



Family Functioning and Life Satisfaction and Happiness in South African Households

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Ferdi Botha* and Frikkie Booysen†

August 7, 2013

Abstract

Families form an integral part of society and in fostering individual well-being. Despite the acknowledged importance of family, the association between family functioning and individual well-being outcomes have remained unexplored in the current body of knowledge. This paper explores the association between family functioning and reported levels of life satisfaction and happiness in South Africa. The paper employs the Family Attachment and Changeability Index (FACI8) to measure family functioning, using data from the 2011 South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS 2011). Four measures of family functioning are utilised, namely the aggregate FACI8 scale, the attachment and changeability subscales, and family type. Improvements in the level of family functioning as well as in the levels of attachment and changeability are positively associated with life satisfaction and happiness. In addition, individuals living in midrange or balanced family types are more satisfied with life and happier compared to persons living in extremely or moderately dysfunctional families. The findings highlight the importance of supportive intra-family dynamics in fostering greater individual well-being. This in turn places emphasis on the investigation of likely correlates of family functioning and impact evaluations of family-focused social work interventions' impact on family functioning as areas for future research.

JEL: D10, Z13

Keywords: Family functioning; family; subjective well-being; South Africa

1 Introduction

Families matter to society and to the individuals that make up these families. The importance of the family as an economic unit and in enhancing individual

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development is also well established (Alesina and Giuliano, 2010; Bogenschneider et al., 2012). Given that family relationships are strongly linked to a person’s emotional well-being and health, the nature of such family interactions will greatly influence an individual’s general well-being. Sufficient levels of social support within families are thus essential to individual happiness (Adams et al., 1996; North et al., 2008). Well-functioning families are vital in ensuring optimal individual performance and productivity, which serve to improve individual well-being.

The focus of this study is on family functioning as an appraisal of intra-family relationships and dimensions. Family functioning is a multidimensional concept that refers to how family members interact with each other and work together to achieve common family goals and outcomes (Morris and Blanton, 1998). Since family functioning, according to Patterson (2002), in general denotes relational processes, family functioning is concerned with the processes by which a family attains its various functions, such as emotional and economic support, and protection of vulnerable members.

Despite the substantial body of knowledge examining the correlates of subjective well-being and the accepted importance of family, the interactions between how families function and relate to each other and how such functioning relates to individual family members’ life satisfaction and happiness have received surprisingly little attention. In the US state of Michigan, Adams et al. (1996) reported higher levels of life satisfaction among individuals who received greater levels of emotional support from family members. Martin and Westerhof (2003) used data from the 1995 National Survey of Midlife Development in the U.S. and reported that life satisfaction was higher among individuals who believed that family members truly care for them, and also among those who felt that they can rely on the help of family members in the case of serious personal problems. Lelkes (2006) found that persons living in households which have limited interaction with family or friends are substantially less satisfied with life than persons within households with stronger family ties. The results did, however, indicate that lack of social interaction with relatives is not significantly related to individual life satisfaction.

Pichler (2006) analysed data from the first round of the European Social Survey (ESS). The results indicated that people living with their own families (e.g. with a partner and own children) reported significantly greater levels of subjective well-being as compared to persons living alone, with parents, or was a single-parent. Moreover, Alesina and Giuliano (2010) analysed World Values Survey data and reported that people are happier and more satisfied with life in countries with stronger family ties. While stronger family ties imply lower market-related participation and generally lower income, people are nonetheless happier if they possess strong family ties as opposed to persons living in richer countries with weaker family ties. Finally, Darling et al. (2010) examined the association between family functioning and life satisfaction among persons living with AIDS. The authors report no direct association between life satisfaction and family functioning. Instead, the relationship between family functioning and life satisfaction was indirect: Families with greater levels of functioning

employed more effective family coping methods in response to stress; family coping being positively related to life satisfaction.

The existing research suggests that healthy family relationships and interaction among family members are strongly positively associated with individual well-being. However, while previous research has examined how subjective well-being relates to factors such as interaction among family members and family ties, work is yet to be done regarding the association of family *functioning* with individual well-being outcomes. Moreover, since the concepts of life satisfaction and happiness are conceptually distinct (Gundelach and Kreiner, 2004; Haller and Hadler, 2006; Selim, 2008; Gamble and Gärling, 2012; Orviska et al., 2012) albeit highly correlated, and as the data we employ in this study contain information on both concepts, this paper treats them as related but theoretically different.¹

This paper examines the association of perceived family functioning with reported life satisfaction and happiness in South Africa. Moreover, the study examines life satisfaction and happiness differences by family typology with the aim of discovering whether individual subjective well-being differs by the type of family an individual resides with.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows: Section 2 provides a description of the data and family functioning instrument used; Section 3 sets out the econometric methods employed; Section 4 reports and discusses the empirical results; Section 5 concludes.

2 The data

This paper uses cross-sectional data from the 2011 South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2011). Collected annually as a repeated cross-sectional survey since 2003, SASAS collects data on a wide range of responses to the various attitudes (economic, political, and so on) and values of South Africans. The main objective of SASAS is to provide information for the monitoring of changes in the attitudes and values of South Africans over time. The design of every SASAS round is aimed at providing a representative sample of individuals at least 16 years of age within households that are geographically dispersed across South Africa's provinces. Samples are drawn from the Human Sciences Research Councils' master sample, which consists of 1 000 Population Census enumeration areas and is stratified by province and majority population group. For each interview round, a sub-sample of 500 enumeration areas are then drawn from the master sample.

¹ While happiness is more dependent on current mood, life satisfaction is generally evaluated with a longer term view in mind. A response to the question of happiness is likely to be more varied than to that of life satisfaction. Happiness is thus more volatile; life satisfaction is more stable (Haller and Hadler, 2006; Selim, 2008; Orviska et al., 2012). It is thus possible that a respondent is very satisfied with his or her life overall, but that due to a negative event or emotion he or she may not be very happy at the time of the particular survey. In such a case, life satisfaction could be rated relatively high, while happiness would be rated lower.

In the SASAS questionnaire, the life satisfaction measure is obtained from asking respondents the following question: “Overall, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?” Responses range between very unsatisfied, unsatisfied, neutral, satisfied, and very satisfied. To measure reported happiness, respondents were asked the question: “How happy are you with your life these days?” Responses range between very unhappy, unhappy, neutral, happy, and very happy.

As measure of family functioning, this paper employs the Family Attachment and Changeability Index (FACI8), originally developed by McCubbin et al. (1995) to address various criticisms of the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES) series. In contrast to SASAS surveys from earlier years, the 2011 SASAS survey is the first to include the FACI8 scale. The FACI8 instrument contains 16 questions on a 5-point Likert-type scale examining the overall functioning of a family (see Table 1). Responses consist of never, sometimes, half the time, more than half, and always. These 16 questions are disaggregated into two sub-scales of eight items each, namely Attachment and Changeability. While the attachment scale measures the strength of family members’ attachment to each other, the changeability scale measures the degree of family members’ flexibility in their relationships with each other. The higher the FACI8 score, the better the functioning of the family. The FACI8 score is also used to derive the style of family functioning or family type. The four family types are extreme, moderate, midrange, and balanced families, where extreme families function poorest, and family functioning improves as we move towards the balanced family type. For more detailed information on how family typologies can be obtained from the FACI8 responses, see McCubbin et al. (1995).

The FACI8 instrument has been used in a number of studies using South African data (Greeff and Holtzkamp, 2007; Greeff and de Villiers, 2008; Jonker and Greeff, 2009; Greeff and Wentworth, 2009; Brown et al., 2010; Greeff and van der Walt, 2010; Brown and Robinson, 2012; Greeff and Lawrence, 2012). Internal consistency for the overall FACI8 is acceptable in this study, with a Cronbach alpha of 0.79. In addition, Cronbach’s alpha is 0.77 for the attachment scale and 0.83 for the changeability scale. These are roughly similar to McCubbin et al.’s (1995) original reliability coefficients of 0.75 and 0.78 for the attachment and changeability scales, respectively. Internal reliability also compares well to that reported in the South African studies cited above, with Cronbach’s alpha for the aggregate FACI8 scale ranging from 0.75 to 0.86, while ranging from 0.71 to 0.80 and 0.67 to 0.85 for the attachment and changeability scales, respectively.

3 Econometric method

For the descriptive portion of the analysis, we employ spearman correlation coefficients, median tests, pairwise correlations, and cross-tabulations. Although life satisfaction and happiness are conceptually different, they are likely highly

correlated. Since we have responses on both life satisfaction and happiness, the probability that these factors are jointly determined is exploited using multivariate linear models. While most studies on the analysis of subjective well-being treat happiness and life satisfaction as ordinal and hence employ ordered response models (Posel and Casale, 2011; Botha and Booysen, 2013; Ebrahim et al., 2013), an important limitation of single-equation ordered response models in the present case would be the inability to jointly model the predictors of life satisfaction and happiness. Multivariate linear regression techniques, on the other hand, allow for the simultaneous modelling of life satisfaction and happiness, while also allowing for testing hypotheses across estimated equations. For completeness, however, we also estimate ordered logit models taking into account that happiness and life satisfaction are generally ordinal in nature. The multivariate regression takes the form:

$$H_i = \alpha_1 + \beta_i F_i + \gamma_i X_i + \varepsilon_{i1} \quad (1)$$

$$LS_i = \alpha_2 + \beta_i F_i + \gamma_i X_i + \varepsilon_{i2} \quad (2)$$

where H_i and LS_i denote reported happiness and life satisfaction, respectively, F_i refers to the specific FACI8 component (i.e. overall family functioning, attachment, changeability, or family type), X_i is a vector of relevant control variables, and ε_{i1} and ε_{i2} are error terms with $\text{corr}(\varepsilon_{i1}, \varepsilon_{i2}) \neq 0$. The ordered logit model is specified as:

$$SWB_i = \beta_i F_i + \delta X_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (3)$$

where SWB_i denotes the relevant component (i.e. life satisfaction or happiness) of subjective well-being examined, and F_i and X_i are defined as above. Consistent with the literature, the control variables include age, age squared, gender, race, monthly household expenditure, educational attainment, religion status, employment status, health status, and marital status. We also control for household size, as it is expected that family functioning may be partly dependent on the number of persons in the household. Tables 2 and 3 contain a description of the variables and the summary statistics, respectively.

4 Empirical results

Spearman correlations suggest a significant positive association between overall family functioning with life satisfaction ($\rho_s = 0.139$, $p < 0.001$) and happiness ($\rho_s = 0.133$, $p < 0.001$). The attachment sub-scale is significantly positively related with life satisfaction ($\rho_s = 0.115$, $p < 0.001$) and happiness ($\rho_s = 0.095$, $p < 0.001$). This positive association is also the case for life satisfaction ($\rho_s = 0.112$, $p < 0.001$) and happiness ($\rho_s = 0.120$, $p < 0.001$) with respect to the changeability sub-scale. In Table 4, pairwise correlations indicate a correlation coefficient of 0.523 between life satisfaction and happiness, which is relatively high and statistically significant. The overall FACI8 score is positively correlated with both life satisfaction and happiness. Positive correlations also exist between the

two FACI8 sub-scales and life satisfaction and happiness, with the changeability scale being more highly correlated with the former and the attachment scale more highly correlated with the former.

Table 5 tabulates reported happiness and family type, and their relationship is statistically significant ($\chi^2=64.0$, $p < 0.001$). About 82% of individuals within balanced families are happy or very happy, whereas roughly 23% of those within extreme family types are very unhappy or unhappy. Table 6 tabulates reported life satisfaction by family type. The relationship between family type and individual life satisfaction is statistically significant ($\chi^2=76.3$, $p < 0.001$). Within extreme family types, about 49% of people are at least satisfied with their lives, compared to roughly 68% among those within balanced families. Life satisfaction is quite similarly dispersed between people in moderate and midrange families, although satisfaction is generally slightly greater among the latter. On the whole, people within more balanced families are happier and more satisfied with life as opposed to people in more extreme families.

The median family functioning score across reported happiness is shown in Figure 1. Median family functioning levels are highest among the happy and very happy. In addition, family functioning scores differ significantly between the various happiness responses ($\chi^2=57.5$, $p < 0.001$). Figure 2 plots median happiness scores against the attachment and changeability sub-scales, with median levels of attachment and changeability being highest among the very happy. For both the attachment ($\chi^2=31.7$, $p < 0.001$) and changeability ($\chi^2=42.5$, $p < 0.001$) scales, reported happiness differs significantly across individuals. Figure 3 indicates that median levels of family functioning are highest among individuals reporting that they are satisfied and very satisfied. Family functioning differences across life satisfaction groups are statistically significant ($\chi^2=61.3$, $p < 0.001$). Finally, in Figure 4, median levels of the attachment and changeability scales are presented across life satisfaction responses. Median family functioning in terms of attachment ($\chi^2=28.1$, $p < 0.001$) and changeability ($\chi^2=41.6$, $p < 0.001$) differ significantly by life satisfaction. Attachment and changeability scores are higher among happier people, with very happy persons experiencing the highest levels of attachment and changeability within the family.

Tables 7 and 8 contain the multivariate regression findings. For all estimated models, the Breusch-Pagan test strongly rejects the null hypothesis that life satisfaction and happiness are independent, thus validating the estimation of multivariate regression. Also, in addition to an R^2 value ranging between 23% and 31%, the covariates are jointly statistically significant in explaining reported life satisfaction and happiness as shown by the F -statistics (all $p < 0.001$). The ordered logit estimates are presented in Tables 9 and 10, with the Pseudo R^2 statistics ranging between 10% and 13%, and with all explanatory variables being jointly significant according to the Wald χ^2 statistics. Coefficient estimates are in general consistent across multivariate and ordered logit regressions with respect to sign and statistical significance.

In both the multivariate and ordered logit estimations, a strong significant positive association exists between whole family functioning and life satisfaction

($p < 0.001$) as well as between the former and happiness ($p < 0.001$). Thus, as expected, an improvement in the functioning of the family is associated with greater satisfaction with life as well as higher individual happiness. Furthermore, family functioning is jointly significant in explaining both life satisfaction and happiness ($p < 0.001$), but the association seems to be stronger in the happiness equation ($p < 0.05$) (Table 7). The results further indicate that a higher level of attachment within a family significantly raises a person's satisfaction with life and happiness. Attachment is jointly significant in explaining both life satisfaction and happiness ($p < 0.05$), while there is no significant difference in the relationship between levels of attachment and life satisfaction and happiness ($p = 0.603$) (Table 7). Similarly, a person is significantly more satisfied with life ($p < 0.05$) and happier ($p < 0.01$) if the family in which they live score higher on the changeability sub-scale. In addition, changeability is jointly significant in explaining life satisfaction and happiness ($p < 0.001$), though the association between happiness and family functioning is slightly stronger than the association between family functioning and life satisfaction ($p < 0.05$) (Table 7).

Reported happiness is significantly higher for people living in moderate ($p < 0.10$), midrange ($p < 0.01$), or balanced ($p < 0.001$) families as opposed to those living in extreme families (Table 8). Post-estimation hypothesis tests also indicate that persons living in balanced families are happier than those in moderate ($p < 0.001$) and midrange ($p < 0.05$) families, while those within midrange families are happier than those within moderate ones ($p < 0.05$). Life satisfaction is significantly greater among individuals living in midrange ($p < 0.05$) and balanced ($p < 0.01$) families when compared to those living in extreme families. In addition, people in midrange families are more satisfied with life than people in moderate ones ($p < 0.10$), whereas those living in balanced families are significantly more satisfied than individuals within moderate ($p < 0.01$) and midrange ($p < 0.10$) families. The findings indicate that individual life satisfaction and happiness increase as we move more towards a more balanced family typology. The results from Table 9 are consistent with the multivariate regression results, in that persons living in balanced families are significantly happier and more satisfied with life when compared to those living in extreme families. Thus, as we move towards families with better levels of functioning, individual happiness and life satisfaction scores improve on average.

Based on the results in Table 10, predicted probabilities are computed in Table 11 that illustrate the likelihood of reporting a certain happiness and life satisfaction score depending on the type of family an individual resides with. For instance, someone in an extreme family type has a 67.9% probability of reporting being happy or very happy, compared to a probability of 81.7% for individuals in balanced families. Similarly, the probability of a person reporting being satisfied or very satisfied with life is 51.7% if they live in an extreme family, while this probability is 67.5% for those within balanced families. These results confirm the main findings of the paper: better family functioning increases the likelihood of an individual reporting a relatively high level of happiness and satisfaction with life.

The regression results consistently suggest that family functioning is posi-

tively associated with individual happiness and satisfaction with life. When the overall FACI8 scale is disaggregated into its two sub-scales, the findings indicate a positive relationship of both attachment and changeability scales with life satisfaction and happiness. Moreover, individuals in balanced families are consistently happier and more satisfied with life than those from other family types, with balanced families possessing the strongest levels of functioning. Although the findings of this paper are not directly comparable to previous research as the latter did not examine family functioning per se as determinant of subjective well-being, the results do confirm the importance of solid intra-family relationships and support for the well-being of individual family members (e.g. Adams et al., 1996; Martin and Westerhof, 2003; North et al., 2008). The empirical results are also consistent with our expectations, in that persons have higher levels of well-being if they live in well-functioning families with optimal levels of attachment to each other and changeability within the family.

Across all multivariate and ordered logit regressions, results for the remaining control variables are generally consistent with that of previous research. As has been reported in many studies (e.g. Gerdtham and Johannesson, 2001; Powdthavee, 2005), a significant U-shaped relationship exists between age and happiness, and between age and life satisfaction. There are no differences in life satisfaction or happiness between male and female respondents. Consistent with Ebrahim et al. (2013), Black people are less happy and less satisfied with life when compared to people from all other racial groups. Higher levels of household expenditure, which can be related to higher household income, are positively related to individual happiness (Easterlin, 2001; Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2005), though the same does not seem to hold for life satisfaction. Education is strongly positively associated with happiness and life satisfaction in all specifications (Oswald, 1997; Chen, 2012). The relationships between household size and reported happiness and life satisfaction are not statistically significant. There is evidence to suggest that religious persons are happier and more satisfied with life when compared to non-religious individuals, which is consistent with the findings of Rule (2006), for example. Regarding employment status, one of the stronger and most persistent findings is that life satisfaction and happiness are significantly lower among the unemployed as compared to the employed. In accordance with Gerdtham and Johannesson (2001), moreover, poor health is detrimental to individual happiness and life satisfaction. The latter finding has also been confirmed for South Africa (Botha and Booysen, 2013). Compared to the never married, married persons are significantly more satisfied with life (Stack and Eshleman, 1998; Dolan et al., 2008).

5 Conclusion

This paper explored the extent to which individual happiness and life satisfaction relate to differing levels of family functioning, as well as family type, within a sample of South Africans. The evidence indicates that better family functioning is strongly associated with happier people and greater life satisfac-

tion. Thus, having good relationships within the family is on average beneficial to an individual family member’s happiness and life satisfaction. In addition, greater levels of attachment (how close family members are to each other) and changeability (the degree of flexibility within the family) are positively related to personal happiness and satisfaction with life. Family type also matters: People in extremely dysfunctional families are much less satisfied with life and less happy than persons living in balanced families. These findings confirm the importance of family, and how families function, to the enhancement of the well-being of individual family members within South African households.

Some limitations of this paper are worth noting. Firstly, we are not able to control for unobserved individual heterogeneity given the cross-sectional study design. Secondly, the data only permit the examination of how levels of, as opposed to also changes in, family functioning relate to individual subjective well-being. Thirdly, the possibility of endogeneity cannot be ruled out: Rather than better family functioning being related to higher levels of happiness and life satisfaction, it is conceivable that families will on average function better if their members are happier and more satisfied with life, compared to families where its individuals are not very happy nor very satisfied with their lives.

One area for future research would be to examine the predictors of family functioning in South Africa. Since the results of this paper show that family functioning is very important for happiness and life satisfaction, emphasis on such predictors through relevant South African family policy, for instance, is likely to facilitate greater levels of life satisfaction and happiness through improved family functioning. With this knowledge, moreover, with detailed data the impact of family-focused interventions on family functioning can also be assessed. Another avenue for future research, assuming available datasets, is to employ panel data to control for individual fixed effects and to examine how changes in family functioning affect subjective well-being over time. Finally, it would be interesting to investigate whether causality runs from subjective well-being to family functioning or from the latter to the former. Comprehensive analyses of the areas highlighted here may pave the way for clearly focused family-focused interventions and impact evaluation of such interventions.

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Figure 1: Family functioning and happiness

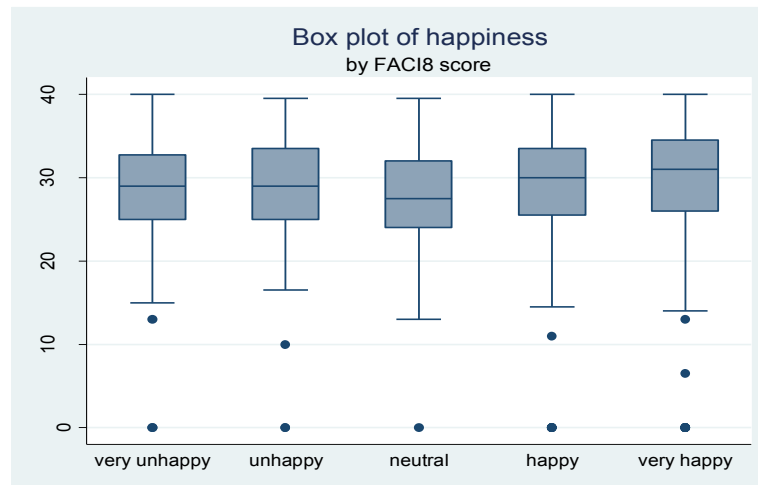


Figure 2: Attachment, changeability, and happiness

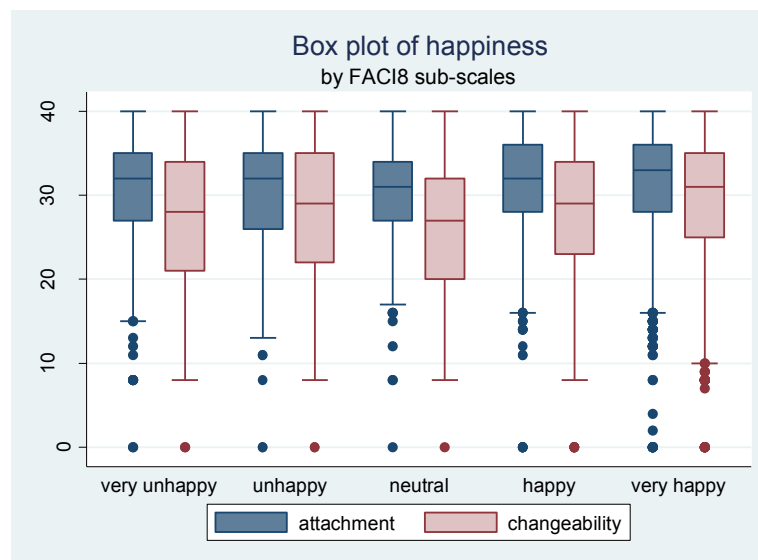


Figure 3: Family functioning and life satisfaction

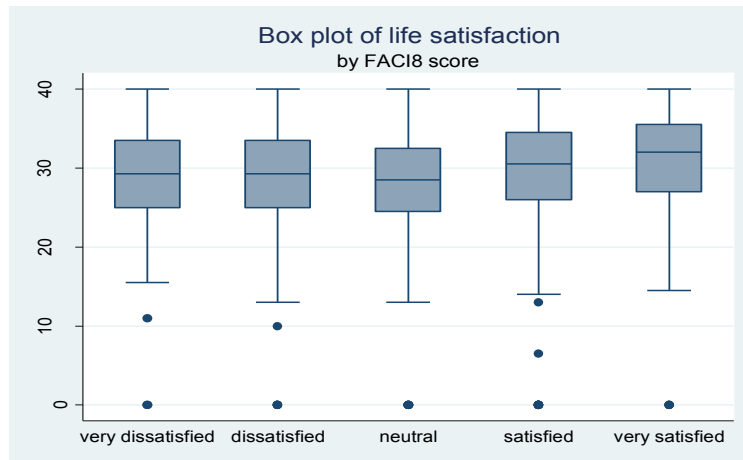


Figure 4: Attachment, changeability, and life satisfaction

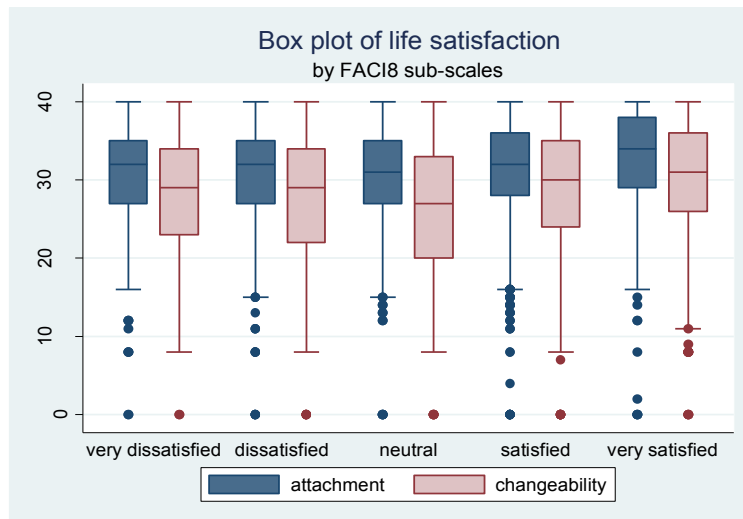


Table 1: The Family Attachment and Changeability (FACI8) items

	In my family...	Never	Sometimes	Half the time	the More than half	Always
1	In my family it is easy for everyone to express his/her opinion	1	2	3	4	5
2	It is easier to discuss problems with people outside the family than with other family members.	1	2	3	4	5
3	Each family member has input in major family decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Family members discuss problems and feel good about the solutions.	1	2	3	4	5
5	In my family everyone goes his/her own way.	1	2	3	4	5
6	Family members consult other family members on their decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
7	We have difficulty thinking of things to do as family.	1	2	3	4	5
8	Discipline is fair in our family.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Family members feel closer to people outside the family than to other family members.	1	2	3	4	5
10	My family tries new ways of dealing with problems.	1	2	3	4	5
11	In my family, everyone shares responsibilities.	1	2	3	4	5
12	It is difficult to get a rule changed in my family.	1	2	3	4	5
13	Family members avoid each other at home.	1	2	3	4	5
14	When problems arise, we compromise.	1	2	3	4	5
15	Family members are afraid to say what is on their minds.	1	2	3	4	5
16	Family members pair up rather than do things as a total family.	1	2	3	4	5

Source: SASAS 2011. Note: Questions related to the attachment sub-scale are 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, and 16. Questions related to the changeability sub-scale are 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, and 14. To obtain the aggregate FACI8 scale, responses within the Attachment sub-scale are first reversed (5 = Never, 4 = Sometimes, 3 = Half the time, 2 = Sometimes, 1 = Always) and then summed together with the Changeability sub-scale. Reversal of the Attachment scale ensures positive scores for both sub-scales.

Table 2: Variable description

Variable	Description
overall family functioning	Overall level of family functioning as a sum of the attachment and changeability sub-scales of the FACI8 instrument, ranging from 0 (poor functioning) to 40 (optimal functioning)
attachment	Feelings of family members' attachment to each other, ranging from 0 (low levels of attachment) to 40 (high levels of attachment)
changeability	Level of changeability or flexibility within the family, ranging from 0 (low levels of changeability) to 40 (high levels of changeability)
family type	Style of a family's functioning, which ranges from extreme (base), moderate, midrange, and balanced. Family functioning improves as we move from an extreme family to a balanced family
happiness	Reported level of happiness
life satisfaction	Reported level of overall satisfaction with life
age	Age in years
female	Dummy variable equal to 1 if individual is female, 0 otherwise
race	Racial group of respondent, consisting of Black (base), Coloured, Asian, White
education	Number of absolute years of completed education
expenditure	Total monthly household expenditure, in Rand
religious	1 if person is not religious, 0 otherwise
household size	Number of persons living in the household
employment status	Employment status of respondent, consists of employed (base), sick or disabled, unemployed, pensioner, student
health status	Subjective assessment of physical health, consisting of poor (base), fair, good, very good, and excellent
marital status	Never married (base), married, separated/divorced, widowed

Table 3: Summary statistics

	observations	mean	standard deviation	minimum	maximum
family functioning	3004	29.49	6.11	0	40
attachment	3004	30.86	7.06	0	40
changeability	3004	28.13	8.04	0	40
extreme family type	148	0.05	0.22	0	1
moderate family type	637	0.21	0.41	0	1
midrange family type	1226	0.41	0.49	0	1
balanced family type	993	0.33	0.47	0	1
happiness	2965	3.97	1.24	1	5
life satisfaction	2968	3.42	1.07	1	5
age	3000	40.59	16.34	16	95
female	3003	0.59	0.49	0	1
black	1883	0.63	0.48	0	1
coloured	473	0.16	0.36	0	1
asian	259	0.09	0.28	0	1
white	387	0.13	0.34	0	1
education	2843	10.14	4.11	0	34
expenditure	2856	2575.66	5223.82	0	60000
religious	2975	0.14	0.35	0	1
household size	3004	3.91	2.34	1	18
employed	1079	0.36	0.48	0	1
sick or disabled	79	0.03	0.16	0	1
unemployed	1130	0.38	0.48	0	1
pensioner	363	0.12	0.32	0	1
student	240	0.08	0.27	0	1
poor health	141	0.05	0.21	0	1
fair health	449	0.15	0.36	0	1
good health	1068	0.36	0.48	0	1
very good health	823	0.27	0.45	0	1
excellent health	486	0.16	0.37	0	1
never married	1374	0.46	0.50	0	1
married	1090	0.36	0.48	0	1
separated/divorced	166	0.06	0.23	0	1
widowed	290	0.10	0.30	0	1

Table 4: Pairwise correlation coefficients between subjective well-being and family functioning

	life satisfaction	happiness	family functioning	attachment	changeability
life satisfaction	1.000				
happiness	0.523***	1.000			
overall family functioning	0.117***	0.110***	1.000		
attachment	0.092***	0.077***	0.780***	1.000	
changeability	0.094***	0.095***	0.835***	0.307***	1.000

Note: $p < 0.001$ ***.

Table 5: Happiness and family typology

	extreme	moderate	midrange	balanced	total
very unhappy	13.3% (17)	9.8% (62)	8.0% (97)	6.1% (60)	8.0% (236)
unhappy	10.2% (13)	7.6% (48)	8.1% (98)	5.8% (57)	7.3% (216)
neutral	13.3% (17)	13.4% (85)	8.9% (108)	5.6% (55)	8.9% (265)
happy	25.0% (32)	30.7% (194)	32.2% (392)	32.1% (317)	31.5% (935)
very happy	38.3% (49)	38.6% (244)	42.9% (521)	50.5% (499)	44.3% (1313)
Total	100.0% (128)	100.0% (633)	100.0% (1216)	100.0% (988)	100.0% (2965)
Pearson $\chi^2 = 64.0$ ($p < 0.001$)					

Note: sample sizes are shown in parentheses.

Table 6: Life satisfaction and family typology

	extreme	moderate	midrange	balanced	total
very unsatisfied	9.0% (12)	5.9% (37)	5.2% (63)	4.7% (46)	5.3% (158)
unsatisfied	23.3% (31)	19.7% (124)	19.3% (235)	14.4% (142)	17.9% (532)
neutral	18.8% (25)	23.1% (145)	18.1% (221)	12.8% (126)	17.4% (517)
satisfied	34.6% (46)	44.0% (277)	47.5% (578)	53.4% (528)	48.2% (1429)
very satisfied	14.3% (19)	7.3% (46)	9.9% (121)	14.8% (146)	11.2% (332)
total	100.0% (133)	100.0% (629)	100.0% (1218)	100.0% (988)	100.0% (2968)
Pearson $\chi^2 = 76.3$ ($p < 0.001$)					

Note: sample sizes are shown in parentheses.

Table 7: Multivariate regression results for family functioning and subjective well-being

Variable	Model 1		Model 2	
	Happiness	Life satisfaction	Happiness	Life satisfaction
overall family functioning	0.025 (0.005)***	0.016 (0.003)***		
attachment			0.011 (0.004)***	0.009 (0.003)***
changeability			0.014 (0.003)***	0.007 (0.003)***
log(age)	-1.912 (1.422)	-2.627 (1.022)***	-1.920 (1.422)	-2.619 (1.022)***
log(age squared)	0.252 (0.199)	0.362 (0.143)**	0.253 (0.199)	0.361 (0.143)**
female	0.052 (0.054)	0.037 (0.039)	0.053 (0.054)	0.037 (0.039)
coloured	0.062 (0.085)	0.101 (0.061)*	0.062 (0.085)	0.101 (0.061)*
asian	0.344 (0.104)***	0.397 (0.075)***	0.342 (0.104)***	0.399 (0.075)***
white	0.326 (0.093)***	0.376 (0.067)***	0.326 (0.093)***	0.376 (0.067)***
log(expenditure)	0.024 (0.010)**	0.000 (0.007)	0.024 (0.010)**	0.000 (0.007)
years of education	0.039 (0.008)***	0.036 (0.005)***	0.039 (0.008)***	0.036 (0.005)***
religious	-0.172 (0.073)**	-0.103 (0.053)*	-0.173 (0.073)**	-0.103 (0.053)*
household size	0.003 (0.011)	-0.011 (0.008)	0.003 (0.011)	-0.011 (0.008)
sick or disabled	-0.416 (0.162)***	-0.415 (0.116)***	-0.418 (0.162)***	-0.414 (0.116)***
unemployed	-0.297 (0.063)***	-0.397 (0.045)***	-0.297 (0.063)***	-0.397 (0.045)***
pensioner	-0.096 (0.115)	-0.099 (0.083)	-0.096 (0.115)	-0.099 (0.083)
student	0.067 (0.124)	0.180 (0.089)**	0.067 (0.124)	0.180 (0.089)**
fair health	0.336 (0.135)**	0.345 (0.097)***	0.336 (0.135)**	0.345 (0.097)***
good health	0.856 (0.128)***	0.604 (0.092)***	0.857 (0.128)***	0.603 (0.092)***
very good health	1.198 (0.133)***	0.797 (0.096)***	1.198 (0.133)***	0.797 (0.096)***
excellent health	1.318 (0.140)***	0.789 (0.100)***	1.317 (0.140)***	0.790 (0.100)***
married	0.069 (0.069)	0.162 (0.050)***	0.070 (0.069)	0.161 (0.050)***
separated/divorced	-0.021 (0.120)	0.127 (0.087)	-0.020 (0.120)	0.126 (0.087)
widowed	0.043 (0.109)	0.105 (0.079)	0.045 (0.109)	0.103 (0.079)
constant	6.876 (2.522)***	7.159 (1.813)	6.903 (2.523)***	7.131 (1.814)***
observations	2533	2533	2533	2533
R^2	0.234	0.308	0.234	0.308
F -statistic	23.2***	33.7***	22.5***	32.7***
Breusch-Pagan χ^2 independence test	0.000		0.000	
residual correlation	0.379		0.379	
H_0 : FACI8[HAP] = FACI8[LS] = 0	0.000			
H_0 : FACI8[HAP] = FACI8[LS]	0.044			
H_0 : Attach[HAP] = Change[HAP]			0.686	
H_0 : Attach[LS] = Change[LS]			0.553	
H_0 : Attach[HAP] = Attach[LS] = 0			0.001	
H_0 : Change[HAP] = Change[LS] = 0			0.000	
H_0 : Attach[HAP] = Attach[LS]			0.603	
H_0 : Change[HAP] = Change[LS]			0.048	

Note: Geographic and province dummies are included in all regressions. $p < 0.001$ ***, $p < 0.05$ **, $p < 0.10$ *. Values shown for the Breusch-Pagan test of independence as well as the post-estimation hypothesis tests denote p -values. HAP and LS refer to happiness and life satisfaction, respectively.

Table 8: Multivariate regression results for family type and subjective well-being

Variable	Model 3	
	Happiness	Life satisfaction
family type: moderate	0.256 (0.138)*	0.105 (0.099)
family type: midrange	0.420 (0.134)***	0.234 (0.096)**
family type: balanced	0.586 (0.136)***	0.326 (0.098)***
log(age)	-1.665 (1.422)	-2.468 (1.023)**
log(age squared)	0.218 (0.199)	0.340 (0.143)**
female	0.052 (1.054)	0.039 (0.039)
coloured	0.063 (0.085)	0.098 (0.061)
asian	0.371 (0.104)***	0.414 (0.075)***
white	0.331 (0.093)***	0.378 (0.067)***
log(expenditure)	0.024 (0.010)**	-0.000 (0.007)
years of education	0.039 (0.008)***	0.036 (0.036)***
religious	-0.176 (0.073)**	-0.106 (0.053)**
household size	0.002 (0.011)	-0.012 (0.008)
sick or disabled	-0.406 (0.162)**	-0.407 (0.116)***
unemployed	-0.291 (0.063)***	-0.394 (0.045)***
pensioner	-0.086 (0.115)	-0.093 (0.083)
student	0.078 (0.123)	0.187 (0.089)**
fair health	0.333 (0.135)**	0.344 (0.097)***
good health	0.852 (0.128)***	0.604 (0.092)***
very good health	1.194 (0.133)***	0.796 (0.096)***
excellent health	1.317 (0.140)***	0.791 (0.100)***
married	0.068 (0.069)	0.163 (0.050)***
separated/divorced	-0.019 (0.120)	0.127 (0.087)
widowed	0.059 (0.109)	0.114 (0.079)
constant	6.751 (2.523)***	7.112 (1.815)***
observations	2533	2533
R^2	0.236	0.309
F -statistic	22.0***	31.9***
Breusch-Pagan χ^2 independence test	0.000	
residual correlation	0.378	
H_0 : Moderate[happiness] = Midrange[happiness]	0.004	
H_0 : Moderate[happiness] = Balanced[happiness]	0.000	
H_0 : Midrange[happiness] = Balanced[happiness]	0.002	
H_0 : Moderate[life satisfaction] = Midrange[life satisfaction]	0.003	
H_0 : Moderate[life satisfaction] = Balanced[life satisfaction]	0.000	
H_0 : Midrange[life satisfaction] = Balanced[life satisfaction]	0.011	

Note: Geographic and province dummies are included in all regressions. $p < 0.01$ ***, $p < 0.05$ **, $p < 0.10$ *. Values shown for the Breusch-Pagan test of independence as well as the post-estimation hypothesis tests denote p -values.

Table 9: Ordered logit regression results for family functioning and subjective well-being

	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Variable	Happiness	Happiness	Life satisfaction	Life satisfaction
overall family functioning	0.040 (0.008)***		0.038 (0.008)***	
attachment		0.019 (0.007)***		0.023 (0.006)***
changeability		0.021 (0.006)***		0.015 (0.005)***
log(age)	-3.462 (2.207)	-3.466 (2.208)	-5.004 (2.233)**	-4.985 (2.230)**
log(age squared)	0.468 (0.310)	0.468 (0.310)	0.685 (0.312)**	0.683 (0.312)**
female	0.093 (0.084)	0.093 (0.084)	0.073 (0.083)	0.073 (0.083)
coloured	0.117 (0.135)	0.117 (0.135)	0.222 (0.131)*	0.223 (0.131)*
asian	0.667 (0.164)***	0.666 (0.165)***	1.063 (0.172)***	1.071 (0.173)***
white	0.520 (0.144)***	0.520 (0.144)***	0.960 (0.145)***	0.960 (0.145)***
log(expenditure)	0.052 (0.016)***	0.052 (0.016)***	0.005 (0.015)	0.006 (0.015)
years of education	0.060 (0.012)***	0.060 (0.012)***	0.070 (0.012)***	0.070 (0.012)***
religious	-0.220 (0.114)*	-0.220 (0.114)*	-0.193 (0.115)*	-0.191 (0.116)*
household size	0.005 (0.020)	0.005 (0.019)	-0.020 (0.018)	-0.020 (0.018)
sick or disabled	-0.475 (0.251)*	-0.476 (0.251)*	-0.930 (0.232)***	-0.926 (0.232)***
unemployed	-0.382 (0.096)***	-0.381 (0.096)***	-0.838 (0.100)***	-0.839 (0.101)***
pensioner	-0.155 (0.178)	-0.155 (0.178)	-0.299 (0.167)*	-0.299 (0.166)*
student	0.188 (0.184)	0.188 (0.184)	0.469 (0.197)**	0.467 (0.197)**
fair health	0.324 (0.209)	0.325 (0.209)	0.598 (0.215)***	0.597 (0.214)***
good health	1.016 (0.202)***	1.017 (0.203)***	1.076 (0.208)***	1.072 (0.207)***
very good health	1.689 (0.214)***	1.689 (0.214)***	1.584 (0.217)***	1.586 (0.217)***
excellent health	1.951 (0.233)***	1.951 (0.234)***	1.656 (0.236)***	1.660 (0.235)***
married	0.099 (0.108)	0.100 (0.108)	0.383 (0.107)***	0.379 (0.107)***
separated/divorced	-0.035 (0.195)	-0.035 (0.195)	0.363 (0.201)*	0.363 (0.200)*
widowed	0.047 (0.157)	0.047 (0.158)	0.274 (0.166)*	0.268 (0.166)
observations	2540	2540	2552	2552
Pseudo R^2	0.103	0.103	0.135	0.135
Wald χ^2	621.1***	621.3***	882.5***	882.6***
Log pseudolikelihood	-3023.1	-3023.1	-2999.7	-2999.3

Note: Geographic and province dummies are included in all regressions. Robust standard errors are shown in parentheses. $p < 0.001$ ***, $p < 0.05$ **, $p < 0.10$ *.

Table 10: Ordered logit regression results for family type and subjective well-being

	Model 8	Model 9
Variable	Happiness	Life satisfaction
family type: moderate	0.251 (0.231)	0.111 (0.231)
family type: midrange	0.474 (0.227)**	0.444 (0.227)**
family type: balanced	0.779 (0.230)***	0.682 (0.231)***
log(age)	-3.195 (2.217)	-4.679 (2.233)**
log(age squared)	0.431 (0.311)	0.641 (0.312)**
female	0.095 (0.084)	0.080 (0.083)
coloured	0.111 (0.136)	0.205 (0.131)
asian	0.693 (0.165)***	1.097 (0.172)***
white	0.516 (0.144)***	0.958 (0.146)***
log(expenditure)	0.053 (0.016)***	0.004 (0.015)
years of education	0.059 (0.012)***	0.070 (0.012)***
religious	-0.231 (0.115)**	-0.203 (0.116)*
household size	0.005 (0.020)	-0.020 (0.018)
sick or disabled	-0.451 (0.251)*	-0.906 (0.231)***
unemployed	-0.371 (0.096)***	-0.831 (0.101)***
pensioner	-0.145 (0.178)	-0.289 (0.167)*
student	0.210 (0.185)	0.483 (0.197)**
fair health	0.323 (0.210)	0.608 (0.213)***
good health	1.013 (0.203)***	1.081 (0.206)***
very good health	1.684 (0.215)***	1.593 (0.216)***
excellent health	1.954 (0.234)***	1.669 (0.235)***
married	0.102 (0.108)	0.390 (0.107)***
separated/divorced	-0.045 (0.195)	0.369 (0.200)*
widowed	0.068 (0.158)	0.289 (0.167)*
observations	2540	2552
Pseudo R^2	0.104	0.136
Wald χ^2	623.4***	880.1***
Log pseudolikelihood	-3022.8	-2997.3

Note: Geographic and province dummies are included in all regressions. Robust standard errors are shown in parentheses. $p < 0.01$ ***, $p < 0.05$ **, $p < 0.10$ *.

Table 11: Predicted probabilities

	Extreme	Moderate	Midrange	Balanced
Happiness				
Very unhappy	0.121	0.098	0.083	0.056
Unhappy	0.096	0.086	0.078	0.056
Neutral	0.104	0.098	0.091	0.070
Happy	0.332	0.334	0.325	0.291
Very happy	0.347	0.383	0.423	0.527
Life satisfaction				
Very dissatisfied	0.079	0.068	0.053	0.036
Dissatisfied	0.227	0.216	0.194	0.141
Neither satisfied not unsatisfied	0.177	0.186	0.179	0.149
Satisfied	0.433	0.455	0.477	0.525
Very satisfied	0.084	0.076	0.097	0.150

Note: Estimates obtained from the ordered logit regressions reported in Table 10.