# CHARTING HAPPINESS IN NATIONS Introduction to this special issue

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## ABSTRACT

There is rising interest in how happy people live in nations. Governments want to know how happy citizens are on average, how far that is from the best possible level, whether happiness is changing to the better or worse and what conditions for happiness prevail in the country. In this special issue, we demonstrate how these questions can be answered using an existing finding-archive, the World Database of Happiness. We provide a standard format for the presentation of facts about happiness in a nation, which allows easy comparison across countries and over time.

We focus on happiness in the sense of the subjective enjoyment of one's life as a whole. Within this concept two 'components of happiness are distinguished', how well one feels most of the time (affective component) and to what extent one perceives that life brings what one wants from it (cognitive component). Next to average happiness in nations we also consider the degree of inequality of happiness in the nation.

The countries considered in this special issue are: Croatia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Romania, South Africa, Turkey and Uzbekistan.

Keywords: average happiness, inequality of happiness, trend of happiness, crossnational differences, societal development research synthesis

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## **Biographical notes:**

**Ruut Veenhoven** (1942) studied sociology and is emeritus professor of social conditions for human happiness at Erasmus University Rotterdam in The

Netherlands, where he is currently affiliated with the <u>Erasmus Happiness Economics</u> <u>Research Organization</u>. In addition, he is an extra-ordinary professor at the North-West University in South Africa, affiliated to the <u>Optentia Research Program</u>. Veenhoven is director of the <u>World Database of Happiness</u> and a founding editor of the <u>Journal of Happiness Studies.His</u> research is mainly on subjective enjoyment of life and focuses on the effects of choice on happiness, public choice as well as private choice. Major publications are 'Conditions of happiness' (1984), 'Happy Lifeexpectancy' (1997) 'The four qualities of life' (2000), 'Greater happiness for a greater number: Is that possible and desirable?' (2010) and 'Informed pursuit of happiness: What we should know, do know and can get to know' (2015).

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**Sergiu Băltăţescu** (1967) is professor and doctoral supervisor in the field of Sociology at the University of Oradea, Romania. He received his doctorate from the University of Bucharest in 2007 with the thesis "Happiness in the social context of the post-communist transition in Romania" for which he received the "Dimitrie Gusti" award for sociology of the Romanian Academy. He coordinated nationally and internationally funded research projects in the field of quality of life, is the principal investigator for Romania within the research projects "Children's Worlds. International Survey of Children's Well-being" (ISCWeB) and Children's Understandings of Well-being: Global and Local Contexts". Author of numerous studies on the subjective quality of life and social indicators, he was for almost 10 years editor-in-chief of the Romanian sociological journal (Sociologie Românească). He founded the *Journal of Social Research & Policy and* is also on the board of some of the most important journals in his field of research.

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## **1** INTRODUCTION

### Information demand

There is rising interest in how happy people live in nations. One reason for this rise is in ideology, there is a growing support for the utilitarian creed idea that we should aim at greater happiness for a greater number. A practical reason is in the growing awareness of positive effects of happiness, such as, that happy citizens are more productive and behave more responsible politically. These developments fit the notion that material wealth is not everything and that we should look 'Beyond GDP'.

For these reasons, governments face the question of how they can add to the happiness of their citizens. Like any policy, that requires first of all a view on some basic facts, how happy citizens are on average, how far that is from the possible level, whether happiness is changing to the better or worse and what conditions for happiness prevail in the country.

#### Approach of this special issue

In this special issue on 'Happiness in Nations', we demonstrate how these questions can be answered using an existing finding archive, the World Database of Happiness. We provide a standard format for the presentation of facts about happiness in nations, which allows easy comparison across countries and can simply be up-dated.

#### **Nations charted**

The approach is applied to a convenience set of eight nations: Croatia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Romania, South Africa, Turkey and Uzbekistan. These nations are not prominent in the literature on comparative happiness and their featuring is also worthwhile in itself.

## 2 CONCEPT OF HAPPINESS

Philosophers typically used the word 'happiness' to denote living a good life and often emphasize the moral quality of life. The word has also been used to denote good living conditions and associated with material affluence and physical safety. Today, social scientists use of the word is mostly to denote subjective satisfaction with life, and this use of the word fits the common meaning in daily language.

### 2.1 Definition

In that latter line, Veenhoven (1984, p. 22) defined happiness as the degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of his [or her] life-as-a-whole favorably. This matter is also referred to as 'life-satisfaction' and 'subjective wellbeing' (SWB). In this issue, we follow that conceptualization.

### 2.1.1 Difference with other qualities of life

This personal appraisal of one's life differs from other notions of the good life, which sometimes are also called 'happiness'. Veenhoven's (2000) distinction of "Four qualities of life" helps to see the difference. His conceptual scheme is based on two differences; 1) the difference between *opportunities* for a good life and the *outcomes* of life and 2) the difference between external qualities and *internal* qualities of life. A

combination of these two dichotomies yields the fourfold matrix on Figure 1.

*Livability of the environment.* The left top quadrant in Figure 1 denotes the meaning of good living conditions. Often the terms 'quality-of-life' and 'wellbeing' are used in this particular meaning, especially by ecologists and sociologists. Economists sometimes use the term 'welfare' for this meaning. 'Livability' is a better word, because it refers explicitly to a characteristic of the environment and does not carry the connotation of Paradise. Politicians and social reformers typically stress this quality of life. Livability of the environment is a condition for happiness but should not be equated with happiness as such.

*Life-ability of the person.* The right top quadrant in Figure 1 denotes inner life chances. That is, how well we are equipped to cope with the problems of life. This aspect of the good life is also known by different names. Doctors and psychologists especially use the terms 'quality of life' and 'wellbeing' to denote this specific meaning. There are more names, however. In biology the phenomenon is referred to as 'fitness' and this term aptly coveys the message that abilities must be seen in the context of environmental demands. On other occasions life-ability is denoted by the medical term 'health', in the medium variant of the word. In positive psychology, the term 'eudaimonic' happiness is often used to denote this meaning, particularly in juxtaposition to 'hedonic' happiness. This quality of life is central in the thinking of therapists and educators. Life-ability is a condition for happiness, but should not be equated with happiness as such.

*Utility of life.* The left bottom quadrant of Figure 1 represents the notion that a good life must be good for something more than itself. This presumes some higher value, such as ecological preservation or cultural development. In fact, there is a myriad of values on which the utility of life can be judged. This matter is also referred to as 'meaning of life', which then denotes 'true' significance instead of mere subjective sense of meaning. Moral advisors, such as pastors, emphasize this quality of life. A meaningful life should not be equated with a happy life; meaning can go at the cost of happiness.

*Satisfaction with life.* The bottom right quadrant of Figure 1 represents the inner outcomes of life. That is the quality of a life in the eye of the beholder. As we deal with conscious humans, this quality boils down to subjective appreciation of life. This matter is commonly referred to by terms such as 'subjective wellbeing', 'life satisfaction' and 'happiness' and that is what we aim at in this special issue.

## 2.1.2 Difference with other satisfactions

Still, the term 'satisfaction' requires further delineation, for which a distinction is helpful between 1) *passing* and *enduring* satisfactions and 2) satisfaction with *life aspects* and satisfaction with *life as a whole*. Combining these distinctions produces the following fourfold matrix, shown in Figure2.

*Instant satisfaction.* The top left quadrant of Figure 2 denotes passing pleasures, such as the enjoyment of a meal or appreciation of art. Kahneman (1999) calls it 'instant utilities' and pleas for the measurement of these using techniques of multiple moment assessment. Though passing pleasures contribute to enduring satisfaction with life-as-a-whole, they should not be equated with that.

*Top experience.* The bottom right quadrant in Figure 2 represents the combination of passing experience and appraisal of life-as-a-whole. Top experience involves short-lived but quite intense feelings and the perception of being part of a wider whole. In a religious context people can feel close to God. Though such momentary experiences can contribute to happiness, they can also reduce the overall satisfaction with life, among other things because of the disorganizing effects. The negative effects seem to prevail

Satisfaction with parts of life. The top right quadrant in Figure 2 denotes enduring appreciation of parts of life. That can concern aspects of life, such as how exciting one's life is and domains of life, such as one's marriage. Although part-satisfactions depend on a continuous flow of instant satisfactions, they have some continuity of their own, one can remain satisfied with one's marriage in spite of an incidental row. Satisfaction with parts of life contribute to satisfaction with life-as-a-whole, but should not be equated with that.

*Life satisfaction.* The bottom-right quadrant in Figure 2 denotes the combination of enduring satisfaction and appraisal of one's life-as-a-whole. This is what we call 'happiness' in this special issue. This concept fits the definition of happiness as "the sum of pleasures and pains" by Jeremy Bentham (1789) an early advocate of the idea that governments should aim at greater happiness of a greater number of people.

### 2.2 Components of happiness

According to Veenhoven (1984), this overall evaluation of life draws on two sources of information: (1) how well one feels most of the time and (2) to what extent one perceives one gets from life what one wants from it. Veenhoven refers to these sub-assessments as 'components' of happiness, called respectively 'hedonic level of affect' and 'contentment'.

### Affective component

Hedonic level of affect is also known as 'affect balance', which is the degree to which positive affective (PA) experiences outweigh negative affective (NA) experiences (Bradburn, 1969). Other terms to denote this matter are 'mood level' and 'cheerfulness'. Prevalence of positive experiences typically signal that we are doing well and encourage functioning in several ways (Fredrickson, 2004). There are strong indications that the level of affect reflects the degree to which universal human needs are met (Veenhoven 2009). The affective component tends to dominate in the overall evaluation of life (Kainulainen et al 2018).

### Cognitive component

Contentment is also known as 'life-evaluation' and is to be distinguished from 'lifesatisfaction', which denotes the overall judgement of life including how well one feels most of the time. The cognitive evaluation of life depends on comparison with standard of a good life, which a likely to differ across times and cultures (Veenhoven 2009)

In this issue we will consider overall happiness in nations as well as the two components of happiness.

## 3 MEASUREMENT OF HAPPINESS

Since happiness is defined as something that is on our mind, it can be measured using questioning. Various ways of questioning have been used, direct questions and indirect questions, open questions and closed questions, and one-time retrospective questions and repeated questions on happiness in the moment.

Not all the questions used fit the above definition of happiness adequately, e.g., a question as to whether one thinks one is happier than most people of your age does not, since you can be happier than your age-mates but still be unhappy. All measures of happiness ever proposed have been checked for face validity, which is explained here. Those that passed the test are listed in the collection 'Measures of Happiness' of the World Database of Happiness (Veenhoven, 2022b).

## 3.1 Common questions

Questions on overall happiness

- Taking all together, how happy would you say you are these days?
- On the whole, how satisfied are you with the life you lead?

## Questions on hedonic level of affect.

- Would you say that you feel usually cheerful or dejected?
- During the past few weeks, did you ever feel ....? (yes/no)
  - + Particularly excited or interested in something?
  - So restless that you couldn't sit long in a chair?
  - + Proud because someone complimented you on something you had done?
  - Very lonely or remote from other people?
  - + Pleased about having accomplished something?
  - Bored?
  - + On top of the world?
  - Depressed or very unhappy?
  - + That things were going your way?
  - Upset because someone criticized you?

Affect balance computed subtracting negative from positive 'yes' responses.

• How is your mood today? (Repeated several days)

#### Questions on contentment

• How important was each of the following goals in life in the plans you made for yourself in early adulthood?

• How successful have you been in the pursuit of these goals?

### 3.2 Comparability across nations

Though there is cultural difference in beliefs about conditions for happiness and moral valuation of happiness, happiness itself is a universal judgment. All sentient humans can appraise how much they like the life they live and can therefore answer questions on that matter. The percentage of 'Don't Know responses is very low all over the world (Veenhoven 2010).

Still there can be cultural difference in response behavior, such as the tendency to prefer the middle of response scales and words like 'happiness' and 'satisfaction' may not have the same connotations in all languages. There is no doubt that such 'cultural measurement bias' exists; the question is how big that distortion is. Veenhoven (2015, section 3.4) estimated that it will be no more than some 5%. So, we can take the data on happiness reported in this issue for what they are.

### 4 WORLD DATABASE OF HAPPINESS

For this special issue we draw on a 'findings archive', the World Database of Happiness. A 'findings-archive' is a collection of empirical research findings on a particular phenomenon, in the case at hand here 'happiness'. Research findings are described in a standard format and terminology on electronic *finding-pages*, which can be sorted in various ways, such as on subject (e.g., relation with income), population (e.g., poor countries), and method (e.g., experimental study). A finding archive serves to facilitate research synthesis, narrative reviews as well as quantitative meta-analysis. This new technique is described in Veenhoven et al.2022.

The World Database of Happiness is publicly available on the internet at https://worlddatabaseof happiness.eur.nl. The start page is presented on Figure 3.

### 4.1 Conceptual focus

The World Database of Happiness is an "Archive of research findings on the subjective enjoyment of one's life as-a-whole". This conceptual focus fits the definition of happiness given above.

### 4.2 Selection of findings

Research findings on happiness are gathered on a continuous basis grazing the wide research literature on subjective wellbeing. The search does not limit to the word 'happiness' since the concept is also denoted with other terms, while the word

is also used for other phenomena. The search procedure is described in detail here.

Publications are read to see whether happiness as defined is addressed. If so, these publications are listed in the Bibliography of the World Database of Happiness. Next, publications that report an empirical study are considered in more detail to see how happiness was measured. Not all measures ever used tap the concept adequately, about half fails a test on 'face validity', which is described in more detail in Veenhoven 2023d, section 4/3). Accepted measures of happiness are listed in the 'Collection of Happiness Measures' and sorted using a fine-grained classification (Veenhoven 2023c).

## 4.3 Description of findings

Research findings obtained using an accepted measure of happiness are described on an electronic finding page using a standard format and terminology. A finding page contains information on: a) the publication in which the finding was reported, b) the population studied, c) the technical design of the study, d) the measure of happiness used and e) the observed 'finding' on happiness.

Two kinds of findings are involved: a) 'distributional findings', that is, observations on the distribution of responses to questions on happiness, typically summarized in the mean and standard deviation and b) 'correlational findings' about the degree to which other things than happiness go together with it. An example of a finding page is given on Figure 4

Each finding-page has a unique internet address to which hyperlinks can be made in review papers.

## 4.4 Grouping of findings

Finding pages are sorted in several ways, one of which is in 'reports' per nation. An example of the nation report for the UK is given on <u>Figure 5</u>. In this special issue we draw on these reports.

## 5 FORMAT OF THE ARTICLES IN THIS ISSUE

The articles in this special issue describe happiness in a nation, together 8 nations. They follow a common format. All start with a short characterization of the nation and the research on happiness done there. Next, the following topics are addressed.

- How happy people currently are in the nation, using data over the 10 year period between 2000 and 2019. Next to the level of overall happiness, the components of happiness; how well people feel affectively and how they evaluate their life cognitively. Levels are quantified in mean scores on scale 0-10.
- How these levels of happiness compare to other countries and how they stand on the range between the highest and lowest levels observed in the contemporary world.
- How the level of overall happiness has developed over time. Time series differ across nations, for India the first observation was in 1962.
- How much overall happiness differs across citizens in a country, as measured using the standard deviation

• How these inequality scores compare with other nations and how they rank on the range between the highest and lowest inequality of happiness in nations observed in the last 10-yar period.

Though the focus is on the above distributional findings, all articles touch on some observed correlates of happiness in the nation. We limit to 10 variables on which information is available for all nations covered in this special issue. The aim is merely to illustrate the cross-national comparison of such correlational findings; a comprehensive review of all correlational findings in all nations considered is not possible in this issue. The interested reader can find additional information clicking 'correlational findings' on the nation reports of the World Database of Happiness. An illustrative overview of observed correlates of happiness in the UK is found at <a href="https://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/nations/united-kingdom-16/correlational/">https://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/nations/united-kingdom-16/correlational/</a>

All articles close with a consideration of the reported research findings on happiness in a developmental perspective.

### 6 DIFFRENCES AND SIMILARITIES OF HAPPINESS ACROSS NATIONS

The articles in this special issue reveal substantial differences in average happiness across nations; mean scores on range 0-10 varying from 4,8 in Egypt to 7.0 in Romania. In all countries considered in this issue, the level of happiness is lower that the highest observed in this 2010-2019 period, which is 8,2 in Denmark but higher that the lowest, which was 3,8 in Tanzania.

Likewise, the articles in this special issue show substantial differences in inequality of happiness, standard-deviations ranging from 2,86 in Egypt to 2,07 in Uzbekistan. The inequality scores are higher than the lowest observed in this period, which was 1,43 in the Netherlands.

Comparison over time shows also differences, such as a rise of average happiness in Romania and Croatia and a decline in India. The level of happiness remained fairly stable in most of the countries.

Separate consideration of the two components of happiness shows less differences in how well people feel most of the time (affective component) than in the cognitive evaluation of how close their life is to the best possible. The former affective experience is typically more positive than the latter cognitive evaluation, which pattern has been characterized as 'cheerful discontent' (Rothmann & Veenhoven 2015).

There is also much similarity in the correlates of happiness in the nations considered here, typically little difference across age and gender, modest correlation with education and a strong correlation with income.

### FUTURE OF RESEARCH ON HAPPINESS IN NATIONS

Happiness is now a common topic in survey studies all over the world and this will result in a continuous and swelling stream of findings on happiness in nations. In theory that should result in a better meeting of the information demand noted above

in the introductory section of this article; that is, how well the nation is doing with respect to raising the average happiness of citizens, reducing difference in happiness in the country and providing the conditions required for that. Yet in practice, much of the available information will get lost for comparative analysis. Some of the reasons are: 1) Reports of research in other languages than English are difficult to retrieve and to read. 2) Literature searches on the keyword 'happiness' lead into a wealth of publications (e.g., 2,8 million hits on 'happiness' in Google Scholar) in which publications that word is used for all the different meanings noted in section 2.1. 3) Selecting of the findings on happiness as defined here is a time-consuming job and 4) so is the description of the studies and results in comparable terms. Hence, the challenge is to harvest the new information on happiness in nations on a continuous and to store that information in such a way that we can build on the findings gathered in the past.

In this special issue we demonstrate how a finding archive can be used for that purpose and how such an archive can be used for periodical reports on the state of happiness in the nation. At this stage of development of happiness research, accumulation of existing knowledge has become equally important as the gathering of new knowledge.

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## Figure 1 Four qualities of life

	Outer qualities	Inner qualities
Life chances	Livability of environment	Life-ability of the person
Life results	Usefulness of life	Satisfaction

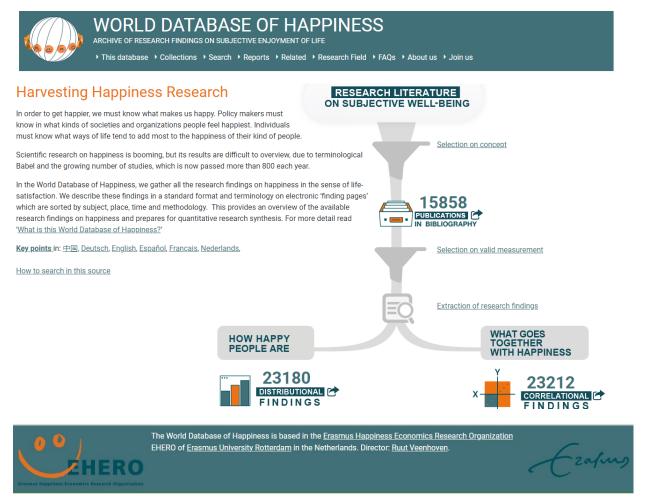
Source: Veenhoven 2000

## Figure 2 Four kinds of satisfaction

	Passing	Enduring
Part of life	Pleasure	Part satisfactions
Life-as-a-whole	Peak experience	Life satisfaction

Source: Veenhoven 2015

## Figure 3 Start page of the World Database of Happiness



Taken from: https://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl

## **Figure 4 Example of a finding page in the World Database of Happiness.** Distribution of Happiness in Albania



## WORLD DATABASE OF HAPPINESS

ARCHIVE OF RESEARCH FINDINGS ON SUBJECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF LIFE

> This database > Collections > Search > Reports > Related > Research Field > FAQs > About us > Join us

#### Study World Values Survey (2004): study AL 2002

Public:	18+ aged, general public, Albania, 2002
Survey name:	INT-WorldValuesSurvey 4
Sample:	Probability multi-stage random
Respondents:	N = 1000
Non Response:	48
Assessment:	Interview: face-to-face

#### Happiness measure(s)

Full text:	Self report on single question:
	All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as-a-whole these days?  1 dissatisfied  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 satisfied
Classification:	<u>0-SLW-c-sq-n-10-a</u>
Page in publication:	a170
Observed distribution	
Frequencies	1: 4.6%, 2: 6%, 3: 15.4%, 4: 15.9%, 5: 16.7%, 6: 11.7%, 7: 11.3%, 8: 10.2%, 9: 5.3%, 10: 2.7% (total 99.8%)
Summary Statistics	On original range 1 - 10 On range 0-10
Mean:	5.17 4.63
SD:	2.25 2.50
CHERO Exemus Ruspieses Economics Desearch Organization	The World Database of Happiness is based in the <u>Erasmus Happiness Economics Research Organization</u> EHERO of <u>Erasmus University Rotterdam</u> in the Netherlands. Director: <u>Ruut Veenhoven</u> .

Taken from: <u>https://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/distributional-findings/world-values-survey-2004-study-al-2002-4457/</u>

#### Figure 5

### Example of a nation report in the World database of Happiness

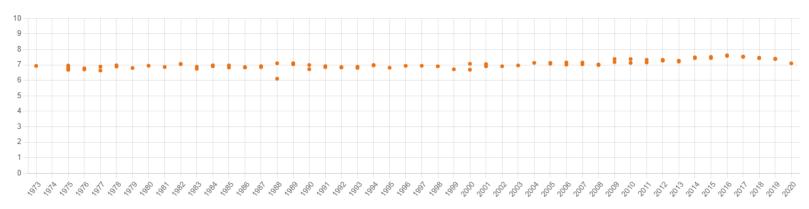


Distributional findings describe how happy people are in different times, places and publics in United Kingdom. The boxes show the value of each indicator and the position of that nation in comparison with the rest of the nations.

## Rank in the world (2010-2019)



## Trend of happiness over time



#### By Public

General Public

Special Publics

AGE groups

AGE groups > Adults

AGE groups > Adults > Middle aged

AGE groups > Adults > Working age

AGE groups > Elderly

AGE groups > Twens

AGE groups > Various age groups

AGE groups > Young adults

AGE groups > Youth > Basic school children

AGE groups > Youth > Infants

AGE groups > Youth > Teens, adolescents

EDUCATION > Highschool pupils

#### By Place

Whole Nation

**Regions in nation** 

Aberdeen City

Aberdeenshire

Anglesey, Isle of

Angus

Argyll & Bute

Avon, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire

Bath and North East Somerset UA

Bedford UA

Bedfordshire,Hertfordshire

Blackburn with Darwen UA

Blackpool UA

Blaenau Gwent

#### Methodological Notes

 Rank in the world is based on the happiness measure types available for most countries. For this period (2010-2019) in United Kingdom these are:

10-step numeral LifeSatisfaction (122F)

11-step numeral LifeSatisfaction (122G)

 The Trend over time chart is based on happiness measure types for which most points are available over all years.
 For United Kingdom that is:

4-step verbal LifeSatisfaction (121C)

All distributional findings on happiness by measure type and by year in the general public of United Kingdom

Continued at: https://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/nations/united-kingdom-16/