.25)	-.4014 (6.65)	-.3955 (6.55)	-1.5135 (7.65)
50-59	.8451 (6.52)	.6835 (6.34)	.8077 (6.90)	1.8235 (9.92)	-.5977 (9.98)	-.5237 (8.75)	-2.0332 (10.36)
60-69	1.1320 (8.69)	.9621 (8.89)	1.1162 (9.49)	2.1811 (11.81)	-.7503 (12.47)	-.6386 (10.62)	-2.4940 (12.65)
70-79	1.4442 (10.46)	1.2179 (10.62)	1.4249 (11.43)	2.5763 (13.16)	-.8463 (13.27)	-.6935 (10.88)	-2.7724 (13.26)
80+	1.6793 (8.46)	1.2390 (7.57)	1.6454 (9.24)	2.8676 (10.26)	-.8805 (9.66)	-.7447 (8.18)	-2.9675 (9.94)
Female	-.0041 (0.16)	-.0306 (1.43)	.0088 (0.38)	-.1511 (4.14)	.1549 (13.03)	.1965 (16.53)	.3426 (8.78)
Constant	6.3961	6.6636	6.5252	5.4636	2.2218	1.9764	8.1307
Adjusted R ²	.0368	.0409	.0512	.0485	.0875	.0581	.0671
N	19,224	19,232	19,223	19,231	19,209	19,215	19,124
b) UK	Life satisfaction	Cantril	Happiness	Not Lonely	Anxious	Worry	Not flourishing
23-29	.7838 (3.01)	.5699 (2.54)	.7095 (3.00)	1.1343 (3.42)	-.2619 (2.36)	-.2355 (2.08)	-.5987 (1.55)
30-39	.7806 (3.30)	.5867 (2.87)	.7789 (3.62)	1.1747 (3.90)	-.4330 (4.29)	-.4545 (4.42)	-1.3618 (3.89)
40-49	.5477 (2.30)	.1380 (0.67)	.5692 (2.62)	1.3189 (4.34)	-.4570 (4.49)	-.5150 (4.96)	-1.6229 (4.60)
50-59	.6047 (2.56)	.2837 (1.39)	.6519 (3.04)	1.6255 (5.41)	-.6609 (6.56)	-.7327 (7.14)	-2.3140 (6.63)
60-69	.8308 (3.40)	.4102 (1.94)	.7818 (3.51)	1.7342 (5.57)	-.7403 (7.10)	-.7612 (7.16)	-2.4522 (6.78)
70-79	.8394 (2.83)	.5027 (1.97)	.8934 (3.32)	2.2328 (5.92)	-.7715 (6.11)	-.7618 (5.91)	-2.5562 (5.82)
80+	1.7488 (3.20)	.8668 (1.84)	1.5108 (3.03)	3.0917 (4.43)	-.7590 (3.25)	-.8783 (3.69)	-3.1003 (3.83)
Female	-.2594 (3.09)	-.2699 (3.74)	.3432 (4.50)	.3446 (3.23)	.1316 (3.68)	.1204 (3.30)	.2268 (1.82)
Constant	5.9530	6.3136	6.1780	5.2294	2.3808	2.3476	9.0980
Adjusted R ²	.0101	.0125	.0151	.0237	.0431	.0454	.0424
N	2,763	2,773	2,773	2,775	2,772	2,774	2,756
c) Germany	Life satisfaction	Cantril	Happiness	Not Lonely	Anxious	Worry	Not flourishing
23-29	.3428 (2.43)	.3459 (2.84)	.1991 (1.51)	.7003 (3.72)	-.1685 (2.83)	-.2305 (3.59)	-.9099 (4.55)
30-39	.4410 (3.44)	.4326 (3.91)	.2931 (2.45)	1.0763 (6.31)	-.2697 (5.00)	-.3373 (5.79)	-1.2961 (7.15)
40-49	.2802 (2.16)	.2442 (2.19)	.0468 (0.39)	1.1188 (6.50)	-.3111 (5.71)	-.3552 (6.04)	-1.3643 (7.46)
50-59	.3367 (2.59)	.2069 (1.84)	.1629 (1.34)	1.2566 (7.26)	-.3963 (7.23)	-.4302 (7.27)	-1.5799 (8.59)

60-69	.5390 (3.78)	.2739 (2.23)	.3932 (2.95)	1.5764 (8.31)	-.5039 (8.40)	-.5107 (7.88)	-1.9241 (9.55)
70-79	.6877 (2.87)	.3585 (1.73)	.4312 (1.93)	2.2550 (7.07)	-.6750 (6.70)	-.7210 (6.59)	-2.4870 (7.29)
80+	1.5338 (3.14)	.7834 (1.85)	.8893 (1.95)	2.0992 (3.22)	-.4426 (2.09)	-.4849 (2.18)	1.2768 (1.80)
Female	-.1373 (2.62)	.0593 (1.18)	-.0328 (0.67)	-.1845 (2.65)	.0857 (3.89)	.0960 (4.03)	.2356 (3.18)
Constant	6.6403	6.5255	6.7124	5.9180	2.0354	2.0336	7.8759
Adjusted R ²	.0055	.0035	.0047	.0188	.0238	.0194	.0246
N	5,604	5,616	5,613	5,615	5,606	5,609	5,584

d) Sweden	Life satisfaction	Cantril	Happiness	Not Lonely	Anxious	Worry	Not flourishing
23-29	.3053 (3.01)	.1287 (1.53)	.1565 (1.60)	.0953 (0.72)	-.1637 (3.93)	-.2022 (4.94)	-.7024 (4.92)
30-39	.2551 (2.76)	.1694 (2.20)	.1570 (1.77)	.3284 (2.72)	-.2835 (7.47)	-.3187 (8.55)	-1.1408 (8.78)
40-49	.2338 (2.47)	.2023 (2.56)	.1179 (1.29)	.5820 (4.71)	-.3814 (9.81)	-.3985 (10.44)	-1.4754 (11.09)
50-59	.6349 (6.86)	.4843 (6.27)	.5221 (5.85)	1.1992 (9.92)	-.5972 (15.69)	-.5585 (14.94)	-2.1919 (16.81)
60-69	.8457 (8.41)	.7028 (8.38)	.6579 (6.79)	1.3036 (9.93)	-.7011 (16.96)	-.6263 (15.42)	-2.4716 (17.43)
70-79	1.6133 (6.65)	1.2826 (6.34)	1.3672 (5.82)	2.0119 (6.34)	-.8598 (8.56)	-.6875 (7.01)	-2.9062 (8.49)
80+	2.4428 (4.20)	1.7665 (3.79)	1.8304 (3.40)	1.6316 (2.23)	-1.1282 (4.91)	-.8228 (3.50)	-3.0465 (3.74)
Female	.0466 (1.08)	.0734 (2.03)	.1031 (2.47)	-.2505 (4.42)	.1928 (10.81)	.1727 (9.86)	.5434 (8.90)
Constant	6.4621	6.6781	6.5303	6.1954	2.0837	1.8630	7.9106
Adjusted R ²	.0191	.0198	.0166	.0346	.0746	.0563	.0712
N	8,608	8,607	8,604	8,613	8,599	8,596	8,518

e) Spain	Life satisfaction	Cantril	Happiness	Not Lonely	Anxious	Worry	Not flourishing
23-29	.2842 (1.43)	.1520 (0.88)	.0792 (0.43)	.5222 (2.05)	-.1339 (1.50)	-.2102 (2.26)	-.7739 (2.61)
30-39	-.0097 (0.06)	-.0684 (0.44)	-.2071 (1.27)	.3706 (1.64)	-.1714 (2.16)	-.2592 (3.14)	-1.0084 (3.83)
40-49	.0593 (0.34)	-.0744 (0.49)	-.0901 (0.56)	.7241 (3.25)	-.2968 (3.79)	-.3973 (4.87)	-1.5386 (5.93)
50-59	-.0440 (0.25)	-.0507 (0.32)	-.1503 (0.91)	.6158 (2.67)	-.3478 (4.29)	-.4272 (5.07)	-1.6744 (6.24)
60-69	-.2032 (0.91)	-.3048 (3.27)	-.2930 (1.42)	.8507 (2.97)	-.4644 (4.62)	-.5279 (5.04)	-2.0215 (6.06)
70-79	.1050 (0.23)	.0956 (0.24)	-.3932 (0.93)	.5105 (0.87)	-.4925 (2.39)	-.5295 (2.47)	-1.9195 (2.77)
80+	-1.4712 (1.70)	-1.6533 (2.18)	-1.5916 (1.99)	1.3125 (1.18)	-.6350 (1.62)	-.9581 (2.35)	-3.0978 (2.39)
Female	-.0854 (1.24)	-.0127 (0.21)	-.1187 (1.85)	-.1228 (1.38)	.2106 (6.72)	.1432 (4.40)	.5766 (5.55)
Constant	6.8614	6.8284	7.1708	6.1027	2.3279	2.1959	9.0467
Adjusted R ²	.0013	.0015	.0022	.0035	.0241	.0183	.0282
N	3,662	3,667	3,662	3,666	3,660	3,661	3,639

Table 8. Workers Come-Here France (includes wave dummies). (T-statistics in parentheses)

a) France	Life satisfaction	Worthwhile	Sleep Quality	Loneliness	GAD7	PSS	PHQ10
23-29	.0902 (0.62)	.2573 (1.73)	.0995 (1.07)	-.3798 (1.08)	.0646 (0.18)	-.4532 (0.98)	-.5149 (1.23)
30-39	.3502 (2.58)	.5403 (3.89)	.1133 (1.31)	-1.3043 (3.99)	-.6236 (1.89)	-1.2321 (2.87)	-1.6353 (4.20)
40-49	.4959 (3.66)	.7569 (5.46)	.0850 (0.98)	-2.0631 (6.33)	-1.4421 (4.38)	-2.4003 (5.60)	-2.7665 (7.12)
50-59	.5554 (4.04)	.9740 (6.92)	.1478 (1.68)	-2.5358 (7.66)	-2.0575 (6.16)	-4.1092 (9.45)	-3.5593 (9.02)
60-69	.7732 (4.95)	1.1992 (7.50)	.5205 (5.21)	-3.3162 (8.81)	-2.6386 (6.95)	-4.8353 (9.78)	-3.9485 (8.81)
70-79	1.3013 (3.79)	1.8517 (5.28)	.6904 (3.15)	-2.9044 (3.52)	-2.3332 (2.80)	-3.4936 (3.22)	-3.9486 (4.01)
Female	-.2151 (4.58)	-.1816 (3.78)	-.3307 (11.04)	.3640 (3.22)	.8170 (7.17)	1.1828 (7.97)	.7100 (5.28)
Constant	6.0486	6.1134	4.6223	10.2401	6.1706	17.090	8.1469
Adjusted R ²	.0264	.0257	.0265	.0283	.0369	.0540	.0425
N	8,704	8,704	8,704	8,704	8,704	8,704	8,704
b) Germany	Life satisfaction	Worthwhile	Sleep Quality	Loneliness	GAD7	PSS	PHQ10
23-29	.5764 (3.41)	.4589 (2.52)	.3431 (3.17)	-1.1859 (3.22)	-1.4245 (3.78)	-.9415 (1.90)	-2.6454 (5.88)
30-39	.9222 (6.08)	.8858 (5.42)	.3220 (3.31)	-2.1912 (6.61)	-3.4310 (10.12)	-3.1812 (7.16)	-4.8102 (11.90)
040-49	.8108 (5.34)	.9595 (5.86)	.4332 (4.45)	-2.6838 (8.09)	-3.8431 (11.32)	-3.8579 (-8.67)	-5.2258 (12.92)
50-59	1.1889 (7.86)	1.4523 (8.91)	.5095 (5.26)	-4.1143 (12.46)	-5.205 (15.41)	-5.8921 (13.30)	-6.8039 (16.90)
60-69	1.4221 (8.95)	1.8848 (11.01)	.8134 (8.00)	-5.1226 (14.77)	-6.2046 (17.49)	-7.8037 (16.77)	-8.2263 (19.45)
70-79	1.5736 (5.43)	2.3851 (7.63)	1.3737 (7.40)	-5.5980 (8.84)	-6.9002 (10.65)	-9.4774 (11.16)	-9.1788 (11.89)
Female	-.2176 (4.35)	-.1407 (2.61)	-.1942 (6.06)	.0597 (0.55)	.7972 (7.13)	.9180 (6.26)	.7114 (5.34)
Constant	5.6557	5.6873	4.2994	10.9945	8.7720	19.5235	11.0831
Adjusted R ²	.0269	.0408	.0250	.0853	.0974	.1067	.0964
N	7,704	7,704	7,704	7,704	7,704	7,704	7,704
c) Italy	Life satisfaction	Worthwhile	Sleep Quality	Loneliness	GAD7	PSS	PHQ10
23-29	.2904 (2.17)	.4211 (3.01)	.0853 (1.00)	-1.2731 (4.20)	-.5849 (1.89)	-.8983 (2.33)	-1.6583 (4.48)
30-39	.2302 (1.83)	.5071 (3.86)	-.0032 (0.04)	-1.5360 (5.40)	-1.4132 (4.87)	-1.5827 (4.36)	-2.9575 (8.50)
040-49	.4236 (3.37)	.7729 (5.88)	.1307 (1.63)	-2.7788 (9.76)	-2.7033 (9.31)	-3.1463 (8.67)	-4.3385 (12.46)
50-59	.2466 (1.90)	.7374 (5.42)	.1779 (2.14)	-2.2534 (7.66)	-2.6036 (8.68)	-2.9197 (7.78)	-4.7630 (13.23)
60-69	.8704 (5.83)	1.4233 (9.10)	.6125 (6.41)	-4.2038 (12.42)	-3.8221 (11.08)	-5.8985 (13.68)	-6.4441 (15.57)
70-79	.1057 (0.41)	.5263 (1.93)	.4711 (2.82)	-3.0067 (5.08)	-2.8250 (4.68)	-3.6978 (4.91)	-5.0825 (7.03)

Female	-.3227 (6.69)	-.2146 (4.25)	-.2082 (6.75)	.6527 (5.97)	.9634 (8.64)	1.3065 (9.38)	.8017 (6.00)
Constant	5.9219	6.0815	4.6311	11.6444	8.8154	18.8656	11.1671
Adjusted R ²	.0234	.0215	.0215	.0409	.0532	.0593	.0657
N	8,197	8,197	8,197	8,197	8,197	8,197	8,197
d) Spain	Life satisfaction	Worthwhile	Sleep Quality	Loneliness	GAD7	PSS	PHQ10
23-29	.0377 (0.22)	-.0284 (0.15)	.3100 (2.73)	-.1234 (0.28)	-.7242 (1.73)	-.0873 (0.16)	-.7790 (1.52)
30-39	.1097 (0.67)	.2523 (1.43)	.2367 (2.18)	-1.4481 (3.47)	-1.7421 (4.36)	-1.5565 (2.97)	-2.7855 (5.70)
040-49	.3624 (2.21)	.5759 (3.29)	.3732 (3.46)	-2.5197 (6.08)	-2.9488 (7.44)	-3.0841 (5.93)	-4.2311 (8.72)
50-59	.7079 (4.25)	1.0969 (6.17)	.5503 (5.03)	-3.6085 (8.56)	-4.0326 (10.01)	-4.9356 (9.33)	-5.8014 (11.77)
60-69	.5885 (3.35)	.9771 (5.21)	.6463 (5.59)	-3.5266 (7.93)	-4.3073 (10.13)	-5.4247 (9.72)	-6.0973 (11.72)
70-79	-.9118 (3.23)	-.7630 (2.53)	-.0679 (0.37)	-.3994 (0.56)	-.0742 (0.11)	-.0548 (0.06)	-.9679 (1.16)
Female	-.2655 (6.00)	-.2577 (5.45)	-.2058 (7.07)	.6646 (5.93)	1.3027 (12.16)	1.6235 (11.55)	1.3107 (10.00)
Constant	6.3553	6.3618	4.3765	10.1073	8.1733	18.2542	10.1444
Adjusted R ²	.0391	.0404	.0250	.0547	.0843	.0917	.0962
N	9,027	9,027	9,027	9,027	9,027	9,027	9,027
e) Sweden	Life satisfaction	Worthwhile	Sleep Quality	Loneliness	GAD7	PSS	PHQ10
23-29	.3144 (1.53)	.5289 (2.56)	.3215 (2.51)	-1.4334 (3.03)	-.8454 (1.92)	-1.9456 (3.27)	-1.8712 (3.57)
30-39	.4414 (2.29)	.8553 (4.42)	.3241 (2.70)	-1.6621 (3.74)	-1.1513 (2.79)	-2.2618 (4.05)	-2.3413 (4.75)
040-49	.6984 (3.63)	1.1307 (5.84)	.2978 (2.48)	-2.4944 (5.62)	-2.7867 (6.76)	-3.5086 (6.28)	-4.0724 (8.27)
50-59	.8366 (4.39)	1.4210 (7.42)	.3591 (3.02)	-2.9548 (6.73)	-3.0864 (7.56)	-4.3474 (7.87)	-4.3940 (9.02)
60-69	1.4049 (6.64)	1.9899 (9.36)	.6795 (5.15)	-4.0576 (8.32)	-4.9304 (10.88)	-6.6297 (10.80)	-6.0491 (11.18)
70-79	1.7178 (5.19)	2.2877 (6.88)	1.5466 (7.49)	-5.4131 (7.10)	-5.7756 (8.15)	-9.6511 (10.06)	-7.5423 (8.92)
Female	.1394 (1.91)	.2332 (3.18)	.1962 (4.31)	.1094 (0.65)	1.0923 (6.99)	1.3119 (6.20)	.9987 (5.35)
Constant	5.4996	5.16927	4.2289	10.3664	6.7861	18.1111	9.0959
Adjusted R ²	.0211	.0351	.0201	.0312	.0797	.0698	.0666
N	4649	4649	4649	4649	4649	4649	4649

Table 9. MHQ regressions for *workers*, Global Minds 2020-2026 coefficient on age 18-24 variable

		N			N
Australia	-49.15 (28.62)	11,993	India	-42.03 (53.03)	101,701
Austria	-57.96 (6.98)	1,303	Iraq	-32.78 (18.79)	14,264
Belgium	-24.95 (3.32)	3,733	Israel	-44.97 (23.51)	10,995
Canada	-46.24 (26.67)	14,948	Japan	-45.87 (7.71)	1,956
China	-65.22 (11.09)	784	Jordan	-34.75 (13.40)	12,815
Egypt	-34.37 (31.56)	53,596	Kazakhstan	-23.86 (2.59)	503
Finland	-49.58 (6.32)	1,305	Kenya	-24.68 (8.75)	8611
France	-43.19 (20.96)	15,265	Korea South	-39.02 (7.57)	4,056
Germany	-51.74 (25.69)	15,439	Kyrgyzstan	-45.06 (9.28)	2,637
Ireland	-58.58 (11.22)	5,129	Madagascar	-33.36 (7.42)	1,491
Italy	-30.08 (6.39)	12,413	Malaysia	-71.62 (14.59)	3,409
New Zealand	-57.15 (16.44)	6,388	Mexico	-55.44 (58.65)	44,647
Saudi Arabia	-44.05 (11.51)	7,364	Morocco	-25.82 (10.90)	17,455
Singapore	-55.22 (14.39)	4,664	Mozambique	-25.64 (10.99)	8,475
Switzerland	-44.63 (4.21)	942	Nicaragua	-55.59 (18.51)	6,602
Spain	-28.97 (14.70)	22,647	Nigeria	-47.77 (23.55)	23,282
UAE	-41.05 (10.48)	4,690	Pakistan	-43.18 (25.05)	28,302
UK	-39.39 (28.63)	29,453	Panama	-51.52 (8.86)	3,916
USA	-56.11 (61.55)	46,467	Paraguay	-46.70 (18.24)	9,887
Uzbekistan	-28.35 (4.64)	2,563	Peru	-66.90 (34.14)	12,561
Afghanistan	-46.42 (5.50)	578	Philippines	-48.23 (18.53)	16,846
Algeria	-34.41 (18.59)	27,108	Portugal	-37.53 (5.27)	4,472
Angola	-26.75 (13.36)	8,143	Russia	-21.72 (6.64)	1,790
Argentina	-48.63 (32.33)	41,724	Rwanda	-32.02 (3.73)	549
Armenia	-49.26 (4.55)	1,917	South Africa	-46.61 (25.20)	24,835
Azerbaijan	-77.09 (3.80)	869	Sri Lanka	-47.33 (7.61)	4,811
Bangladesh	-37.32 (10.34)	6,903	Sudan	-46.34 (4.64)	651
Belarus	-31.52 (4.49)	2,270	Tanzania	-27.3 (10.62)	6,265
Benin	-28.76 (4.97)	812	Trinidad/Tobago	-53.82 (5.49)	3,697
Bolivia	-53.06 (19.72)	8,628	Tunisia	-24.28 (6.64)	12,345
Brazil	-53.42 (14.18)	10,640	Uganda	-48.65 (4.88)	748
Cameroon	-24.70 (9.22)	5,051	Ukraine	-45.22 (7.34)	5,340
Chile	-52.42 (9.51)	7,803	Uruguay	-52.58 (9.32)	7,001
Colombia	-44.59 (36.75)	28,198	Venezuela	-55.11 (51.26)	43,635
Costa Rica	-58.37 (9.16)	3,619	Yemen	-18.98 (12.60)	16,475
Côte d'Ivoire	-35.24 (11.68)	5,670	Zimbabwe	-30.61 (7.09)	5,692
DR Congo	31.45 (11.18)	4,443	All	-45.46 (179.49)	995,790
Dominican Republic	-50.42 (15.24)	6464			
Ecuador	-56.51 (18.17)	6,998	Notes: includes gender and year dummies (t-statistics in parentheses)		
El Salvador	-65.06 (18.39)	7,215			
Georgia	-44.36 (3.49)	1,678			
Ghana	-39.73 (9.72)	2,669			
Guatemala	-63.32 (26.21)	9,975			
Honduras	-61.98 (18.32)	6,745			

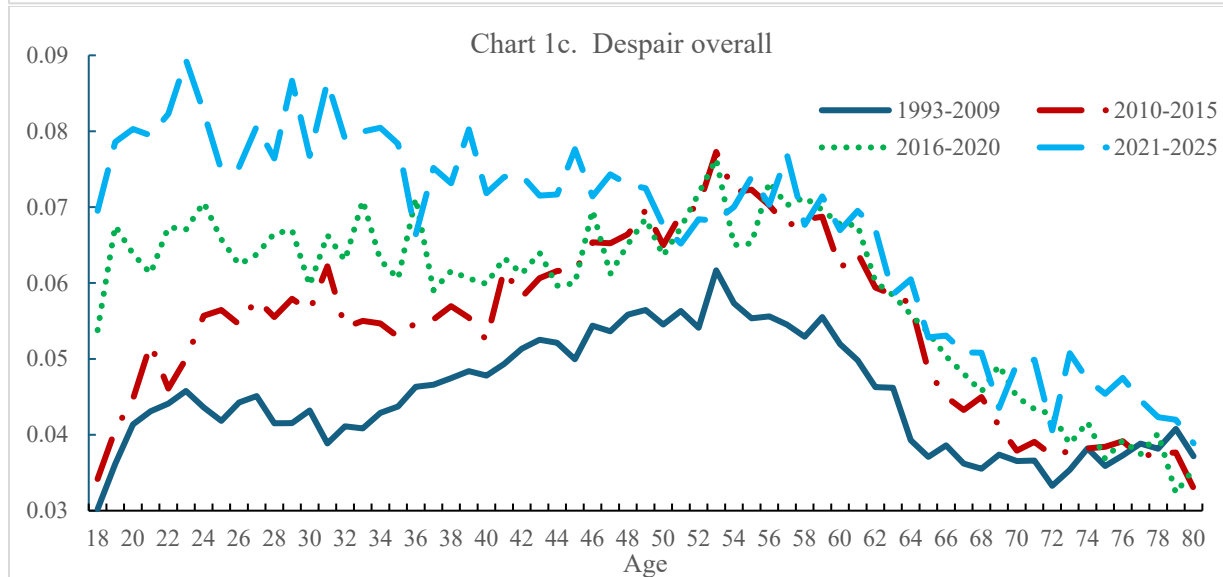
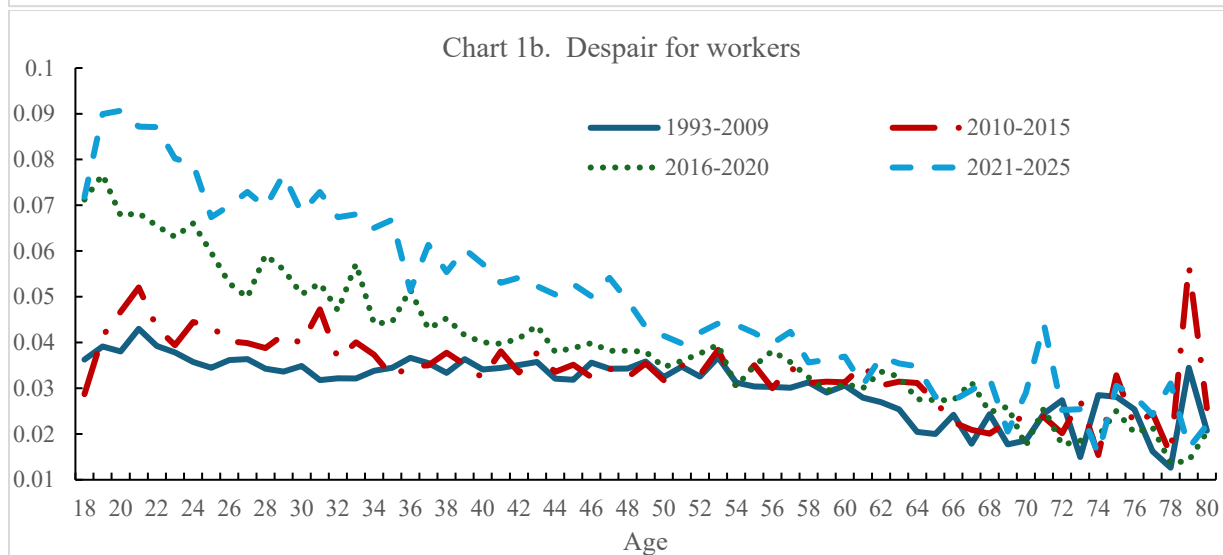
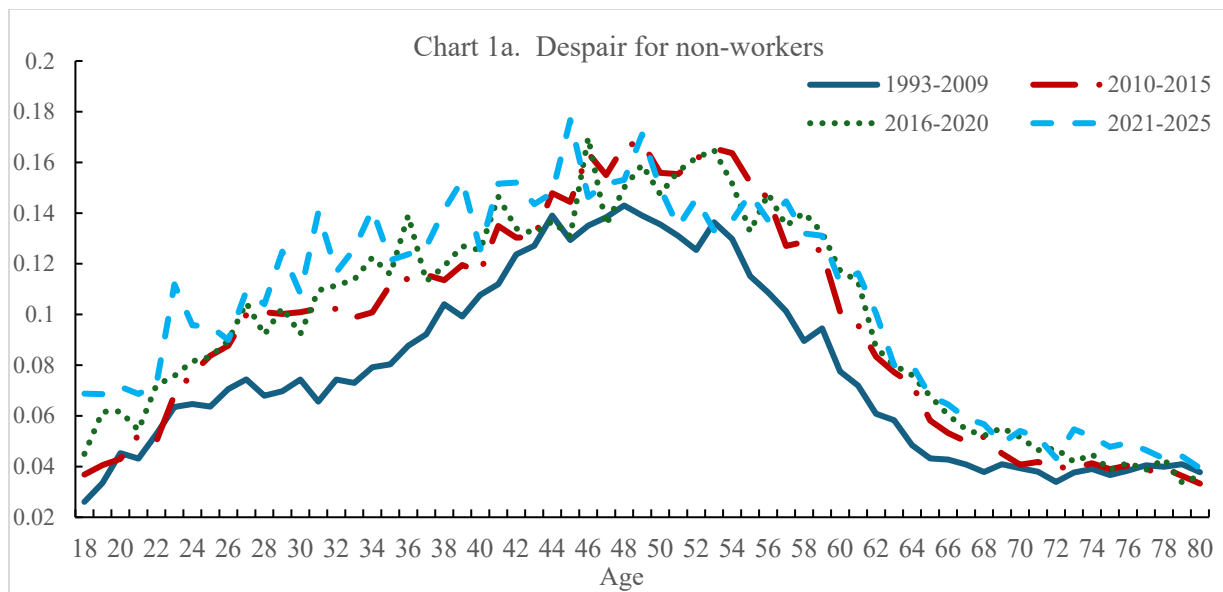


Chart 2. Not flourishing EU Loneliness Survey 2022

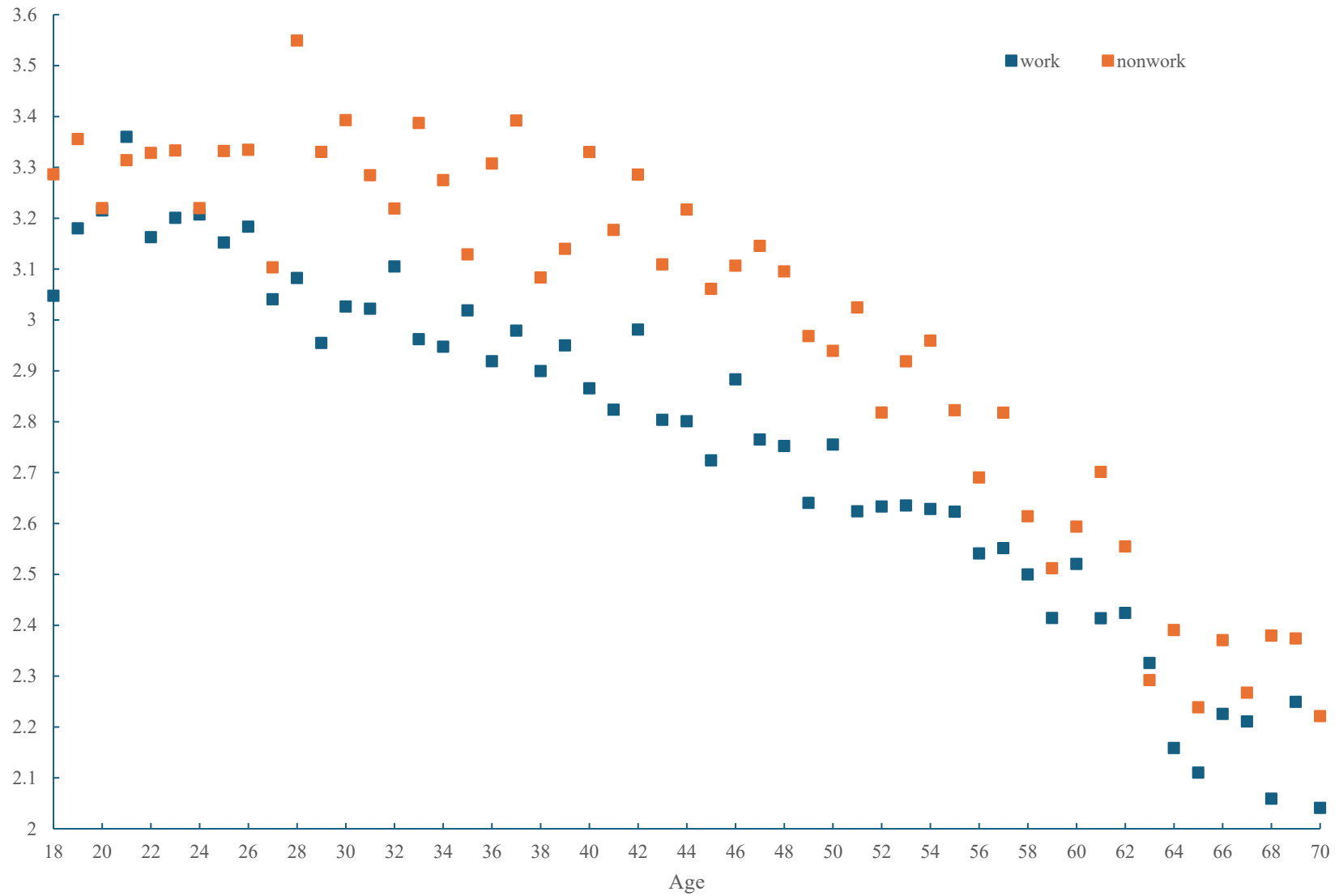


Chart 3a. USA GFS Life satisfaction, Workers

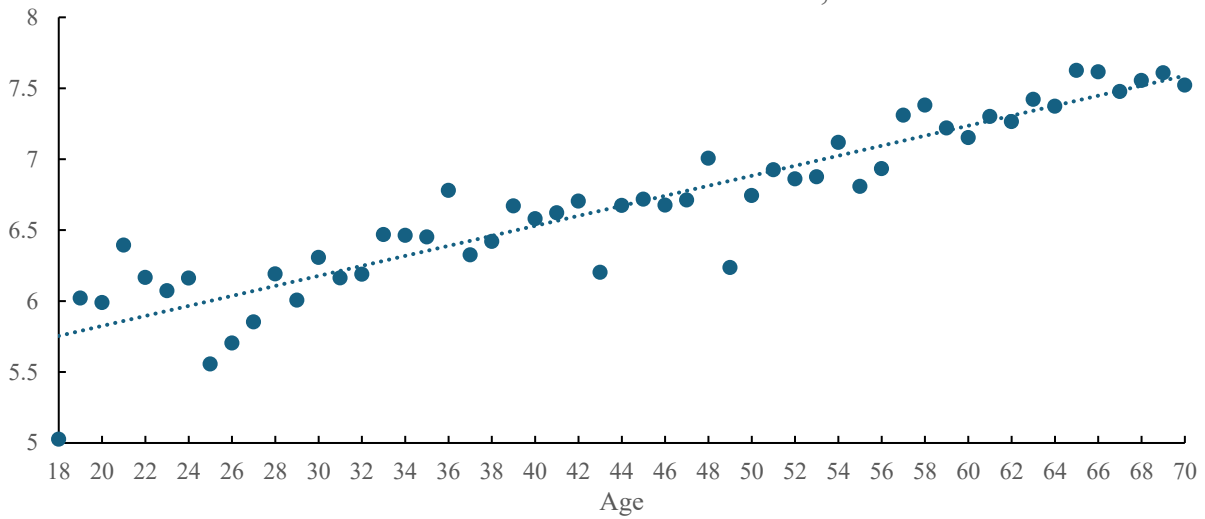


Chart 3b. UK GFS Life satisfaction, Workers

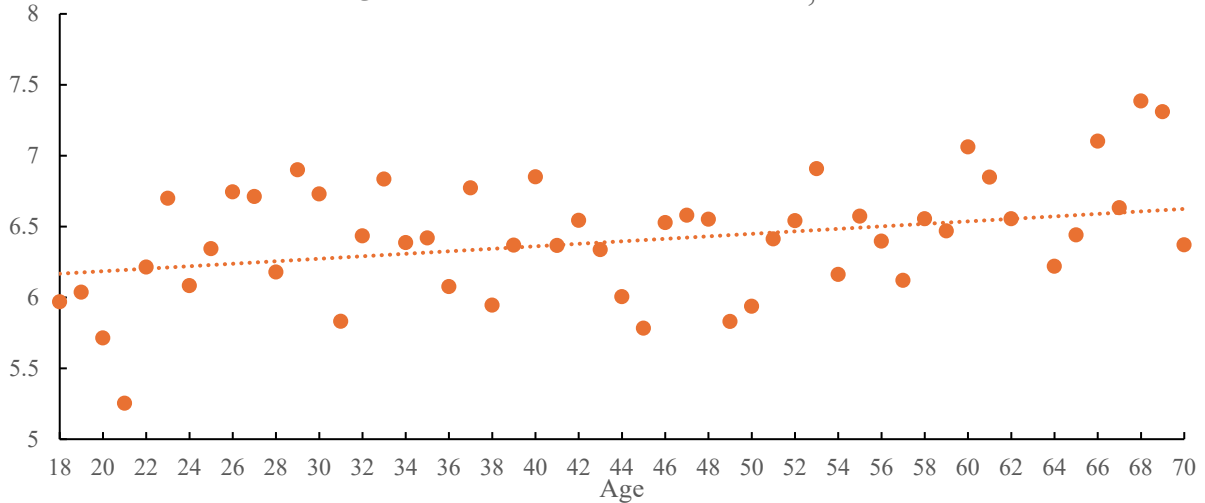


Chart 3c, Germany GFS Life satisfaction, Workers

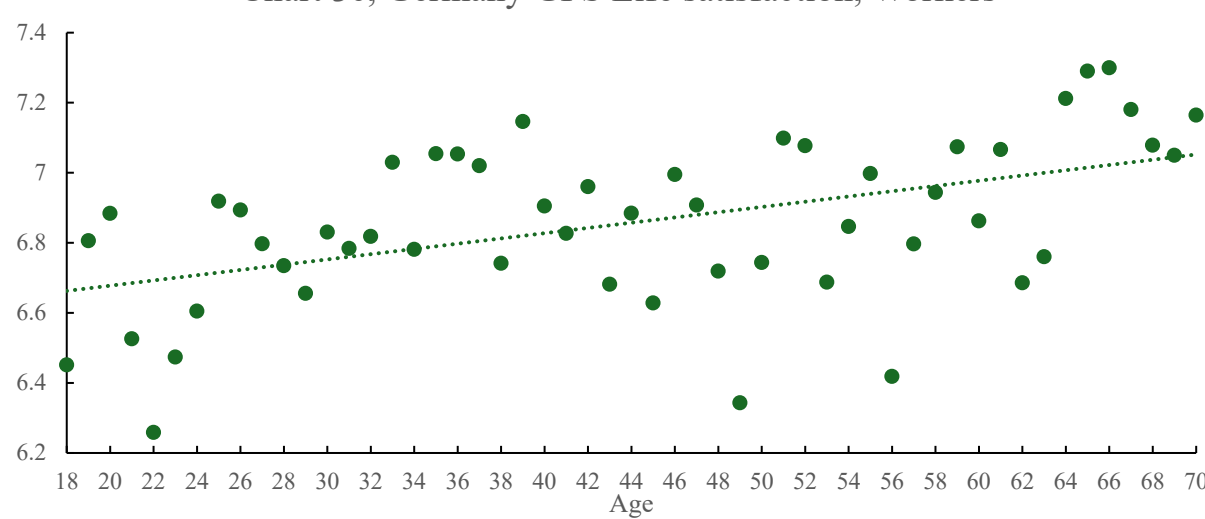


Chart 3d. Sweden GFS Life satisfaction, Workers

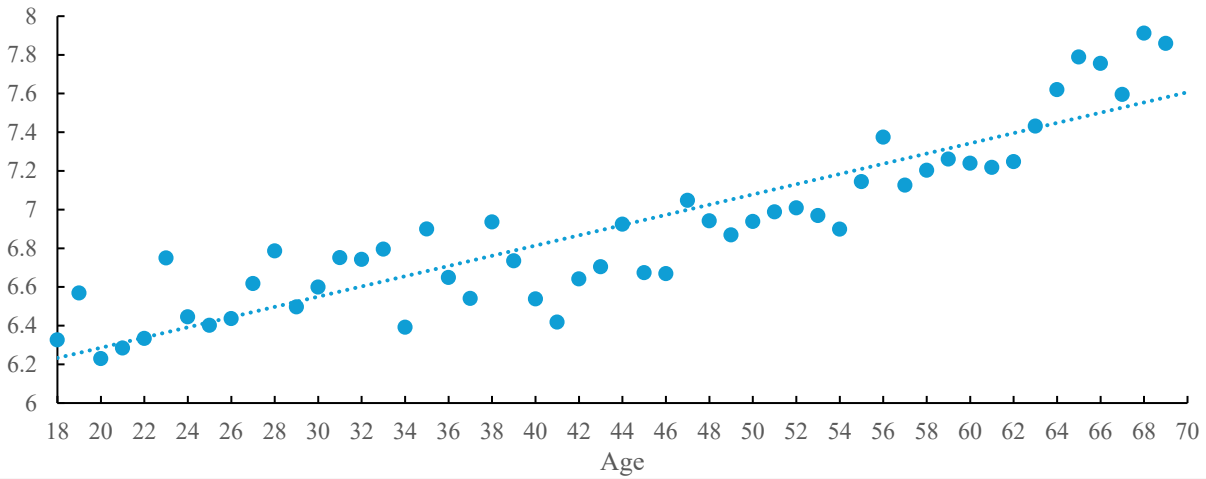


Chart 3e. Spain GFS Life satisfaction and Not flourishing, Workers

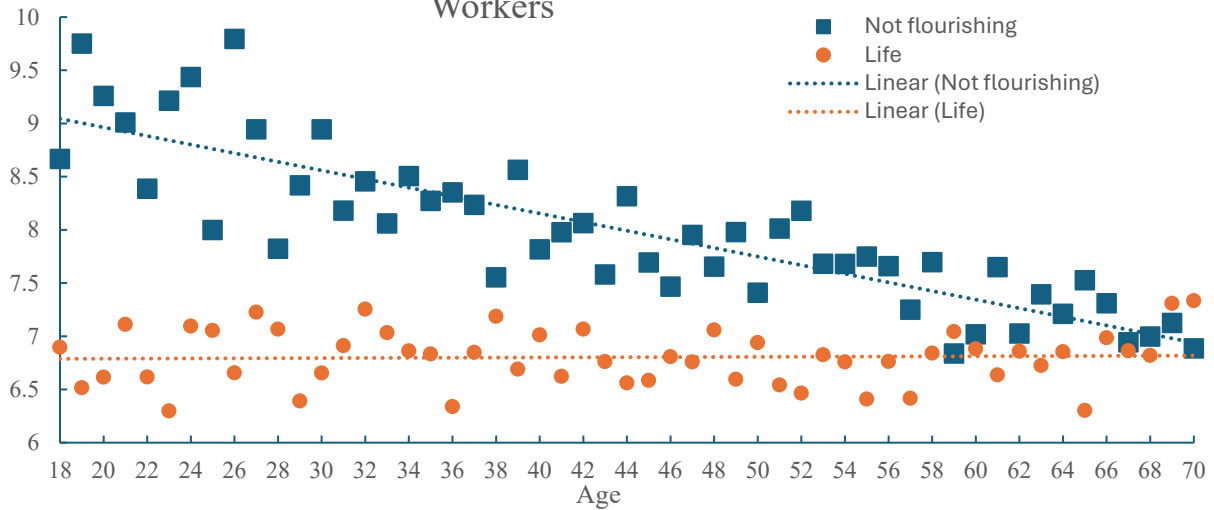


Chart 3f. GFS Not flourishing five countries, Workers

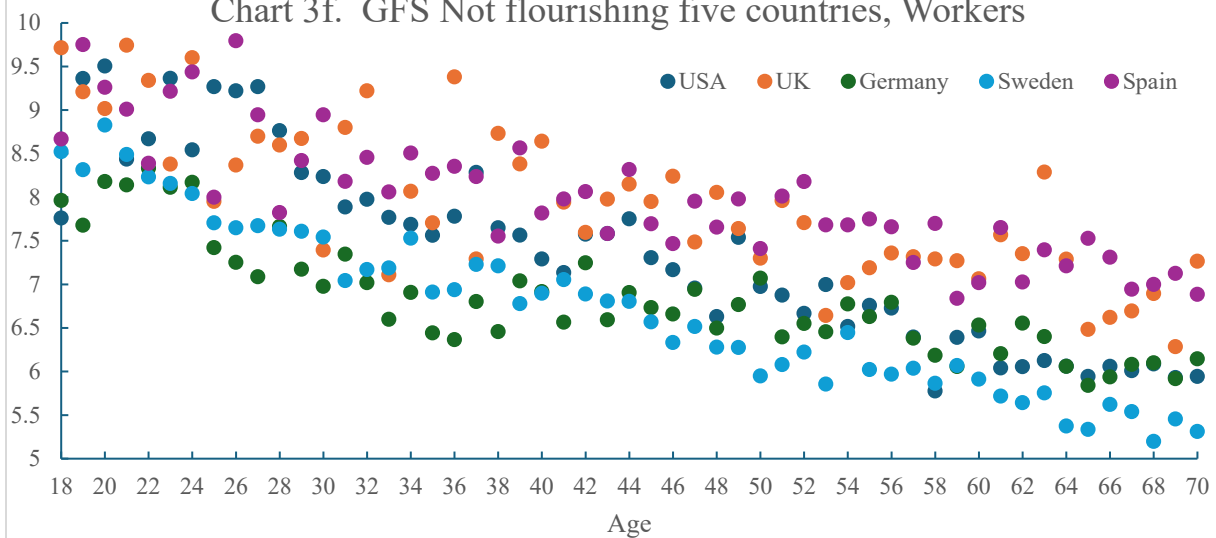


Chart 4a. GFS Life satisfaction CATI 16 countries

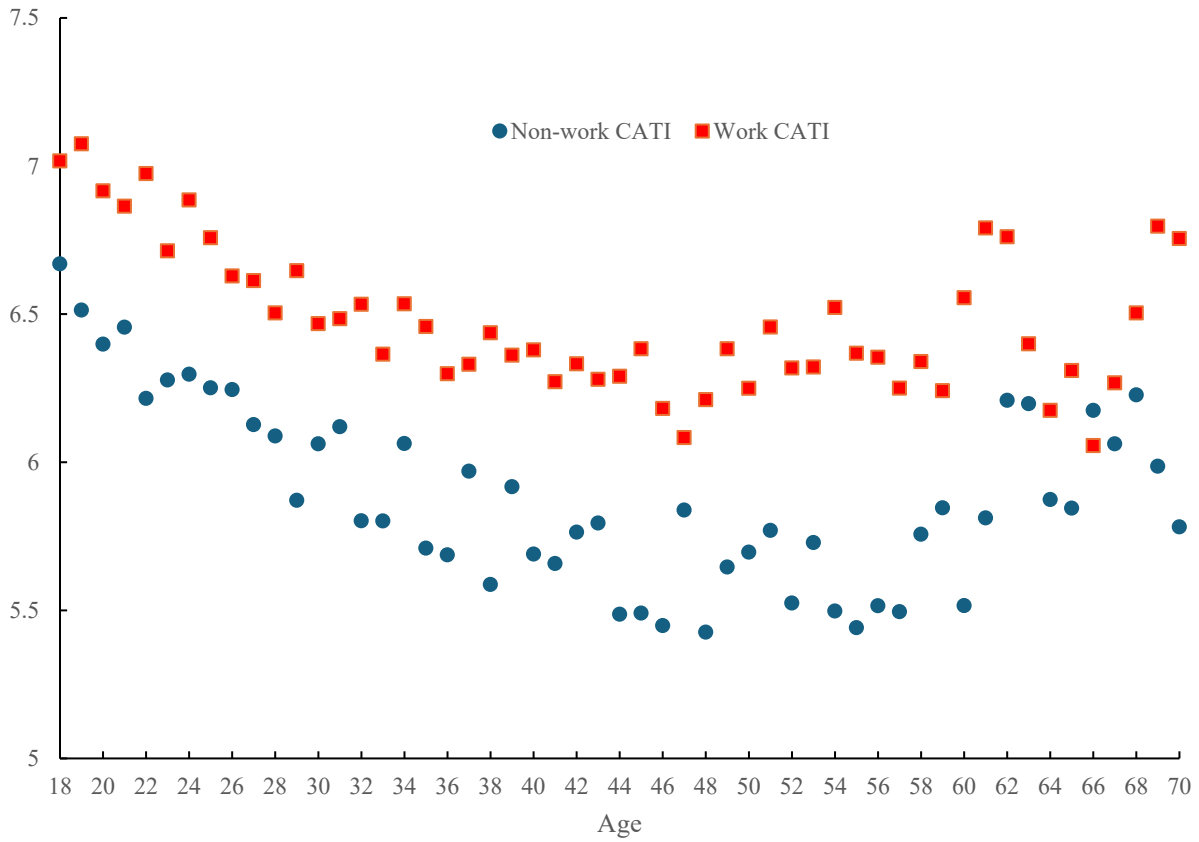


Chart 4b. GFS Life satisfaction CAWI 16 countries

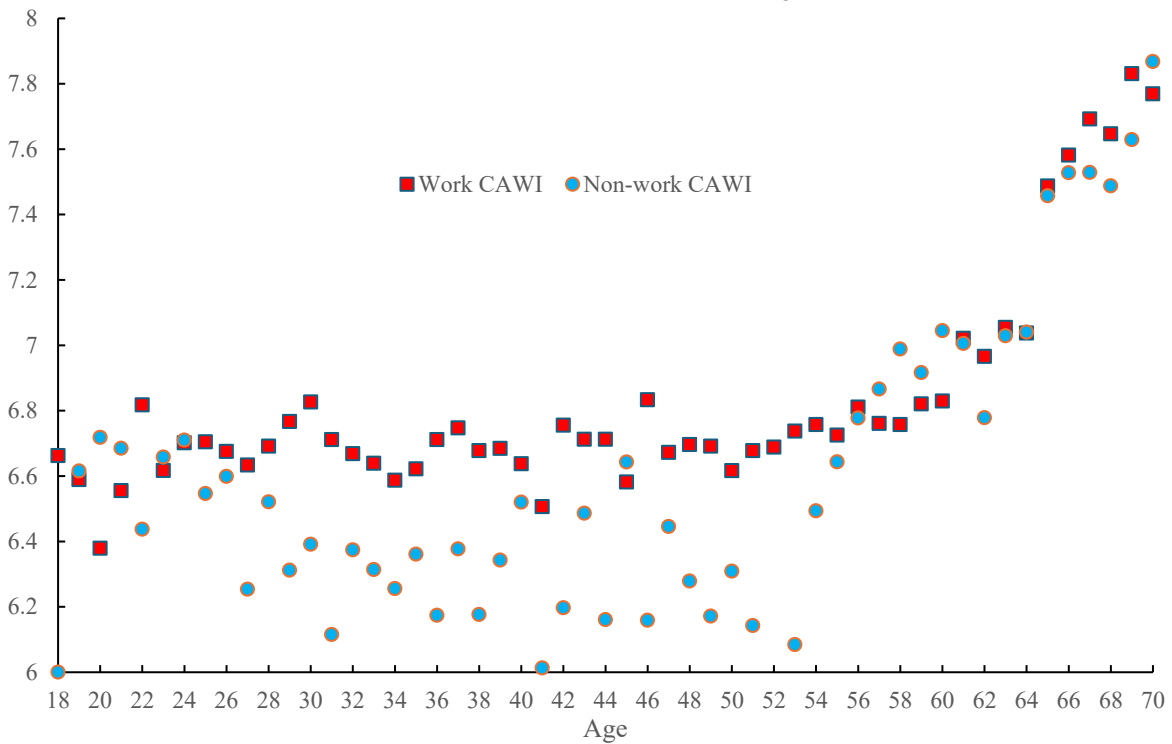


Chart 4c. Not flourishing GFS 16 countries CATI

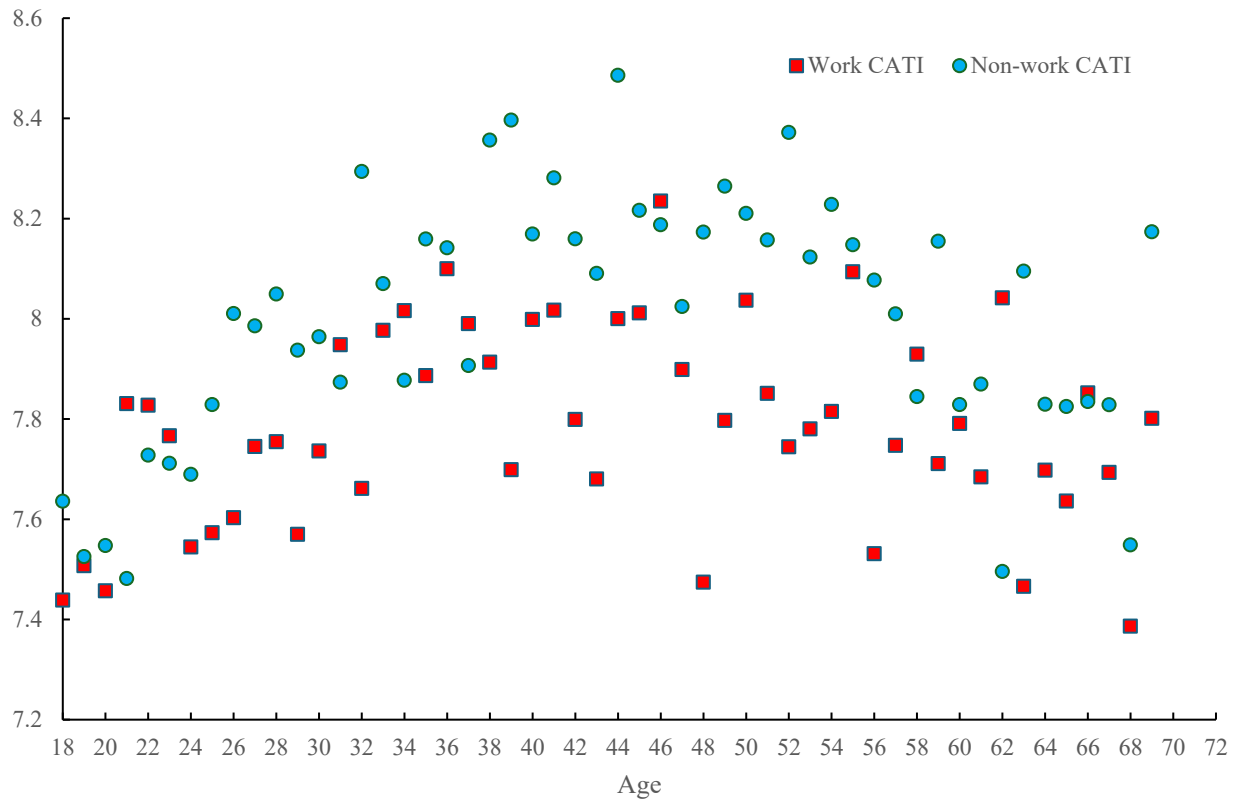


Chart 4d. Not flourishing cypru16 countries CAWI



Chart 5a. Life satisfaction workers and non-workers - France, Come Here

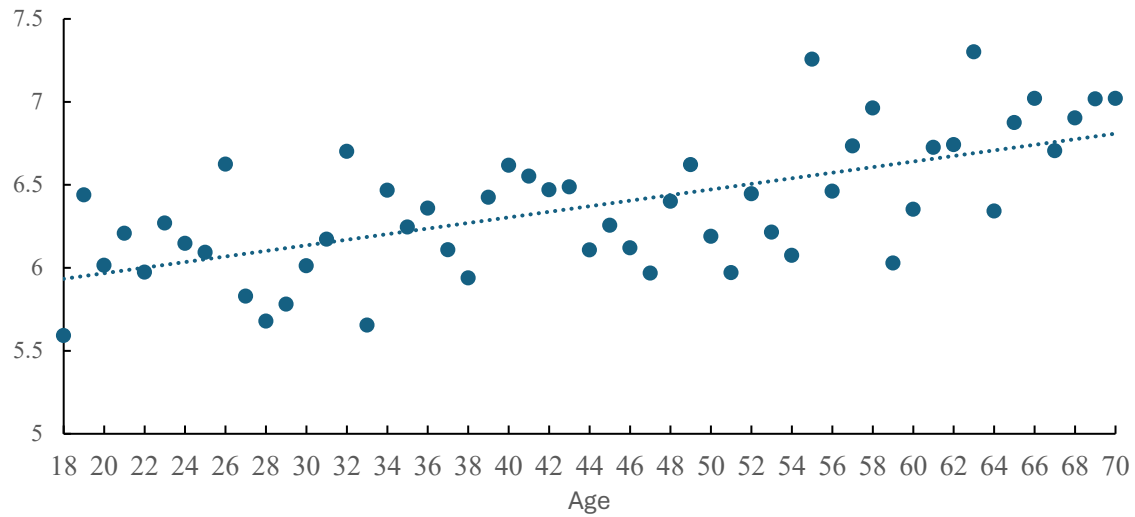


Chart 5b. Life satisfaction workers and non-workers - Germany, Come Here

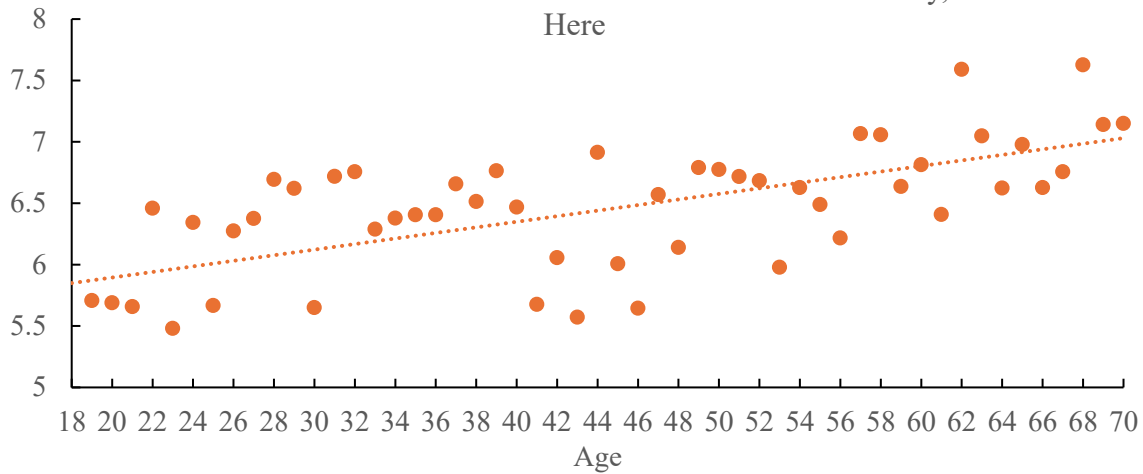


Chart 5c. Life satisfaction workers and non-workers - Italy
Come Here

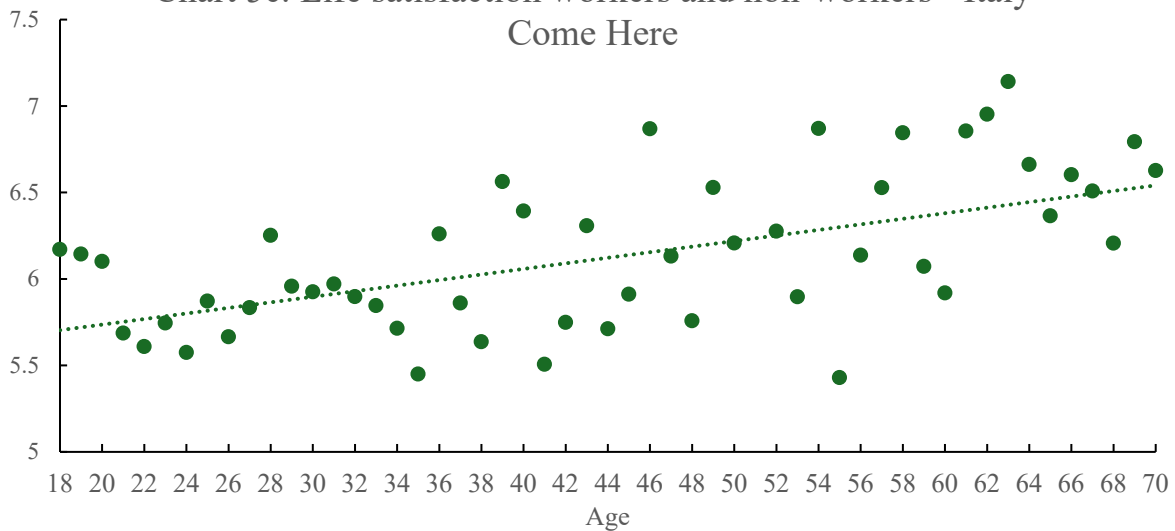


Chart 5d. Life satisfaction workers and non-workers - Spain
Come Here

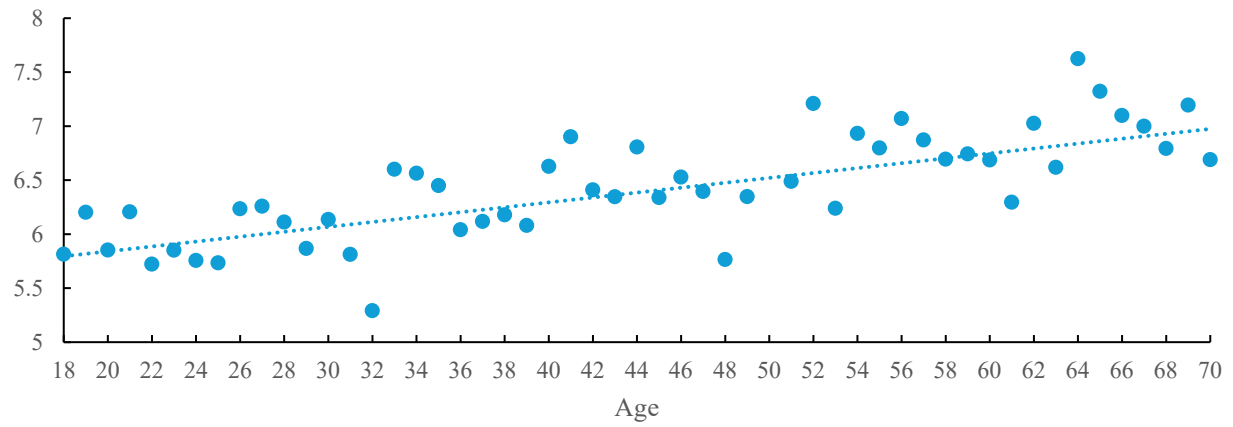


Chart 5e. Life satisfaction workers and non-workers - Sweden
Come Here

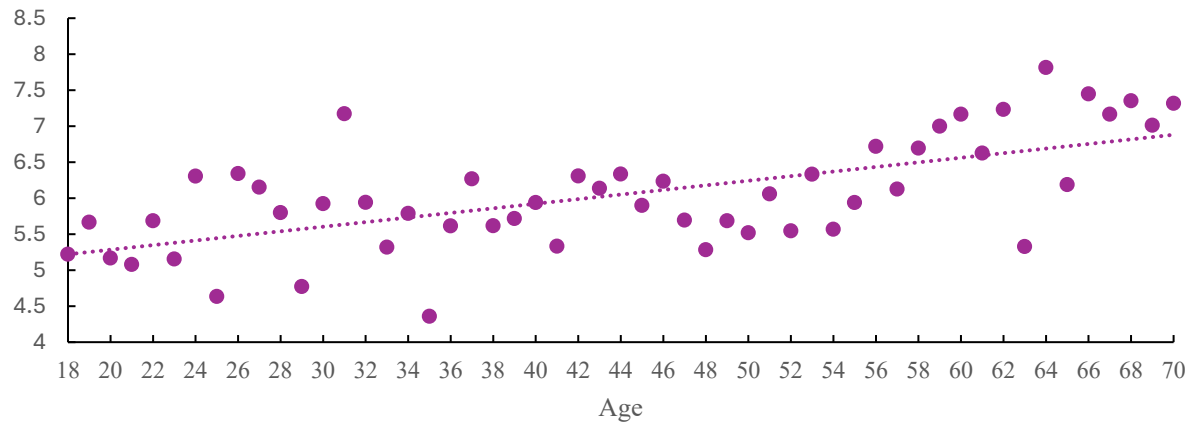


Chart 5f. PHQ10 in Five Countries workers and non-workers from Come
Here

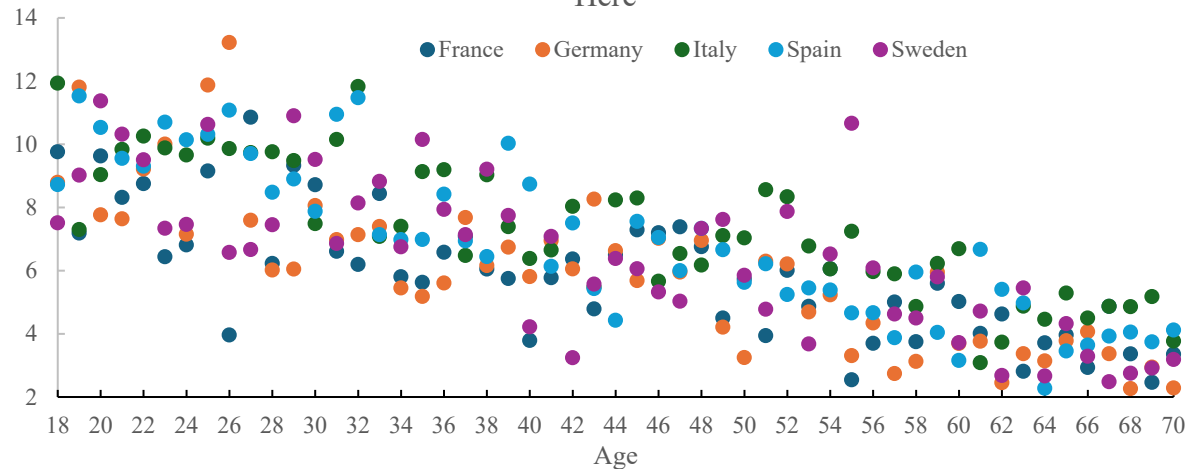


Chart 6a. Life satisfaction regression estimates across five countries - Come-Here

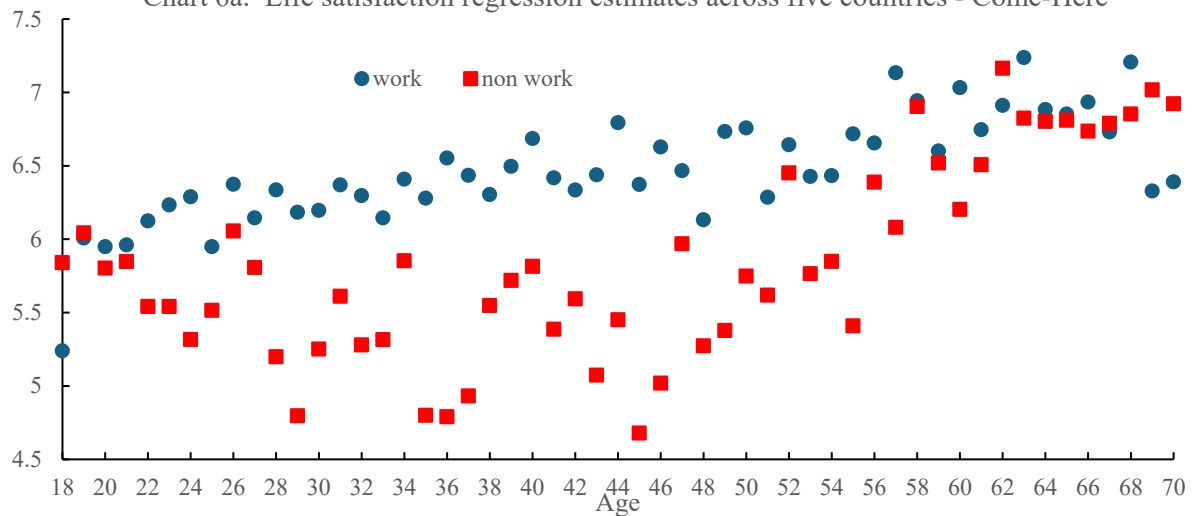


Chart 6b. PHQ regression estimates across five countries - Come-Here



Chart 6c. GAD regression estimates across five countries - Come-Here



Appendix 1: Cantril age effects 2020-2025 by country

We report here the results of regressing Cantril's life evaluation ladder on gender and year dummies and a continuous age variable. Below we report the sign and significance of the coefficient on the continuous age variable.

In fifty countries the age coefficient was insignificant - Algeria; Austria; Bahrain; Bangladesh; Belgium; Belize; Brazil; Burkina Faso; Chad; Congo(Kinshasa); Costa Rica; Cyprus; Czechia; Egypt; France; Germany; Ghana; Iraq; Jamaica; Japan; Kazakhstan; Libya; Luxembourg; Madagascar; Malawi; Maldives; Malta; Mauritania; Mongolia; Myanmar; Namibia; Nepal; Nigeria; Northern Cyprus; Oman; Palestinian Territories; Puerto Rico; Sierra Leone; Somalia; South Africa; Spain; Switzerland; Syria; Taiwan; The Gambia; Togo; Trinidad & Tobago; Turkey; Yemen and Zimbabwe.

In seventy-nine countries age was significantly negative including every East European and Latin American country - Afghanistan; Albania; Argentina; Armenia; Azerbaijan; Benin; Bolivia; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Botswana; Bulgaria; Cambodia; Cameroon; Chile; Colombia; Comoros; Congo Brazzaville; Croatia; Dominican Republic; Ecuador; El Salvador; Estonia; Eswatini; Ethiopia; Gabon; Georgia; Greece; Guatemala; Honduras; Hungary; India; Indonesia; Iran; Israel; Italy; Ivory Coast; Jordan; Kenya; Kosovo; Kyrgyzstan; Latvia; Lebanon; Lesotho; Liberia; Lithuania; Malaysia; Mali; Mexico; Moldova; Montenegro; Morocco; Mozambique; Nicaragua; Niger; North Macedonia; Pakistan; Panama; Paraguay; Peru; Philippines; Poland; Portugal; Romania; Russia; Senegal; Serbia; Slovakia; Slovenia; South Korea; Sri Lanka; Tajikistan; Tanzania; Thailand; Tunisia; Uganda; Ukraine; Uruguay; Venezuela; Vietnam; Zambia;

In a further 22 age was significantly positive - Australia; Canada; China; Denmark; Finland; Guinea; Hong Kong; Iceland; Ireland; Kuwait; Laos; Mauritius; Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Saudi Arabia; Singapore; Sweden; United Arab Emirates; United Kingdom; United States and Uzbekistan.

Appendix 2

1. Generalized Anxiety Disorder GAD7

Over the last 2 weeks, how often have you been bothered by the following problems? Not at all sure

1. Feeling nervous, anxious, or on edge
2. Not being able to stop or control worrying
3. Worrying too much about different things
4. Trouble relaxing
5. Being so restless that it's hard to sit still
6. Becoming easily annoyed or irritable
7. Feeling afraid as if something awful might happen

Not at all sure=0 Several days=1 Over half the days=2; Nearly every day =3

Add the score for each column scores of 5, 10, and 15 are taken as the cut-off points for mild, moderate and severe anxiety, respectively. When used as a screening tool, further evaluation is recommended when the score is 10 or greater. Using the threshold score of 10, the GAD-7 has a sensitivity of 89% and a specificity of 82% for GAD. It is moderately good at screening three other common anxiety disorders - panic disorder (sensitivity 74%, specificity 81%), social anxiety disorder (sensitivity 72%, specificity 80%) and post-traumatic stress disorder (sensitivity 66%, specificity 81%). Source: Spitzer RL, Kroenke K, Williams JBW, Lowe B. A brief measure for assessing generalized anxiety disorder. Arch Intern Med. 2006;166:1092-1097

<https://www.dartmouth-hitchcock.org/sites/default/files/2021-02/gad-7-anxiety-scale.pdf>

2. Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10)¹⁰

The PSS-10 determines how unpredictable, uncontrollable, and overloaded respondents find their lives. The scale also includes a number of direct queries about current levels of experienced stress. The PSS was designed for use in community samples with at least some high school education. The assessed items are general in nature rather than focusing on specific events or experiences.

Cohen, S., & Williamson, G. (1988). Perceived stress in a probability sample of the United States. In S. Spacapan & S. Oskamp (Eds.), The social psychology of health: Claremont Symposium on applied social psychology. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

For each question choose from the following alternatives: 0 - never 1 - almost never 2 - sometimes 3 - fairly often 4 - very often

1. In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?
2. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?
3. In the last month, how often have you felt nervous and stressed?
4. In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?

¹⁰ https://novopsych.com/assessments/well-being/perceived-stress-scale-pss-10/?msclkid=d637d128642c11f66e43b84c45d02115&utm_source=bing&utm_medium=cpc&utm_campaign=SW%20%7C%20US%20%7C%20Assessments&utm_term=pss%20stress%20test&utm_content=PSS%20Test

5. In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?
6. In the last month, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?
7. In the last month, how often have you been able to control irritations in your life?
8. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were on top of things?
9. In the last month, how often have you been angered because of things that happened that were outside of your control?
10. In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?

You can determine your PSS score by following these directions: • First, reverse your scores for questions 4, 5, 7, and 8. On these 4 questions, change the scores like • Now add up your scores for each item to get a total. • Individual scores on the PSS can range from 0 to 40 with higher scores indicating higher perceived stress: 0 = 4, 1 = 3, 2 = 2, 3 = 1, 4 = 0.

Scores ranging from 0-13 would be considered low stress.

Scores ranging from 14-26 would be considered moderate stress.

Scores ranging from 27-40 would be considered high perceived stress.

3. PHQ total

The depression variable PHQ which has nine components. The components are as follows. Over the last 2 weeks, how often have you been bothered by any of the following problems?

1. Little interest or pleasure in doing things?
 2. Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless?
 3. Trouble falling or staying asleep, or sleeping too much?
 4. Feeling tired or having little energy?
 5. Poor appetite or overeating?
 6. Feeling bad about yourself — or that you are a failure or have let yourself or your family down
 7. Trouble concentrating on things, such as reading the newspaper or watching television
 8. Moving or speaking so slowly that other people could have noticed? Or the opposite — being so fidgety or restless that you have been moving around a lot more than usual?
 9. Thoughts that you would be better off dead or of hurting yourself in some way?
- Responses are 1. Not at all 2. Several days 3. More than half the days 4. Nearly every day. In addition, we also examine phq9, relating to suicidal ideation and especially on those who respond 3 or 4.

4. UCLA Loneliness Measure

This is a 20-item measure that assesses how often a person feels disconnected from others. Using a 4-point rating scale (1= never; 4 = always), participants answer 20 questions, such as “How often do you feel left out?” and “How often do you feel part of a group of friends?” Researchers later reverse code the positively worded items so that high values mean more loneliness, and then calculate a score for each respondent by averaging their ratings.

1. How often do you feel that you are “in tune” with the people around you?
2. How often do you feel that you lack companionship?
3. How often do you feel that there is no one you can turn to?

4. How often do you feel alone?
5. How often do you feel part of a group of friends?
6. How often do you feel that you have a lot in common with the people around you?
7. How often do you feel that you are no longer close to anyone?
8. How often do you feel that your interests and ideas are not shared by those around you?
9. How often do you feel outgoing and friendly?
10. How often do you feel close to people?
11. How often do you feel left out?
12. How often do you feel that your relationships with others are not meaningful?
13. How often do you feel that no one really knows you well?
14. How often do you feel isolated from others?
15. How often do you feel that you can find companionship when you want it?
16. How often do you feel that there are people who really understand you?
17. How often do you feel shy?
18. How often do you feel that people are around you but not with you?
19. How often do you feel that there are people you can talk to?
20. How often do you feel that there are people you can turn to?

<https://sparqtools.org/mobility-measure/ucla-loneliness-scale-version-3/#all-survey-questions>

Appendix Table A1. GFS Non-workers, 2020-2022 also includes other sex variable. (T-statistics in parentheses)

a) USA

	Life satisfaction	Cantril	Happiness	Not Lonely	Anxious	Worry	Not flourishing
23-29	-.1951 (0.85)	.1890 (0.93)	.0686 (0.34)	.3873 (1.32)	.0709 (0.77)	.0035 (0.04)	-.0761 (0.24)
30-39	.2878 (1.44)	.6054 (3.41)	.5345 (3.03)	1.2299 (4.82)	-.1002 (1.25)	-.0905 (1.12)	-.4042 (1.47)
40-49	.0147 (0.07)	.3057 (1.72)	.2294 (1.30)	1.0812 (4.22)	-.1592 (1.99)	-.0899 (1.11)	-.2757 (1.00)
50-59	.5449 (2.83)	.7635 (4.47)	.8191 (4.83)	1.6943 (6.89)	-.4719 (6.12)	-.3342 (4.29)	-1.2049 (4.56)
60-69	1.3021 (6.94)	1.5338 (9.21)	1.4612 (8.84)	2.5377 (10.60)	-.7521 (10.02)	-.5817 (7.67)	-2.2393 (8.69)
70-79	1.5866 (8.47)	1.8251 (10.98)	1.7476 (10.59)	2.8955 (12.11)	-.8397 (11.21)	-.6560 (8.66)	-2.5080 (9.76)
80+	1.7940 (9.43)	2.0295 (12.03)	1.9678 (11.75)	3.1085 (12.81)	-.9159 (12.05)	-.7086 (9.22)	-2.6606 (10.20)
Female	-.0422 (1.53)	.0011 (0.05)	-.0075 (0.31)	-.1579 (4.49)	.1083 (9.82)	.1394 (12.50)	.2519 (6.63)
Constant	6.2157	6.0704	6.135	5.0960	2.2648	2.0035	8.1748
Adjusted R ²	.0614	.0733	.0704	.0606	.0887	.0618	.0674
N	18,887	18,910	18,896	18,905	18,860	18891	18740

b) UK

	Life satisfaction	Cantril	Happiness	Not Lonely	Anxious	Worry	Not flourishing
23-29	-.3817 (1.19)	-.0934 (0.32)	-.0711 (0.24)	-.7745 (1.86)	-.1013 (0.76)	-.0829 (0.61)	-.2559 (0.54)
30-39	-.6811 (2.56)	-.5804 (2.42)	-.2063 (0.84)	-.7107 (2.06)	-.1119 (1.01)	.0320 (0.29)	.1368 (0.35)
40-49	-.4840 (1.81)	-.6332 (2.62)	-.3210 (1.30)	-.8209 (2.37)	-.0921 (0.83)	-.1219 (1.08)	-.1561 (0.40)
50-59	-.1437 (0.62)	-.3609 (1.73)	-.0665 (0.31)	-.2089 (0.70)	-.2781 (2.89)	-.2153 (2.22)	-.5649 (1.66)
60-69	.6406 (3.13)	.5171 (2.79)	.8085 (4.28)	.9016 (3.39)	-.6719 (7.89)	-.6563 (7.61)	-2.2035 (7.33)
70-79	1.1257 (5.56)	.9251 (5.06)	1.3107 (7.03)	1.5424 (5.87)	-.8666 (0.30)	-.7787 (9.14)	-2.9152 (9.82)
80+	1.3605 (5.69)	1.0717 (4.95)	1.5705 (7.12)	1.5512 (4.99)	-.9663 (9.72)	-.8504 (8.44)	-3.1942 (9.10)
Female	.1497 (1.66)	.1397 (1.71)	.0979 (1.18)	.0837 (0.72)	.1668 (4.44)	.1997 (5.26)	.3814 (2.87)
Constant	5.8353	6.1093	5.9135	5.7902	2.3524	2.2447	9.0840
Adjusted R ²	.0738	.0574	.0870	.0788	.1203	.1119	.1219
N	2,565	2,576	2,573	2,577	2,567	2,572	2,549

c) Germany

	Life satisfaction	Cantril.	Happiness	Not Lonely	Anxious	Worry	Not flourishing
23-29	-.2163 (1.16)	-.2751 (1.65)	-.1460 (0.86)	.1261 (0.57)	-.0827 (1.22)	.0632 (0.87)	-.2687 (1.13)
30-39	-.4604 (2.56)	-.5395 (3.37)	-.2307 (1.41)	.3003 (1.42)	-.1820 (2.81)	-.2812 (4.02)	-.7555 (3.31)
40-49	-.6503 (3.58)	-.9442 (5.82)	-.5244 (3.16)	.2772 (1.30)	-.3094 (4.72)	-.3288 (4.65)	-.9716 (4.22)
50-59	-.7174 (4.48)	-1.0506 (7.35)	-.5691 (3.89)	.2742 (1.46)	-.2787 (4.81)	-.3384 (5.42)	-.8736 (4.28)
60-69	.1815 (1.35)	-.2412 (2.01)	.2127 (1.74)	1.2113 (7.69)	-.5649 (11.65)	-.5764 (11.01)	-1.9257 (11.30)
70-79	.6289 (4.47)	.0397 (0.32)	.5352 (4.16)	1.6399 (9.92)	-.6786 (13.33)	-.7292 (13.28)	-2.4462 (13.67)

80+	.9633 (4.32)	.3819 (1.92)	.8169 (4.02)	2.0225 (7.71)	-.7171 (8.86)	-.7579 (8.72)	2.4705 (8.69)
Female	-.0389 (0.51)	-.0985 (1.45)	-.0816 (1.17)	-.1189 (1.33)	.1519 (5.51)	.0965 (3.25)	.3518 (3.63)
Constant	6.4988	6.6947	6.5240	5.8952	2.1249	2.1688	8.1849
Adjusted R ²	.0415	.0334	.0344	.0551	.0906	.0755	.0862
N	3,861	3873	3,870	3,872	3,867	3,872	3,872
d) Sweden	Life satisfaction	Cantril	Happiness	Not Lonely	Anxious	Worry	Not flourishing
23-29	-.4497 (3.64)	-.4542 (4.27)	-.4236 (3.71)	-.1937 (1.31)	.0066 (0.14)	.0022 (0.05)	.1307 (0.79)
30-39	-1.0491 (8.27)	-.8608 (7.89)	-.9183 (7.84)	-.5942 (3.91)	.2379 (4.94)	.2427 (4.99)	1.0072 (5.94)
40-49	-1.3293 (9.01)	-1.3998 (11.03)	-.9369 (6.87)	-.3053 (1.72)	.0912 (1.63)	.0933 (1.65)	.5728 (2.91)
50-59	-1.3368 (10.48)	-1.1774 (10.73)	-.8699 (7.38)	-.3354 (2.19)	-.1518 (3.13)	-.1200 (2.45)	-.1977 (1.16)
60-69	.9953 (11.40)	.7486 (9.97)	.9349 (11.58)	1.7464 (16.69)	-.8204 (24.74)	-.6633 (19.80)	-2.6001 (22.25)
70-79	1.4979 (19.12)	1.2042 (17.88)	1.3436 (18.58)	2.2852 (24.37)	-.9307 (31.30)	-.7306 (24.33)	-2.9832 (28.46)
80+	1.6254 (14.85)	1.2892 (13.70)	1.3723 (13.59)	2.1122 (16.16)	-.8875 (21.41)	-.6834 (16.37)	-2.7735 (18.92)
Female	-.1124 (2.07)	-.0417 (0.89)	-.1242 (2.48)	-.2608 (4.02)	.1926 (9.34)	.1839 (8.84)	.5807 (7.99)
Constant	6.3637	6.0475	6.3828	5.7818	2.1700	1.8991	8.0620
Adjusted R ²	.1883	.1807	.1607	.1698	.2518	.1779	.2303
N	6,400	6,406	6,410	6,411	6,405	6,405	6,321
e) Spain	Life satisfaction	Cantril	Happiness	Not Lonely	Anxious	Worry	Not flourishing
23-29	.0479 (0.25)	.0194 (0.12)	.2483 (1.43)	.0654 (0.38)	.1142 (1.47)	-.0515 (0.63)	-.0249 (0.10)
30-39	.3454 (2.17)	-.1737 (1.24)	.1997 (1.37)	.3594 (0.35)	-.0700 (1.07)	-.1094 (1.60)	-.3707 (1.69)
40-49	-.1549 (0.98)	-.3223 (2.31)	-.0865 (0.60)	.5240 (1.91)	-.0984 (1.51)	-.2197 (3.23)	-.5647 (2.59)
50-59	-.0981 (0.60)	-.4979 (3.47)	-.0717 (0.48)	1.0044 (2.71)	-.1778 (2.65)	-.2003 (2.86)	-.7583 (3.38)
60-69	.2008 (1.25)	-.1070 (0.75)	.0992 (0.67)	.9394 (5.25)	-.4675 (7.05)	-.4482 (6.46)	-1.5669 (7.06)
70-79	.3830 (1.99)	.0773 (0.45)	.2080 (1.17)	.6116 (4.09)	-.4488 (5.63)	-.4979 (5.96)	-1.5823 (5.93)
80+	.6310 (1.37)	.3471 (0.87)	.5513 (1.33)	-.2673 (1.13)	-.4355 (2.33)	-.7710 (3.95)	2.1348 (3.43)
Female	-.3174 (3.35)	-.1697 (2.03)	-.2186 (2.51)	-.8987 (2.37)	.2267 (5.80)	.2346 (5.73)	.8214 (6.27)
Constant	6.6609	6.6770	6.7654	6.1013	2.3229	2.1383	8.6792
Adjusted R ²	.0096	.0075	.0042	.0193	.0509	.0450	.0511
N	2,604	2,608	2,605	2,607	2,605	2,605	2,583

Appendix Table A2 Come-Here non-workers (includes wave dummies). (T-statistics in parentheses)

[illegible]

d) Spain	Life satisfaction	Worthwhile	Sleep Quality	Loneliness	GAD7	PSS	PHQ10
23-29	-.8166 (4.58)	-.6713 (3.55)	-.0927 (0.80)	.6926 (1.58)	.4877 (1.23)	.4759 (0.80)	.4865 (1.03)
30-39	-.8609 (5.27)	-.5187 (2.99)	-.1688 (1.59)	-.0353 (0.09)	.2647 (0.73)	.2163 (0.40)	.1719 (0.40)
40-49	-.7256 (4.52)	-.3576 (2.10)	-.1263 (1.21)	-.1775 (0.45)	-.7392 (2.07)	-1.0148 (1.91)	-.9623 (2.27)
50-59	.2203 (1.49)	.8673 (5.55)	.2174 (2.27)	-2.7479 (7.58)	-2.1335 (6.50)	-3.7066 (7.59)	-2.8430 (7.32)
60-69	.8263 (6.13)	1.3965 (9.76)	.6713 (7.67)	-3.9337 (11.87)	-3.6074 (12.01)	-6.0774 (13.60)	-5.0122 (14.10)
70-79	.7271 (5.12)	1.5173 (10.08)	.6033 (6.55)	-4.3048 (12.34)	-3.6078 (11.41)	-6.4372 (13.69)	-5.0184 (13.41)
Female	-.0207 (0.36)	-.0044 (0.07)	-.0838 (2.23)	.3058 (2.15)	.8766 (6.80)	1.2253 (6.39)	.5589 (3.66)
Constant	6.3743	6.1774	4.5145	9.9020	6.9951	18.0354	8.609824.59
Adjusted R ²	.0954	.1082	.0657	.1073	.1178	.1398	.1345
N	6,118	6,118	6,118	6,118	6,118	6,118	6,118
e) Sweden	Life satisfaction	Worthwhile	Sleep Quality	Loneliness	GAD7	PSS	PHQ10
23-29	-.7437 (3.20)	-.4727 (2.00)	-.3119 (2.21)	1.1212 (2.24)	.9798 (2.23)	1.1105 (1.69)	2.4426 (4.54)
30-39	-.5568 (2.53)	-.1361 (0.61)	-.3814 (2.86)	1.5707 (3.31)	1.1232 (2.70)	2.0249 (3.26)	2.4441 (4.80)
40-49	-.1578 (0.76)	.3761 (1.78)	-.3130 (2.49)	-1.7068 (3.82)	-1.5916 (4.06)	-2.1147 (3.61)	-1.1995 (2.50)
50-59	.1599 (0.82)	.8907 (4.50)	.0453 (0.39)	-2.5433 (6.08)	-3.0839 (8.40)	-3.4949 (6.38)	-2.5152 (5.60)
60-69	1.8137 (10.00)	2.0144 (10.89)	.9866 (8.96)	-4.9293 (12.61)	-6.2495 (18.21)	-8.0613 (15.73)	-6.2556 (14.89)
70-79	2.2296 (12.49)	2.1040 (11.55)	1.3415 (12.37)	-5.6301 (14.63)	-6.7675 (20.03)	-8.7278 (17.30)	-7.1631 (17.31)
Female	.2190 (2.80)	.4154 (5.20)	.0463 (0.97)	.3008 (1.78)	.6153 (4.15)	.8435 (3.81)	.4357 (2.40)
Constant	5.0560	4.7547	4.0506	10.8642	8.1912	19.1868	9.5222
Adjusted R ²	.1728	.1190	.1709	.1896	.2906	.2430	
N	4,248	4,248	4,248	4,248	4,248	4,248	4,248

Appendix Table A3. Global Minds, 2020-2026, Coefficients and t-statistics on age 18-24 dummy in an MHQ equation for non-workers.

	Age18-24	T	N		Age18-24	T	N
Afghanistan	-54.33	10.17	791	Mozambique	-27.6	14.23	5,006
Algeria	-33.02	41.39	31,615	New Zealand	-71.08	31.73	7,717
Angola	-30.55	29.44	7,881	Nicaragua	-65.70	31.08	5,495
Argentina	-68.47	87.30	50,744	Nigeria	-49.40	30.75	9,039
Armenia	-71.37	9.23	1,198	Pakistan	-38.48	41.80	26,041
Australia	-65.73	52.60	17,914	Panama	-68.86	24.75	3,904
Austria	-64.36	9.80	1,221	Paraguay	-50.13	24.76	6,023
Azerbaijan	-58.06	5.85	785	Peru	-79.39	74.71	16,609
Bangladesh	-30.57	17.73	5,820	Philippines	-51.71	44.43	17,214
Belarus	-39.75	7.72	1,264	Portugal	-55.62	13.92	4,407
Belgium	-60.32	21.02	7,251	Russia	-23.88	5.80	1,301
Benin	-30.17	5.49	652	Rwanda	+1.69	0.22	,387
Bolivia	-60.71	38.72	8,514	Saudi Arabia	-48.00	30.31	9,449
Brazil	-64.41	27.01	11,058	Singapore	-77.24	36.77	4,379
Cameroon	-13.88	7.90	4,971	South Africa	-60.44	53.34	21,327
Canada	-75.24	67.98	26,148	Spain	-55.60	64.81	28,184
Chile	-76.55	36.55	12,302	Sri Lanka	-53.96	18.20	3,624
China	-70.65	18.73	1,528	Sudan	-20.98	4.99	982
Colombia	-60.79	75.63	32,552	Switzerland	-59.49	8.21	939
Costa Rica	-54.02	20.28	5,006	Tanzania	-14.28	4.84	2,593
Côte d'Ivoire	-28.55	15.04	4,095	Trinidad/Tobago	-86.21	13.87	2,478
Dominican Republic	-60.73	23.67	4,086	Tunisia	-39.90	24.65	11,334
DR Congo	-17.03	8.24	3,888	UAE	-46.07	19.12	4,816
Ecuador	-76.74	49.68	9,177	Uganda	-43.62	4.45	292
Egypt	-38.71	58.59	46,951	UK	-55.69	59.05	36,034
El Salvador	-69.79	30.88	5,547	Ukraine	-50.6	11.91	5,450
Finland	-71.55	17.67	2,778	Uruguay	-65.97	22.38	7,740
France	-61.31	69.54	28,978	USA	-72.46	117.08	87,729
Georgia	-99.33	10.24	1,188	Uzbekistan	-44.73	9.97	1,796
Germany	-47.58	30.21	13,735	Venezuela	-60.53	74.12	34,348
Ghana	-35.53	9.48	1,440	Yemen	-13.85	13.58	17,270
Guatemala	-70.43	39.88	8,130	Zimbabwe	-31.00	8.85	1,950
Honduras	-63.55	28.12	5,302				
India	-52.73	130.67	123,890				
Iraq	-43.84	44.93	19,234				
Ireland	-60.91	22.01	6,927				
Israel	-54.74	28.10	8,217				
Italy	-45.96	21.53	25,749				
Japan	-45.96	10.40	1,057				
Jordan	-44.24	37.81	19,672				
Kazakhstan	-37.12	4.58	388				
Kenya	-27.75	12.36	4,451				
Korea South	-46.28	15.91	2,896				
Kyrgyzstan	-35.73	10.23	1,660				
Madagascar	-40.9	10.15	934				
Malaysia	-82.49	29.33	3,522				
Mexico	-67.75	106.57	54,535				
Morocco	-31.92	27.47	18,694				