

COST OF LIVING CRISIS RELIEF: INSIGHTS FROM THE COVID-19 FINANCIAL SUPPORT POLICIES

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The cost of living crisis has focused policymakers' attention on how to best alleviate financial hardship and lift household well-being. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a testing ground for assessing the relative merits of policies designed to reduce financial hardship during economic downturns. In response to the pandemic, the Australian Government introduced a broad range of financial support policies that varied significantly in design.

We examine how two distinct large-scale policies, one that increased liquidity by releasing personal savings - the Early Release of Superannuation (ERS) - and one that increased wealth through a government transfer - the JobSeeker Supplement (JSP) - affected the well-being of eligible recipients using longitudinal household survey data.

- The life satisfaction of JobSeeker recipients temporarily rose by 4 per cent when the JSP supplement was introduced. The effect was much larger for people receiving the JSP supplement for at least six months.
- The share of Jobseeker recipients having difficulty paying their bills fell from 25 per cent in 2019 to 20 per cent in 2020. This corresponded to 37,000 more Australians being able to pay their bills.
- The Early Super Release program had a limited impact on the reported well-being and financial resilience of most withdrawers.

The ERS and JSP policies acted together in addressing financial hardship, but were different in design and targeted at different cohorts of people. Our findings suggest that the JSP supplement, which was targeted at those most in need, provided fast and effective financial relief and raised life satisfaction. The ERS allowed people access to precautionary savings but did not obviously raise subjective well-being. The fact that people voluntarily selected into the ERS program suggests it helped them cope with uncertainty and increased their well-being, though people may not have felt this way given their lifetime incomes did not change.

The Australian Government provided financial assistance to millions of people to limit the adverse effects of the COVID-19 recession. This included the delivery of two large-scale financial support programs:

- **JobSeeker Payment (JSP) Supplement:** From 27 April 2020 to 25 September 2020, existing and new JSP recipients received an additional \$550 per fortnight – nearly double the standard JSP.¹
- **Early Release of Superannuation (ERS):** Eligible recipients, including those who lost their jobs or had their working hours reduced by at least 20 per cent, were able to withdraw up to \$10,000 from their own retirement savings without incurring tax penalties in both the 2019-20 and 2020-21 financial years.

These policies were intended as temporary, immediate measures to address the severe economic disruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and to support individuals directly impacted by its financial effects. We examine the extent to which these two distinct policies affected recipients' perceived life satisfaction (or 'subjective well-being') and reported levels of financial stress using information from the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey. On average, JSP recipients reported lower baseline incomes, higher rates of financial stress, and lower life satisfaction compared to ERS withdrawers, highlighting the different financial challenges faced by each group (Table A.2). Therefore, the two policies were complements that effectively targeted different cohorts of people. An assessment of how the two policies affected life satisfaction and well-being can shed light on how to best target financial support policies to support household well-being in future economic downturns.

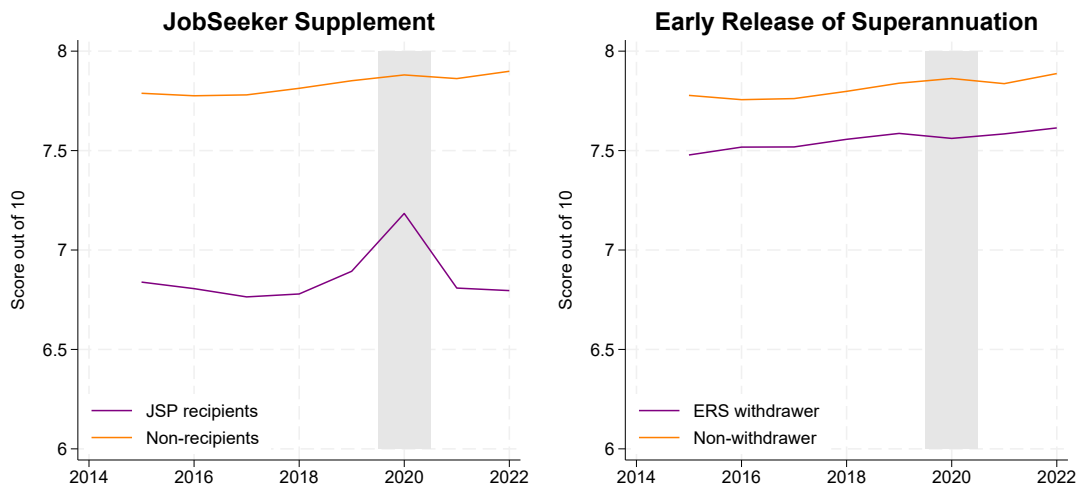
¹ The JSP Supplement was twice extended with support reduced to \$250 per fortnight from 25 September to 31 December 2020, and \$150 per fortnight from 1 January to 21 March 2021.

The JobSeeker COVID-19 supplement and Early Release of Superannuation policies were generally seen as complementary policies. While both policies provided financial relief, they offered different types of support that together created a more robust safety net for individuals affected by the economic downturn.

- **Addressing different needs:** The two policies may have targeted distinct, yet related financial needs. The JobSeeker supplement provided ongoing income support to unemployed or underemployed individuals, helping them manage regular expenses. In contrast, the Early Release of Superannuation was a one-time access to funds meant to cover immediate, often larger, financial needs like rent, bills, or debt repayments.
- **Supporting economic stability:** The two policies together may have sustained consumer spending and maintained economic stability by providing individuals with multiple ways to access funds during the pandemic (Khattar & La Cava, 2024).
- **Alleviating fiscal pressure:** Allowing access to superannuation relieved some pressure on the income support system, ensuring that JobSeeker resources could be directed to those most in need of ongoing income support.

In 2020, during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, JSP supplement recipients' assessment of how satisfied they were with their lives improved greatly (panel 1 of Figure 1). Their likelihood of experiencing financial stress also dropped sharply relative to non-recipients (panel 1 of Figure 2). But the boosts to subjective well-being for JSP recipients were temporary, with subjective well-being and financial stress returning to pre-pandemic levels in 2021 as the supplement payment expired.

Figure 1
Average Subjective Well-being*
 By recipient status



*Score between 0-10 for how satisfied you are with your life
 Sources: e61 Institute; HILDA Survey Release 22.0

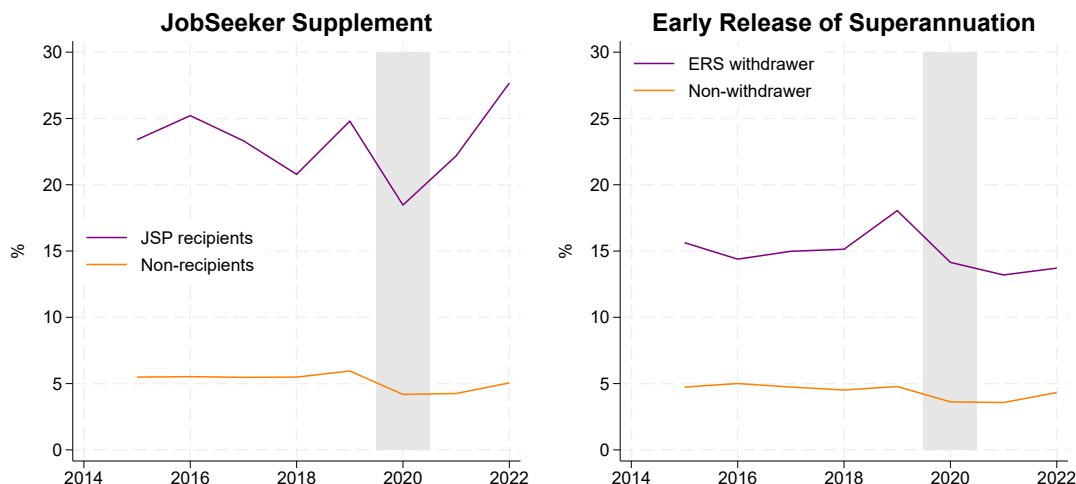
Subjective well-being barely changed for people that accessed their superannuation early (panel 2 of Figure 1). The rate of financial stress did fall for people that withdrew super, but this represented a return to the average level experienced before 2019 (when financial stress had temporarily increased) (panel 2 of Figure 2). The apparently limited impact of ERS on financial stress may be because the money was used for purposes other than managing household cash flow.² Instead, they may have chosen to spend the money elsewhere or invested it in alternative assets (Hamilton et al., 2023).

We find similar results when we examine trends in subjective well-being for people who both received the JSP supplement and withdrew funds. For example, financial stress fell the most for people that received both payments.

² ERS increased withdrawers' spending by 30 cents per dollar in the first fortnight, while JSP supplement increased it by 58 cents per dollar (Adams et al., 2024; Khattar & La Cava, 2024).

Figure 2
Financial Stress*

Share of households; by recipient status



*Financially stressed households are those that report at least 3 stress indicators e.g. missed housing payment
Sources: e61 Institute; HILDA Survey Release 22.0

Subjective well-being is an indicator in the HILDA Survey with respondents ranking their life satisfaction on a scale of 0 to 10, ranging from totally dissatisfied to totally satisfied.

Financial stress is a self-reported measure of cash flow problems in the HILDA Survey. An individual is assumed to be financially stressed if they respond 'yes' to at least 3 out of the following 7 statements:

1. Could not pay electricity, gas or telephone bills on time
2. Could not pay the mortgage or rent on time
3. Pawned or sold something due to a shortage of money.
4. Went without meals due to a shortage of money.
5. Were unable to heat their home due to a shortage of money.
6. Sought assistance from welfare organisations due to a shortage of money.
7. Sought financial help from friends or family due to a shortage of money.

Next, we examine how subjective well-being responded to the size of these different financial support measures. The changes in subjective well-being might be due to how much they got, and not just who got the payment. Importantly, the JSP payment represented a larger fraction of income (50%) than the super withdrawal (19%) because JSP recipients were on lower incomes. More generally, the distributions of the support payment to income ratios were quite different, with the super payouts generally accounting for around 10-20 per cent of income while the JSP payment either accounted for less than 10 per cent of income (for those receiving JSP for a short period) or close to all income (for those receiving the payment for the full year) (Figure 3).

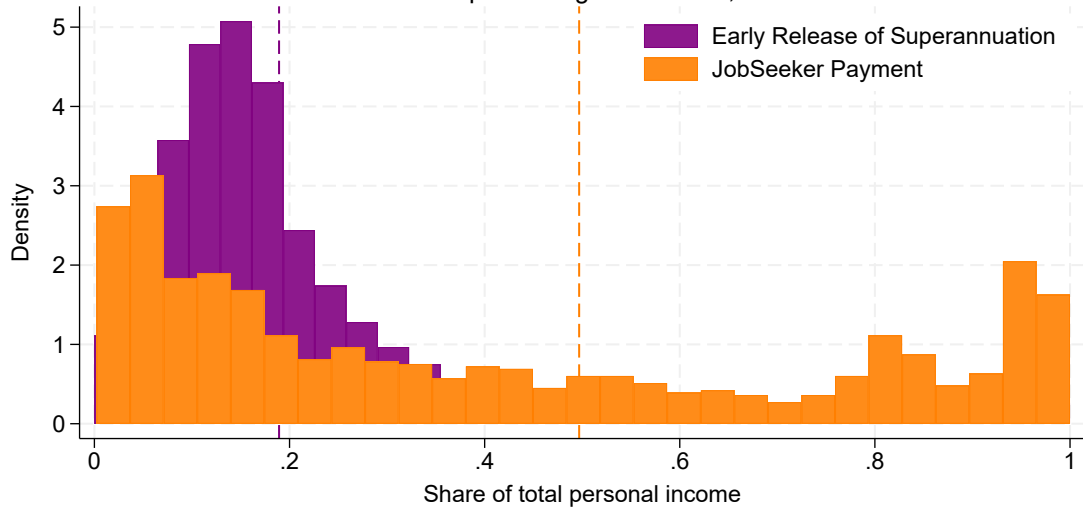
To examine the well-being responses to payment size, we construct four 'buckets' based on how much the payment contributed to the annual gross income of each recipient. For example, for the first bucket, the support payments accounted for less than 25% of total income. This is done separately for the two policies. We then examine how well-being changed between 2019 and 2020 for recipients based on the size of the support payments relative to their incomes.

Subjective well-being rose by more than 25 per cent for JSP recipients for whom the JSP payment accounted for more than half their annual income (Figure 4). These people were typically long-term JSP recipients that were reliant on the payment. Increases in subjective well-being were negligible for JSP recipients for whom the payment accounted for less than half their income. The subjective well-being of withdrawers also increased relative to non-withdrawers, although the increases were not statistically significant (Figure 4).

Figure 3

Distribution of JSP Payment and Early Super Release

Share of personal gross income; 2020

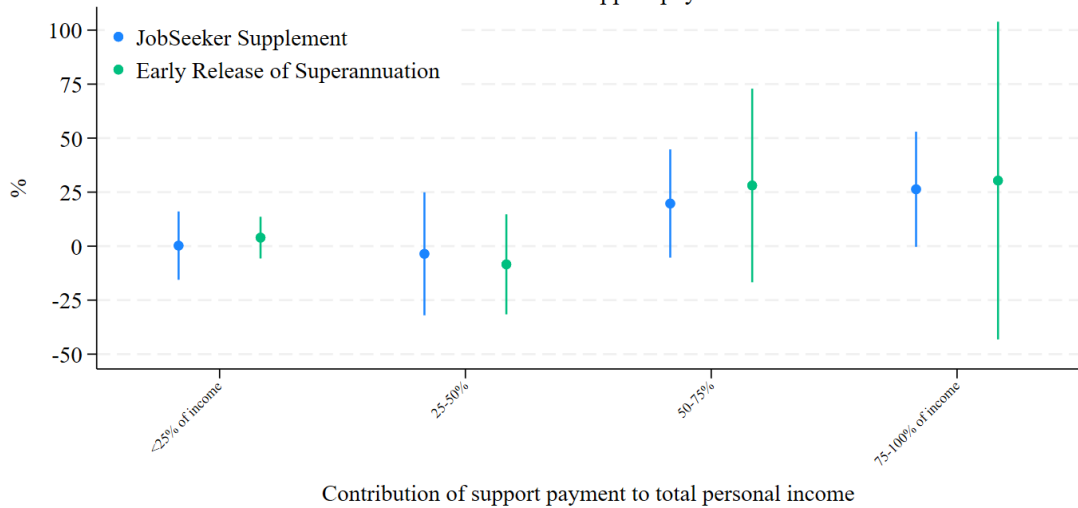


Dashed vertical lines represent means of each distribution
Sources: e61 Institute; HILDA Survey Release 22.0

Figure 4

Change in Life Satisfaction by Contribution of Support Payment*

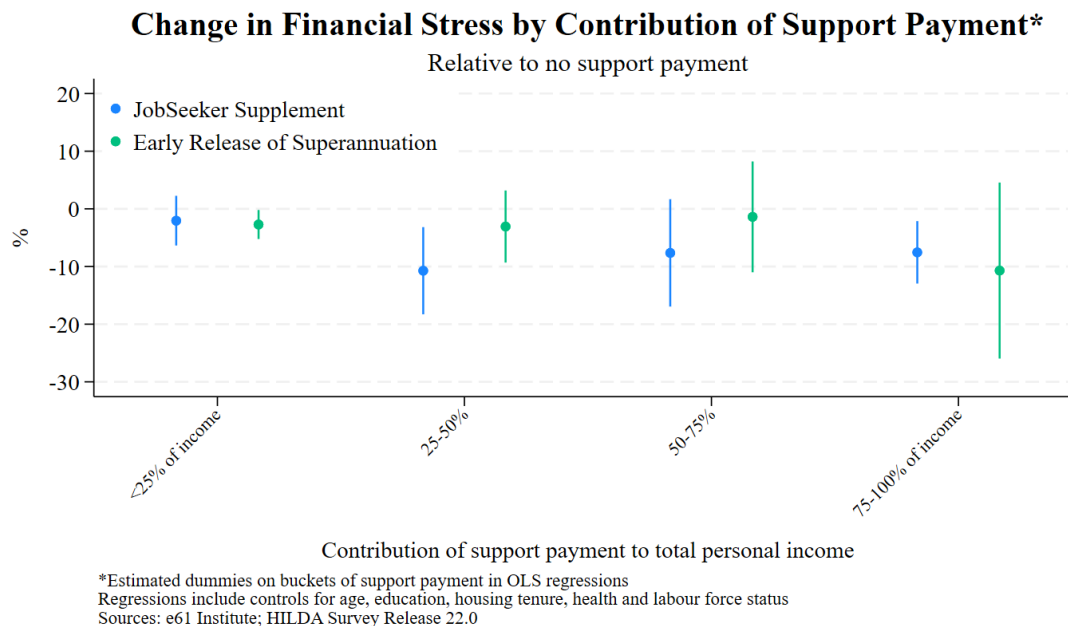
Relative to no support payment



*Estimated dummies on buckets of support payment in OLS regressions
Regressions include controls for age, education, housing tenure, health and labour force status
Sources: e61 Institute; HILDA Survey Release 22.0

The JSP supplement was associated with lower rates of financial stress for most recipients, and the decline in stress did not vary much with the contribution of the payment to their incomes (Figure 5). There was little association between the contribution of the super withdrawal and rates of financial stress for withdrawers, though those people who withdrew a relatively large ‘dose’ reported lower rates of financial stress (Figure 5).

Figure 5



To test the effectiveness of these policies in limiting financial stress and lifting well-being, we need to control for differences between people that were eligible for the two programs and for the propensity to withdraw super funds if they were eligible. For this, we turn to regression analysis and an event study framework. This framework controls for a wide range of individual characteristics of both recipients and non-recipients. This is important because, for example, financial stress ‘jumped’ in 2019 for withdrawers, which suggests that some people withdrew funds because they were already feeling financial pressure. The regression analysis also allows us to examine why life satisfaction and financial resilience might change in response to financial support payments.

The key findings from the regression analysis include:

- Subjective well-being rose by about 4 per cent and financial stress fell by 7 percentage points for people that received the JSP supplement in 2020, all other things being equal (Appendix A.1). The effects were temporary, with both well-being indicators returning to pre-pandemic levels in 2021.
- The rise in subjective well-being for JSP recipients was solely due to greater satisfaction with their financial situation (Appendix A.2). This suggests it was not due to factors such as changes in job situation or other lived experiences during the pandemic.
- The rise in subjective well-being for JSP recipients was not due to differences between people that received the payment in 2020 compared to those that received it in 2019. Similar results hold when we drop people that were new JSP recipients in 2020 (Appendix A.3).
- The Early Release of Superannuation and Economic Support Payment programs were associated with little change in subjective well-being or financial stress (Appendix A.4).

We estimate different responses of subjective well-being and financial stress to the JobSeeker supplement and Early Release of Super financial support policies. These varied responses highlight the importance of targeting financial support to those most in need. If the purpose of the support payments is to reduce financial stress and support subjective well-being, future policy design during economic downturns may benefit from a more targeted approach. While the COVID-19 recession differed from typical economic downturns in its nature and scope, policymakers can still draw valuable lessons from the Early Release

of Super scheme. A more focused approach, similar to the existing hardship provisions for superannuation, could help ensure that financial support is directed toward those who truly need it.

In this research note, we focus on the capacity of the financial support policies to provide short-term cost of living relief. We do not consider the longer-term costs of these policies, such as higher taxes and lower retirement savings balances, which are relevant to cost-benefit analysis. We also do not consider the effectiveness of the policies in achieving other policy goals, such as stimulating consumer spending, which are discussed elsewhere ([Khattar and La Cava 2024](#)).

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A.1. Well-being responses to the receipt of support payments

We use the following regression specification to estimate the effects of receiving the JobSeeker Payment supplement and the Early Release of Superannuation on subjective well-being and financial stress:

$$(1) \quad Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \phi_t + \sum_{\substack{j=2015 \\ j \neq 2019}}^{2022} \gamma_j \times I(t=j) \times D_{ij} + \beta \text{CONTROLS}_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

where Y_{it} represents either subjective well-being or financial stress indicator for individual i during year t . The subjective well-being indicator is the (log) level of self-reported life satisfaction. This is measured on a scale between 0 and 10 where higher scores indicate greater levels of happiness. The indicator for financial stress is a dummy variable equals to one if an individual reports at least 3 types of financial problems in year t . The key explanatory variable is a binary (treatment) variable that indicates if the individual i is a recipient of one of the two income support payments in year j (D_{ij}). α_i represents individual-specific fixed effects and ϕ_t represents year-fixed effects. Our coefficient of interest is γ_{2020} which shows the effect of the income support payments in 2020 relative to individuals that did not receive the relevant payment.

The regression analysis includes a broad range of individual-level controls including:

- **Age squared:** the square of an individual's age
- **Homeowner:** a dummy variable for whether someone is a home owner
- **Couple with kids:** a dummy variable for whether the household is a couple with children
- **Couple with no kids:** a dummy variable for whether the household is a couple without children
- **Single parent:** a dummy variable for whether the household is a single parent
- **Household size:** the number of people in the household
- **Household income:** The inverse hyperbolic sine of annual household disposable income
- **Mortgage debt:** The inverse hyperbolic sine of total mortgage debt on the main residence
- **Pensioner:** a dummy variable for whether someone is a pension recipient
- **Full-time:** a dummy variable for whether someone is full-time employed
- **Casual:** a dummy variable for whether someone is a casual worker
- **Unemployed:** a dummy variable for whether someone is unemployed
- **Not in the labour force:** a dummy variable for whether someone is not in the labour force
- **University educated:** a dummy variable for whether a person's highest educational attainment is university
- **TAFE educated:** a dummy variable for whether a person's highest educational attainment is TAFE
- **Long-term health condition:** a dummy variable for whether someone has a long-term health condition or disability
- **Got married:** a dummy variable for whether someone got married in the past year
- **Made redundant:** a dummy variable for whether someone got fired in the past year

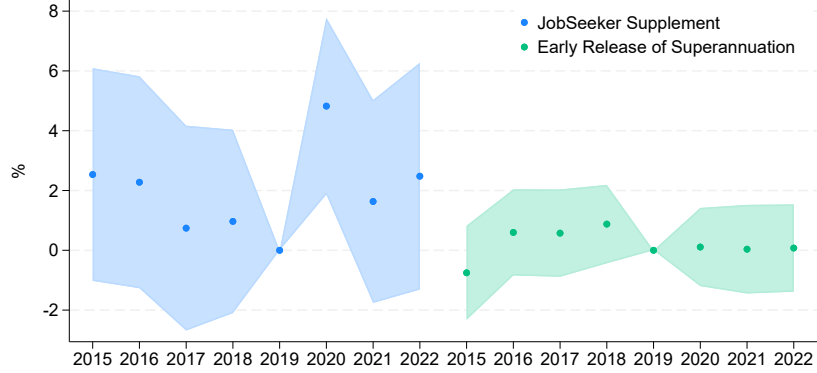
The OLS regression is estimated separately for recipients of the JSP supplement and for the ERS withdrawers. The year before the COVID-19 pandemic, 2019, is the reference period for the analysis in both regressions.

The estimates from the event study indicate that life satisfaction for JSP recipients rose by about 4 per cent relative to non-recipients in 2020 (left panel of Figure A.1). The effect was temporary with life satisfaction returning to its pre-pandemic average in 2021 as the JSP supplement was unwound. In contrast, there is no obvious effect of the early release of superannuation on average life satisfaction (right panel of Figure A.1).

Figure A.1

Average Subjective Well-being*

For recipients relative to non-recipients

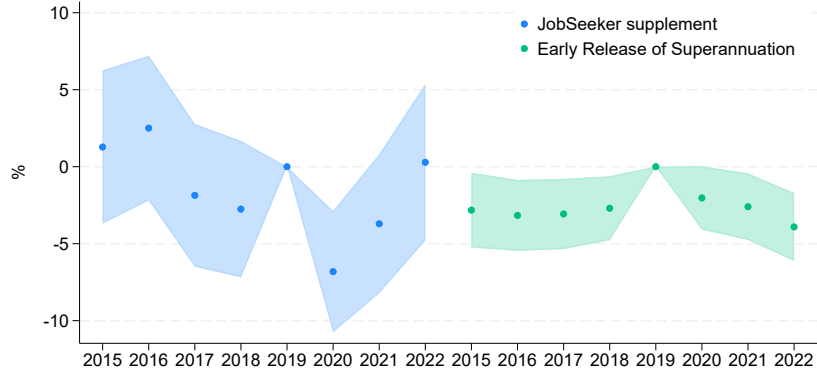


*Coefficient estimates from two OLS regressions with controls including year and individual fixed effects
Sources: e61 Institute; HILDA Survey Release 22.0

Figure A.2

Probability of Financial Stress

For recipients relative to non-recipients



Coefficient estimates from two OLS regressions with controls including year and individual fixed effects
Sources: e61 Institute; HILDA Survey Release 22.0

The event study also indicates that the probability of being financially stressed declined by 7 percentage points for the JSP recipients in 2020 (left panel of Figure A.2). This effect was also temporary with rates of financial stress gradually returning to the pre-pandemic average after 2020. There is some evidence that the early release of superannuation may have lowered the rate of financial stress for withdrawers (right panel of Figure A.2). However, there are issues with the pre-trend estimates of average financial stress leading up to the COVID-19 pandemic. Specifically, the rate of financial stress among withdrawers was unusually high in 2019, such that the choice to withdraw superannuation may have been caused by higher financial stress. The regression analysis is not able to adequately control for these selection effects and therefore the financial stress estimates should be treated with caution.

Table A.1: Regression Estimates

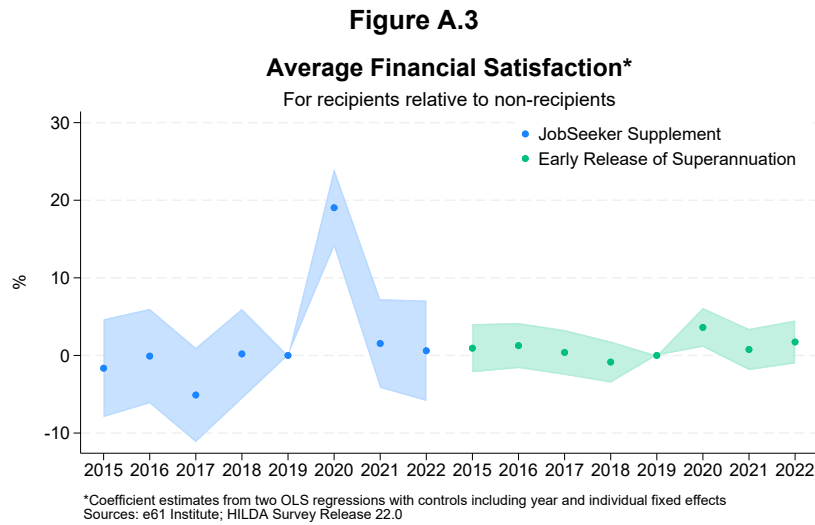
	Subjective Well-being		Financial Stress	
	(1) JSP Supplement	(2) ERS	(3) JSP Supplement	(4) ERS
Age squared	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
Homeowner	1.66*** (0.35)	1.64*** (0.35)	-1.35** (0.42)	-1.29** (0.42)
Couple with kids	4.14*** (0.58)	4.24*** (0.58)	-0.50 (0.78)	-0.59 (0.79)
Couple without kids	4.10*** (0.49)	4.17*** (0.49)	-0.76 (0.63)	-0.78 (0.63)
Single parent	0.09 (0.67)	0.09 (0.67)	1.25 (0.92)	1.34 (0.92)
Household size	-0.41** (0.14)	-0.42** (0.14)	-0.25 (0.20)	-0.22 (0.20)
Household income	0.38*** (0.10)	0.39*** (0.10)	-0.29* (0.12)	-0.31** (0.12)
Mortgage debt	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Pension recipient	-0.31 (0.71)	0.34 (0.71)	1.11 (0.84)	0.07 (0.84)
Casual worker	-0.01 (0.27)	-0.07 (0.27)	1.47*** (0.41)	1.53*** (0.41)
Full-time worker	0.25 (0.23)	0.41 (0.23)	-1.82*** (0.32)	-2.09*** (0.32)
Unemployed	-2.84*** (0.59)	-3.70*** (0.58)	2.45** (0.82)	3.88*** (0.81)
Not in the labour force	-1.47*** (0.34)	-1.67*** (0.34)	1.52** (0.47)	1.75*** (0.47)
University educated	1.64* (0.73)	1.49* (0.73)	-1.07 (1.01)	-0.99 (1.02)
TAFE educated	0.85 (0.79)	0.78 (0.79)	-0.84 (1.16)	-1.20 (1.15)
Long-term health condition	-2.85*** (0.23)	-2.90*** (0.23)	1.59*** (0.30)	1.66*** (0.30)
Made redundant	-1.86*** (0.46)	-1.91*** (0.46)	3.28*** (0.60)	3.30*** (0.60)
Got married	1.51*** (0.29)	1.48*** (0.29)	0.02 (0.49)	0.05 (0.49)
Constant	172.54*** (3.09)	177.85*** (2.79)	28.16*** (4.00)	21.76*** (3.51)
Obs.	85988	85988	86130	86130
R squared	0.53	0.53	0.43	0.43

Standard errors in parentheses

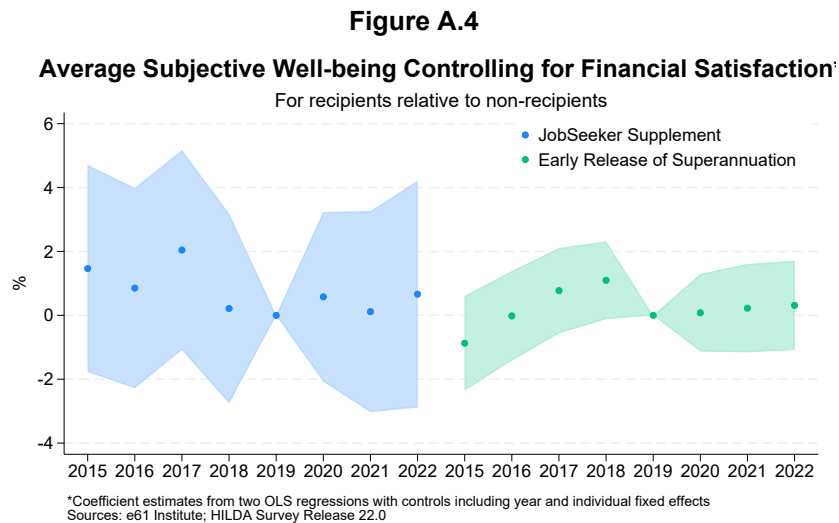
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A.2. Financial satisfaction and the financial support payments

We also examine how subjective well-being responds to the financial support payments when we focus on an individual's satisfaction with their financial situation. HILDA Survey respondents are asked how satisfied they are with various aspects of their lives, including their financial situation. Financial satisfaction is measured using the same ordinal categories, where 0 means totally dissatisfied and 10 means totally satisfied.

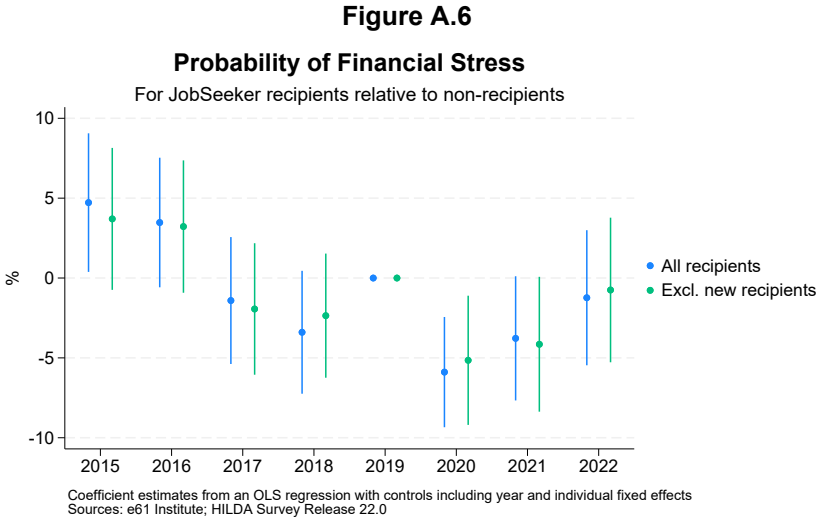
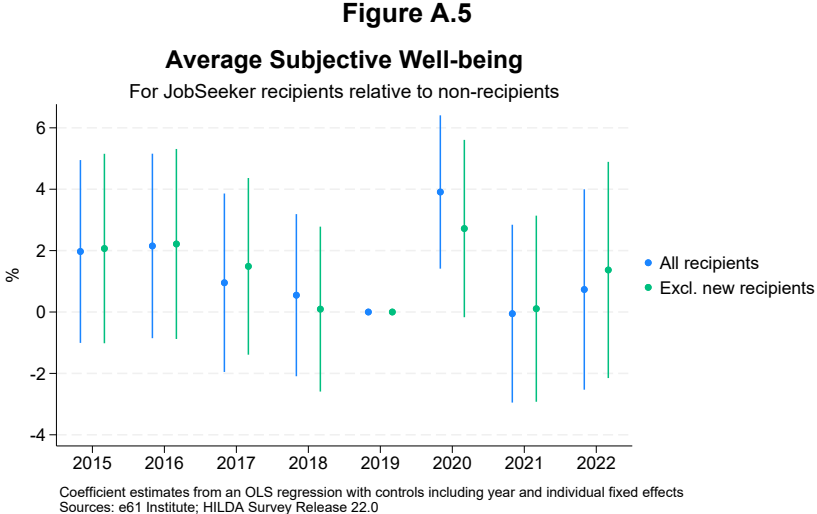


We find that financial satisfaction jumps by 20 per cent in 2020 for JSP recipients and increases by about 3.5 per cent for ERS withdrawers, all other things being equal (Figure A.3). Further, we find that life satisfaction does not increase for either JSP or ERS recipients in 2020 when we hold constant their satisfaction with their finances (Figure A.4). This indicates the rise in life satisfaction is fully explained by greater satisfaction with their finances, rather than other factors, such as a change in job situation or living arrangements.



A.3. Changes in the composition of JSP recipients in the COVID-19 recession

A key challenge to identifying the causal effect of the JSP supplement on well-being is the likely change in the composition of the sample of JSP recipients in the COVID-19 recession. The increase in well-being in 2020 might not be caused by the supplement but by differences in the characteristics of people that received the JSP payment in 2019 and 2020. For example, if people that lost their jobs during the COVID-19 recession had higher levels of life satisfaction and financial resilience than existing JSP recipients, then this compositional change may explain the observed increases in well-being for JSP recipients relative to non-recipients.



To address these selection issues, we re-estimate the regression models after removing people from the sample that received the JSP payment in 2020 but not in 2019 (we refer to these people as ‘new recipients’). Life satisfaction still increases and financial stress still falls in 2020 when we exclude the new recipients, although the boost in life satisfaction is somewhat smaller (Figure A.5 and Figure A.6). This suggests that the change in the composition of the sample in the COVID-19 recession is not driving the results.

A.4. Well-being responses to the Economic Support Payment

We also examine how the measures of well-being responded to the Economic Support Payment (ESP) in 2020. The ESP was a one-off payment of \$750 between March and July 2020 and a further \$250 between December 2020 and March 2021. To be eligible, a recipient had to live in Australia and have an eligible payment or concession card. JobSeeker recipients were eligible for the first larger ESP payment in 2020 but not the second smaller payment in 2021.

We estimate that ESP had a negligible association with subjective well-being (Figure A.7). Similar to the ERS, there appear to be selection effects in measuring the effect of the ESP on financial stress as financial stress rose strongly in 2019 before the receipt of the payment (Figure A.8). The estimates from the event study should therefore be treated with caution (Figure A.9).

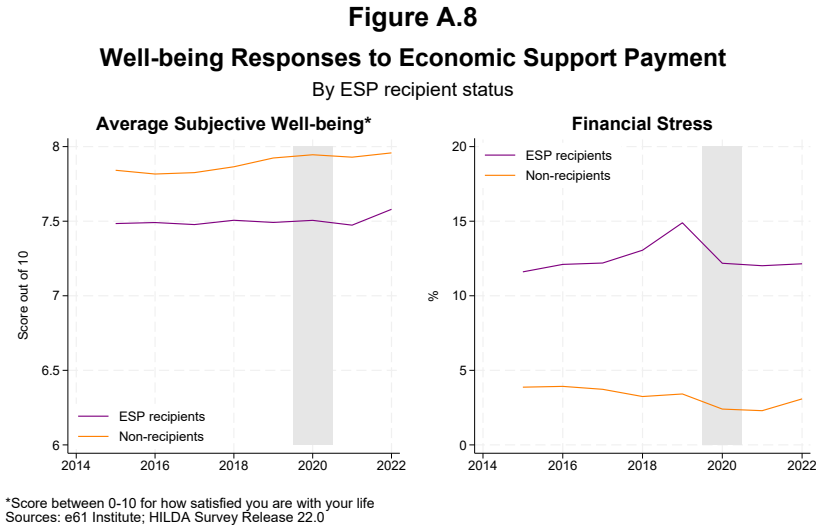
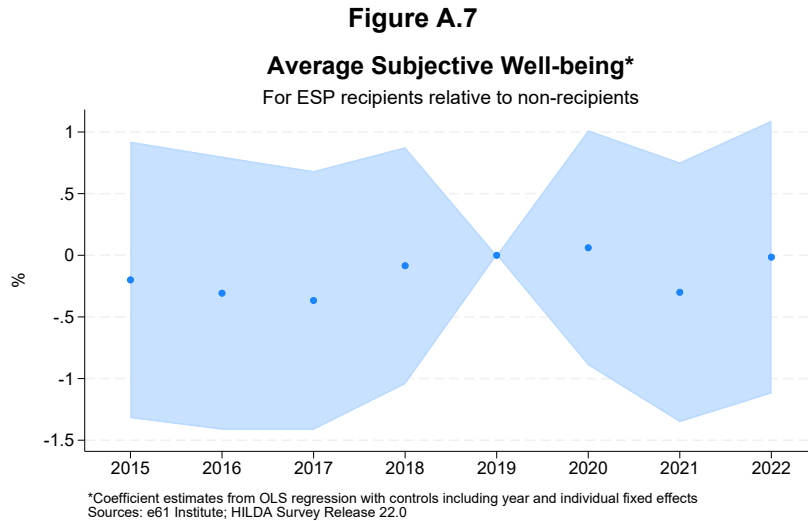
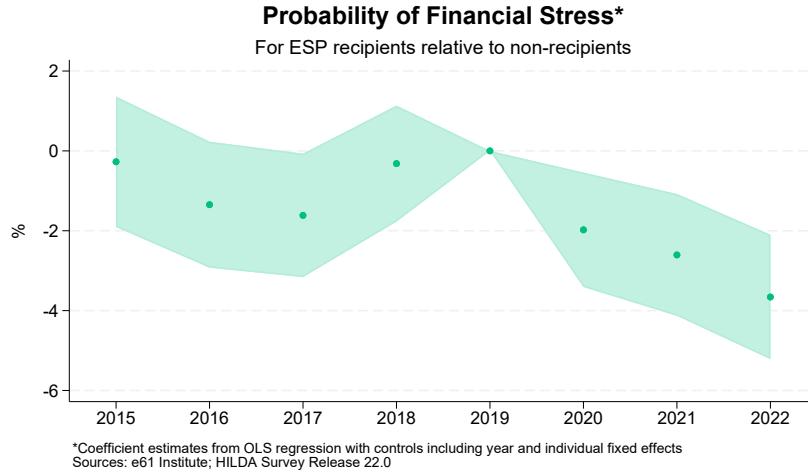


Figure A.9



A.5. Well-being responses to the size of the support payments

We also estimate how subjective well-being and financial stress respond to the size of the JSP and ERS payments. For some JSP recipients, the JSP payment represented a larger increase in total income either because they received the payment for longer or because they did not earn as much income from other sources, such as wages and salaries. Similarly, for some ERS recipients, the withdrawal of super represented a larger fraction of income depending on how much they chose to withdraw and how much was available to withdraw. This, in turn, depended on personal characteristics such as age, occupation and income.

To estimate the response of well-being to the size of the support payments, we estimate a difference-in-differences model:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha POST_t + \gamma TREAT_i + \beta TREAT_i * POST_t + \rho CONTROLS_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

where the dependent variable (Y_{it}) is either life satisfaction or financial stress for each individual i in survey year t . The explanatory variables include a dummy variable for the treatment period ($POST_t$) that is equal to one for 2020 and is equal to zero if before 2020 and a continuous variable that measures the intensity of treatment for each individual in 2020 ($TREAT_i$). The model also includes a set of time-varying control variables ($CONTROLS_{it}$) to capture observed time-varying characteristics of individuals such as demographics, labour force status and health status.

The treatment intensity variable is measured as the annual income support payment (either the JSP payment or the early release of superannuation payment) divided by the annual gross personal income for each individual in each year.

$$TREAT_i = \frac{S_i}{M_i}$$

Where the income payment (S_i) in 2020 is either the JobSeeker payment or the early release of superannuation payment and this is scaled by the level of personal gross income (M_i) in 2020 to capture the importance of the payment for total income. This captures the size of the income shock.

For estimation, we take the difference between the pre and post-treatment periods to arrive at the first differences model:

$$\Delta Y_{it} = \alpha + \beta TREAT_i + \rho \Delta CONTROLS_{it} + \Delta \epsilon_{it}$$

This specification implicitly removes all time-invariant unobserved individual characteristics that may be associated with financial stress and subjective well-being, such as the degree of impatience and risk aversion of each individual.

A.6. Descriptive Statistics

Table A.2: Descriptive statistics by recipient status; 2015-2022

	<i>JSP recipients</i>			<i>ERS recipients</i>			<i>Not JSP or ERS recipients</i>		
	Mean	Std.Dev.	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Obs
Life satisfaction	6.89	1.94	3907	7.56	1.56	9197	7.85	1.35	64539
Financial stress	22.74	41.92	3911	14.86	35.57	9295	4.17	20.00	64565
Age	42.16	13.32	3911	39.54	10.58	9295	43.05	12.65	64565
Female	49.08	50.00	3911	47.07	49.92	9295	52.62	49.93	64565
Homeowner	36.31	48.09	3911	47.67	49.95	9295	70.93	45.41	64565
Couple with kids	26.82	44.31	3911	50.05	50.00	9295	51.05	49.99	64565
Couple without kids	15.75	36.44	3911	17.32	37.84	9295	24.66	43.11	64565
Single parent	27.75	44.78	3911	15.74	36.42	9295	10.07	30.09	64565
Household size	2.76	1.51	3911	3.24	1.59	9295	3.09	1.41	64565
Household income (000s)	69.08	59.93	3911	108.53	84.02	9295	133.94	124.24	64565
Mortgage debt (000s)	26.86	89.46	3911	118.78	210.01	9295	144.39	255.79	64565
Pension recipient	1.07	10.31	3911	3.68	18.84	9295	8.71	28.19	64565
Casual worker	14.02	34.72	3911	15.55	36.24	9295	9.01	28.63	64565
Full-time worker	4.60	20.95	3911	56.33	49.60	9295	57.53	49.43	64565
Unemployed	29.52	45.62	3911	4.74	21.24	9295	1.73	13.02	64565
Not in the labour force	44.49	49.70	3911	14.51	35.22	9295	19.50	39.62	64565
University educated	11.61	32.04	3911	16.61	37.22	9295	36.03	48.01	64565
TAFE educated	39.36	48.86	3911	45.78	49.82	9295	33.85	47.32	64565
Long-term health condition	51.93	49.97	3911	25.54	43.61	9295	23.04	42.11	64565
Got married	1.23	11.04	3371	3.03	17.13	8079	2.15	14.50	58963
Made redundant	10.21	30.28	3366	6.24	24.19	8069	3.07	17.24	58914

Table A.3: Descriptive statistics for JSP recipients in 2019 and 2020

	<i>JSP recipients in 2019</i>			<i>JSP recipients in 2020</i>		
	Mean	Std.Dev.	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Obs
Life satisfaction	6.89	1.98	436	7.18	1.72	770
Financial stress	24.80	43.23	436	18.47	38.83	770
Age	42.44	13.54	436	41.40	13.68	770
Female	48.22	50.03	436	48.19	50.00	770
Homeowner	31.58	46.54	436	38.52	48.70	770
Couple with kids	22.15	41.57	436	28.47	45.16	770
Couple without kids	13.57	34.29	436	17.26	37.81	770
Single parent	33.66	47.31	436	23.25	42.27	770
Household size	2.91	1.58	436	2.65	1.45	770
Household income (000s)	70.41	78.17	436	80.63	71.36	770
Mortgage debt (000s)	22.41	87.23	436	40.58	118.28	770
Pension recipient	1.23	11.06	436	0.86	9.22	770
Casual worker	14.57	35.32	436	11.79	32.27	770
Full-time worker	4.11	19.87	436	3.24	17.73	770
Unemployed	28.06	44.98	436	32.04	46.69	770
Not in the labour force	46.83	49.96	436	43.42	49.60	770
University educated	5.97	23.73	436	17.02	37.60	770
TAFE educated	41.81	49.38	436	39.00	48.81	770
Long-term health condition	53.42	49.94	436	43.41	49.60	770
Got married	0.59	7.66	373	1.90	13.66	657
Made redundant	7.17	25.83	372	17.01	37.60	658

A.7. Disclaimer

HILDA Survey Disclaimer: This paper uses unit record data from Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey [HILDA] conducted by the Australian Government Department of Social Services (DSS). The findings and views reported in this paper, however, are those of the authors and should not be attributed to the Australian Government, DSS, or any of DSS' contractors or partners. DOI:10.26193/24EJST