

Happiness and Religion

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Abstract

We use five waves of the European Social Survey, covering 2000 to 2008, to analyze the effect of religion on happiness. Our findings confirm that religious individuals are generally happier than non-religious ones. When we seek to disentangle the effects of belonging to an organized religion from the effect of holding religious beliefs, we find that the former lowers happiness while the latter raises it. We interpret this as evidence that the tangible aspects of religion (such as abiding by restrictions on consumption and behavior) decrease happiness while the spiritual aspects increase it. We also find important differences among members of different religious denominations, and between men and women, with females more adversely affected by the tangible aspects of belonging to a religion.

Keywords: religion, happiness.

JEL Codes: I31, Z12

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1 Introduction

There are a number of reasons why religion should affect one's happiness. Religions offer the prospect of substantial benefits after the end of one's earthly life: entry to paradise, salvation, favorable reincarnation, and the like. Even before one gets to enjoy such distant (and unverifiable) fruits of religious devotion, being a member of a religion yields a range of tangible benefits such as spiritual (psychological) guidance (from the priest or fellow co-religionists), social contacts, emotional and material support in times of need, conflict resolution, to name just a few. At the same time, religious membership is costly as religions typically bring with them an array of rules and restrictions such as rules and prohibitions on one's behavior (for example the Ten Commandments in Christianity or the hadith in Islam), dietary restrictions, rules on what constitutes acceptable clothing, restrictions on circumstances under which men and women can mix and interact, embrace of modern technology, and even invasive and painful actions and body modifications such as self-flagellation and male and female genital circumcision (mutilation).

Berman (2000) explains such practices by likening religions to clubs that offer benefits (club goods) and require costly sacrifices to eliminate freeriding. This benefits of religion may have been quite important in the past but lose much of its importance in modern societies. In particular, advances in science help to undermine the credibility of the intangible benefits of religion. Furthermore, modern societies feature institutions (such as the legal system, health care and redistributive welfare state) that largely supplant the aforementioned tangible benefits of religions. At the same time, the rising complexity of modern societies and the rapidly growing range of consumption options make complying with religious prescriptions increasingly costly or even ambiguous¹. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect religion to play less of a role in people's lives. Indeed, Paldam and Grundlach (2010) hypothesize an inverse relationship between religiosity and the level of economic development, which they confirm using World Values Survey data for a broad range of countries.

As the relative benefits of being a member of a religion decline, the relative cost of complying with religious restrictions should rise. Moreover, as the restrictions mandated by the different religions often differ considerably, the implications of religious compliance should also vary across religious denominations. We address this issue in this paper, utilizing data from the first five waves of the European Social Survey (ESS) collected between 2000 and 2008. Specifically, in our analysis, we consider the effect of being religious and religious devotion on happiness while accounting for religious denomination of the respondents.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: In section 2, we summarize previous studies in the economics literature. In section 3, we explain our data set and the variables we use in the empirical analysis. In the following section, we discuss our empirical results and in the last section, we conclude.

¹ For example, most Old World religions do not ban tobacco because it was only introduced from the Americas relatively late, long after those religions formulated their religious restrictions. Given its addictive properties and harmful health effects, it would be reasonable to expect at least some religions to ban the use of tobacco if they were to revise their rules or formulate them anew.

2 Literature Review

Establishing the elements which affect the subjective well-being of individuals is of vital importance in economics for two reasons: 1- Studies show that the level of well-being influence the economic behaviours of individuals and 2- Policymakers can design appropriate public programs which provide permanent benefits to society by knowing the determinants of well-being (Mochon et al., 2008: 633). Although there are many empirical studies that examine the relationship between happiness and various economic indicators² the number of analyses that focus on the effects of religion on happiness is few in economics literature³. However, in recent years economists have started to analyze the relationship between religion and happiness empirically.

Table 1 summarizes the main empirical studies that shed light on the interlinkage between religion and happiness in economics literature since 2000. One of the first analyses which investigate the effects of religion on happiness is Soydemir et al. (2004). In this study, the authors examine whether attending religious services leads to higher levels of happiness for older people by using a data set for Mexican Americans in the Southwest of the US. Empirical results of this analysis indicate that participation to religious activities has a positive impact on the happiness levels of individuals.

Mookerjee and Beron (2005) seek for the influence of religion on happiness together with a number of other variables such as gender and quality of life measures for 60 countries. Unlike the other studies, the authors use an index of religious fragmentation to represent religion in their empirical estimations and find that higher levels of religious diversity decrease the level of happiness.

Clark and Lelkes (2009) investigate the effect of religion on happiness by analyzing whether the level of life satisfaction of the religious people drops less sharply when they experience an adverse life event than does the level of non-religious people. They claim that as an alternative insurance mechanism religion mitigates the effects of negative shocks. By using European Social Survey and British Household Panel Survey Clark and Lelkes come to the conclusion that religious people have higher life satisfaction than the non-religious people and both Protestantism and Catholicism decrease the adverse effects of unemployment. However, the life satisfaction of Roman Catholics falls much more than the life satisfaction of Protestants in case of marital breakdown. Similar to Clark and Lelkes (2009)'s study, Dehejia et al. (2005) seek for the impact of being a member of religious organizations on subjective happiness in the presence of income shocks by using a longitudinal data set for the US. According to their estimation results, the impact of income changes on consumption decreases about 40% by participating religious activities. Also, the results show that Blacks who attend religious services weekly do not experience a decrease in the level of their happiness against income shocks while for Whites, there is no significant impact of religious participation on

2 See for example Di Tella et al. (2001) for inflation and unemployment, Clark et al. (2001) for labor market outcomes, Easterlin (1995, 2001) for income and Oswald (1997) for economic performance. For literature review, see Dolan et al. (2008)

3 Most of the empirical analyses on the impact of the religion on happiness are done by psychologists. See for example; Diener et al. (1999) for the literature review of psychological studies.

the happiness levels when they face a negative income shock. According to these results, the authors suggest that attending religious services has an insurance effect for Blacks but not for Whites.

Tao (2008) examines the impact of religious involvement on subjective well-being by drawing on 1999 Taiwan Social Change Survey. In this study, the author addresses both the direct and indirect channels in which the religion affects the well-being of individuals. While the direct channel is that devout Christians have a purposeful life and they will have a better after life by believing in God, the indirect channels are the improvements in job stability, health expectations, family relationships and social networks as a result of being religionist. The results of this empirical analysis indicate that religious Christians are happier than the non-religious Christians by a probability of 28%.

Mochon et al. (2008) investigate whether attending religious activities has a permanent long-term effect on well-being by surveying places of worship for 12 religions in the Boston/Cambridge area. During the survey, three questions about the happiness of individuals are asked before and after the worship to the participants. In the empirical analysis, the authors create a composite measure of well-being and examine the relationship between attendance to worship and the level of well-being. According to the results of this analysis, Mochon et al. (2008) conclude that increasing attendance to religious services leads to higher levels of happiness.

Clark and Lelkes (2009) analyze the spillover effects of religious people on the other people around them. In particular, they examine whether the well-being premium of religious people in one region is based on the religious behaviour of the other people in the same region. By using European Social Survey (ESS) data set for 26 European countries, they find that religious people are happier than the non-religious people. Their results on the spillover effects of regional religiosity suggest that average religious activity in one region has a positive effect on the life satisfaction of both religious and non-religious people. However, when they investigate whether the dominant religion in one region has any effects on life satisfaction the results indicate that while Catholics have a higher life satisfaction when Catholicism is the dominant religion in their region Protestants are indifferent to the dominance of Protestantism or any other religion.

There are a number of studies which investigate the relationship between religion and happiness in transition countries since during the transition period, the level of life satisfaction in these countries did not increase satisfactorily and even in 2005 this level was lower than the levels prevailed before 1990s (Easterlin, 2009: 142). The first analysis which examines the effects of religion and economic transition on happiness is Lelkes (2006). In this study, the author analyzes whether religion and economic transition have a positive impact on the well-being of individuals in Hungary by drawing on a nationally representative data set for the years 1992 and 1998. According to the results of the empirical analysis, Lelkes suggests that religion, measured as attendance to church regularly, has a positive impact on happiness. However, when religiosity is measured as personal spiritual beliefs this positive impact disappears. In contrast, economic freedom which is the corollary of economic transition does not have any positive effects on the happiness of religious people while it has increased the

level of life satisfaction of entrepreneurs. Similarly, Florea and Caudill (2014) investigate the relationship between religion and happiness in transition countries (Bulgaria, The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) by using General Population Survey data set. The empirical results of this study indicate that religion has a positive influence on well-being and hence confirm the findings of Lelke's study. In a recent empirical analysis, Popova (2014) examines the insurance effect of religion against aggregate shocks such as privatization and liberalization of prices in transition countries. Unlike the previous analyses, Popova takes into account the potential endogeneity in the relationship between happiness and religion and uses two stage least squares technique in order to get rid of this problem. By drawing on Life in Transition Survey and historical data on religions, she comes to the conclusion that although economic reforms may influence happiness either positively or negatively religiosity provides an insurance against aggregate shocks.

In the existing literature, there are also some studies which focus on the effects of specific worships in Islam on happiness. Clingingsmith et al. (2009) analyze the impact of Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca on pilgrims by surveying applicants in a lottery that provides Hajj visas in Pakistan. According to the estimation results, the authors suggest that belief in equality and harmony among ethnic groups rises by performing the Hajj. Furthermore, Hajj conduces to more positive attitudes toward women. However, the level of spiritual and physical well-being of Hajjis and especially of women is lower than the others who didn't win the lottery. The authors claim that this may stem from the increasing awareness of the attitudes to women in other Muslim countries. In a recent study, Campante and Yanagizawa-Drott (2013) investigate the impact of Ramadan fasting on economic growth and subjective well-being in 87 countries. The empirical results of this study indicate that while longer Ramadan fasting influences economic growth in Muslim countries negatively it has a positive impact on the subjective well-being of Muslims. The authors assert that the negative effect of fasting on economic growth stems from the changing preferences of Muslims with regard to work and religiosity instead of the decrease in labor productivity levels.

In summary, although there are several analyses that try to shed light on the relationship between religion and happiness in economics literature, majority of studies focus on Christianity and categorize the rest of the religions under the name of "others". Therefore, it is not clear how other religions besides Christianity affect the levels of happiness of the individuals. In this study, we try to fill this gap in the existing literature by taking into account other religions such as Judaism and Islam together with the various denominations in Christianity.

Table 1: Empirical Analyses on the Effects of Religion and Religious Activities on Happiness

Study	Data Set	Country and Time Period	Question(s) used for Happiness	Question(s) used for Religion	Results
Soydemir et al. (2004)	Border Epidemiologic Study of Aging (BESA)	Mexican Americans in the Southwest of the US/1996/97	Do you consider yourself to be happy at the present time?	How often do you attend mass/religious services?	Attendance to religious services has a positive impact on happiness.
Mookerjee and Beron (2005)	For happiness, The World Database of Happiness, for religion, Anckar and Eriksson (1998), for other variables, United Nations Development Report, World Development Indicators Report, Freedom House, Fraser Institute and Transparency International Databases	60 Countries/1998	Scores based on the answers to the question: All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your life as a whole now?	Religious fragmentation Index	Higher levels of religious diversity reduces the level of happiness.
Clark and Lelkes (2005)	1- European Social Survey (ESS) 2- British Household Panel Survey (BHPS)	21 European Countries/2002-2003 and United Kingdom excluding Northern Ireland/1997-1998 and 1999-2000	ESS: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays? BHPS: How dissatisfied or satisfied are you with your life overall?	ESS: Denomination: Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination? Religious Attendance: Apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals about how often do you attend religious services nowadays?, Apart from when you are at religious services, how often, if at all, do you pray? BHPS: In addition to denomination there are two questions: How often, if at all, do you attend religious services or meetings? How much difference would you say religious beliefs make to your life?	The life satisfaction of religious people is higher than the non-religious people. Unemployment has less harmful effects on religious people than it has on non-religious people. However, whilst Protestants are protected against divorce, Catholics are punished for it.

Dehejia et al. (2007)	Consumer Expenditure Survey (CEX) National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH)	The US/Time Period for CEX data set: 1986-2000 Time Period for NSFH data set: 1987/88 and 1992/94	NSFH: First taking things all together, how would you say things are these days?	CEX: Contributions to religious organizations NSFH: How often do you attend religious services?	Religious people experience the effects of negative income shocks 40% less than the non-religious people. While for Whites, religious participation does not have any effects on happiness in the face of income shocks for Blacks it has an insurance effect that prevents a fall in happiness levels.
Study	Data Set	Country and Time Period	Question(s) used for Happiness	Question(s) used for Religion	Results
Tao (2008)	Taiwan Social Change Survey	Taiwan/1999	In sum, do you feel happy with your present life?	Are you a devout religionist?	Religious Christians are happier than the non-religious Christians.
Mochon et al. (2008)	A Survey of Places of Worship in the Boston Cambridge Area	The US	How do you feel right now? How satisfied are you with your life in general? How satisfied are you with your spiritual and religious life?	---	Increasing participation to religious services leads to higher levels of happiness.
Clark and Lelkes (2009)	European Social Survey	26 European Countries/2003-2007	All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?	Denomination: Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination? Religious Attendance: Apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals about how often do you attend religious services nowadays?, Apart from when you are at religious services, how often, if at all, do you pray?	The level of life satisfaction of religious people is higher than the level of life satisfaction of the non-religious people. Average religious activity in one region has a positive effect on the well-being of both religious and non-religious people in that region.
Lelkes (2006)	Hungarian Household Survey	Hungary/1992 and 1998	How satisfied are you with your life up till now?	Participation in a religious service at least once a month and personal spiritual beliefs	Religiosity has a positive impact on happiness. Economic freedom affects the happiness level positively only for entrepreneurs.

Florea and Caudill (2014)	General Population Survey (conducted as part of the "Social Stratification in Eastern Europe after 1989" project)	Bulgaria, The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia/1993	Comparing your life now and in 1988, would you say your life is 1: much better now, 2: a little better now, 3: about the same, 4: a little worse now or 5: much worse now	Participation in a religious service at least once a month for Bulgaria, The Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia; religious service attendance at least several times a month for Hungary	Religion has a positive effect on well-being.
Popova (2014)	Life in Transition Survey (LiTS) World Christian Database for historical religious density	27 transition countries/2006	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: All things considered, I am satisfied with my life now	Denomination: What is your religion?	Economic reforms may affect happiness either positively or negatively while religion has an insurance effect against aggregate shocks.
Clingingsmith et al. (2009)	A Survey on the applicants who attended 2006 Hajj Lottery	Pakistan/2006	<p>Index 1: How often did you feel: Nervous? Hopeless? Restless or Fidgety? So depressed that nothing could cheer you up? Everything was an effort? Worthless?</p> <p>Index 2: During the past 30 days, how often did you feel? Relaxed and Peaceful? Content? Joyous? How much pleasure do you take in life? Altogether, are you very happy/not at all happy?</p> <p>Index 3: How satisfied with life as a whole are you? How much room for improvement in your quality of life? How satisfied are you with finances?</p>	<p>Index 1: Do others regard you as religious?</p> <p>Index 2 (10): How frequently do you: pray, do tasbeeh after prayer, pray in the mosque? Did you pray in the mosque last Sunday? Do you pray optional night prayers? Can you read the Qu'ran? How frequently do you: read the Qu'ran? discuss religious matters? keep fast during Ramadan? keep fast outside Ramadan?</p>	Hajj increases belief in equality and harmony among ethnic groups. However, Hajjis, especially women, state lower levels of spiritual and physical well-being.

Campante and Yanagizawa-Drott (2013)	For the fasting hours during Ramadan, data from the Astronomical Applications Department of the US Naval Observatory and Islamic Philosophy Online, for happiness, The World Values Survey, for the other variables Miller (2009), Penn World Tables 8.0, INDSTAT2 2013	87 Countries/1981-2008	<p>Taking all things together, would you say you are: not at all happy, not very happy, quite happy, very happy?</p> <p>How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?</p>	---	Longer Ramadan fasting has a negative impact on economic growth. However, fasting has a positive impact on the level of happiness of Muslims.
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3 Data

The analysis is based on the first four waves of the European Social Survey (ESS henceforth) carried out every two years between 2000 and 2008 in 30 countries in Europe and its neighborhood: besides the EU/EEA countries, Turkey, Russia and Israel are also included. The dependent variable collects the respondents' responses to a standard happiness question:

“Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?”

The answers are coded between 0 (extremely unhappy) and 10 (extremely happy). Religiosity is measured by a question on intensity of respondents' devotion, coded also between 0 (not at all religious) and 10 (very religious). We also have information on religious denominations: Roman Catholic, Protestant, Eastern Orthodox, Other Christian, Jewish, Islamic, Eastern religious, and other (non-Christian). The basic statistics for all countries and for all five waves are summarized in Table 2. Note that a non-negligible share of respondents in virtually every country declared no religious denomination (with the exceptions of Turkey, Greece, Poland and Israel in which more than 90% of respondents picked a religion). The unaffiliated respondents are reported in the column denoted as None. In a number of countries (France, Sweden, the UK, Czech Republic, and Estonia), more than two-thirds of respondents report no religious denomination. While we do not know for sure what it means when a respondents fails to report their religious affiliation, we interpret this as an indication that these respondents are not very religious. Indeed, the five countries with especially high shares of non-affiliated respondents all have average religiosity below 4. The last column reports the average happiness. The happiest place in Europe is Denmark while the gloomiest country is Bulgaria. Turkey wins on religiosity and the least God-fearing place in Europe is the Czech Republic.

4 Does Religion Raise Happiness?

Since the dependent variable, happiness, takes values from 0 to 10 (with increasing values representing more happiness), we use ordered logit to study the determinants of happiness. We control for a broad range of individual socio-economic characteristics: gender (we also estimate separate regressions for males and females to allow the individual variables to have gender-specific effect on happiness), age, education, household composition and marital status, degree of urbanization, relative income⁴ and labor-market status, in addition to religiosity and religious denomination. The resulting marginal effects are reported in Table 3, with country and ESS-wave effects included but not reported. Note that the reported figures are the marginal effects (evaluated at means) for the probability of happiness taking value of zero. In other words, the analysis measures unhappiness rather than happiness.

⁴ Rather than use absolute income, which is difficult to compare across countries at different level of economic development due to differences in purchasing power, we use the question asking the respondents how well they are faring with their income, ranging from being comfortable to finding it very difficult to cope.

Our regressions reproduce a number of well-known findings. Men are less happy than women. Education increases happiness (even after controlling for relative income and labor-market status). The effect of age is non-linear, with middle-aged individuals being less happy than either young or old ones. Having a larger household increases happiness but children reduce it (after controlling for household size). Married individuals are happier. Rural residents are happier than urban folks. Being well-off gives a powerful boost to happiness. Finally, students are generally happy whereas the unemployed, sick/disabled and retirees are unhappy. As for belonging to an organized religion, we identify happiness-boosting effects for all religions except the Eastern Orthodox. These results suggest that religious people are significantly happier than non-religious individuals.

Considering men and women separately reveals a few gender-specific differences. The positive effect of education is more than double that for women as for men. The same goes for the (negative) effect of having children. Women's happiness is also more affected by relative income. As for religion, Jewish and Muslim women gain substantially more from belonging to a religion than males.

In the next three columns, we add religiosity, both as a stand-alone effect and interacted with religious denominations. The effect of doing so is striking: belonging to a religion now increases unhappiness, significantly so for Protestants, Roman Catholics, East Orthodox and Muslims (ordered according to the size of the effect). This is countered by happiness-boosting effect of religiosity and also by the interaction terms. In other words, being a member of a religion (and the associated restrictions on behavior and consumption) appears to lower happiness; the increased happiness stems from religious devotion rather than from membership in a religion itself. Differences across genders are again important, with women being hit more strongly by the happiness-reducing effect of religious affiliation – across all religious denominations, including other Christians. Nevertheless, they also derive slightly greater gains from religiosity.

5 Conclusions

Our results confirm the previous finding that religion increases happiness. In our analysis, we seek to disentangle the tangible aspects of membership in an organized religion from the more abstract effects of religiosity: the former reflecting the club goods provided by religious congregations as well as the various religious restrictions while the latter being essentially spiritual. When doing so, we find that religious membership alone lower happiness. It is the spiritual and belief-based aspect of religion, as captured by the intensity of religious attachment, which raises happiness. Differences between men and women are non-negligible, with women being both more negatively affected by religious membership and gaining slightly more due to religiosity.

Hence, belonging to a religion and abiding by its rules is costly. Religious people's happiness is, nevertheless, raised by the intensity of their beliefs.

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Table 2 Religiosity and Happiness in Europe

Variable [Scale]	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Eastern Orthodox	Other Christian	Jewish	Islamic	Eastern religions	Other	None	Religious [0-10]	Happy [0-10]
Austria	62.1%	3.4%	0.7%	1.1%	0.1%	1.3%	0.9%	0.3%	30.1%	5.10	7.5
Belgium	39.0%	0.7%	0.3%	0.8%	0.1%	3.0%	0.3%	0.4%	55.4%	4.80	7.7
Bulgaria	0.3%	0.5%	50.3%	0.6%	0.0%	10.9%	0.0%	0.1%	37.2%	4.33	5.3
Switzerland	31.6%	30.1%	0.9%	1.1%	0.1%	2.4%	0.8%	0.4%	32.4%	5.28	8.0
Cyprus	0.5%	0.0%	69.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	30.2%	6.89	7.5
Czech Rep.	23.1%	1.9%	0.1%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.3%	73.5%	2.65	6.7
Germany	22.3%	27.8%	0.6%	1.5%	0.1%	2.0%	0.4%	0.1%	45.1%	3.91	7.2
Denmark	1.0%	56.2%	0.1%	0.8%	0.1%	1.5%	0.3%	0.3%	39.6%	4.23	8.3
Estonia	0.5%	7.6%	14.1%	1.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.2%	76.0%	3.55	6.6
Spain	68.4%	0.4%	0.7%	1.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.1%	0.2%	27.8%	4.49	7.5
Finland	0.1%	49.2%	0.9%	0.8%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	48.7%	5.32	8.0
France	26.6%	1.0%	0.1%	0.5%	0.3%	2.1%	0.1%	0.2%	69.1%	3.70	7.1
UK	5.6%	19.5%	0.1%	1.0%	0.2%	1.4%	0.9%	0.3%	71.1%	4.17	7.4
Greece	0.8%	0.3%	89.5%	0.2%	0.0%	1.9%	0.1%	0.1%	7.2%	6.87	6.5
Croatia	75.4%	0.2%	3.8%	0.5%	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%	19.6%	6.14	6.7
Hungary	34.6%	12.7%	0.0%	1.2%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	51.2%	4.33	6.3
Ireland	76.5%	2.8%	0.2%	1.1%	0.0%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%	18.6%	5.52	7.6
Israel	2.1%	0.1%	0.5%	0.2%	72.5%	14.3%	0.1%	1.0%	9.3%	4.82	7.4
Italy	78.0%	0.4%	0.1%	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	20.8%	6.06	6.3
Luxembourg	51.9%	0.9%	0.5%	16.1%	0.1%	1.6%	0.4%	0.4%	28.0%	4.29	7.8
Netherlands	20.1%	16.4%	0.2%	2.9%	0.1%	2.0%	0.6%	0.3%	57.4%	4.94	7.7
Norway	1.3%	47.9%	0.3%	1.7%	0.0%	1.3%	0.4%	0.8%	46.2%	3.92	7.9
Poland	90.6%	0.4%	0.5%	0.6%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	7.8%	6.43	6.9
Portugal	83.5%	0.8%	0.2%	1.9%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	13.2%	5.69	6.5
Russia	0.3%	0.2%	48.4%	0.2%	0.1%	5.5%	0.1%	0.0%	45.2%	4.47	6.0
Sweden	1.1%	26.1%	0.5%	1.2%	0.1%	1.4%	0.3%	0.2%	69.0%	3.54	7.9
Slovenia	50.2%	0.9%	1.3%	0.3%	0.0%	1.0%	0.1%	0.1%	46.2%	4.75	7.2
Slovakia	63.5%	7.8%	0.7%	5.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	22.4%	5.96	6.5
Turkey	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	96.1%	0.0%	1.1%	2.7%	7.07	6.0
Ukraine	8.2%	1.4%	60.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.5%	0.1%	0.5%	27.8%	5.16	5.5
Average	29.6%	12.6%	10.2%	1.3%	2.3%	3.6%	0.3%	0.3%	39.8%	4.82	7.1

Notes: The answers to the questions on generalized trust, perceived fairness and helpfulness (columns 1-3) range between 0 and 10. Meeting people socially takes values 1 through 7. Having someone to discuss personal/intimate matters takes values 0 and 1. Participating in social activities takes values 1 through 5. Higher values always indicate higher stock of social capital.

Table 3 Religion and Happiness: ordered logit

Variables	All	Males	Females
Male	-0.1302*** (0.0091)		
Age	-0.05606*** (0.0016)	-0.06423*** (0.0025)	-0.04977*** (0.0022)
Age sqrd	0.000476*** (0.0000)	0.000555*** (0.0000)	0.000412*** (0.0000)
Education years	0.012345*** (0.0013)	0.007303*** (0.0018)	0.015556*** (0.0018)
Household size	0.039875*** (0.0043)	0.039898*** (0.0062)	0.039645*** (0.0059)
Children (dummy)	-0.04542*** (0.0123)	-0.03951** (0.0191)	-0.06664*** (0.0163)
Married/cohabitating	0.640778*** (0.0109)	0.730828*** (0.0175)	0.559753*** (0.0145)
Suburb of city ⁽¹⁾	-0.03134* (0.0161)	-0.03087 (0.0237)	-0.03488 (0.0218)
Town ⁽¹⁾	0.018864 (0.0126)	0.017407 (0.0189)	0.016346 (0.0170)
Village ⁽¹⁾	0.061427*** (0.0129)	0.07757*** (0.0192)	0.046836*** (0.0174)
Farm/countryside ⁽¹⁾	0.110451*** (0.0213)	0.133829*** (0.0307)	0.095133*** (0.0299)
Income: coping ⁽²⁾	-0.47535*** (0.0110)	-0.50669*** (0.0158)	-0.45724*** (0.0153)
Income: difficult ⁽²⁾	-1.11935*** (0.0149)	-1.15606*** (0.0223)	-1.09804*** (0.0201)
Income: v. difficult ⁽²⁾	-1.81038*** (0.0214)	-1.90935*** (0.0338)	-1.74006*** (0.0279)
Paid work ⁽³⁾	-0.03811*** (0.0148)	0.05047* (0.0277)	-0.09597*** (0.0184)
Student ⁽³⁾	0.181319*** (0.0200)	0.277164*** (0.0320)	0.101601*** (0.0267)
Unemployed ⁽³⁾	-0.38571*** (0.0260)	-0.41158*** (0.0407)	-0.32436*** (0.0356)
Inactive ⁽³⁾	-0.27345*** (0.0334)	-0.26756*** (0.0533)	-0.24929*** (0.0436)
Sick/disabled ⁽³⁾	-0.57207*** (0.0278)	-0.50233*** (0.0430)	-0.61936*** (0.0372)
Retired ⁽³⁾	-0.00721 (0.0190)	0.063356* (0.0333)	-0.0641*** (0.0243)
Homeworker ⁽³⁾	0.073006*** (0.0121)	0.070782*** (0.0221)	0.083989*** (0.0151)
Roman Catholic ⁽⁴⁾	0.141687*** (0.0129)	0.181401*** (0.0188)	0.11059*** (0.0178)
Protestant ⁽⁴⁾	0.193347*** (0.0148)	0.194028*** (0.0218)	0.182532*** (0.0201)
East Orthodox ⁽⁴⁾	-0.02894 (0.0244)	0.040285 (0.0378)	-0.06807** (0.0323)
Other Christian ⁽⁴⁾	0.249879*** (0.0387)	0.321205*** (0.0584)	0.189769*** (0.0518)
Jewish ⁽⁴⁾	0.231532*** (0.0589)	0.10846 (0.0862)	0.326169*** (0.0809)
Muslim ⁽⁴⁾	0.204344*** (0.0385)	0.152294*** (0.0537)	0.242279*** (0.0558)
Foreign born	-0.05245*** (0.0167)	0.002987 (0.0253)	-0.09593*** (0.0223)
Ethnic minority	-0.12348*** (0.0220)	-0.15419*** (0.0321)	-0.09827*** (0.0302)

Standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ***p<0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.10. Omitted categories: (1) Resident in big city; (2) comfortable with current income; (3) last 7 days any other activity; and (4) no religious affiliation or other non-Christian affiliation.

Table 4 Religiosity and Happiness: ordered logit

Variables	All	Males	Females
Male	-0.08134*** (0.0092)		
Age	-0.05594*** (0.0017)	-0.06389*** (0.0025)	-0.0499*** (0.0022)
Age sqrd	0.000455*** (0.0000)	0.000536*** (0.0000)	0.000391*** (0.0000)
Education years	0.013908*** (0.0013)	0.008249*** (0.0018)	0.017686*** (0.0018)
Household size	0.030149*** (0.0043)	0.029732*** (0.0063)	0.030405*** (0.0059)
Children (dummy)	-0.04071*** (0.0123)	-0.0333* (0.0192)	-0.06319*** (0.0163)
Married/cohabitating	0.648974*** (0.0109)	0.732944*** (0.0175)	0.568907*** (0.0145)
Suburb of city ⁽¹⁾	-0.02624 (0.0161)	-0.02337 (0.0238)	-0.03147 (0.0219)
Town ⁽¹⁾	0.018098 (0.0127)	0.02123 (0.0190)	0.010917 (0.0171)
Village ⁽¹⁾	0.049803*** (0.0130)	0.070724*** (0.0193)	0.029871* (0.0175)
Farm/countryside ⁽¹⁾	0.103888*** (0.0214)	0.130408*** (0.0308)	0.084136*** (0.0299)
Income: coping ⁽²⁾	-0.47856*** (0.0110)	-0.50901*** (0.0158)	-0.46202*** (0.0153)
Income: difficult ⁽²⁾	-1.13061*** (0.0150)	-1.16646*** (0.0224)	-1.11103*** (0.0202)
Income: v. difficult ⁽²⁾	-1.82397*** (0.0215)	-1.91831*** (0.0340)	-1.75761*** (0.0280)
Paid work ⁽³⁾	-0.03364** (0.0149)	0.047195* (0.0278)	-0.08882*** (0.0184)
Student ⁽³⁾	0.184899*** (0.0201)	0.267778*** (0.0321)	0.11145*** (0.0269)
Unemployed ⁽³⁾	-0.38287*** (0.0261)	-0.42181*** (0.0408)	-0.31425*** (0.0358)
Inactive ⁽³⁾	-0.26489*** (0.0335)	-0.27427*** (0.0535)	-0.23369*** (0.0437)
Sick/disabled ⁽³⁾	-0.5789*** (0.0279)	-0.5116*** (0.0432)	-0.62961*** (0.0374)
Retired ⁽³⁾	0.001359 (0.0190)	0.058315* (0.0334)	-0.05094** (0.0244)
Homeworker ⁽³⁾	0.060188*** (0.0122)	0.059086*** (0.0222)	0.073365*** (0.0151)
Roman Catholic ⁽⁴⁾	-0.30224*** (0.0260)	-0.2602*** (0.0368)	-0.39136*** (0.0372)
Protestant ⁽⁴⁾	-0.11753*** (0.0321)	-0.04722 (0.0443)	-0.18244*** (0.0473)
East Orthodox ⁽⁴⁾	-0.32665*** (0.0478)	-0.32238*** (0.0705)	-0.38827*** (0.0660)
Other Christian ⁽⁴⁾	-0.22573** (0.1084)	-0.10633 (0.1531)	-0.36959** (0.1550)
Jewish ⁽⁴⁾	-0.07145 (0.0786)	-0.16804 (0.1172)	0.007617 (0.1065)
Muslim ⁽⁴⁾	-0.67239*** (0.0806)	-0.6822*** (0.1081)	-0.69608*** (0.1226)
Roman Catholic*R ⁽⁵⁾	0.055686*** (0.0043)	0.061293*** (0.0065)	0.062125*** (0.0060)
Protestant*R ⁽⁵⁾	0.040733*** (0.0055)	0.032749*** (0.0081)	0.047246*** (0.0077)
East Orthodox*R ⁽⁵⁾	0.038494*** (0.0073)	0.054914*** (0.0113)	0.04072*** (0.0097)
Other Christian*R ⁽⁵⁾	0.045605*** (0.0148)	0.044144** (0.0218)	0.054942*** (0.0205)

Variables	All	Males	Females
Other Christian*R ⁽⁵⁾	0.045605*** (0.0148)	0.044144** (0.0218)	0.054942*** (0.0205)
Jewish*R ⁽⁵⁾	0.041646*** (0.0112)	0.038931** (0.0174)	0.045242*** (0.0145)
Muslim*R ⁽⁵⁾	0.113159*** (0.0110)	0.113268*** (0.0152)	0.118462*** (0.0162)
Religiosity (R)	0.042264*** (0.0025)	0.035709*** (0.0037)	0.043844*** (0.0035)
Foreign born	-0.07505*** (0.0168)	-0.02163 (0.0255)	-0.11654*** (0.0225)
Ethnic minority	-0.14439*** (0.0221)	-0.17359*** (0.0322)	-0.11976*** (0.0304)

Standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ***p<0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.10. Omitted categories: (1) Resident in big city; (2) comfortable with current income; (3) last 7 days any other activity; and (4) no religious affiliation or other non-Christian affiliation. (5) Interactions terms involving religious denomination and religiosity.

Table 5 Pray and Happiness: ordered logit

Variables	All	Males	Females
Male	-0.1048*** (0.0093)		
Age	-0.05623*** (0.0017)	-0.06414*** (0.0026)	-0.0501*** (0.0022)
Age sqrd	0.000469*** (0.0000)	0.000545*** (0.0000)	0.000407*** (0.0000)
Education years	0.012079*** (0.0013)	0.006498*** (0.0018)	0.015681*** (0.0018)
Household size	0.036083*** (0.0043)	0.035656*** (0.0063)	0.036022*** (0.0059)
Children (dummy)	-0.04481*** (0.0124)	-0.04244** (0.0193)	-0.06447*** (0.0164)
Married/cohabitating	0.64828*** (0.0110)	0.738469*** (0.0176)	0.56517*** (0.0146)
Suburb of city ⁽¹⁾	-0.02937* (0.0162)	-0.02859 (0.0239)	-0.03242 (0.0220)
Town ⁽¹⁾	0.020804 (0.0128)	0.020188 (0.0191)	0.017746 (0.0172)
Village ⁽¹⁾	0.05609*** (0.0130)	0.070202*** (0.0194)	0.042813** (0.0176)
Farm/countryside ⁽¹⁾	0.105453*** (0.0215)	0.125042*** (0.0309)	0.092247*** (0.0300)
Income: coping ⁽²⁾	-0.47705*** (0.0110)	-0.50744*** (0.0159)	-0.46007*** (0.0154)
Income: difficult ⁽²⁾	-1.12801*** (0.0150)	-1.16623*** (0.0225)	-1.10621*** (0.0203)
Income: v. difficult ⁽²⁾	-1.81536*** (0.0216)	-1.92439*** (0.0342)	-1.74055*** (0.0281)
Paid work ⁽³⁾	-0.03258** (0.0149)	0.056738** (0.0279)	-0.09151*** (0.0185)
Student ⁽³⁾	0.179358*** (0.0202)	0.269376*** (0.0322)	0.102971*** (0.0269)
Unemployed ⁽³⁾	-0.38114*** (0.0262)	-0.41051*** (0.0410)	-0.31541*** (0.0359)
Inactive ⁽³⁾	-0.26518*** (0.0337)	-0.26312*** (0.0538)	-0.23799*** (0.0439)
Sick/disabled ⁽³⁾	-0.57991*** (0.0279)	-0.51257*** (0.0433)	-0.62653*** (0.0375)
Retired ⁽³⁾	-0.00298 (0.0191)	0.066207** (0.0336)	-0.06226** (0.0245)
Homeworker ⁽³⁾	0.066456*** (0.0122)	0.062613*** (0.0223)	0.078218*** (0.0152)
Roman Catholic ⁽⁴⁾	0.052841* (0.0291)	0.135342*** (0.0501)	0.049935 (0.0362)
Protestant ⁽⁴⁾	0.145429*** (0.0336)	0.125054** (0.0587)	0.146224*** (0.0413)
East Orthodox ⁽⁴⁾	-0.17459*** (0.0421)	-0.03507 (0.0742)	-0.18247*** (0.0524)
Other Christian ⁽⁴⁾	0.181232*** (0.0653)	0.265262** (0.1077)	0.159717* (0.0827)
Jewish ⁽⁴⁾	0.480763*** (0.0933)	0.224887 (0.1382)	0.699911*** (0.1275)
Muslim ⁽⁴⁾	0.115803* (0.0600)	0.086141 (0.0874)	0.143069* (0.0842)
Roman Catholic*P ⁽⁵⁾	0.002003 (0.0052)	-0.00867 (0.0084)	-0.00329 (0.0069)
Protestant*P ⁽⁵⁾	-0.0031 (0.0061)	0.001271 (0.0100)	-0.00399 (0.0081)
East Orthodox*P ⁽⁵⁾	0.022463*** (0.0080)	0.004944 (0.0131)	0.016763 (0.0107)
Other Christian*P ⁽⁵⁾	-0.01482 (0.0167)	-0.01898 (0.0244)	-0.02535 (0.0239)

Variables	All	Males	Females
Jewish*P ⁽⁵⁾	-0.06486*** (0.0151)	-0.04136* (0.0229)	-0.08691*** (0.0203)
Muslim*P ⁽⁵⁾	-0.00294 (0.0128)	-0.01566 (0.0181)	0.008793 (0.0183)
Pray (P)	-0.03853*** (0.0039)	-0.04299*** (0.0065)	-0.03151*** (0.0049)
Foreign born	-0.06591*** (0.0169)	-0.01733 (0.0256)	-0.10387*** (0.0225)
Ethnic minority	-0.138*** (0.0222)	-0.16321*** (0.0324)	-0.11686*** (0.0305)

Standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ***p<0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.10. Omitted categories: (1) Resident in big city; (2) comfortable with current income; (3) last 7 days any other activity; and (4) no religious affiliation or other non-Christian affiliation. (5) Interactions terms involving religious denomination and pray.