Europeans Work To Live and Americans Live To Work

(Who is Happy to Work More: Americans or Europeans?)

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Abstract

This paper compares the working hours and life satisfaction of Americans and Europeans using the World Values Survey, Eurobarometer and General Social Survey. The purpose is to explore the relationship between working hours and happiness in Europe and America. Previous research on the topic does not test the premise that working more makes Americans happier than Europeans. The findings suggest that Americans may be happier working more because they believe more than Europeans do that hard work is associated with success.

KEYWORDS: Life Satisfaction, Working Hours, Europe, USA

Introduction

Americans work 50% more than the Germans, the French and the Italians (Prescott, 2004). Explanations about this phenomenon generally fall into one of two groups: economic and cultural.

According to Prescott (2004), Americans work more than Europeans because of domestic tax rates; tax rates affect labor supply (assuming it is not fixed). There are lower tax rates in the US than in Europe, and hence working more pays off more in the US. Michelacci and Pijoan-Mas (2007a,b) posit that U.S. job inequality leads to within-skill wage differences that provide incentives to work longer hours. In Europe these incentives are not that strong. Essentially, the market return on observed skills is much higher in the US than in Europe (Michelacci and Pijoan-Mas, 2007b). In addition, Alesina et al. (2004) argue that opportunities for social mobility are (or are perceived to be) higher in the US than in Europe. In other words, working longer hours does (or appears to) pay

off more in the US than in Europe. The final economic explanation is that working hours differential is due to unionization and labor regulations (Wharton, 2006, Alesina et al., 2005). European workers are far more unionized than their American counterparts.

Cultural explanations mostly refer to protestant ethic (Weber et al., 2003) It is not true that protestant ethic is similar in Europe and in the US. Ferguson (2003) argues that the protestant ethic is dying in Europe and alive and well in the U.S. Americans may be more concerned with status (American dream), whereas Europeans may value leisure more (Wharton, 2006, Frijters and Leigh, 2008, Benahold, 2004).

This paper argues that Europeans are happier to work less than Americans[1]. An economic truism is that people do things to maximize their utility. Americans maximize their utility (happiness) by working and Europeans maximize their utility through leisure. The relationship between working hours and happiness is shown in Figure 1. In short, working less makes Europeans more happy than Americans. This is a new idea proposed in this paper and tested empirically[2].

[1]Note that happiness means general life satisfaction or happiness, not job satisfaction. The focus here is on the life satisfaction literature and modeling.

[2] The goal of this paper is to document a relationship between working hours and happiness in the US and Europe. A more theoretical account has been provided elsewhere, see Alesina et al. (2005) for instance.

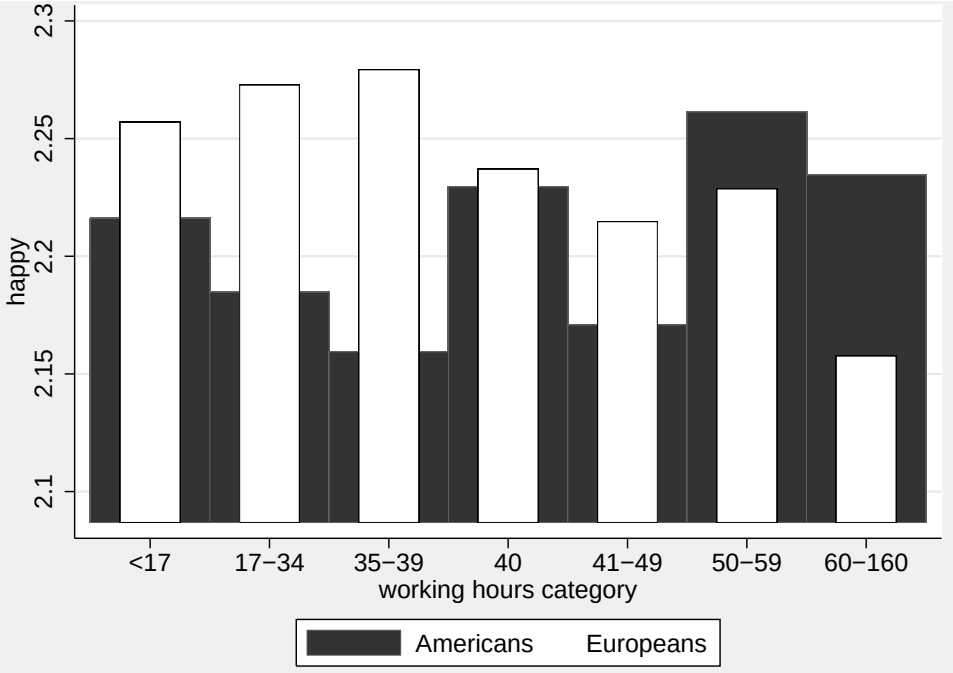

Figure 1: Happiness by working hours categories in the U.S and Europe. Data are described in Data Description section.

Life Satisfaction Literature, A Brief Overview

The literature offers insights into the determinants of life satisfaction[3]. Myers (2000) summarizes happiness research done in psychology. Personal characteristics (e.g., extroversion) and culture (e.g., affluent societies with political rights) impact life satisfaction. The most important predictor, however, is social capital (Putnam, 2001). The "need to belong", which can be satisfied in multiple ways, can seriously affect happiness. Religion, friendship and marriage also boost life satisfaction because they provide social capital (Putnam, 2001). Married people are happier than never married, divorced or separated (Myers and Diener, 1995). Age and gender do not correlate strongly with life satisfaction (Myers, 2000). Older people have a closer fit between their ideals and self perceptions compared to the young (Diener et al., 1999), and some find a U-shaped correlation between age and happiness, with a minimum around age of 30 (Oswald, 1997), or 45 (Sanfey

[3] Life satisfaction and happiness are conceptually different. The former refers to cognition while the latter refers to affect. For simplicity I use them interchangeably and specifically I mean life satisfaction.

and Teksoz, 2005). The correlation between education and life satisfaction is higher for individuals with low income and in poorer nations; education may help to satisfy aspirations, but it might also elevate aspirations (Diener et al., 1999). Personal or household income matters more in poor countries (with GNP less than $8,000 per person) (Diener et al., 1999). As long as people can afford necessities, income does not contribute much to happiness (Myers, 2000). Thereafter leisure activities become an important predictor (Diener et al., 1999).

Complementing this work by psychologists, a new branch in economics has developed. The economics of happiness began with Easterlin's (1974) seminal paper *Does Economic Growth Improve the Human Lot?* In this and subsequent works (1995, 2001, 2003, 2005), Easterlin argues that the happiness function comprises aspirations and achievements. People have aspirations that they try to satisfy. Once aspirations are satisfied, happiness should follow. However, new achievements result in new aspirations, because through the process of hedonic adaptation people adapt to new circumstances. Therefore, happiness is positively correlated with income but negatively correlated with unrealized aspirations. The two influences cancel out.

While the life satisfaction literature is substantial, there is a dearth of research about the relationship of working hours and happiness. Golden and Wiens-Tuers (2006) and Clark and Senik (2006) address this relationship to some extent. Job satisfaction varies across occupations and overtime work hours are generally associated with dissatisfaction. However, Golden and Wiens-Tuers (2006) analyze only the US data and only with respect to extra working hours; Clark and Senik (2006) analyze only French and British data with respect to wage, but not working hours. Clearly, there is a lack of cross national research on the effect of working hours on happiness and this paper is a first attempt at filling this gap. This study is an attempt at understanding working hours differences between Europe and America. Results show that working longer hours makes Americans happier than Europeans.

Data Description

The data for Europe come from Eurobarometer series (EB), a large scale survey administered in each country of Europe at least once a year since 1974; data on working hours is available only for 1996 (EB96) and 2001 (EB01). The happiness question reads: *Would you say you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead ?* (*Not very satisfied* and *not at all satisfied* were combined to match the scaling of GSS data.)

The US data come from General Social Survey (GSS) for 1996, 1998, 2000 and 2002[4]. Respondents were asked the following question: *Taken all together, how would you say things are these days–would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy ?* Appendix A provides sample details. Because the interest is in comparing Europe and the US, variables were recoded to similar categories and data for the US and Europe were pooled together. Wording of the survey questions is slightly different (see Appendix B), but these small differences do not make surveys incomparable. At least two other papers used the same surveys to conduct successful comparisons between Europe and the US (see Alesina et al. (2004), Stevenson and Wolfers (2009)). "Happiness" and "Life Satisfaction" measures are highly correlated[5].

There are several control variables that are comparable across surveys: age, income, marital status and gender. Several control variables suggested by literature (Diener et al., 1999, Myers, 2000), however, are not comparable across surveys: health, friends, extra hours, and family time (Appendix B). These variables will be included in separate models for the US and Europe.

[4]Choice of these years is determined by data availability for Europe, so that Europeans and Americans were surveyed approximately at the same time.

[5]Still, robustness of the results can be improved if wording of the survey questions is the same for all respondents. This remains for the future research when better data become available.

Results and Discussion

The pooled model controls for a set of individual characteristics. Moreover, there are likely to be regional differences between and within the US and Europe. To control for observed and unobserved heterogeneity across countries in Europe and regions in the US all models include country and region dummies[6]. Data come from different years and all models include time fixed effects as well. The dependent variable, *happiness* is measured on scale from 1 to 3, and the model is a standard ordered logit with odds ratios reported (e.g. Long, 1997).

Table 1: Pooled data ordered logistic regressions of happiness (Odds ratios reported)

Variable	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5
working hours * Europe	0.994**				
working hours	1.000				
working hours category * Europe		0.952**			
working hours category		1.002			
working hours quartiles * Europe			0.949*		
working hours quartiles			0.986		
less than 40 hours * Europe				1.138*	
less than 40 hours				0.956	
more than 40 hrs * Europe					0.911
more than 40 hrs					0.948
Europe		0.528***	0.489***	0.414***	0.449***
household income	1.370***	1.371***	1.373***	1.366***	1.373***
married	1.868***	1.869***	1.870***	1.874***	1.873***
age of respondent	0.930***	0.930***	0.931***	0.929***	0.931***
age squared	1.001***	1.001***	1.001***	1.001***	1.001***
male	0.997	0.999	1.000	0.982	0.993
European countries dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
US regions dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
year dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
N	16802	16802	16802	16802	16802

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Columns in Table 1 represent ordered logistic regressions of pooled data from GSS and EB. All models control for a set of basic personal characteristics. The key variable is an interaction of working hours variable and a dummy variable for Europe. To account for nonlinear effect of working hours on happiness several models with alternative measurement are proposed. In (A1) working hours is a raw number; In (A2) there are seven categories of working hours, from less than part time (<17) to more than one and a half

[6]For a list of European countries and American regions see Appendix A. There is a statistically and substantively significant variation across European countries in average happiness, but country-level analysis is difficult due to small sample sizes.

time (>59)[7]. Model (A3) breaks working hours by quantiles. Model (A4) introduces a dummy variable for a person working less than 40 hours, and (A5) a dummy for a person working more than 40 hours. All interactions except (A5) are significant and suggest that Europeans are less happy to work longer hours than Americans[8]. Instead of interpreting awkward odds ratios Figure 2 plots predicted probabilities (setting other variables at their means) of being very happy against working hours categories and by Europe/America[9].

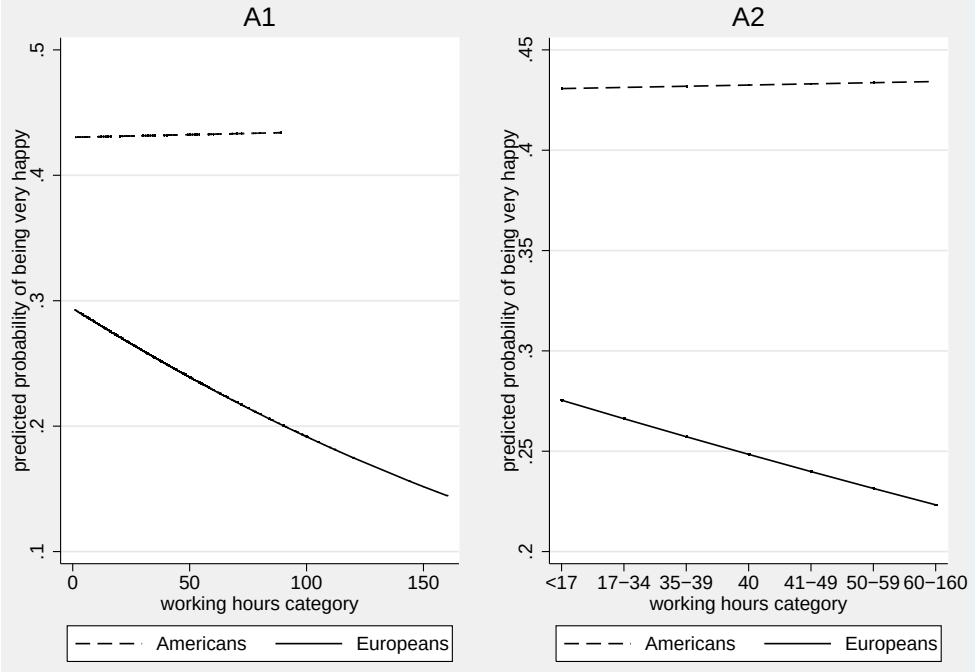

Figure 2: Predicted probability of being very happy based on ordered logistic regression with other variables set at their means for models (A1) and (A2)

If you are European and increase working hours from less than 17 to more than 60 hours per week[10] then you are 5% to 10% (depending on the model) less likely to be very happy than an American who increases his working hours by the same amount[11]. This is

[7]For categories see Table 3 in Appendix A.

[8] These models may suffer from left out variable bias, however. Additional controls are used in separate models for the US and Europe. Results are shown in Appendix C. The relationship is robust: in all models Europeans are less happy than Americans when working longer hours.

[9]Figure 2 utilizes `postgr3` by Michael Mitchell and `spostado` by Scott Long in `Stata`.

[10]This is a hypothetical scenario. Again, as argued in this paper, for Europeans it makes sense to work less and for Americans to work more.

[11]However, this relationship is not necessarily causal for two main reasons. Data is cross-sectional, and it is not entirely clear what is the direction of causality here, although it seems more reasonable that working more makes Americans happier than that happier Americans work more than Europeans. If the

quite an incentive. Taking this into account it is less surprising that Americans work even 50% more than Europeans. Americans and Europeans are quite rational – they simply maximize their utility.

Why does working more makes Europeans less happy than Americans? Do Americans think that work is more important to their lives than Europeans? There is some evidence in the World Values Survey (WVS) that helps answer this question. Respondents were asked several questions as shown in Table 2[12].

Table 2: Description of Variables

Variable	**Survey Question**	**Measurement (After Recoding)**
Leisure-Work	Which point on this scale most clearly describes how much weight you place on work (including housework and schoolwork), as compared with leisure or recreation? How important is leisure time in your life ?	1(it is leisure that makes life worth living)-5(work is what makes life worth living)
Work Important	How important is work in your life ?	1(not at all important)-4
Success	Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can chose any number in between. Agreement: Hard work brings success.	1(Hard work doesn't generally bring success - it's more a matter of luck and connections)-10(In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life)

The *Leisure-Work* and *Work Important* variables have higher values in Europe, which suggests that work is more important for Europeans. This is surprising given the conventional wisdom that Americans work more than Europeans because they value work more. One explanation is that Americans value more outcome of work (success), while Europeans are more concerned with the process (work) itself. The *Success* variable suggests, however, that for Americans hard work is (perceived to be) associated with success more than for Europeans.

This is the first study to test empirically whether working more makes Americans happier than Europeans. This study suggests that as the number of work hours increases, Americans become happier about life than Europeans. The purpose of this study was to document this relationship. More research is needed to find out why working more makes Americans happier than Europeans. I just note here one possible explanation: Americans

reader has ideas about enhancing causal inference, please email me.

[12]For ease of exposition variables were recoded so that higher value means that work is more important. Responses to these questions were standardized so that they are comparable in Figure 5.

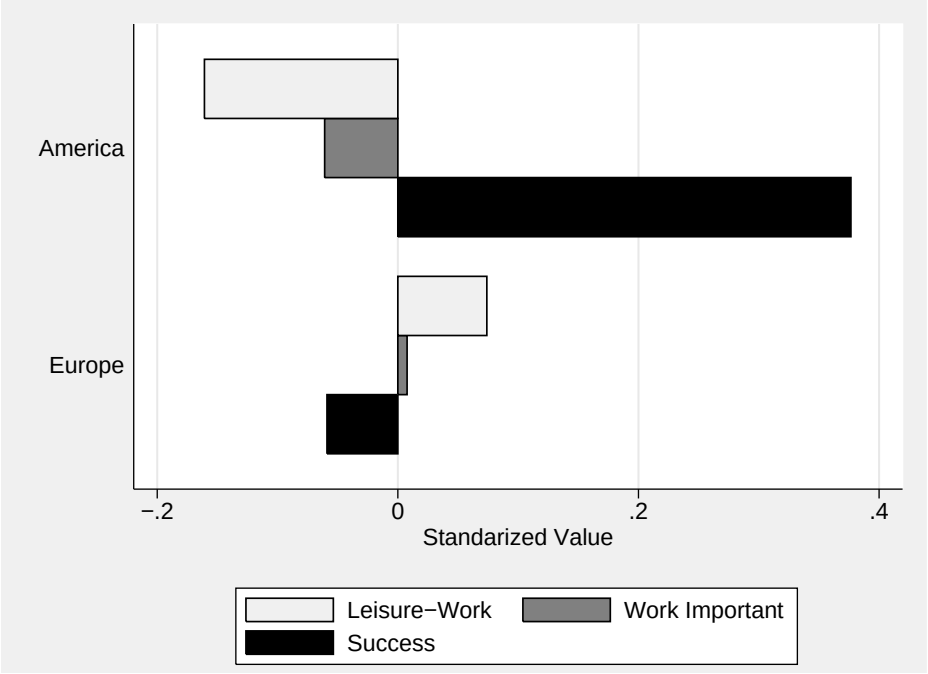

Figure 3: Work Value in America and Europe

may work more because they believe more than Europeans do that hard work brings success[13]. Future research may investigate the differences between specific European countries and the U.S. states. There are also different satisfaction domains such as job satisfaction or family satisfaction that are theoretically related to working hours.

Findings of this research are relevant to social scientists. We tend to think of labor markets in terms of observable characteristics such as wages and working hours, but there is more to that. This paper contributes to our understanding of labor markets: Americans are happier to work more than Europeans.

[13]Again, there is a need for more research on this: There may be other plausible explanations.

Appendix A

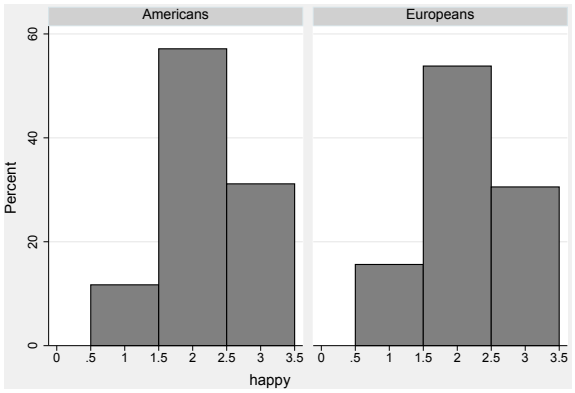

Figure 4: Happiness in America and Europe

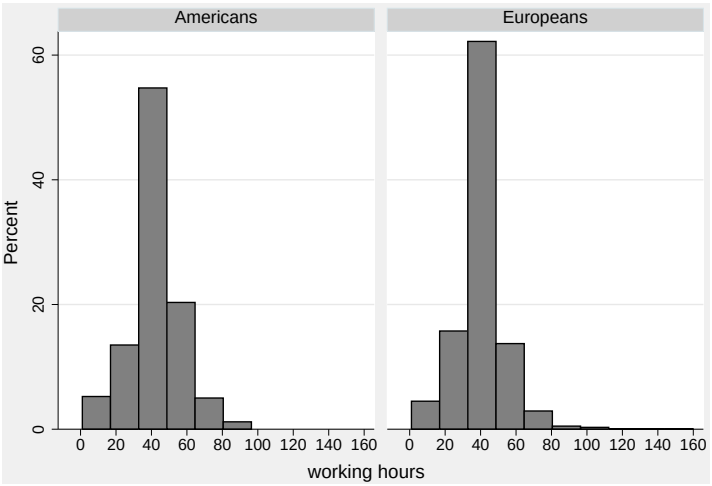

Figure 5: Working hours in America and Europe

Table 3: Seven categories of working hours

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	<17	1044	2	5	5
	17-34	3405	7	15	20
	35-39	3789	8	17	37
	40	5999	13	27	65
	41-49	3293	7	15	80
	50-59	2393	5	11	91
	60-160	2081	4	9	100
	Total	22004	46	100	
Missing	.	25936	54		
Total		47940	100		

Table 4: Data sets

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	EB01	15943	33	33	33
	EB96	20679	43	43	76
	GSS	11318	24	24	100
	Total	47940	100	100	

Table 5: European countries. Eurobarometers: 1996, 2001

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	france	2299	5	6	6
	belgium	2359	5	6	13
	netherlands	2328	5	6	19
	west germany	2329	5	6	25
	italy	2388	5	7	32
	luxembourg	1181	2	3	35
	denmark	2272	5	6	41
	ireland	2325	5	6	48
	united kingdom	2947	6	8	56
	greece	2323	5	6	62
	spain	2300	5	6	68
	portugal	2304	5	6	75
	east germany	2355	5	6	81
	finland	2301	5	6	87
	sweden	2253	5	6	94
	austria	2358	5	6	100
	Total	36622	76	100	
Missing	.	11318	24		
Total		47940	100		

Table 6: American regions. General Social Survey: 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	new england	578	1	5	5
	middle atlantic	1704	4	15	20
	e. nor. central	1926	4	17	37
	w. nor. central	840	2	7	45
	south atlantic	2070	4	18	63
	e. sou. central	792	2	7	70
	w. sou. central	1138	2	10	80
	mountain	735	2	6	86
	pacific	1535	3	14	100
	Total	11318	24	100	
Missing	.	36622	76		
Total		47940	100		

Appendix B

Table 7: Variables comparable across datasets: Survey Questions. All variables have been recoded so that the higher value means "more", or in case of the dummy variables, one means "yes" and zero means "no". Frequency tables are in the Appendix C.

Variable	Survey Question
happiness	
GSS	Taken all together, how would you say things are these days–would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy ?
EB98/EB01	Would you say you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?
household income	
GSS	In which of these groups did your total family income, from all sources, fall last year before taxes
EB01	Income quartiles as provided by principal investigator
EB96	[...] Please count the total wages and salaries PER MONTH of all members of this household; all pensions and social insurance benefits; child allowances and any other income like rents, etc ...[...] deductions
marital status	
GSS	Are you currently–married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?
EB01	Could you give me the letter which corresponds best to your own current situation ? (Married; Remarried; Unmarried, currently living with partner; Unmarried, having never lived with a partner; Unmarried, having previously lived with a partner, but now on my own Divorced; Separated; Widowed.)
EB96	Which of the following statements best describes your current situation?
working hours	
GSS	How many hours did you work last week, at all jobs?
EB98/EB01	How many hours do you usually work a week in your job, including overtime? Please do not include meal breaks. If it varies, take the average over the last 4 weeks.

Table 8: Variables incomparable across datasets: Survey Questions. All variables have been recoded so that the higher value means "more", or in case of the dummy variables, one means "yes" and zero means "no". Frequency tables are in the Appendix C.

Variable	Survey Question
health	
GSS	Would you say your own health, in general, is excellent, good, fair, or poor?
EB01	I am now going to ask you to talk to me about different aspects of your everyday life. For each of them, could you tell me if you think this aspect of your life is very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad?
friends	
GSS	Would you use this card and tell me which answer comes closest to how often you do the following things. Spend a social evening with friends who live outside the neighborhood?
EB96	How often do you spend time with relatives other than any you live with: several times a week, about weekly, about fortnightly, about monthly, a few times a year, once a year, less often than once a year or never?; And with friends?
EB01	For each of these statements, please tell me if it applies to your situation, or not. I meet my friends several times a week
extra hours	When you work extra hours on your main job, is it mandatory (required by your employer)?
GSS	
EB96	I often have to work extra time, over and above the formal hours of my job, to get through the work or to help out
EB01	How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements describing your job? Do you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree? 3. I often have to work extra time, over and above the formal hours of my job, to get through the work or to help out
family time	How hard is it to take time off during your work to take care of personal or family matters?
GSS	
EB01	How often do you...? find your job prevents you from giving the time you want to your partner or family
occupation	See frequency tables below.

Table 9: GSS: Family time

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	1(not at all hard)	832	2	47	47
	2(not too hard)	480	1	27	74
	3(somewhat hard)	270	1	15	89
	4(very hard)	191	0	11	100
	Total	1773	4	100	
Missing	.	36622	76		
	.d	9	0		
	.i	9522	20		
	.n	14	0		
	Total	46167	96		
Total		47940	100		

Table 10: GSS: Extra hours

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	0(no)	1293	3	74	74
	1(yes)	461	1	26	100
	Total	1754	4	100	
Missing	.	36622	76		
	.d	24	0		
	.i	9522	20		
	.n	18	0		
	Total	46186	96		
Total		47940	100		

Table 11: GSS: Friends

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	1(never)	583	1	9	9
	2(once a year)	465	1	7	16
	3(sev times a year)	1184	2	18	34
	4(once a month)	1407	3	21	55
	5(sev times a mnth)	1399	3	21	77
	6(sev times a week)	1292	3	20	96
	7(almost daily)	249	1	4	100
	Total	6579	14	100	
Missing	.	36622	76		
	.a	4702	10		
	.d	23	0		
	.n	14	0		
	Total	41361	86		
Total		47940	100		

Table 12: GSS: Health

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	1(poor)	459	1	5	5
	2(fair)	1570	3	17	22
	3(good)	4489	9	48	69
	4(excellent)	2893	6	31	100
	Total	9411	20	100	
Missing	.	36622	76		
	.d	10	0		
	.i	1861	4		
	.n	36	0		
	Total	38529	80		
Total		47940	100		

Table 13: GSS: Occupation

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	professional	1477	3	14	14
	administrative	1851	4	17	31
	clerical	1191	2	11	42
	sales	1509	3	14	56
	service	1510	3	14	70
	agriculure	91	0	1	71
	production,transport	1084	2	10	81
	craft, technical	2054	4	19	100
	Total	10767	22	100	
Missing	.	37173	78		
Total		47940	100		

Table 14: EB96: Family time

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	0(not mentioned)	859	2	76	76
	1(mentioned)	264	1	24	100
	Total	1123	2	100	
Missing	.	46817	98		
Total		47940	100		

Table 15: EB96: Extra hours

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	1(strongly disagree)	945	2	12	12
	2(disagree)	2077	4	27	39
	3(neither agree / nor disagree)	1242	3	16	55
	4(agree)	2033	4	26	81
	5(strongly agree)	1459	3	19	100
	Total	7756	16	100	
Missing	.	40184	84		
Total		47940	100		

Table 16: EB96: Friends

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	1(never)	335	1	2	2
	2(less often than once a year)	142	0	1	2
	3(once a year)	140	0	1	3
	4(a few times a year)	930	2	5	7
	5(about monthly)	1966	4	10	17
	6(about fortnightly)	2318	5	11	28
	7(about weekly)	5413	11	26	54
	8(several times a week)	9405	20	46	100
	Total	20649	43	100	
Missing	.	27291	57		
Total		47940	100		

Table 17: EB96: Occupation

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	look after the home	2162	5	10	10
	student	1665	3	8	19
	unemployed	5395	11	26	45
	retired/unable to work	3539	7	17	62
	farmer	248	1	1	63
	fisherman	6	0	0	63
	professional	181	0	1	64
	shop owner/craftsmen	680	1	3	67
	business proprietors	279	1	1	69
	employed professional	162	0	1	69
	general management	195	0	1	70
	middle management	1088	2	5	76
	employed at desk	1211	3	6	81
	employed travelling	400	1	2	83
	employed service job	1176	2	6	89
	supervisor	228	0	1	90
	skilled manual worker	1263	3	6	96
	other manual worker	777	2	4	100
	Total	20655	43	100	
Missing	.	27285	57		
Total		47940	100		

Table 18: EB01: Family time

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	1(never)	1945	4	27	27
	2(hardly ever)	1816	4	25	52
	3(sometimes)	2250	5	31	83
	4(often)	953	2	13	96
	5(always)	261	1	4	100
	Total	7225	15	100	
Missing	.	40715	85		
Total		47940	100		

Table 19: EB01: Extra hours

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	Strongly agree	1193	2	16	16
	Agree	2081	4	27	43
	Neither agree nor disagree	1345	3	18	60
	Disagree	2076	4	27	87
	Strongly disagree	963	2	13	100
	Total	7658	16	100	
Missing	.	40282	84		
Total		47940	100		

Table 20: EB01: Friends

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	0(no)	5638	12	36	36
	1(yes)	9974	21	64	100
	Total	15612	33	100	
Missing	.	32328	67		
Total		47940	100		

Table 21: EB01: Health

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	1(very bad)	494	1	3	3
	2(fairly bad)	1959	4	12	15
	3(fairly good)	7067	15	45	60
	4(very good)	6312	13	40	100
	Total	15832	33	100	
Missing	.	32108	67		
Total		47940	100		

Table 22: EB01: Occupation

		Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
Valid	Self-employed (coded 5 to 9 in V145)	1238	3	8	8
	Managers (coded 10 to 12 in V145)	1345	3	8	16
	Other white collars (coded 13 or 14 in V145)	1567	3	10	26
	Manual workers (coded 15 to 18 in V145)	3565	7	22	48
	House persons (coded 1 in V145)	1801	4	11	60
	Unemployed (coded 3 in V145)	1072	2	7	66
	Retired (coded 4 in V145)	3732	8	23	90
	Students (coded 2 in V145)	1623	3	10	100
	Total	15943	33	100	
Missing	.	31997	67		
Total		47940	100		

Appendix C

Table 23: Ordered logistic regressions of happiness by survey: extra hours (Odds ratios reported)

Variable	GSS	EB96	EB01
working hours category	1.112**	0.949**	1.002
household income	1.270***	1.403***	1.460***
married	2.461***	1.669***	1.531***
age of respondent	0.912***	0.910***	0.948***
age squared	1.001***	1.001***	1.001***
male	0.944	1.032	1.016
extra hours	1.316		
extra hours		0.944**	
extra hours			1.073***
country/region dummies	yes	yes	yes
N	778	5794	5154

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 24: Ordered logistic regressions of happiness by survey: family time (Odds ratios reported)

Variable	GSS	EB96	EB01
working hours category	1.145***	1.085	1.040*
household income	1.275***	1.468***	1.466***
married	2.460***	1.241	1.604***
age of respondent	0.911***	0.935	0.952***
age squared	1.001***	1.001	1.000**
male	0.907	0.595**	0.993
family time	0.808***		
family time		1.441**	
family time			0.732***
country/region dummies	yes	yes	yes
N	782	845	4892

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 25: Ordered logistic regressions of happiness by survey: health (Odds ratios reported)

Variable	GSS	EB96	
working hours category	1.002	0.977	
household income	1.208***	1.389***	
married	2.508***	1.552***	
age of respondent	0.950***	0.956***	
age squared	1.001***	1.001***	
male	0.984	0.999	
health	2.015***		
health		2.112***	
country/region dummies	yes	yes	yes
N	4996	5143	

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 26: Ordered logistic regressions of happiness by survey: friends (Odds ratios reported)

Variable	GSS	EB96	EB01
working hours category	0.999	0.933***	0.977
household income	1.307***	1.413***	1.452***
married	2.335***	1.770***	1.638***
age of respondent	0.957**	0.914***	0.952***
age squared	1.001***	1.001***	1.000**
male	0.915	1.013	0.991
friends	1.111***		
friends		1.151***	
friends			1.456***
country/region dummies	yes	yes	yes
N	3841	5814	5083

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 27: Ordered logistic regressions of happiness by survey: occupation (Odds ratios reported)

Variable	GSS	EB96	EB01
working hours category	1.009	0.923***	0.979
household income	1.281***	1.343***	1.431***
married	2.439***	1.715***	1.547***
age of respondent	0.940***	0.902***	0.945***
age squared	1.001***	1.001***	1.001***
male	1.021	1.069	1.004
occupation dummies	yes	yes	yes
country/region dummies	yes	yes	yes
N	5792	5813	5172

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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