

HAPPINESS IN A TIME OF RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE¹

Abstract. *In the paper we focus on some aspects of the distribution of happiness in Slovenia between 2000 and 2009, which can be characterised as a period of the gradual consolidation of major political and economic transformations. We hypothesise that, due to the gradual rise in economic prosperity and political stability in Slovenia, there was an increase in the level of happiness. Nevertheless, we also expect that due to the new social cleavages generated by the country's post-socialist transformation this period was characterised by a growing gap between the least and the most happy. We further expect that the social composition of the least and most happy parts of the Slovenian population changed considerably over the course of time. Yet none of these hypotheses are confirmed by our data. There were some oscillations in both the average level of happiness and the gap between the least and the most happy but no clear trends of change. There was also no change in the social composition of the most and the least happy. The data indicate that in Slovenia in the period under study the dynamic of happiness was largely unaffected by the outcomes of the country's post-socialist transformation.*

Keywords: *happiness, social change, post-socialist transformation, social cleavages*

Happiness as a measure of the legitimacy of the social order

In the last few decades sociology has witnessed the ascent of research concerns focussing on the conceptualisation and measurement of »the hidden wealth of nations« (Halpern, 2010), i.e. the general ability of national societies to acquire and maintain a desired level of social integration and their capacities for defining and attaining collective goals. These concerns

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are particularly epitomised by the concepts of social inclusion/exclusion (Trbanc, 1996), social capital (Adam, 2008), trust (Mizstal, 1996; Sztompka, 1999), quality of life (Albers et al., 2004; Rus, Toš, 2005; Svetlik, 1996) and happiness (Bradburn, 1996; Keck and Delhay, 2004; Veenhoven, 1995). The complex contents of these concepts mean that they may serve different research purposes. They are deeply embedded in various sociological traditions and represent a continuation of classical sociological theoretical concerns with 'different means'. However, because they lead to research that helps discern socially desirable and undesirable states and trends they also hold a high level of policy relevance. That is why it seems that these concepts make sociology »applied« with no expense of its analytical rigorosity. Another sign of the multipurpose character of these concepts relates to the fact they can be easily operationalised and measured even though their content is abstract and complex. They therefore make it possible to bridge the gap between theoretical discussions and empirical research and to efficiently measure complex social states and trends of change.

These claims might not apply to all of the mentioned concepts to the same extent, yet they apply almost unreservedly to the concept of happiness. It is beyond doubt that happiness is both individually and collectively a highly desired state or goal. This provides a good practical reason for collecting data on the level of happiness and finding out how happiness is »distributed« across a given population. However, it is even more important to know whether it is possible to enhance that level by purposive social actions, including political ones (Antončič, Boh, 1991; Halpern, 2010: 6–55). This question cannot be dealt with successfully without exploring the factors that influence variations in the level of happiness. At this point, the complexity of the concept of happiness comes to the fore. As stressed by Durkheim, happiness is a personal experience which is socially conditioned: "If members of a given society are set in similar life circumstances and are exposed to the influence of the same physical and social environment, they necessarily share a certain way of life and also certain experience of happiness" (Durkheim, 1972/1893/: 255). Given that feelings of happiness are influenced by various social factors in different societies, the study of happiness as a social fact is an open endeavour both theoretically and empirically (Inkeles, 1993). However, surveys of happiness are not particularly disturbed by these unresolved (or unresolvable) questions. As a rule, they measure happiness in a relatively straightforward way, i.e., as the self-reported intensity of feelings of happiness or general life satisfaction (Haller and Hadler, 2004).

The efficiency of collecting information on feelings of happiness has some unwanted side effects. When surveys which are more sociographic than sociological in their character pay no attention to the theoretical background of the concept of happiness, what is being measured is often

unclear. More specifically, it unclear to which social (and psychological) states or processes feelings of happiness are related, i.e. whether the level of happiness is just an aggregate of individual feelings which are the outcome of psychological processes or whether it is produced by social forces. This is well epitomised by the results of widespread comparative surveys which rank nation-states according to their average level of happiness. These rank orders are often accompanied by ad-hoc explanations of sometimes curious differences among those nation-states (Haller and Hadler, 2004).

For the purpose of our article, which focuses on some aspects of the distribution of happiness in Slovenia over a time span of almost one decade (from 2000 to 2009), we need no detailed understanding of happiness as a sociological concept. Therefore, we can draw on Durkheim's elaboration of the basic social determinants of happiness, which is still a heuristically promising starting point for the analysis of happiness as a macrosociological phenomenon (Bernik, 2004). According to Durkheim, the level of happiness is socially conditioned by the level of congruence between the scope and intensity of human needs and the means necessary to satisfy them. Assuming that human needs and expectations are socially much more malleable than the availability of resources, he argues that societies influence the level of the happiness experienced especially by regulating both the scope and intensity of human needs. Therefore, it is not societies' resources but their ability to put limits on human expectations that largely affects differences in levels of happiness across societies. As argued by Durkheim, traditional societies were much more efficient in this respect than modern ones in which we often "neither know the limits of our legitimate needs, nor we understand the purpose of our endeavours" (Durkheim, 2003 /1897/: 49). In societies where human expectations are strongly limited, even pronounced social inequalities are not – because various groups in the system of social inequalities have specific needs and expectations – strongly related to the differences in happiness levels. In contrast, the weak regulation of needs and expectations in modern societies generates their 'homogenisation' across the whole population. These circumstances can lead to strong feelings of relative deprivation, especially among lower social strata. This also implies that those belonging to lower social strata are less happy than those belonging to higher strata and such modern societies can, despite their affluence, be characterised by a highly unequal distribution of happiness.

If a high level of happiness signals that one's needs and expectations in various areas of social life are being satisfactorily met or are expected to be met in the near future and a low level of happiness indicates that one sees their general social status as unjust, then happiness can be considered sociologically as a measure of a diffuse acceptance of the social order. Since in complex societies the level of happiness tends to vary in accordance with

the distribution of wealth, power and prestige, its average level and its trends of change cannot be a sufficient indicator of the legitimacy of a given social order. This information must be supplemented by data on differences in happiness levels across various social strata and especially on the dynamics of the gap between the most and the least happy. In particular, this applies to societies which change rapidly and in which the outcomes of change do not necessarily meet with broad approval. In such societies, longitudinal data on average levels of happiness are a valuable information source about the generalised acceptance of outcomes of change. However, if differences in levels of happiness among various parts of the population are growing, even a stable or increasing average happiness level cannot be seen as a sign of the diffuse acceptance of outcomes of change. A pronounced gap between the most and the least happy indicates that social change is generating deep social and cultural cleavages which undermine social integration and reduce the chances of a given social order being accepted as legitimate by the majority of the population.

Hypotheses: Some social correlates of the dynamics of happiness in Slovenia

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The claim that the dynamics of the average level of happiness and especially trends in differences in levels of happiness across social strata are important information sources about generalised responses to social change applies well to Slovenia. There is no doubt that Slovenia – like all post-socialist states – has undergone deep change in almost all societal spheres in the years following the demise of the socialist regime. As already indicated, we expect that an analysis of trends in levels of happiness in Slovenia can help us understand how the outcomes of that change have been accepted by various parts of the Slovenian population and whether the legitimacy of the post-socialist order has been increasing or decreasing.

Our analysis does not focus on the entire post-socialist period in Slovenia, but only on the time span from 2000 to 2009. This period is often regarded as a time of the gradual consolidation of major political and economic transformations and often described as Slovenia's 'success story', i.e. as a period of relative economic and social prosperity and stability. These processes were also accompanied by growing trust in the promising future of the new social order (Bernik, Malnar, 2008)². There are good grounds to expect that the beneficial outcomes of the country's post-socialist transformations felt in the

² *From the present perspective, which is characterised both by economic and political instability and declining trust in a prosperous future, these designations of the first decade of the 21st century in Slovenia seem both valid and wrong: valid because it was indeed a prosperous and stable period, and wrong because it has turned out that the stability of the new social order and its efficiency were not long lasting.*

analysed period will be expressed in an upward trend of change in feelings of happiness. More specifically, we expect that their dynamics reflect the growing legitimacy of the post-socialist social order but, at the same time, we believe that the new social cleavages will be reflected in an increase of differences in happiness levels across different parts of the Slovenian population.

To validate these claims, we first look at the average value of feelings of happiness in the period from 2000 to 2009. As indicated, in the circumstances of Slovenia's growing prosperity and stability and good prospects, we expect that there was also a gradual rise in the average level of happiness. In the next step, we compare the share of the least happy (i.e., those designating their level of happiness with 0 to 3 points on an 11-point scale) and the most happy (7 to 10 points on an 11-point scale) in the general Slovenian population.³ We hypothesise that in some respects there will be gradual, but not pronounced growth of the gap between the least and the most happy. In other words, we expect some signs of polarisation between those who could be called the general losers and winners of the social transformations in Slovenia. Finally, we explore whether the shares of the least and the most happy parts of the Slovenian population changed during the course of one decade in specific socio-demographic groups (gender, education, age, religiosity and the organisation of intimate life, i.e. having or not having a partner). We assume that the period of growing economic and social prosperity in Slovenia was also characterised by a more competitive social climate. It may be expected that those lacking the resources needed in a competitive society would experience this change negatively, which would also be expressed in their feelings of happiness. Therefore, we expect that the share of the least happy rose among those with a lower educational status and the elderly. In other words, we expect they belonged to that part of the Slovenian population most affected by the growing discrepancy between their expectations and the available means. At the same time, it is expected that among the highly educated and those belonging to younger generations the share of the most happy increased. However, it seems unlikely that the shares of the least and the most happy changed with regard to gender, (un)religiosity and the organisation of intimate life because these aspects of social life were more or less unaffected by the social transformations occurring in the relatively short time period on which our analysis focuses.⁴

³ The wording of the item was as follows: "Evaluate your level of happiness using a zero to 10 point scale, with 0 denoting 'I am not happy at all' and 10 'I am very happy'."

⁴ This list of analysed social correlates of happiness is far from complete. Our selection of correlates was on one hand motivated by the aim to prove the claim that in the analysed period their relationship to the level of happiness only changed in some of them and, on the other hand, by the available data. The most notable omission is probably subjective health, which in Slovenia is also strongly and relatively invariably related to the level of happiness (see Bernik, 2004).

The data used for our analysis come from the Slovenian Public Opinion polls (Toš et al., 2004; Toš et al., 2009), which comprises a series of representative surveys for the adult Slovenian population. In all of the surveys included, the wording of the item measuring happiness was identical and thus comparable over time.

The vicissitudes of happiness in Slovenia

The figures presented in Table 1 do not confirm our expectation of a slight but continuous upward trend in the average level of happiness in Slovenia between 2000 and 2009. There are some oscillations, but no clear trend of change. Nevertheless, the data indicate that the analysed period was also a time of stability as far as the average level of happiness was concerned. As a result, it can be argued that the post-socialist social order in Slovenia was able to win at least stable diffuse mass support.

Table 1: AVERAGE VALUES OF HAPPINESS BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009

Years	Average happiness
SJM00/1	6.83
SJM01/2	6.08
SJM02/2	7.09
SJM03/3+4	7.07
SJM04/2	7.18
SJM05/1	7.16
SJM06/2	6.94
SJM07/1	7.25
SJM09/1	6.93

Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000–2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III; Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.

The main characteristic of the ‘distribution’ of happiness between the most and the least happy is its stability over time (Table 2). In addition, it is also highly skewed towards the “very happy” end of the scale. A small minority of Slovenians (the lowest share being 3.5 percent in 2003 and the highest 5.8 in 2002) belongs to the least happy (0 to 3 points on an 11-point scale) and more than half of them (57.2 percent in 2007 and 67.5 percent in 2004) to the most happy (7 to 10 points on an 11-point scale). There are also some oscillations in both shares, yet no clear direction of change. The small decline of the share of the most happy in 2006 and 2007 is not ‘balanced’ by an increase of the least happy, but by a slight increase of those placed in the middle of the scale.

Table 2: THE UNHAPPY, HAPPY AND VERY HAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009, IN PERCENT

Years	Unhappy (0-3)	Happy (4-6)	Very happy (7-10)
SJM00/1	5.4	36.9	57.7
SJM01/2	5.1	35.8	59.1
SJM02/2	5.8	31.5	62.7
SJM03/3+4	3.5	31.9	64.6
SJM04/2	4.2	28.3	67.5
SJM05/1	4.1	29.1	66.7
SJM06/2	5.0	34.6	60.5
SJM07/1	5.0	37.8	57.2
SJM09/1	5.7	29.4	64.9

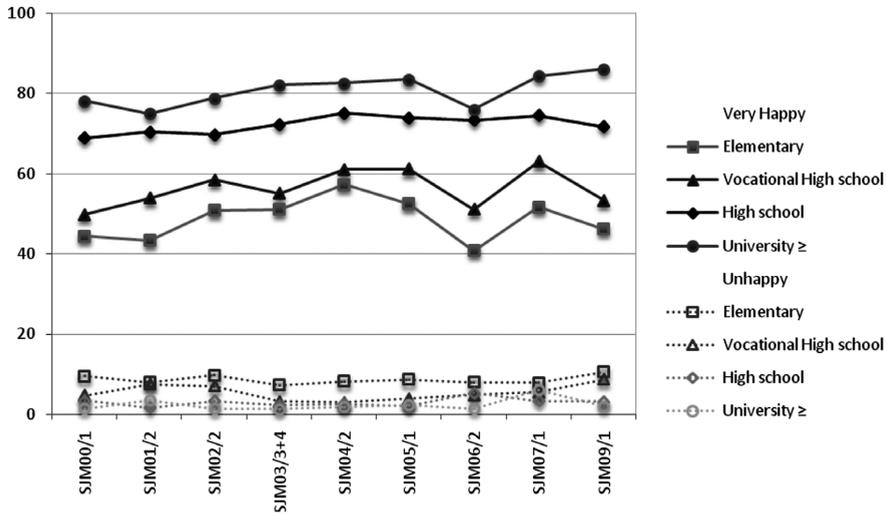
Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000-2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III; Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.

The overall picture of the 'distribution' of happiness is not congruent with our expectations that in Slovenia in the analysed period the gap between the least and the most happy widened slightly. When leaving the annual oscillations aside, the period was generally characterised by the stability of the shares of both the most and least happy. The figures suggest there was either no increase in the feelings of relative deprivation or that any strengthening was not reflected in feelings of happiness. It should also be noted that the share of the most happy is approximately ten times greater than the share of the least happy. Not being happy is obviously related to the exceptional social and psychological circumstances which affect a small part of the population.

The data on some aspects of the social composition of the most and the least happy are only partly in line with our expectations (see Graph 1 and Table 1A in the Appendix). The level of happiness is positively related to educational status, i.e. in Slovenia education significantly increases one's chances of being happy. Among those with an elementary education approximately one in ten belongs to the least happy, whereas among the holders of a university degree it is less than two in a hundred. Among the former, approximately 50 percent of them belong to the most happy and, among the latter, the corresponding share is 80 percent. However, the figures do not confirm our expectation that the gap between the most and the least happy widened with regard to education. Among those with an elementary education, the lowest share of the most happy was seen in 2006 (40.8 percent) and the highest in 2004 (57.3 percent), whereas among the most educated the lowest corresponding share was in 2001 (57.0 percent) and the highest in 2007 (86.2 percent). Leaving some oscillations aside, the gap between those with a lower education and those with a higher education is

relatively stable as regards the level of happiness. Therefore, we can say that despite all the social transformations in Slovenia the effect of education on happiness levels did not change during the years under observation.

Graph 1: THE VERY HAPPY AND UNHAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009 ACCORDING TO EDUCATION, IN PERCENT



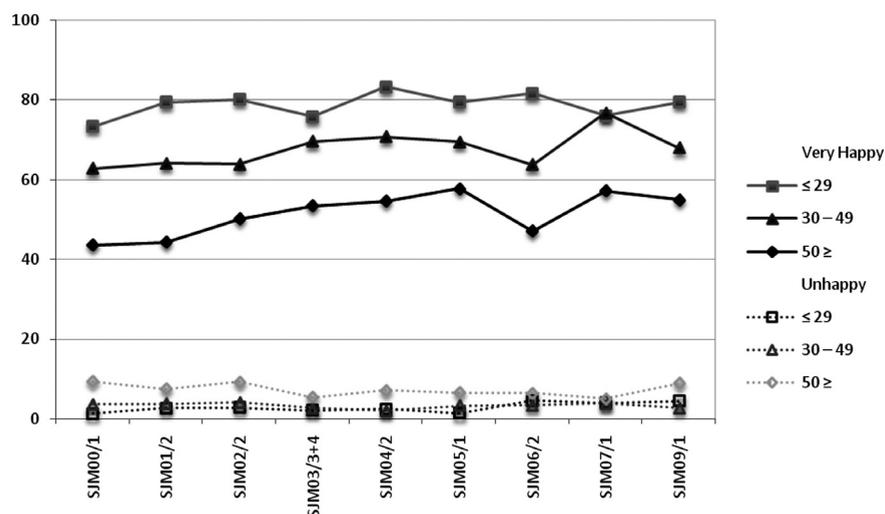
Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000-2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III; Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.

These data indicate that our assumption that amid the (supposedly) growing social competitiveness the more educated fared better than the less educated is not empirically relevant. At the same time, the figures may suggest that education is related to the level of happiness in a much more complex way than we assumed. In Slovenia an important intervening variable in this relationship may be the deeply entrenched egalitarianism (Malnar, 2011), which still influences the social expectations of a large part of the population. Egalitarianism implies both the expectation that socially legitimate needs should be relatively uniform and that the means to satisfy them should be distributed equally. That is why egalitarianism can generate strong feelings of relative deprivation especially among the lower social strata. These feelings might also be reflected in the happiness levels of the less educated. If education is a general resource which can satisfy various needs, then in Slovenia different levels of education are an important and stable source (i.e. independent of other social transformations) of variations in levels of happiness.

The claim about a mediated relationship between education level and feelings of happiness also applies to the relationship between age and

happiness. The figures presented in Graph 2 (and Table 2A in the Appendix) show that the younger and middle generations do not differ much as far as the share of the least happy among them is concerned, but the share of the most happy is higher among the younger than the middle generation. In other words, the polarisation between the least and the most happy is more pronounced in the younger generation than it is in the middle generation. Nevertheless, in both generations the share of the least happy is very low. Even in the older generation the share of the least happy for all analysed years is below 10 percent (the highest – 9.3 percent – was in 2000 and the lowest in – 3.9 percent – in 2002). The older generation differs from the younger ones especially by the relatively low share of the most happy. Approximately half of the older generation belonged to the most happy, whereas in the two other generations the corresponding share was considerably higher.

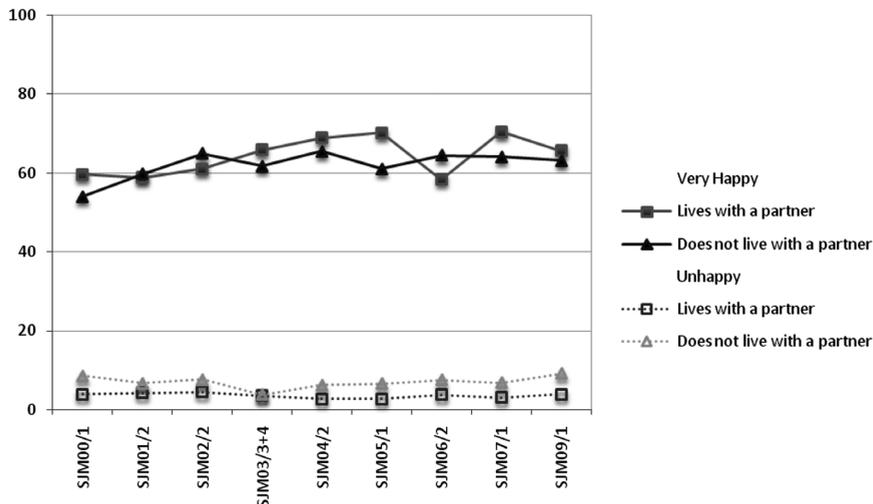
Graph 2: THE VERY HAPPY AND UNHAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009 ACCORDING TO AGE, IN PERCENT



Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000-2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III; Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.

As far as their stability over time is concerned, the shares of the most and least happy with regard to gender, religiosity and the organisation of intimate life are similar to the picture we presented in the previous paragraphs. In all three instances, there are some oscillations in the shares of both the least and the most happy, but no obvious trends of change.

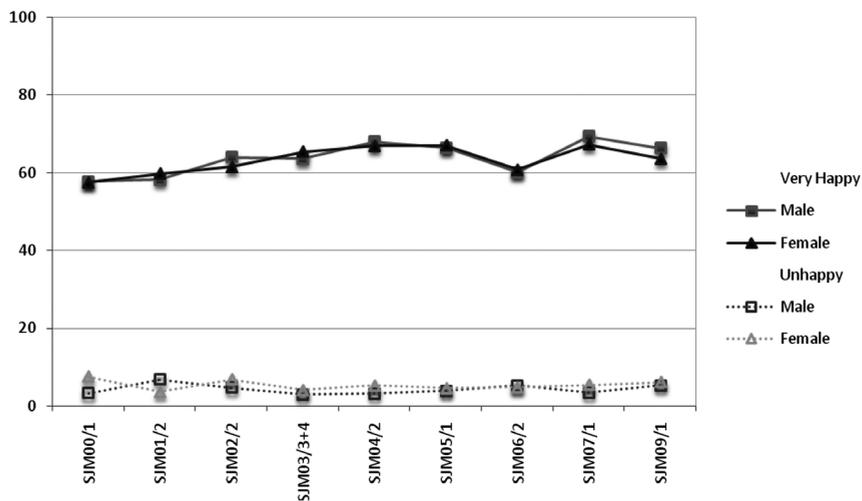
Graph 3: THE VERY HAPPY AND UNHAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009 ACCORDING TO PARTNERSHIP (LIVING WITH A PARTNER OR NOT), IN PERCENT



Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000–2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III; Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.

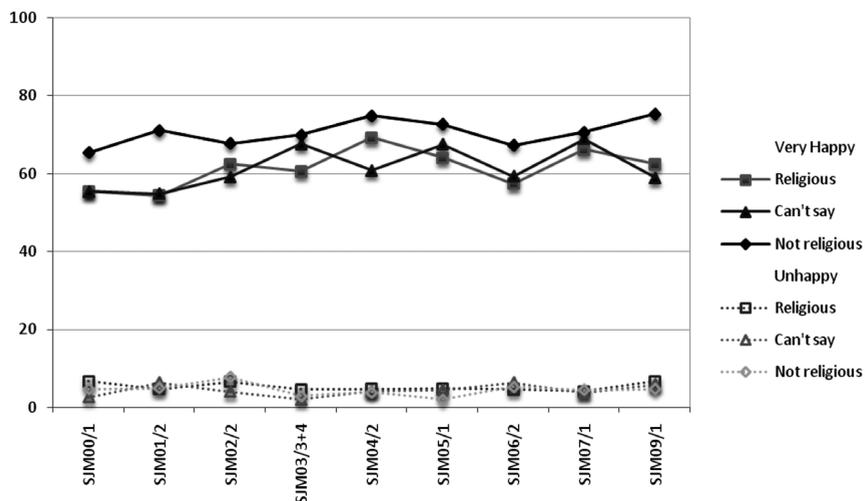
The share of the least happy (Graph 3 and Table 3A in the Appendix) is the highest among those not living with an intimate partner, but never exceeds 10 percent. The share of the least happy is, on average, also slightly higher among women than men (Graph 4 and Table 4A in the Appendix), but this does not apply to the shares of the most happy where there is almost no gender difference. There are also only slight differences in the shares of the least happy between the non-religious, religious and undecided (Graph 5 and Table 5A in the Appendix), although the share of the most happy is by a clear margin the greatest among the non-religious (also see Smrke 2004). Among those living with a partner, the share of the least happy is in all analysed years smaller than among those not having a partner. The absence of partnership increases one's chance of belonging to the least happy, but at the same time it does not reduce the chance – as indicated by the almost negligible difference in the shares of the most happy among those with and without a partner – of falling into the group of the most happy. In other words, the distribution of happiness tends to be more polarised among those without a partner than among those who live with a partner.

Graph 4: THE VERY HAPPY AND UNHAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009 ACCORDING TO GENDER, IN PERCENT



Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000–2009. Toš (ed.). Vrednote v prehodu III., Toš (ed.). Vrednote v prehodu IV.

Graph 5: THE VERY HAPPY AND UNHAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009 ACCORDING TO RELIGIOSITY, IN PERCENT



Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000–2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III.; Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.

We had expected that the distribution of happiness with regard to gender, religiosity and partnership status would not be affected by the social changes occurring in Slovenia in the period under scrutiny and was therefore relatively stable. More specifically, we had expected some oscillations but no trends of growth or decline. The figures presented in the previous paragraph are in line with our expectations. Gender is almost unrelated to the difference between the most and least happy, whereas religiosity and partnership status are related, but in all three instances the gap between the most and the least happy did not change in the course of almost one decade. However, the meaning of these findings is overshadowed by the fact that they do not differ from the variations in the distribution of happiness concerning education and age. We had assumed that despite the gradual character of social change in Slovenia the salience of education and age as determinants of social status and resources for coping with growing social competitiveness increased. We had therefore expected that this process would be reflected in growing polarisation between the most and the least happy relative to education and age. As shown by our data, among the elderly and the less educated there is a higher share of the least happy and a lower share of the most happy compared to the highly educated and young, but we found no indications of a growing gap between the most and the least happy in this respect. Accordingly, our data do not support the claim that the dynamics of some aspects of the cleavage between the most and least happy are related to the post-socialist transformation in Slovenia. They also provide no support for the idea that in a society undergoing deep change the dynamic of the gap between the most and least happy and the social composition of both groups can be considered a subtle sign of mass awareness of the new social and cultural cleavages and therefore also a measure of the legitimacy of the emerging social order.

Conclusion: Stable feelings of happiness in a changing society

As already stressed, our analysis does not allow any far-reaching conclusions about the relationship between rapid social change and the dynamics of happiness, but highlights the need to reconsider some of the assumptions underpinning our hypotheses. First, we had assumed that the deep social transformation in Slovenia would be reflected in variations of feelings of happiness and especially in the dynamics of the gap between the most and least happy and in shifts in the social composition of these two groups. These changes in the distribution of happiness were anticipated to reflect the emerging cleavage between the losers and winners of the country's social transformation. Nevertheless, neither the 'happiness gap' nor the

social composition of the most happy changed in the way we had expected. Moreover, they did not change in any patterned way.

Following our hypotheses, it may be argued that the absence of the expected change in the distribution of happiness indicates that the post-socialist transformation in Slovenia was not radical enough to be reflected in feelings of happiness. In other words, the stability of feelings of happiness may indicate that the Slovenian post-socialist transition was characterised – at least in the analysed period – by the prevalence of continuity over change. Nevertheless, this conclusion seems highly questionable. Although in the first two decades (since 1989) the post-socialist transition in the country was mostly gradual, it led to the transformation of all vital spheres of Slovenian society and of its place in the international environment. If the depth of changes was not initially obvious, their effects were becoming increasingly manifest in the period under study. In this respect, our analysis not only focuses on the 2000–2009 period but on the cumulative effects of the entire post-socialist transformation on the distribution of happiness in Slovenia. However, it may be argued that, due to the gradual character of the transformation, its far-reaching implications were not perceived by the majority of the population, i.e. the emergence of a new distribution of wealth, power and status was supposedly not experienced in the everyday life of Slovenians and therefore not reflected in the dynamics of feelings of happiness. Nevertheless, the persistence of egalitarianism in Slovenia (Malnar, 2011; Rus, Toš, 2005: 73–80) does not speak in favour of this claim. Egalitarianism relates to strong sensitivity to social inequalities. This implies that in Slovenia especially the change in the distribution of social resources, which led to the rise in social inequalities, is strongly felt and reacted to. Therefore, it seems highly unlikely that trends of change which seemed undesirable from the point of view of egalitarianism were left unnoticed and that they had no effects on the dynamic of feelings of happiness.

If the claim that during the period under consideration in Slovenia there were no such social transformations which could be reflected in a change in the distribution of happiness seems untenable, then our contention that, sociologically speaking, happiness can be considered a sensitive measure of mass reactions to social change and of the acceptance of a given social order must be reconsidered. Moreover, we had also assumed that the dynamic of the gap between the most and least happy and the social composition of these groups is a good measure of mass awareness of and responses to the new social cleavages generated by the social transformation. This is why we had expected that the study of happiness could significantly contribute to the understanding of the mass perception and evaluation of the outcomes of the post-socialist transformation in Slovenia. Nevertheless, our data on the dynamics of the distribution of happiness can be interpreted

as indicating that these assumptions are empirically unfounded. More precisely, the absence of any patterned change in the level of happiness and its social 'distribution' in Slovenia in the period 2000 to 2009 suggests that happiness is far from being a sensitive measure of a diffuse mass response to the social transformations.

The 'unresponsiveness' of happiness to the social transformation does not imply that feelings of happiness are not socially patterned at all. Our data show that the level of happiness is systematically related to age, (un) religiosity, education and partnership status. In other words, there is no doubt that happiness is (also) a social fact. Nevertheless, there are good reasons that happiness tends to be socially quite 'free-floating' even in a period of rapid and deep social change. Happiness is related to – as also shown by our data – a multitude of social phenomena situated on the macro, mezzo and micro levels of social life. Their multitude and the fact that their conditioning effects can run in different directions may neutralise each other's effects on the level of happiness or make the sum effect unpredictable. In addition, it should be considered that the relationships between happiness and its social correlates are strongly mediated – as indicated by Easterlin's study (1995) of the relationship between income level and happiness – by social norms which change according to their own logic, i.e. independently of change in other social spheres.

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Appendix

Table 1A: THE VERY HAPPY AND UNHAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009
ACCORDING TO EDUCATION, IN PERCENT

	Elementary		Vocational High school		High school		University +	
Years	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)
SJM00/1	9.4	44.4	4.6	49.8	3.3	68.9	1.4	78.2
SJM01/2	7.9	43.3	7.5	53.9	1.6	70.4	3.5	75.0
SJM02/2	9.7	50.8	7.0	58.5	3.2	69.7	1.3	78.9
SJM03/3+4	7.2	51.1	3.1	55.1	2.2	72.3	1.2	82.1
SJM04/2	8.1	57.3	2.9	61.0	2.5	75.1	1.8	82.6
SJM05/1	8.6	52.5	3.8	61.1	1.9	73.9	2.3	83.5
SJM06/2	7.9	40.8	4.7	51.1	5.2	73.3	1.4	76.1
SJM07/1	7.8	51.7	5.5	63.0	3.2	74.5	6	84.4
SJM09/1	10.5	46.2	8.6	53.3	3.1	71.7	1.9	86.1

Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000-2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III; Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.

Table 2A: THE VERY HAPPY AND UNHAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009
ACCORDING TO AGE, IN PERCENT

	- 29		30-49		50 +	
Years	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)
SJM00/1	1.2	73.4	3.6	62.8	9.3	43.6
SJM01/2	2.6	79.4	3.7	64.1	7.5	44.3
SJM02/2	2.8	80.2	4.1	63.8	9.2	50.1
SJM03/3+4	2.1	75.8	2.6	69.6	5.3	53.4
SJM04/2	2.4	83.3	2.0	70.8	7.1	54.6
SJM05/1	1.3	79.4	3.2	69.5	6.5	57.7
SJM06/2	4.5	81.7	3.4	63.7	6.4	47.1
SJM07/1	3.9	76.1	3.8	76.7	5.0	57.2
SJM09/1	4.4	79.5	2.7	67.9	8.9	54.9

Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000-2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III; Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.

*Table 3A: THE VERY HAPPY AND UNHAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009
ACCORDING TO PARTNERSHIP (LIVING WITH A PARTNER OR NOT),
IN PERCENT*

	Lives with a partner		Does not live with a partner	
Years	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)
SJM00/1	3.8	59.6	8.5	54.0
SJM01/2	4.2	58.8	6.6	59.8
SJM02/2	4.4	61.0	7.6	64.9
SJM03/3+4	3.5	65.9	3.7	61.8
SJM04/2	2.7	68.9	6.2	65.5
SJM05/1	2.7	70.2	6.5	61.0
SJM06/2	3.7	58.4	7.4	64.4
SJM07/1	3.0	70.4	6.7	64.1
SJM09/1	3.8	65.6	9.1	63.1

Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000-2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III;
Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.

*Table 4A: THE VERY HAPPY AND UNHAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009
ACCORDING TO GENDER, IN PERCENT*

	Male		Female	
Years	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)
SJM00/1	3.2	57.8	7.5	57.5
SJM01/2	6.8	58.2	3.6	59.8
SJM02/2	4.6	64.0	6.8	61.5
SJM03/3+4	2.9	63.6	4.1	65.4
SJM04/2	3.1	68.0	5.2	66.9
SJM05/1	3.8	66.4	4.5	67.0
SJM06/2	5.2	60.1	4.8	60.8
SJM07/1	3.3	69.4	5.3	67.3
SJM09/1	5.2	66.3	6.1	63.6

Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000-2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III;
Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.

Table 5A: THE VERY HAPPY AND UNHAPPY BETWEEN 1999 AND 2009
ACCORDING TO RELIGIOSITY, IN PERCENT

	Religious		Can't say		Not religious	
Years	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)	Unhappy (0-3)	Very Happy (7-10)
SJM00/1	6.6	55.4	2.5	55.4	4.6	65.4
SJM01/2	4.6	54.4	6.3	54.8	4.9	71.1
SJM02/2	6.5	62.4	3.9	59.2	7.7	67.7
SJM03/3+4	4.5	60.6	1.9	67.6	2.9	70.0
SJM04/2	4.6	69.3	4.0	60.8	3.8	74.9
SJM05/1	4.7	64.1	4.4	67.5	1.9	72.6
SJM06/2	4.5	57.4	6.3	59.3	5.2	67.3
SJM07/1	4.1	66.2	3.7	68.9	4.4	70.6
SJM09/1	6.6	62.4	5.8	58.9	4.6	75.3

Sources: Public opinion polls SJM 2000–2009. Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu III; Toš, N. (ed.): Vrednote v prehodu IV.