



Do all job changes increase wellbeing?

Will changing your job benefit your wellbeing, and for how long?

Technical report

Simonetta Longhi, University of Reading
Alita Nandi, University of Essex
Mark Bryan, University of Sheffield
Sara Connolly, University of East Anglia
Cigdem Gedikli, Swansea University



In partnership with:



HM Government



University of East Anglia



University of Essex



University of Reading



The University of Sheffield



Swansea University
Prifysgol Abertawe

Work, Learning and Programme
What Works Centre for Wellbeing
www.whatworkswellbeing.org
@whatworksWB

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Who Should Read This?

This report is for:

- i) Employers and senior management teams; human resources departments.
- ii) Policy makers and civil servants interested in the impacts of in-work progression upon wellbeing.
- iii) Staff working in careers and employment services.
- iv) Trades Union officials.
- v) Third-sector organisations dealing with the consequences of employment and career change on their client groups.

Who Else Might Be Interested?

Others that may find the research useful include:

- i) Local Enterprise Partnerships.
- ii) Students studying management and/or wellbeing at work.

Key Findings

Changing jobs is a major life event, affecting not just job satisfaction but mental health.

Wellbeing effects of job changes very much depend on the type of job change.

The largest changes to job satisfaction are linked to changing both the job and employer, especially when the new job is a promotion or a better job in some other way.

Mental health declines before a job change, rises afterwards but then falls back to baseline level.

Introduction

Job mobility is a pervasive feature of modern labour markets which may bring potential benefits to both workers and firms – better matches of skills, requirements and preferences, opportunities for career advancement, increased dynamism and the development of new talent. But there are also potential downsides, particularly for workers: feelings of instability and insecurity, loss of firm-specific human capital (and networks or work based communities), and the possible need to move house, with the resultant fallout on the family (for instance, children needing to move school and a partner needing to change jobs). While numerous studies have examined the impacts of job mobility on earnings, there is little evidence about the implications for wellbeing. In light of these opposing effects, this paper investigates the relationship between different types of job change and various measures of subjective wellbeing.

The few studies that have examined the effect of job change on wellbeing have only focussed on promotions, temporary-permanent contract changes, voluntary vs involuntary job changes (D'Arcy and Hurrell, 2014; Gedikli et al., 2018; Johnston and Lee, 2013; Boyce and Oswald, 2012; Kosteas, 2011; Chadi and Hetchko, 2017; Bardasi and Francesconi, 2004, Dawson et al., 2017, and Green and Heywood, 2011; de Graaf-Zijl, 2012; Green and Leeves, 2013; Jahn, 2015). In addition to not focussing on other types of job changes, these studies have either not differentiated job changes that involve change in employer and those that don't, or focussed only on moves to a new employer. In this study, we add to the literature by differentiating between different types of job changes and providing a thorough investigation of the job change-wellbeing relationship. Specifically, we compare changes in wellbeing due to job changes which involve changing the employer, the workplace or the job within the same employer & workplace.

It is important to distinguish between these because each involves a different type of change in individual lives and so may impact wellbeing differently. For example, a different job even with the same employer in the same workplace may lead to a change in wellbeing due to change in the type of work the person does. Likewise, changing the workplace without a change in the type of work may lead to changes in wellbeing, given the positive association between wellbeing and social environment at work (Daniels, Watson and Gedikli, 2018). A change which involves a new

employer, on the other hand, may impact upon wellbeing due to combinations of change in type of work undertaken, workplace environment, and possibly a residential move.

We take job satisfaction to be our primary measure of the change in wellbeing associated with job transitions because this captures elements of fulfilment at work, potential for progression, organisational support and social relations in the workplace. Job satisfaction is also a strong indicator of employee engagement and is linked with productivity (Whitman et al., 2010). Furthermore, greater job satisfaction is also associated with lower levels of stress, better mental health, and greater life satisfaction (Schulte and Vainio, 2010). Steel et al, 2019 undertake a meta-analysis exploring the links between personality, job and life satisfaction, they confirm a strong association between job and life satisfaction, (job satisfaction accounts for about 13% of the variation in life satisfaction) and also report evidence that the effect is top-down where 'dispositions influence perceptions of life satisfaction, which trickle down to affect other satisfaction subdomains'.

Second, none of the existing studies have comprehensively looked at the wellbeing effect of moves across jobs with different characteristics (other than temporary-permanent contract change) to unpack the job change wellbeing effect. We also explore whether the effect of the job change can be explained by changes in the main job characteristics such as wages, type of contract (temporary vs. permanent) and working hours (e.g. part-time vs. full-time) as existing studies have shown how wellbeing changes with changes in these conditions of employment (Bardasi and Francesconi, 2004, Green and Heywood, 2011). These studies however do not link this with the different types of job changes that may have caused changes in employment conditions. By doing this, we are able to investigate whether any boost in wellbeing that arises from a job change is a consequence of moving to a 'better' job - for instance, one with higher wages, more desirable hours, or a permanent contract.

Third, existing research into wellbeing changes following job changes/promotions have looked at adaptation effects that have been extensively investigated for other life events such as marriage, divorce and unemployment (Clark et al 2008, Clark 2006), but have not looked at anticipation or triggering effects for different types of

job changes explored in this study. We further explore whether the wellbeing effects change over time across these different types of job changes.

As well as conditions at work, job changes can happen for other reasons – a partner changes jobs, the employer may change location or a job change may simply be the result of non-work preferences over living in a city. These may not only affect job satisfaction but other aspects of wellbeing such as overall life satisfaction and mental health. We therefore explore the extent to which job changes affect overall life satisfaction and mental health outcomes. Due to data limitations we know the reason for job change only when there is a change in employer. So, we compare changes in this suite of wellbeing measures due to three broad types of job change: move to a job with a new employer which is accompanied by a promotion, move to a job with a new employer where the move was due to other reasons, move to a job with the same employer.

Finally, we also consider whether job changes affect other dimensions of wellbeing such as satisfaction with income and satisfaction with leisure time since these might be directly relevant to particular types of job changes (motivated by higher wages, or fewer hours at particular points in a career) and thus may provide an explanations for changes in life satisfaction and mental health change following job changes.

Exploring the link between different types of job changes and wellbeing may provide useful insights into employee behaviour – notably turnover, absence and productivity. For employers, differentiating between types of job change, key indicators of job quality and how they link with employee wellbeing, may reveal which (if any) tools are at their disposal that might influence employee behaviour. From a public policy perspective if wellbeing is enhanced (or harmed) by job change, then it could be argued that flexible labour markets are a useful (or detrimental) policy tool.

Literature Review

Much of the literature on job changes has focussed on the wage returns to job mobility. Early studies suggested that changing jobs was a key source of early-career wage growth (Topel and Ward, 1992), however later studies painted a more nuanced picture. For instance, job mobility can lead to lower wage growth if it is

associated with 'unlucky' moves into jobs of lower than expected match quality (Light and MacGarry, 1998). The type of change also matters, with wage gains being higher for voluntary rather than involuntary job moves (Light, 2005; Garcia Perez and Rebollo Sanz, 2005). Recent data for the UK show that job changers experience higher wage increases than job stayers, but that overall wage levels are lower for those who move (ONS, 2019).

Research on the wellbeing impacts of job mobility is much more limited. Gielen (2013) used job satisfaction as a proxy for match quality in order to test different models of job quality but relatively little attention has been given to wellbeing as the primary outcome of a job change (a notable exception is Chadi and Hetchko 2017, discussed below). Most existing research instead focuses on promotions, with the suggestion that the monetary gains associated with progression at work may not be sizeable and progression may result in increased stress due to greater responsibility, working hours or difficulties in achieving work-life balance (D'Arcy and Hurrell, 2014; Gedikli et al., 2018). For example, the literature investigating the effect of promotions on job satisfaction shows that while promotions could initially boost job satisfaction, this positive effect fades over time. Using the 2002-2010 Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey, Johnston and Lee (2013) indicate that the positive effect of promotion on job satisfaction is the greatest 0-6 months after promotion. However, the effect is no longer statistically significant for promotions experienced more than two years ago. Similarly, using a US cohort survey (1996-2006 National Longitudinal Surveys of Youth [NLYS79]), Kosteas (2011) states that promotions experienced over the past 2 years are associated with a notably larger positive effect than those experienced 4-5 years ago. Thus any positive effect of promotions on jobs satisfaction is generally short-lived, and is sometimes referred to as the honeymoon effect.

In terms of other wellbeing measures, such as life satisfaction and mental health, research either finds no statistically significant association (Johnston and Lee, 2013) or if there is an effect, as for job satisfaction, it is short-lived. Whilst there is evidence that promotions may improve mental health in the short-term, promotions may also worsen mental health and symptoms of depression two years after promotion (Boyce and Oswald, 2012; Johnston and Lee, 2013). Johnston and Lee (2013) explain this by increased stress and working hours following a promotion which could offset any

potential wellbeing benefits of receiving the promotion (such as through increased income, job control, security or pay fairness). Indeed, the authors show that while job-related stress remains at an increased level after promotion, job satisfaction decreases and mental health deteriorates.

An extensive body of literature on job change and wellbeing is concerned with entry to/exit from permanent and non-permanent forms of employment (see, for example, Bardasi and Francesconi, 2004, Dawson et al., 2017, and Green and Heywood, 2011, for Britain based on different waves of the British Household Panel Survey [BHPS]; de Graaf-Zijl, 2012, for the Netherlands based on the 1995-2002 Dutch Socio-Economic Panel; Green and Leeves, 2013, for Australia based on 2001-2008 HILDA (Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia); and Jahn, 2015, for Germany based on 2001-2008 German Socio-Economic Panel). These studies point to the complex link between moves across different contract types and wellbeing and the noteworthy role of job security. Accordingly, transitions into some insecure forms of employment are shown to result in worsening job satisfaction, mental health or life satisfaction. However, once the level of satisfaction with job security is controlled for, moving into insecure employment (such as temporary or fixed-term contracts) is no longer associated with lower wellbeing than that of moving into permanent employment (Dawson et al., 2017; Green and Heywood, 2011).

Although evidence suggests that changing a job through a promotion or moving into permanent work may not always produce favourable wellbeing outcomes, research shows that having a job with career prospects or potential for promotion positively influences employee wellbeing. For example, using data from the 1996-2006 waves of the NLSY79, Kostea (2011) finds that positive expectations on future promotions are associated with increased job satisfaction. Similarly, using data from 1991-2004 waves of the BHPS, Theodossiou and Zangelidis (2009) estimate a positive association between opportunities for promotion and job satisfaction. Dawson et al. (2017) state that the lower promotion opportunities available for employees with fixed-term contracts are an important element behind the wellbeing gap (measured by psychological distress and life satisfaction) between fixed-term and permanent contract holders.

Overall, the existing literature suggests that whilst employees tend to value jobs with career prospects and that positive expectations about progression at work improve their wellbeing and job satisfaction, the favourable wellbeing effects of actual promotions are either short-lived or turn negative some years after experiencing a promotion. Similarly, moving into permanent work may not always be linked to better wellbeing outcomes.

There are some gaps in this literature. First, these studies have looked into the effect on wellbeing of only two specific types of job change: promotions and temporary-permanent contract changes and those on promotions were unable to differentiate between promotions within the same employer or move to a different employer. A recent study by Chadi and Hetschko (2017) did investigate the effect of other types of job change (voluntary/involuntary) on job satisfaction, but their focus was on moves to a new employer. We expand this literature by distinguishing between different forms of job changes: involving changing one or more of the following - employer, workplace or job. In other words, these types of job change involve changes in nature of the job, work environment or institutional factors. Moreover, we differentiate between job changes into those that involved a promotion/finding a better job and those that were because of dismissal/redundancy or end of a contract.

Second, none of the existing studies have comprehensively looked at the wellbeing effect of moves across jobs with different characteristics (other than temporary-permanent contract change) to unpack the job change wellbeing effect. To this end we also investigate whether the wellbeing effect of a job change reflects changes in job characteristics such as wage rate, type of contract and working hours. Existing research into wellbeing changes following job changes/promotions have looked at adaptation effects that have been extensively investigated for other life events such as marriage, divorce and unemployment (Clark et al 2008, Clark 2006), but none have looked at anticipation or triggering effects for different types of job changes explored in this study.¹ We further explore whether the wellbeing effects change over time across these different types of job changes.

¹ Chadi and Hetschko (2017) explore the anticipation and adaptation effects by differentiating between different reasons for job changes such as dismissal and plant closure. These are also explored in this study, in addition to further types of job changes (including changes with the same employer) and changes in the job characteristics.

Finally, in order to explore whether these job changes have a spill-over effect on other aspects of life, we also look into broader wellbeing measures including life satisfaction, mental health, and satisfaction with income and leisure time.

Data and Method

We analyse the relationship between job changes and subjective wellbeing using Understanding Society: the UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS). UKHLS is a longitudinal household survey representative of the UK population; the data collection started in 2009-10 and we use all seven waves available to date (until 2016). The survey interviews all adult members of the sampled households and collects information about different aspects of their lives including their labour market experience. Specifically, the survey includes information on the respondents' employment status changes, job characteristics for those in paid employment, as well as details of job changes that occur between two subsequent interviews.

The main outcome of interest of our analysis is job satisfaction, which is measured on a seven point fully-labelled scale ranging from 1 (completely dissatisfied) to 7 (completely satisfied). Questions about changes in the work (paid employment) situation between two consecutive waves allow us to distinguish workers who, as compared to the previous wave, in this wave:²

1. Stay in the same job with the same employer (no change)
2. Stay in the same job with the same employer but at a different workplace
3. Change job with the same employer but in the same workplace
4. Change job with the same employer but in a different workplace
5. Change employer.

To isolate the impact of direct job-to-job changes we exclude all (job) changes that are associated with an intervening spell of non-employment or unemployment.³ We restrict the sample to those who are 16 years and above and in paid employment.

² The self-employed are excluded from the analysis.

³ Unemployment which results as a consequence of dismissal redundancy/end of contract would not be classified as a job change.

We estimate the association of a job change with job satisfaction using a fixed effects model estimated separately for men and women:

$$JS_{it} = \alpha_i + JC'_{it-1}\beta_1 + JC'_{it}\beta_2 + JC'_{it+1}\beta_3 + X'_{it}\beta_4 + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

Where JS_{it} is job satisfaction of individual i at time t , which, following Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters (2004), we treat as a continuous variable. The main explanatory variable is a set of dummies identifying the four types of job changes (JC_{it}) that individual i may have experienced between $t-1$ and t ; we use 'no change' as reference. Hence, job satisfaction is measured at the following interview, which may occur up to twelve months after the job change.

Since, as discussed in the literature review, the literature has identified both anticipation and adaptation effects of life events on wellbeing, we include a one year lag (JC_{it-1}) and lead (JC_{it+1}) of job change. The lag represents a job change that occurred in the previous year (i.e. between 0 and 12 months before job satisfaction is measured) so that β_1 measures adaptation to the new job, while the lead represents a job change that will occur in the following year (i.e. between 24 and 13 months after job satisfaction is measured) so that β_3 measures anticipation or triggering effects. We have an anticipation effect when wellbeing changes in anticipation of the job change, and triggering effects when changes in wellbeing result in actively trying to change job. Since with these data we do not know whether the respondent knew of their future job change, we cannot directly distinguish between anticipation effect or triggering effects. The expected coefficient would be positive in case of anticipation effects (assuming a new job is expected to bring benefits), and negative in the case of triggering effects; our empirical estimations point in the direction of triggering effects.

We experimented with various combinations of one, two, and three year lags and leads and found either no or small and inconsistent effects for the two and three year lags and leads, possibly due to small sample sizes. As our focus is mainly on the different types of job change, rather than the duration of their effects, the specification with only one lag and one lead seems a good compromise to retain a meaningful sample size.

To control for factors (X_{it}) that may influence both job satisfaction and the probability of a job change we also include age and its square, the log of hourly wages⁴, dummies for marital status, for the presence of dependent children in the household, for whether the respondent is currently on parental leave, for the main industry and occupation groups, for whether the current job is part-time or temporary, as well as year dummies.

The fixed effect, α_i , includes time-invariant traits, such as personality, which are known to explain wellbeing and may be correlated with the explanatory variables such as job change propensities. If certain types of people, say those with more agreeable personality, are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs and less likely to change job, the OLS estimate of job change will be biased. We estimate the model using fixed effects to eliminate the influence of α_i . Aside from eliminating this selection effect, we do not make any further claims about causality based on the FE results.

In further specifications we also include changes in the main job characteristics (C_i) to analyse whether they can explain the impact of the job change on job satisfaction:

$$JS_{it} = \alpha_i + JC'_{it-1}\beta_1 + JC'_{it}\beta_2 + JC'_{it+1}\beta_3 + X'_{it}\beta_4 + C'_{it-1}\delta_1 + C'_{it}\delta_2 + C'_{it+1}\delta_3 + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

As changes in job characteristics we include dummies for moving from a part-time to a full-time job or vice-versa, using those who remain either part-time or full-time as reference group (we also experimented with various measures of changes in hours of work). We also include dummies for moving from a temporary into a permanent job and vice-versa, using those who remain either in a temporary or in a permanent job as reference group, as well as the change in the log of hourly wages between time $t-1$ and t .⁵ These additional controls apply to all workers, even those who do not change job since changes in contract may still occur even without a job change.

⁴ UKHLS provides data on usual monthly wages, which include overtime work. We compute hourly wages that exclude overtime by dividing the provided wage variable by the sum of number of hours usually worked per week and the number of paid overtime hours multiplied by 1.5 (thus assuming an overtime premium of 50%). This is then all multiplied by 12/52. We also experimented with actual hourly wages (including paid overtime) but the results are insensitive to these changes.

⁵ In one of the specifications we also separated the type of temporary job: 1 "Fixed term" 2 "Seasonal, agency, casual, other". We also experimented with different ways of measuring wages such as different ways to include paid overtime, as well as including a dummy for satisfaction with household income.

We also include a one year lag and lead of the changes in job characteristics. For simplicity, we do not include interactions between the job changes and the change in job characteristics and include each type of change in job characteristics in separate specifications.

For those respondents for whom the job change involves a new employer, the survey asks respondents about the reason for the job change. To see if the reason for job change matters, we estimate additional models similar to the one in Equation (1) but in which the dummies for job change with a new employer are divided by the different reasons for the job change:

$$JS_{it} = \alpha_i + JC'_{it-1}\beta_1 + JC'_{it}\beta_2 + JC'_{it+1}\beta_3 + RC'_{it-1}\gamma_1 + RC'_{it}\gamma_2 + RC'_{it+1}\gamma_3 + X'_{it}\beta_4 + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (3)$$

Where JC_i are now dummies for whether the respondent has changed job but remained with the new employer, while RC_i are a set of three dummies for those who have a job with the new employer that specify the reason for the change. The main reasons are: (i) promoted or left for better job (65.5% of men and 59% of women who change employer), (ii) made redundant, dismissed, temporary job ended; these are workers who found a job right after the end of their previous job, with no intervening spell of non-employment (13.7% of men and 13.2% of women who change employer) and (iii) other reasons (20.8% of men and 27.8% of women who change employer).⁶

Finally, to see if the effects of job changes spill over into other aspects of wellbeing, we re-estimate Equation (1) with alternative dependent variables. The first are satisfaction with life overall, as well as satisfaction with income and leisure (all measured on the same 7-point scale as job satisfaction). We also use two measures of mental health: the mental health component of the 12-item self-reported health module SF12 (MCS) and the 0-36 scale summary measure of the 12-item General health questionnaire (GHQ). For the mental health measures higher values indicate worse mental health. All these measures capture different aspects of wellbeing and

⁶ Other reasons include: 1) Took retirement – men 1.33%, women 0.34%; 2) Health reasons – men 1.19%, women 2.06%; 3) Look after family – men 0.53%, women 0.57%; 4) Have a baby – women 0.11%; 5) Moved area – men 1.19%, women 2.75%; 6) Other reasons – men 16.58%, women 21.97%. These are all grouped to improve cell-sizes.

so are not substitutes nor part of a single latent wellbeing measure (Luhmann et al 2012).

Results

Type of job change

Employees experience different types of job changes, either across employers or with the same employer, which may result in changes in different aspects of the job; for example, the characteristics of the job itself or the organisational setup as well as change of co-workers and social environment at work . Our first aim is to test whether different types of changes have different impacts on job satisfaction. Table 1 describes the pattern of job changes which we observe in our dataset. Not surprisingly, there is quite a high degree of job stability, such that 71% of women and 64% of men never change jobs. However, around a third of individuals do change jobs (and so contribute to identifying our estimates). About 12% of women and 15% of men are observed changing employer once, while a smaller proportion (2-3%) are observed changing more than once. The remaining 15% of women and 18% of men experience some change of job and/or workplace with the same employer. We find that 5-6% of people change workplace while still remaining in the same job with the same employer, 7-9% only change their job, and 2-3% change both their job and workplace while remaining with the same employer.

Table 1: Percentage of job changes

	Women	Men
	Percentage	Percentage
No change	70.7	63.5
Same employer, same job, different workplace:		
One change	4.7	5.3
Multiple changes (2 to 5 changes)	0.7	0.5
Same employer, different job, same workplace:		
One change	6.1	8.1
Multiple changes (2 to 3 changes)	0.8	1.0
Same employer, different job, different workplace:		
One change	2.3	3.1
Multiple changes (2 to 3 changes)	0.2	0.3
New employer:		
One change	12.1	15.2
Multiple changes (2 to 5 changes)	2.5	3.0
Total	100	100

Given the relatively large proportion of workers who do experience some type of job change, it is worth investigating the impact of such changes on wellbeing and whether the effect differs across types of changes. In Table 2 we report the effect of different types of job changes on job satisfaction (measured on a scale from 1-7 where 7 is completely satisfied and 1 is completely dissatisfied) for men and women. Employees experience an increase in job satisfaction in the year they change job; the largest effect is for those who move to a new employer (0.48 for men and 0.57 for women), followed by a new job with same employer at same workplace (0.35 for men and 0.30 for women), and new job with same employer at a different workplace (0.33 for men and 0.29 for women). The change in job satisfaction associated with change of workplace but not of job is not statistically significant. Since job satisfaction appears to be comparatively lower the year before the change, our results also suggest the presence of a triggering effect for those who change employer and for women who change job and workplace but remain with the same employer. For all workers who experience a change of job the positive impact of the

change is short-lived and job satisfaction returns to its original values the year after the change. However, this honeymoon effect appears to be longer-lived for workers who change employer and for women who change job and workplace but stay with the same employer: for them, job satisfaction is still higher than the average the year after the change, although the coefficient is much smaller compared to the year of the change.

Table 2: Effect of job changes on job satisfaction (fixed effects) detailed classification of job changes

	Women	Men
<i>Stay in the same job with the same employer but at a different workplace</i>		
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.064 (0.082)	0.069 (0.078)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.010 (0.084)	0.053 (0.077)
- year <i>after</i> change	-0.040 (0.078)	0.017 (0.071)
<i>Change job with same employer but in the same workplace</i>		
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.091 (0.062)	0.039 (0.064)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.299*** (0.063)	0.332*** (0.066)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.048 (0.062)	0.096 (0.063)
<i>Change job with same employer but in a different workplace</i>		
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.312*** (0.101)	-0.107 (0.115)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.293*** (0.105)	0.354*** (0.120)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.206** (0.105)	-0.017 (0.115)
<i>Change employer</i>		
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.596*** (0.052)	-0.600*** (0.053)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.567*** (0.056)	0.480*** (0.056)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.168*** (0.053)	0.138*** (0.052)
No. of person-year observations	18,938	15,231

Notes: standard errors in parenthesis; <0.10+ <0.05**, <0.01***; Data from Waves 1-7 of Understanding Society (2009-2016); Controls include: age, marital status, presence of dependent children in the household, whether took maternity/paternity leave after last interview, log hourly wages, whether job is part-time/full-time, whether job is temporary/permanent, occupation, industry, year dummies

Since we find that the change in job satisfaction associated with a new job with the same employer in the same workplace is not statistically different from the change in

job satisfaction associated with a new job with the same employer but at a different workplace in the next models we only consider two types of job change: change of employer and change of job with the same employer (the reference category is “same job with the same employer”, irrespective of workplace change). We report results from this simplified model in Table 3. For those who change employer, in the year before the change, both men and women report a drop of job satisfaction of around 0.59-0.60 points. While we do not know when an employee knew about the upcoming job change, given that this effect is negative we speculate that it is this drop in job satisfaction that triggered a job change in the following year. Men and women who do find a new job report an increase of job satisfaction of 0.48 and 0.56 points, respectively in the year right after the change. However, this effect is short-lived: one year after the change in employer the job satisfaction decreases compared to the year of the change (from 0.56 to 0.17 for women and from 0.48 to 0.14 for men). This indicates an adaptation or honeymoon effect.

For men and women who change jobs with the same employer we find a comparatively lower triggering effect (0.15 points), a smaller – but still statistically significant – increase in job satisfaction in the year of the change (of 0.30-0.34 points) and an ever faster adaptation effect since one year after the change job satisfaction has already returned to its average level. Hence, although a job change with the employer represents a positive event on average, the magnitude of its effect seems much smaller than the effect of a much more drastic change of employer.

The swings in job satisfaction reported above are not just statistically significant, they are very large. As a point of comparison, Clark and Georgellis (2012), find that unemployment is followed by a drop in life satisfaction of 0.3-0.4 points (also measured on a 1-7 scale). While not directly comparable, changes in job satisfaction of similar magnitudes seem to confirm that a job change represents a major career event. In further analysis below, we look directly at the effects of job changes on life satisfaction.

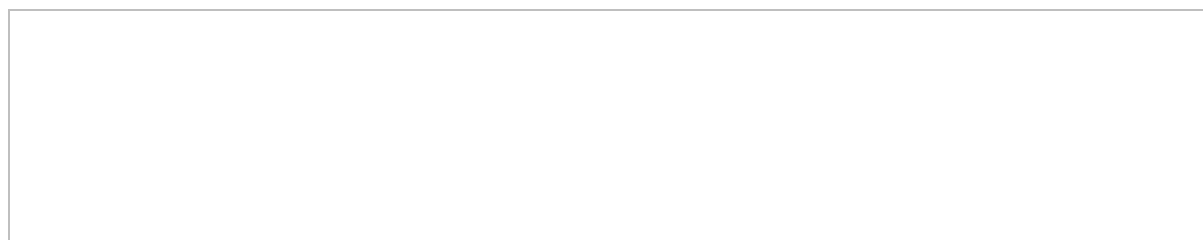


Table 3: Effect of job changes on job satisfaction (fixed effects), parsimonious classification of job changes		
	Women	Men
<i>Change job with same employer</i>		
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.149*** (0.053)	0.001 (0.056)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.298*** (0.055)	0.336*** (0.058)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.089* (0.054)	0.070 (0.056)
<i>Change employer</i>		
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.593*** (0.052)	-0.602*** (0.053)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.564*** (0.056)	0.478*** (0.056)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.168*** (0.053)	0.137*** (0.052)
Other controls		
If married or cohabiting	-0.147** (0.072)	0.082 (0.115)
Whether there are dependent children in the household	0.020 (0.055)	0.010 (0.058)
Age	-0.048 (0.052)	-0.012 (0.053)
Age squared	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Whether took maternity or paternity leave after last interview	-0.057 (0.081)	0.055 (0.057)
Log of Hourly Wage	-0.046 (0.035)	0.119*** (0.040)
If part-Time Job	0.023 (0.042)	0.083 (0.090)
If temporary job	-0.079 (0.072)	-0.162 (0.103)
Constant	7.041*** (1.873)	4.103* (2.097)
Person-year observations	18,938	15,231

Notes: standard errors in parenthesis; <0.10+ <0.05**, <0.01***; Data from Waves 1-7 of Understanding Society (2009-2016); Controls include: occupation, industry, year dummies

Changes in job characteristics

Job changes are often associated with changes in characteristics of the job. For example, a change in job may be necessary to move from a temporary to a permanent contract, or from a part-time to a full-time job. Job-to-job changes are also typically associated with an increase in wages (ONS 2019). Do changes in job

characteristics explain the changes in job satisfaction found in the previous tables? To answer this question, we estimate a series of specifications where we include additional variables to measure different types of changes in job characteristics (only one type of change at a time). Specifically, we investigate whether the increase in job satisfaction following the job change is the result of moving to a 'better' job as represented by higher wages, different hours or moving to a permanent contract. The results are reported in Table A1 for women and Table A2 for men in the Appendix. To provide a better comparison, the model in the first column of Tables A1 and A2 is the same as in Table 3, but estimated on the sample that provides information on job characteristics. Perhaps surprisingly, the results do not change when we include job characteristics variables: the job characteristics we analyse do not explain the observed changes in job satisfaction. To verify the robustness of these results, we conducted sensitivity checks using models that took better account of work preferences or lifecycle issues, and we also tried alternative parameterisations of work hours.⁷ However, the main coefficient estimates were robust to all these changes of specification.

There may be various explanations for this finding. First, other (unobserved) characteristics of the job or work environment could explain the changes in job satisfaction, but given the stability of the coefficients in Tables A1 and A2, these would have to be characteristics that are unrelated to pay, hours and contract type. Alternatively, the estimated coefficients of job changes may be the result of a direct effect of the general positive experience generated by the job change itself.

Although the added characteristics do not change the job change coefficients, a few of them do have direct effects on job satisfaction (see lower panels of Tables A1 and A2). As expected, male employees experience an increase in job satisfaction in the year their job contract changes from part-time to full-time, from temporary to

⁷ To understand if the change from full-time to part-time reflects early retirement, we re-estimated the part-time/full-time models separately for those younger and older than 50 years of age. We also re-estimated the part-time/full-time models by including a dummy variable to indicate if the employee was satisfied with the amount of leisure time to see if part-time employment reflected more leisure time. For female employees we also re-estimated the part-time/full-time models after including dummies for cases where the women had a child (moving from 0 to 1 or from 1 to 2+ children) and by including the age of the youngest child. Being able to work part-time when a woman has young children is likely to increase her job satisfaction. We also re-estimated the hours worked model with dummies for increase or decrease in the number of hours worked instead of the actual hours worked (the reference category was no change). We also re-estimated this model with log hours instead of actual hours worked. The results are robust to these changes.

permanent, and when their wages increase. Female employees experience an increase in job satisfaction if their work hours increase, experience some anticipation effects represented by an increase in job satisfaction in the year before their wages increase, and triggering effects represented by a decrease in job satisfaction in the year before their work hours decrease or they move from full-time to part-time work.

Reasons for job change

It is possible that changes in employer are driven by a choice of the worker, while changes in job with the employer are driven by a choice of the employer, for example as a result of a restructuring of the workplace. This hypothesis is consistent with the larger triggering effects that we observe for changes of employer compared to changes within the employer (Table 2). For those who change employer the data give information on the main reason for the change: as discussed in the previous sections, most job-to-job moves across employers are the result of moves to a better job (60-65%), while only a small proportion of job-to-job moves are the result of the end of the previous job (end of temporary job, redundancy, and so on).

While Chadi and Hetchko (2017) compared voluntary and involuntary job changes but not promotions, some other studies have looked at promotions but not more general job changes (Kosteas, 2011; Boyce and Oswald, 2012). To our knowledge, this is the first study to directly compare promotion and moves to a better job with all other types of changes: end of previous job, employer change for other reasons, and job changes with the same employer. Our results are in first column of Table 4a for women and 4b for men, the impact upon job satisfaction is summarised in Figures 1a and 1b and upon mental health in Figures 2a and 2b.

All three reasons for changing employer are preceded by a drop in job satisfaction in the year before the change (ranging from 0.50 to 0.72 for women and 0.48 to 0.81 for men). As we would expect, and in line with existing studies, those who change employer for a better job experience a job satisfaction boost (of 0.71 for women and 0.54 for men) in the year of the change. This change however is short-lived as it drops to 0.22 and 0.17 in the following year. Similar to Chadi and Hetchko (2017),

we find that male and female employees who change employer because they were made redundant, dismissed or their temporary job ended do not experience any increase in job satisfaction. This possibly reflects the constraints facing this group in terms of more limited time for job search and the fact that our sample only includes those who move from job to job and excludes all those who experience a spell of unemployment after a redundancy, dismissal or end of contract. Among those who change employer for “other reasons” only women experience a boost in job satisfaction (0.26 points). In summary, the most rewarding type of change is a move to a new employer for a better job: not only does this type of change entail a larger increase in job satisfaction; the increase also seems to last longer than for other job changes. A change in job with the same employer also entails an increase in job satisfaction, although smaller and shorter-lived than a move to a better job, while a move to a new employer as a result of a job end does not seem to provide any increase in job satisfaction.

Other wellbeing measures

The large swings in job satisfaction found above confirm that changing jobs is a significant event in a person’s career trajectory. Since work is an important part of people’s lives, it could be argued that the large positive shock represented by a job change may spill-over to other aspects of people’s lives. On the other hand, research has also shown that job changes are associated with increased levels of stress, anxiety and worse work-life balance (D’Arcy and Hurrell 2014). While some studies (Chadi and Hetchko, 2016, and Dawson et al., 2017) have evaluated the effect of job or contract changes on stress and anxiety, no study to date has directly compared the effect of job changes on different measures of wellbeing. In Tables 4a and 4b we report the effect of job changes on life satisfaction and mental health (measured by GHQ and by the mental health component of the SF12).

For promotions, changes in mental health are similar to those in job satisfaction. While the year before the promotion both job satisfaction and mental health dip, the year of the job change both job satisfaction and mental health improve.

However, while the positive effect on mental health disappears the year after the change, the positive effect on job satisfaction seems to be more long-lasting (i.e. the honeymoon effect seems to last longer for job satisfaction than for mental health). Nonetheless, the changes in mental health are large. Clark and Georgellis (2012) find that unemployment is followed by a 0.8-0.9 point drop in GHQ. The swings in GHQ in our estimates are of similar magnitude. Despite the impact of the job change on job satisfaction and mental health, the results suggest that the positive effect of a job change is not relevant enough to spill-over to overall satisfaction with life, with the possible exception of life satisfaction of men before the job change, which appears lower than the average.

For job changes following a redundancy or dismissal, noting that our sample consists of those in continuous employment, for women we find poorer mental health and job satisfaction in the year before the change, return to their average level the year of the change, suggesting no honeymoon effect. There seems to be no effect on life satisfaction. Among men, while job satisfaction is lower only the year before the change, mental health improves only the year of the change; again, we find no honeymoon effect and no impact on life satisfaction.

When the job change is for “other reasons”, for women we find poorer job satisfaction and mental health in the year before the change followed by improved mental health in the year of the change, which quickly reverts to the mean. We do find, however, a positive effect on life satisfaction in the year of the change. For men we find poorer job satisfaction and mental health in the year before the change; however, while mental health returns to the average the year of the change, job satisfaction increases and returns to the average the year after the change. We also find lower life satisfaction the year of the change.

For job changes with the same employer, among women we find poorer job satisfaction and mental health the year of the change, but an increase in job satisfaction the year of the change. While mental health returns to the average the year of the change, job satisfaction returns to the average the year after the change. We also find an increase in life satisfaction the year of the change. For men, we only find an increase in job satisfaction and in mental health the year of the change and no effect on life satisfaction.

Table 4a: Effect of job changes on different measures of subjective wellbeing (fixed effects), women

	<i>Job satisfaction</i>	<i>Life satisfaction</i>	<i>Mental health</i>	
			<i>MCS</i>	<i>GHQ (higher is worse)</i>
<i>Promoted or left for better job (if change employer)</i>				
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.717*** (0.089)	-0.090 (0.099)	-1.091** (0.556)	0.809** (0.328)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.710*** (0.083)	0.180* (0.092)	1.937*** (0.518)	-1.438*** (0.306)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.218*** (0.079)	-0.112 (0.088)	0.836* (0.491)	-0.117 (0.289)
<i>Redundant, dismissed, temporary job ended (if change employer)</i>				
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.503*** (0.179)	0.008 (0.199)	-2.213** (1.118)	1.484** (0.659)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.182 (0.161)	0.336* (0.179)	1.078 (1.005)	-0.823 (0.593)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.004 (0.139)	-0.028 (0.155)	0.251 (0.866)	0.403 (0.511)
<i>Other reasons (if change employer)</i>				
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.628*** (0.118)	-0.064 (0.132)	-2.333*** (0.738)	2.107*** (0.435)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.266** (0.115)	0.264** (0.128)	1.232* (0.716)	-0.849** (0.422)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.047 (0.104)	0.035 (0.115)	-0.038 (0.647)	-0.223 (0.382)
<i>Change job with same employer</i>				
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.158*** (0.057)	0.061 (0.064)	-1.088*** (0.357)	0.657*** (0.211)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.329*** (0.060)	0.146** (0.067)	0.140 (0.373)	-0.263 (0.220)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.070 (0.059)	0.062 (0.065)	-0.037 (0.366)	-0.160 (0.216)
Person-year observations	16.224			

Notes: standard errors in parenthesis; <0.10+ <0.05**, <0.01***; Data from Waves 1-7 of Understanding Society (2009-2016); Controls include: age, marital status, presence of dependent children in the household, whether took maternity/paternity leave after last interview, log hourly wages, whether job is part-time/full-time, whether job is temporary or not, occupation, industry, year dummies.

Table 4b: Effect of job changes on different measures of subjective wellbeing (fixed effects), men

	Job satisfaction	Life satisfaction	Mental health	
			MCS	GHQ (higher is worse)
Promoted or left for better job (if change employer)				
- year before change	-0.807*** (0.081)	-0.195** (0.088)	-0.973** (0.469)	0.906*** (0.272)
- year of change	0.539*** (0.077)	0.034 (0.083)	0.940** (0.446)	-0.886*** (0.259)
- year after change	0.169** (0.069)	0.058 (0.075)	0.480 (0.401)	-0.126 (0.233)
Redundant, dismissed, temporary job ended (if change employer)				
- year before change	-0.716*** (0.197)	0.131 (0.213)	0.063 (1.141)	-0.049 (0.662)
- year of change	0.121 (0.175)	-0.092 (0.189)	2.296** (1.015)	-1.069* (0.589)
- year after change	-0.204 (0.144)	-0.117 (0.156)	-0.743 (0.836)	0.239 (0.485)
Other reasons (if change employer)				
- year before change	-0.478*** (0.141)	-0.205 (0.152)	-2.178*** (0.814)	0.693 (0.473)
- year of change	0.290** (0.131)	-0.347** (0.141)	0.285 (0.756)	-0.532 (0.439)
- year after change	0.094 (0.122)	-0.247* (0.132)	-0.801 (0.707)	0.180 (0.411)
Change job with same employer				
- year before change	-0.013 (0.060)	0.048 (0.065)	0.191 (0.349)	-0.256 (0.202)
- year of change	0.342*** (0.062)	-0.018 (0.067)	0.579 (0.358)	-0.681*** (0.208)
- year after change	0.081 (0.059)	0.022 (0.064)	0.388 (0.342)	-0.286 (0.198)
Person-year observations	13,048			

Notes: standard errors in parenthesis; <0.10+ <0.05**, <0.01***; Data from Waves 1-7 of Understanding Society (2009-2016); Controls include: age, marital status, presence of dependent children in the household, whether took maternity/paternity leave after last interview, log hourly wages, whether job is part-time/full-time, whether job is temporary or not, occupation, industry, year dummies.

Do all job changes increase wellbeing?

Figure 1a: Effect of job changes on job satisfaction (fixed effects), women

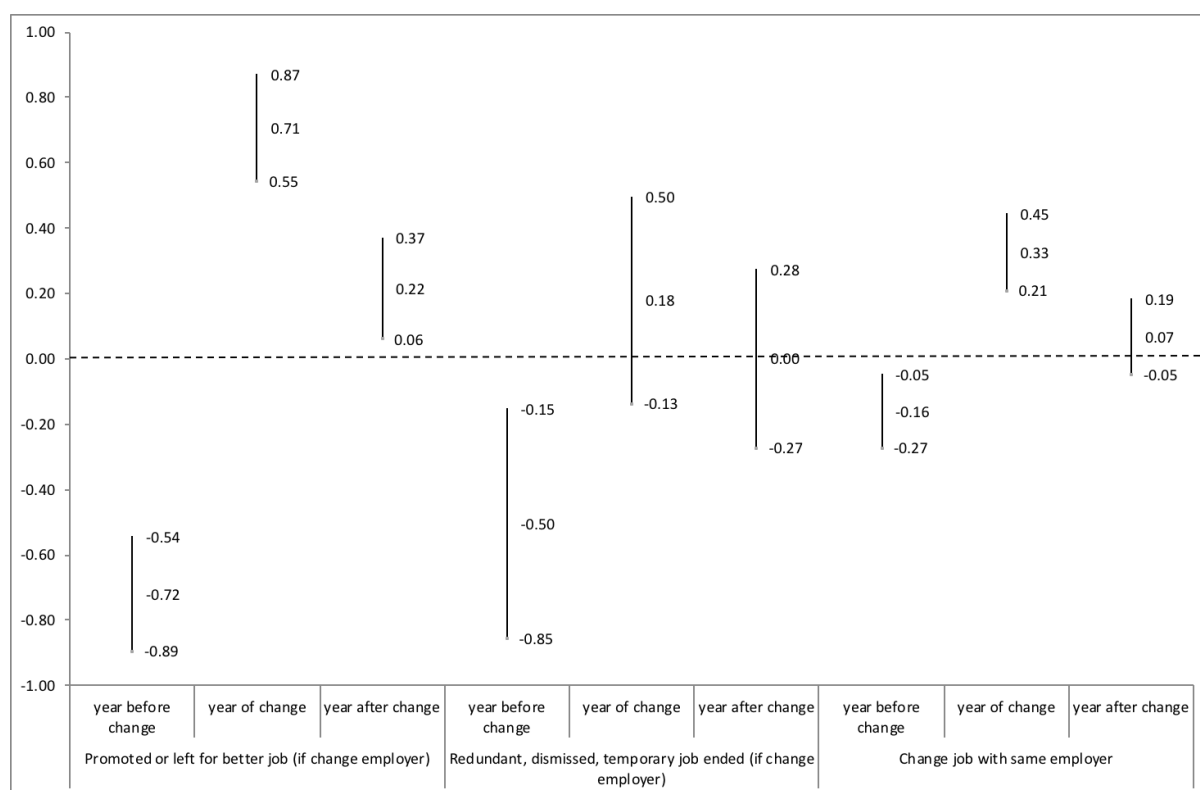
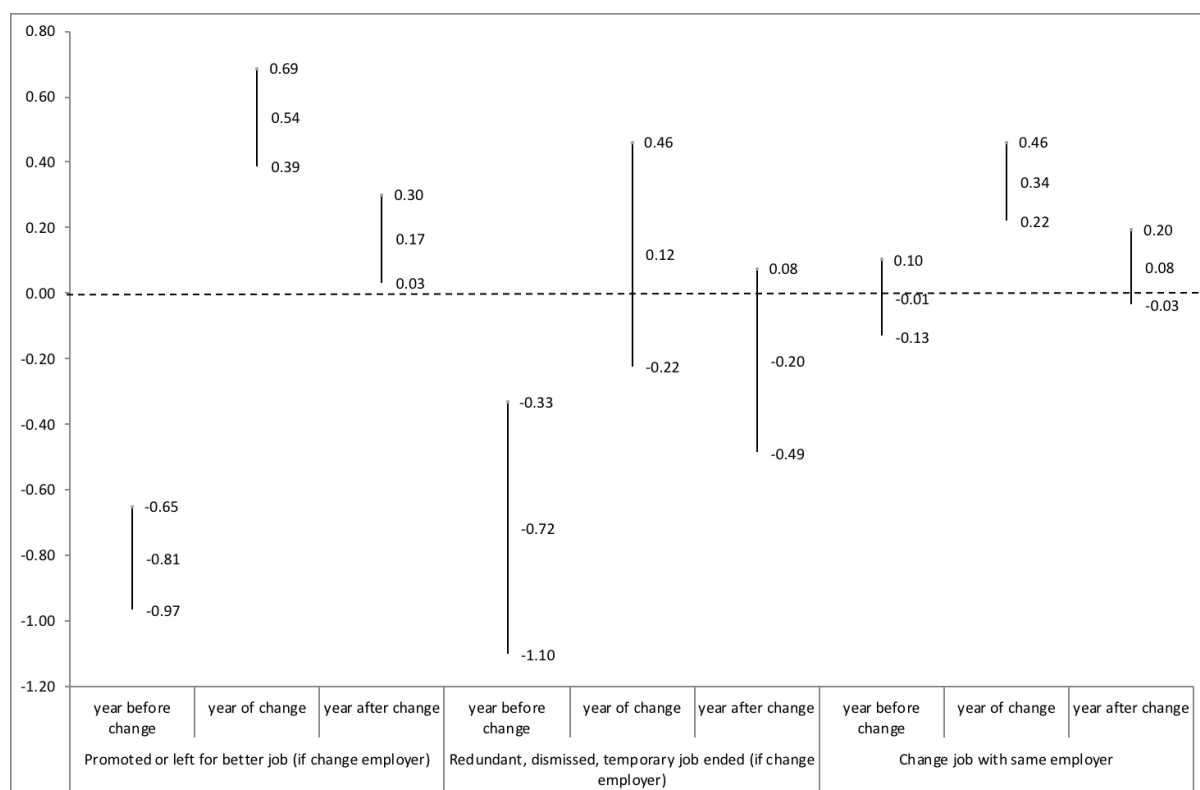


Figure 1b: Effect of job changes on job satisfaction (fixed effects), men



Do all job changes increase wellbeing?

Figure 2a: Effect of job changes on mental health, GHQ (fixed effects), women

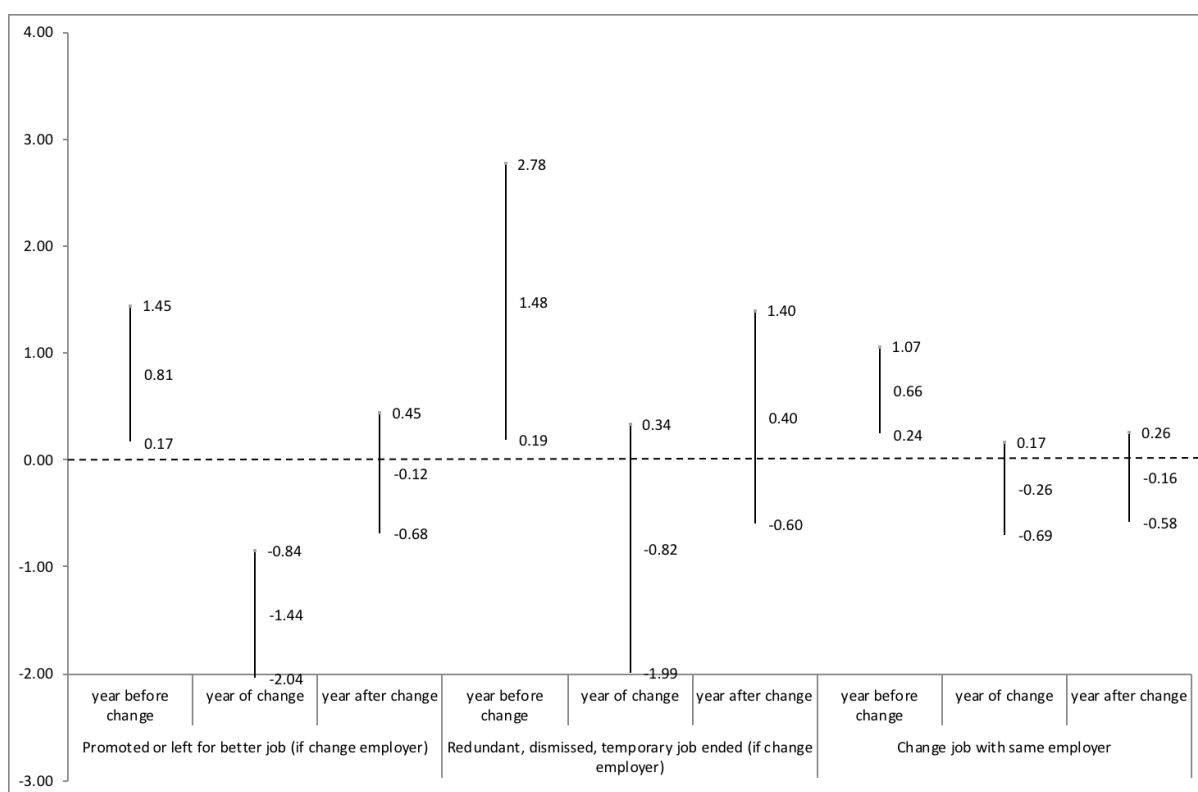
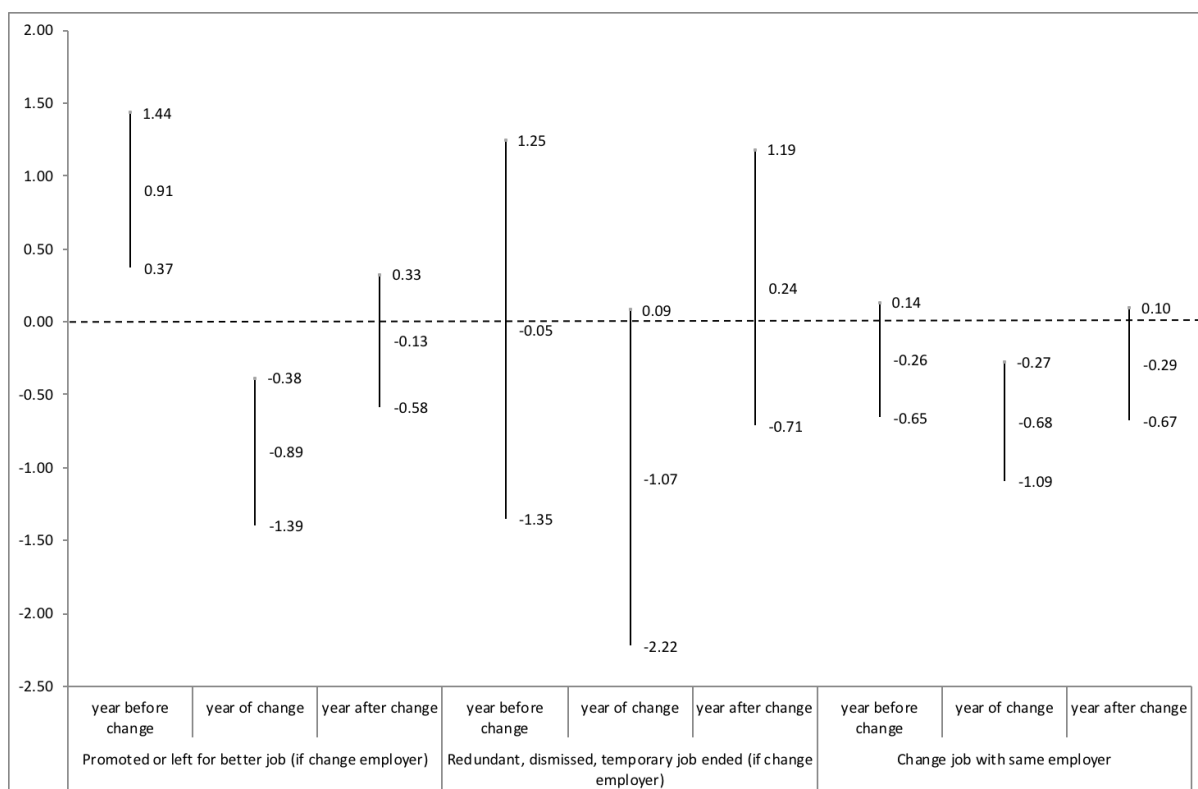


Figure 2b: Effect of job changes on mental health, GHQ (fixed effects), men



Finally, we estimate the changes in satisfaction with income and leisure following job changes. The results are reported in Table 5. For women, the effects of promotion on the other measures may partly be explained by increased income: satisfaction with income increases if they are promoted although the increase is short-lived (changes disappear the following year). For men, the changes in satisfaction with income do generally not coincide with the effects on the other measures. The most significant exception is that men experience a fall in satisfaction with income in the year of change of job following a redundancy, whereas (as noted above) their mental health improves. Satisfaction also falls following a job change for “other reasons” and remains lower in the year afterwards (mirroring the changes in life satisfaction). Where there is a change of job with the same employer, men have a boost in satisfaction with income in the year after the change. As for satisfaction with leisure time, perhaps surprisingly job changes appear to have no effect whatsoever for either men or women.

Table 5: Effect of job changes on satisfaction with income and leisure time (fixed effects)

	Women Satisfaction With Income	Satisfaction With Leisure Time	Men Satisfaction With Income	Satisfaction With Leisure Time
Promoted or left for better job (if change employer)				
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.187* (0.112)	-0.159 (0.106)	0.026 (0.099)	0.070 (0.098)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.272*** (0.104)	0.123 (0.098)	0.142 (0.094)	0.065 (0.093)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.042 (0.099)	-0.108 (0.093)	0.081 (0.085)	-0.044 (0.084)
Redundant, dismissed, temporary job ended (if change employer)				
- year <i>before</i> change	0.012 (0.225)	0.089 (0.212)	0.017 (0.241)	0.245 (0.239)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.095 (0.203)	0.293 (0.191)	-0.554*** (0.215)	-0.311 (0.212)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.000 (0.175)	-0.076 (0.165)	0.204 (0.177)	0.004 (0.175)
Other reasons (if change employer)				
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.205 (0.149)	-0.215 (0.140)	0.081 (0.172)	-0.056 (0.170)
- year <i>of</i> change	-0.204 (0.144)	0.105 (0.136)	-0.305* (0.160)	0.122 (0.158)
- year <i>after</i> change	-0.140 (0.130)	-0.157 (0.123)	-0.254* (0.150)	-0.132 (0.148)
Change job with same employer				
- year <i>before</i> change	-0.056 (0.072)	-0.009 (0.068)	0.076 (0.074)	0.083 (0.073)
- year <i>of</i> change	0.110 (0.075)	-0.032 (0.071)	0.120 (0.076)	0.122 (0.075)
- year <i>after</i> change	0.028 (0.074)	-0.051 (0.069)	0.133* (0.072)	0.103 (0.071)
Person-year observations	16,224		13,048	

Notes: standard errors in parenthesis; <0.10+ <0.05**, <0.01***; Data from Waves 1-7 of Understanding Society (2009-2016); Controls include: age, marital status, presence of dependent children in the household, whether took maternity/paternity leave after last interview, log hourly wages, whether job is part-time/full-time, whether job is temporary or not, occupation, industry, year dummies.

Conclusion

Job mobility is a part of most people's work trajectories, whether it is chosen or not. Given that labour market institutions and employer policies can affect the amount and type of job mobility in the economy, it is important to quantify the relationship between changing jobs and wellbeing, and also to establish which types of job change are associated with the largest wellbeing changes. Our estimates indicate that changing jobs is a major life event, associated not just with large swings in job satisfaction (as may be expected) but also mental health. These measures of wellbeing dip before a job change and then shoot up afterwards. The changes are large, for instance the largest changes in GHQ are comparable in size with the known effects of unemployment on GHQ – but in contrast to unemployment (where there is no adaptation) the mental health boost due to a job change appears short lived, and has either totally or largely disappeared a year later.

Wellbeing variations very much depend on the type of job change. There appears to be no effect of simply changing workplaces on job satisfaction, instead a new workplace has to be linked to a change of job. Similarly, if the job changes, it makes no difference whether or not the workplace changes. The largest changes to job satisfaction are linked to changing both the job and employer, especially when the new job is a promotion or a better job in some other way. Overall it seems that it is the job rather than the work environment which is the key factor.

Does the short duration of a job satisfaction boost mean that a job change does not matter for wellbeing, in which case there may be no particular consequences for policy on job mobility? Not necessarily – we do not observe the counterfactual in which the worker does not change jobs. In cases of voluntary job change, it is likely that the change halts the preceding decline in job satisfaction (which may have triggered the change). To that extent the ability to change jobs is a good thing (bearing in mind the estimates only to apply those who did in fact change jobs). It could also be reassuring that dismissed or redundant workers (or those leaving a temporary contract) regain their previous level of job satisfaction when they find another job (without an intervening spell of non-employment). But this needs to be

qualified by the fact that the sample excludes individuals who experienced intervening unemployment or who are still unemployed at the next interview (who we know suffer large drops in wellbeing). And we know that temporary contracts are generally bad for wellbeing.

While we have focussed on job satisfaction, conclusions about overall welfare arguably need to take account of broader wellbeing measures too. Here we find that job changes are associated with similar changes to mental health as to job satisfaction, that is, mental health declines before a job change, rises afterwards but then falls back to baseline level. However, we find much weaker effects on life satisfaction. This suggests that while a job change can be a turbulent experience, people manage to keep it in proportion when evaluating their lives overall, consistent with recent findings on the top-down rather than bottom-up relationship between life satisfaction and job-satisfaction reported by Steel et al, 2019.

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Appendix

Table A1: Effect of job changes on job satisfaction (fixed effects), women

	Model 1	Model 2			
		<i>Part-time status</i>	<i>Weekly work hours</i>	<i>Contract type</i>	<i>Log hourly pay</i>
Change job with same employer					
- year before change	-0.141*** (0.054)	-0.141*** (0.054)	-0.133** (0.055)	-0.141*** (0.055)	-0.145*** (0.054)
- year of change	0.302*** (0.057)	0.299*** (0.057)	0.295*** (0.057)	0.306*** (0.057)	0.299*** (0.057)
- year after change	0.093* (0.056)	0.095* (0.056)	0.097* (0.056)	0.092* (0.056)	0.091 (0.056)
Change employer					
- year before change	-0.577*** (0.053)	-0.569*** (0.053)	-0.550*** (0.054)	-0.578*** (0.053)	-0.575*** (0.053)
- year of change	0.590*** (0.057)	0.587*** (0.057)	0.578*** (0.058)	0.593*** (0.057)	0.591*** (0.057)
- year after change	0.182*** (0.054)	0.184*** (0.054)	0.193*** (0.055)	0.178*** (0.055)	0.183*** (0.054)
		<i>Part-time to Full-time</i>	<i>Work hours increased</i>	<i>Temporary to Permanent</i>	<i>Change in log hourly wages</i>
- year before change		-0.007 (0.058)	-0.118 (0.079)	-0.054 (0.145)	0.104** (0.042)
- year of change		0.103 (0.071)	0.158** (0.078)	-0.138 (0.138)	0.014 (0.062)
- year after change		-0.027 (0.055)	-0.073 (0.067)	0.003 (0.075)	0.020 (0.036)
		<i>Full-time to Part-time</i>	<i>Work hours decreased</i>	<i>Permanent to Temporary</i>	
- year before change		-0.181*** (0.061)	-0.235*** (0.072)	0.016 (0.096)	
- year of change		-0.139* (0.078)	-0.026 (0.088)	-0.064 (0.202)	
- year after change		-0.040 (0.061)	-0.113 (0.081)	0.116 (0.140)	
Person-year observations	18,177	18,177	18,177	18,177	18,177

Notes: p-values <0.10+ <0.05**, <0.01***; Data from Waves 1-7 of Understanding Society (2009-2016); Controls include: age, marital status, presence of dependent children in the household, whether took

maternity/paternity leave after last interview, log hourly wages, whether job is part-time/full-time, whether job is temporary or not, occupation, industry, year dummies

Table A2: Effect of job changes on job satisfaction (fixed effects), men

	Model 1	Model 2			
		Part-time status	Weekly work hours	Contract type	Log hourly pay
Change job with same employer					
- year before change	0.014	0.019	0.015	0.017	0.011
	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)
- year of change	0.338***	0.339***	0.340***	0.342***	0.338***
	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.060)	(0.059)
- year after change	0.069	0.064	0.069	0.068	0.068
	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)
Change employer					
- year before change	-0.582***	-0.586***	-0.581***	-0.578***	-0.584***
	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.054)
- year of change	0.491***	0.485***	0.495***	0.487***	0.489***
	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.057)
- year after change	0.159***	0.153***	0.162***	0.160***	0.155***
	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.054)
		Part-time to Full-time	Work hours increased	Temporary to Permanent	Change in log hourly wages
- year before change		-0.165	-0.023	-0.316	0.015
		(0.139)	(0.118)	(0.201)	(0.042)
- year of change		0.304**	0.026	0.286*	0.117*
		(0.152)	(0.115)	(0.172)	(0.066)
- year after change		0.027	-0.038	0.001	0.058
		(0.103)	(0.087)	(0.096)	(0.039)
		Full-time to Part-time	Work hours decreased	Permanent to Temporary	
- year before change		-0.014	-0.022	-0.060	
		(0.106)	(0.092)	(0.132)	
- year of change		-0.163	-0.147	-0.324	
		(0.162)	(0.115)	(0.258)	
- year after change		0.071	-0.027	-0.197	
		(0.128)	(0.112)	(0.180)	
Person-year observations	14,560	14,560	14,560	14,560	14,560

Notes: p-values <0.10+ <0.05**, <0.01***; Data from Waves 1-7 of Understanding Society (2009-2016); Controls include: age, marital status, presence of dependent children in the household, whether took maternity/paternity leave after last interview, log hourly wages, whether job is part-time/full-time, whether job is temporary or not, occupation, industry, year dummies

Do all job changes increase wellbeing?