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# Two Conceptions of Happiness: Contrasts of Personal Expressiveness (Eudaimonia) and Hedonic Enjoyment

Alan S. Waterman

Aristotle's concept of eudaimonia and hedonic enjoyment constitute 2 philosophical conceptions of happiness. Two studies involving combined samples of undergraduate and graduate students (Study 1,  $N = 209$ ; Study 2,  $N = 249$ ) were undertaken to identify the convergent and divergent aspects of these constructs. As expected, there was a strong positive correlation between personal expressiveness (eudaimonia) and hedonic enjoyment. Analyses revealed significant differences between the 2 conceptions of happiness experienced in conjunction with activities for the variables of (a) opportunities for satisfaction, (b) strength of cognitive-affective components, (c) level of challenges, (d) level of skills, and (e) importance. It thus appears that the 2 conceptions of happiness are related but distinguishable and that personal expressiveness, but not hedonic enjoyment, is a signifier of success in the process of self-realization.

The qualities deemed to represent optimal, healthy, or effective psychological functioning have been a perennial concern within personality psychology. However, work on optimal functioning has generally been carried out within diverse theoretical systems with few efforts made to interrelate or integrate concepts proposed as optimal within the different theories. Four such constructs are (a) a sense of personal identity (Erikson, 1963, 1968—ego analytic theory), (b) self-actualization (Maslow, 1968, 1970—humanistic theory), (c) an internal locus of control (Rotter, 1966—social learning theory), and (d) principled moral reasoning (Gilligan, 1982, Kohlberg, 1969—cognitive developmental theory). In an analysis of the philosophical underpinnings of these constructs, I (Waterman, 1981, 1984) have demonstrated that they share individualistic philosophical assumptions regarding the role of self-realization as a component of optimal psychological functioning. The philosophical theory that corresponds to the perspectives advanced with regard to each of the four constructs, and that is foundational to claims made for each, is eudaimonism.

## Eudaimonism: A Theory of Self-Realization

Eudaimonism is an ethical theory that calls people to recognize and to live in accordance with the *daimon* or “true self” (Norton, 1976). The theory extends at least as far back as classical Hellenic philosophy, where it received its most notable treatment in Aristotle's (1985) *Nicomachean Ethics*. The *daimon* refers to those potentialities of each person, the realization of which represents the greatest fulfillment in living of which each is capable. These include both the potentialities that are shared

by all humans by virtue of our common specieshood and those unique potentials that distinguish each individual from all others. The daimon is an ideal in the sense of being an excellence, a perfection toward which one strives and, hence, it can give meaning and direction to one's life. Efforts to live in accordance with the daimon, to realize those potentials (self-realization), give rise to a condition termed *eudaimonia*. Such efforts can be said to be personally expressive of the individual (Waterman, 1990a, 1990b). Extended discussions of eudaimonist theory can be found in May (1969), Norton (1976), and Waterman (1984, 1990a).

## Philosophical Perspectives on Happiness

The examination of eudaimonist philosophy has led me to look for approaches to the study of experiences of personal expressiveness as a signifier of self-realization and, therefore, of optimal psychological functioning (Waterman, 1990a). One area of investigation with potential to further an understanding of processes involved in self-realization as an aspect of optimal functioning concerns the nature of happiness. *Happiness* is the usual English translation for *eudaimonia* in Aristotle's (1985) *Nicomachean Ethics*, and this has raised questions in the philosophical literature as to how happiness may best be understood (Cooper, 1975; Kraut, 1979; Tatarkiewicz, 1976).

In contemporary usage, the term *happiness* is generally considered to refer to hedonic happiness, a subjective experience that includes “the belief that one is getting the important things one wants, as well as certain pleasant affects that normally go along with this belief” (Kraut, 1979, p. 178). The most thorough expression of hedonism as an ethical theory was advanced by Aristippus of Cyrene in the third century BC, who held “that pleasure is the *sole* good, but also that only one's own physical, positive, momentary pleasure is a good, and is so regardless of its cause” (Tatarkiewicz, 1976, p. 317).

Aristotle clearly rejected this Cyrenaic view of happiness. “The many, the most vulgar, seemingly conceive the good and happiness as pleasure, and hence they also like the life of gratifi-

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cation. Here they appear completely slavish, since the life they decide on is a life for grazing animals" (Aristotle, 1985, p. 7). Against this view of hedonic happiness, Aristotle (1985) offers the proposition that eudaimonia (happiness) is "activity expressing virtue" (p. 284), where virtue may be variously considered to be the best thing, the best within us, or excellence (Ackrill, 1973; McDowell, 1980). According to Telfer (1980), eudaimonia embodies the idea, not that one is pleased with one's life, but that one has "what is *worth* desiring and worth having in life" (p. 37). Feelings of personal expressiveness and self-realization are thus linked to eudaimonia, where what is considered worth desiring and having in life is the best within us or personal excellence.

We are thus presented with two conceptions of happiness: (a) eudaimonia (feelings of personal expressiveness)<sup>1</sup> and (b) hedonic enjoyment. If the perspective on optimal psychological functioning advanced here has merit, then it should be possible to demonstrate empirical differences between the two conceptions of happiness, with specific differences occurring in a pattern related to self-realization (Waterman, 1990a, 1990b).

### Experiences of Personal Expressiveness

Experiences of an activity as personally expressive occur when there is (a) an unusually intense involvement in an undertaking, (b) a feeling of a special fit or meshing with an activity that is not characteristic of most daily tasks, (c) a feeling of intensely being alive, (d) a feeling of being complete or fulfilled while engaged in an activity, (e) an impression that this is what the person was meant to do, and (f) a feeling that this is who one really is (Waterman, 1990a). Such experiences of personal expressiveness appear conceptually linked with the feelings associated with intrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985), flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975, 1988), and peak experiences (Maslow, 1964, 1968; see Waterman, 1990a, for a discussion of the links among these concepts). In line with eudaimonist philosophy, it is expected that activities giving rise to feelings of personal expressiveness will be those in which an individual experiences self-realization through the fulfillment of personal potentials in the form of the development of one's skills and talents, the advancement of one's purposes in living, or both.

### Experiences of Hedonic Enjoyment

Happiness in the form of experiences of hedonic enjoyment may be expected to arise from a wider array of activities than does happiness in the form of experiences of personal expressiveness. There is no conceptual restriction for hedonic enjoyment to be linked only to a particular class of activities, as is the case for the link between personal expressiveness and self-realization. Hedonic enjoyment may be expected to be felt whenever pleasant affect accompanies the satisfaction of needs, whether physically, intellectually, or socially based.

### Relationship of Personal Expressiveness to Hedonic Enjoyment

On philosophical grounds it has been claimed that eudaimonia is a sufficient, but not a necessary, condition for hedonic

happiness (Telfer, 1980). That is, a person regularly engaging in personally expressive activities will be happy with his or her life (hedonic happiness), although there are plausibly many other routes to hedonic happiness beside engaging in personally expressive activities. With respect to feelings arising in connection with particular activities, four categories are logically possible, although one may be considered a theoretically null category (Waterman, 1990a, 1990b). The first category is composed of activities giving rise to both eudaimonia and hedonic enjoyment. The second involves those activities that are hedonically enjoyed but that do not give rise to eudaimonia. The third set is comprised of activities that neither are hedonically enjoyed nor give rise to eudaimonia. The fourth, and theoretically null, category would include any activities giving rise to eudaimonia but that are not enjoyable in the hedonic sense of the term. Thus, the first hypothesis to be evaluated here can be framed as follows:

*Hypothesis 1a.* There will be a strong, positive correlation between reports of experiences of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment associated with activities.

The existence of a strong, positive correlation between reports of experiences of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment would be due to activities falling into the first and third categories described above. This correlation is not likely to approach unity, however, because of the presence of activities in the second category, that is, activities giving rise to hedonic enjoyment but not eudaimonia. The magnitude of this correlation is of importance for several reasons. If the correlation between the measures of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment is very high, then it will become difficult, if not impossible, to identify differences between the nature and circumstances of the two conceptions of happiness. Under such a circumstance, the claim that there are two distinguishable experiences of happiness will be brought into question. On the other hand, if the correlation between the measures of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment is relatively low (even if statistically significant), then Telfer's (1980) supposition that eudaimonia is a sufficient condition for hedonic enjoyment is doubtful.

It is possible to go further in assessing Telfer's (1980) claim. With measures of each of the two conceptions of happiness, it is possible to establish cutpoints between high and low scores on each of the scales and then compare the relative proportions of activities that are high on one quality but low on the other. Because there is an arbitrary element in the establishment of such points, the category of activities high on personal expres-

<sup>1</sup> In this article the terms *eudaimonia* and *feelings of personal expressiveness* are considered to have the same referent, although the terms are generally used in different contexts. *Eudaimonia* is used in discussions focused on philosophical conceptions of happiness, whereas *feelings of personal expressiveness* is used when the analysis is psychological. In rendering the concept of eudaimonia in a form amenable for use within psychological theory and research, I have had to make a number of significant departures from the depiction of the concept in Aristotle's (1985) writings. I have discussed these modifications in detail elsewhere (Waterman, 1990a), along with the rationales for these departures afforded by contemporary eudaimonist theorists.

siveness and low on hedonic enjoyment cannot be expected to be a perfect null. Nevertheless, if Telfer (1980) is correct, the proportions of activities that are high on one quality but low on the other should be asymmetrical. This hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

*Hypothesis 1b.* The relative frequency of activities assessed as being high on personal expressiveness while low on hedonic enjoyment will be significantly lower than the frequency of activities assessed as being high on hedonic enjoyment while low on personal expressiveness.

### Relationships of Experiences of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment to the Nature of the Opportunities for Satisfaction Arising From Activities

According to the theory advanced here, that feelings of personal expressiveness signify self-realization, such experiences may be expected to occur specifically in connection with activities affording opportunities for individuals to develop their best potentials, that is, further the development of their skills and talents, advance their purposes in living, or both. Whereas experiences of hedonic enjoyment are also expected to arise from activities affording such opportunities, the link between hedonic enjoyment and opportunities to develop one's best potentials is not specific. Hedonic enjoyment can be expected to vary with respect to the opportunities to achieve a variety of other forms of satisfaction as well. For this reason, a relatively weaker association of hedonic enjoyment and the development of one's best potentials is expected. This gives rise to the following hypothesis:

*Hypothesis 2a.* There will be significant positive correlations between reports of experiences of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment arising in connection with activities and reports of the extent to which those activities afford opportunities to develop one's best potentials. Furthermore, the correlation will be significantly stronger between personal expressiveness and opportunities for the development of one's best potentials than between hedonic enjoyment and such opportunities.

A quite different type of opportunity for satisfaction that may be provided by activities concerns the extent to which opportunities are afforded for the satisfaction of a person's drives, such as hunger, thirst, sex, or relaxation. Opportunities for such satisfaction can be expected to be strongly associated with experiences of hedonic enjoyment. There are no grounds for expecting that activities affording this type of opportunity will be strongly associated with self-realization and, hence, it is not expected that the presence of such opportunities will be associated with experiences of personal expressiveness. This portion of the second hypothesis can be framed as follows:

*Hypothesis 2b.* There will be a significant correlation between reports of hedonic enjoyment and reports of the extent to which those activities afford opportunities for the satisfaction of one's drives, whereas the correlation between reports of personal expressiveness and such opportunities is not expected to be significant. It follows that reported opportunities to satisfy one's drives will be more strongly correlated with hedonic enjoyment than with personal expressiveness.

Beyond the opportunities afforded by an activity to develop one's best potentials and satisfy one's drives, there are many

other varieties of opportunities for satisfaction that an activity may provide. Other possibilities include opportunities to appreciate beauty in any of its forms (aesthetic opportunities), to share experiences with others (social opportunities), to satisfy one's desire for competition, and to have spiritual experiences. To the extent that activities afford opportunities for any of these forms of satisfaction, there should be positive correlations with hedonic enjoyment. Furthermore, any of these types of opportunities may or may not be associated with the development of one's skills and talents or the advancement of one's purposes in living. For this reason it was anticipated that there would be significant correlations between reports of the presence of opportunities of each type and both hedonic enjoyment and feelings of personal expressiveness. However, no hypotheses were developed with regard to the relative strength of these correlations.

### Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment to Accompanying Cognitive-Affective Experiences

It is to be expected that both feelings of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment will be experienced as a positive cognitive-affective state. However, if these feelings are differentially associated with activities affording different types of opportunities for satisfaction, then it appears probable that there will be qualitative differences in the subjective experiences of the two forms of happiness. These qualitative differences in the subjective components of the cognitive-affective state should occur in a pattern conceptually related to whether the activities are providing a vehicle for self-realization. The third hypothesis to be tested here can be formulated as follows:

*Hypothesis 3.* Reports of experiences of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment will both be positively and comparably correlated with an overall assessment of the cognitive-affective state accompanying the activities. However, differences will be found between personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment regarding the relative contributions of specific subjective components to the cognitive-affective state, with the differences occurring in a pattern conceptually linked to the role played by self-realization in the activities.

### Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment to the Concept of Flow

There is a high degree of correspondence between the conceptual description of personal expressiveness provided here and Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) description of flow (Waterman, 1990a). Flow experiences were originally studied both in terms of the cognitive-affective state accompanying activities (similar to the approach used with respect to Hypothesis 3 above) and in terms of the challenges afforded by a task and the skills the individual brings to it. M. Csikszentmihalyi and I. S. Csikszentmihalyi (1988) identified four channels of experience based on the joint standing of the dimensions of challenges and skills: (a) flow—high levels of both challenges and skills, (b) boredom—a low level of challenges and a high level of skills, (c) anxiety—a high level of challenges and a low level of skills, and (d) apathy—low levels of both challenges and skills.

Csikszentmihalyi (1975) tied the concept of flow to intrinsic motivation as a source of happiness but did not address distinc-

tions among conceptions of happiness. From a eudaimonist perspective, in which feelings of personal expressiveness are experienced in connection with the furtherance of one's skills and talents, it is expected that such feelings will arise because of the process of self-realization occurring when the level of challenges afforded by an activity is high and the level of skills brought to it is commensurate. There is no basis on which to expect happiness in the form of hedonic enjoyment to be correlated with the levels of challenges and skills associated with activities, other than the existence of a strong, positive correlation between the two conceptions of happiness.

The fourth hypothesis to be tested here can be specified as follows:

*Hypothesis 4.* There will be significant positive correlations between reports of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment arising in connection with activities and reported levels of the challenges afforded by activities and the skills brought to them. Furthermore, the correlations will be significantly stronger between personal expressiveness and the levels of challenges and skills than between hedonic enjoyment and challenges and skills.

It should also be noted that the joint consideration of challenges and skills advanced by Csikszentmihalyi (1975, 1982) leads to the conclusion that there is an inherent progressive element to self-realization. When the levels of challenges and skills associated with an activity are both high, the individual is in a learning situation furthering the development of the potentials that are present. As Csikszentmihalyi (1988) points out, with repeated successes at the activity, there will be a reduction in the level of challenges experienced and an increase in the level of skills associated with it. The extent to which flow is then experienced with respect to the activity will be correspondingly reduced. If further experiences of flow are to be attained, it is necessary for the person to develop the underlying potentials still further by seeking out related activities with a still higher level of challenges, ones more commensurate with the newly achieved level of skills. In this manner, potentials for personal excellence can be progressively actualized.

#### Relationship Between Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment and the Frequency of Occurrence and Importance of Activities

While it is probable that individuals would wish to engage in activities giving rise to feelings of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment more frequently than they would activities not associated with such experiences, the realities of day-to-day living are such that people must often do things that are not associated with either conception of happiness. For this reason, no hypotheses are advanced regarding whether there would be significant associations between the two conceptions of happiness and reported frequencies of activities or regarding the relative strength of the correlations.

The reported importance of an activity to an individual is expected to be differentially related to experiences of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment. If feelings of personal expressiveness are signifiers of self-realization, and thus optimal psychological functioning, then activities giving rise to such feelings should be rated quite high in importance. Individuals should also rate activities giving rise to hedonic enjoyment

as important, in part because of the activities characterized by both feelings of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment. However, because activities giving rise to hedonic enjoyment but not contributing to self-realization are not likely to be considered of the same importance as those in Category 1 above, the overall correlation between reports of hedonic enjoyment and importance of activities is not expected to be as strong as that between feelings of personal expressiveness and importance. Thus, the fifth hypothesis to be evaluated here can be constructed as follows:

*Hypothesis 5.* Reports of experiences of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment will be positively correlated with the rated importance of the activities in the lives of the respondents, with the correlation for personal expressiveness being significantly stronger than that for hedonic enjoyment. (No expectations are advanced regarding the association of the frequency of occurrence of activities with the two conceptions of happiness.)

Two studies were carried out to test the hypotheses advanced here. The design of the studies was essentially the same, differing with respect to developments in the research instrument used to assess personal expressiveness. In the first study, Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 5 were tested, whereas in the second all five hypotheses were evaluated.

## Method

### Participants

Participants in Study 1 were 140 undergraduate students (107 women and 33 men) and 69 graduate students (55 women and 14 men) enrolled in psychology courses at Trenton State College. In Study 2 there were 193 undergraduate students (149 women and 44 men) and 56 graduate students (44 women and 12 men), drawn from psychology and counseling courses. The female:male ratios were generally comparable to those in the classes from which they were recruited. In Study 1, the undergraduate students ranged in age from 18 to 23 years with a median age of 19 years, and the graduate students ranged in age from 22 to 65 years, with a median age of 31 years. The corresponding age range for the undergraduates in Study 2 was 18 to 46 years with a median age of 19 years and for the graduate students it was 22 to 52 years with a median age of 36 years.

### Instrument

The Personally Expressive Activities Questionnaire (PEAQ), labeled *Activities Questionnaire* on the respondent's form, was constructed for the purpose of collecting data for this research.<sup>2</sup> On the cover sheet of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked the following question: "If you wanted another person to know about who you are and what you are like as a person, what *five (5) activities of importance to you* would you describe?" After listing the five activities, the participants then responded to the same series of questions about each activity. The items were arranged into four groups for Study 1 and five groups for Study 2.

*Measures of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment.* The section of the PEAQ containing measures of the two conceptions of happiness began with the following: "To what extent do you agree with each of the following statements:"

<sup>2</sup> Copies of the PEAQ are available from me on request.

For Study 1, a two-item scale designed to assess feelings of personal expressiveness was composed of the following statements:

1. This activity gives me my greatest feeling of really being alive.
2. This activity gives me my strongest feelings that this is who I really am.

A two-item scale designed to assess feelings of hedonic enjoyment was composed of the following statements:

1. This activity gives me my strongest sense of enjoyment.
2. This activity gives me my greatest pleasure.

Each question was answered on a 7-point scale, with the endpoints described as *strongly disagree* and *strongly agree*. The items for the two scales were intermixed in the questionnaire. For purposes of statistical analysis, the items for each scale were summed, yielding scales with a possible range from 2 to 14 for the two conceptions of happiness. One-week test-retest reliabilities for the two scales averaged across the five activities were .78 ( $p < .0001$ ) for feelings of personal expressiveness and .80 ( $p < .0001$ ) for feelings of hedonic enjoyment. Coefficient alpha for the personal expressiveness scores averaged .77 across replications, and the average coefficient alpha for the hedonic enjoyment scores was .90 (see Waterman, 1991, for additional information about the construction and psychometric properties of the scales).

For Study 2, the scales for personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment were expanded to six items each. The additional items on the personal expressiveness scale were the following:

3. When I engage in this activity I feel more intensely involved than I do in most other activities.
4. When I engage in this activity I feel that this is what I was meant to do.
5. I feel more complete or fulfilled when engaging in this activity that I do when engaged in most other activities.
6. I feel a special fit or meshing when engaging in this activity.

The additional items on the hedonic enjoyment scale were the following:

3. When I engage in this activity I feel more satisfied than I do when engaged in most other activities.
4. When I engage in this activity I feel good.
5. When I engage in this activity I feel a warm glow.
6. When I engage in this activity I feel happier than I do when engaged in most other activities.

The range of possible scores on the expanded versions of the two scales was from 6 to 42. One-week test-retest reliabilities for the two scales averaged across the five activities were .82 ( $p < .0001$ ) for feelings of personal expressiveness and .84 ( $p < .0001$ ) for feelings of hedonic enjoyment. Average alpha coefficients for the expanded personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment scales were .90 and .93, respectively (see Waterman, 1991).

*Items assessing the opportunities for satisfaction afforded by an activity.* Six items were included in the PEAQ that tapped different types of opportunities for satisfaction that might be afforded by an activity. The initial stem for this block of items read as follows: "To what extent does this activity provide you with each of the following opportunities?" The six types of opportunities described were (a) "the opportunity for me to appreciate beauty (in any of its forms)" [aesthetic opportunities], (b) "the opportunity for me to share experiences with others" [social opportunities], (c) "the opportunity for me to satisfy my desire for competition," (d) "the opportunity for me to develop my best potentials," (e) "the opportunity for me to have spiritual experiences," and (f) "the opportunity for me to satisfy my drives (whether through increasing or decreasing levels of stimulation)." The items were answered on a 7-point scale with the endpoints labeled *not at all* and *very extensively*.

*Items assessing the cognitive-affective state accompanying the activity.* A series of 24 items was constructed tapping various possible cognitive-affective components that might be experienced while engaged in the activity. These items included components identified by

Maslow (1968) in his description of peak experiences and by M. Csikszentmihalyi and I. S. Csikszentmihalyi (1988) in their description of flow experiences. Other pleasant affect items were chosen because they appeared not to be associated with either peak experiences or flow. In addition, a few negative affect items presumed to be negatively associated with both conceptions of happiness were included to reduce the likelihood of response sets operating during the completion of the questionnaire.

The initial stem for this block of items read: "When I engage in this activity \_\_\_\_\_." The item completions were: (a) I feel relaxed, (b) I feel confident, (c) I feel self-conscious, (d) I feel excited, (e) I invest a great deal of effort, (f) I feel competent, (g) I feel angry, (h) I feel content, (i) I lose track of time, (j) I feel in control, (k) I feel alert, (l) I have a high level of concentration, (m) I feel restless, (n) I feel I know how well I am doing, (o) I feel happy, (p) I forget my personal problems, (q) I feel anxious, (r) I feel it's always different for me, (s) I feel confused, (t) I feel in harmony with my surroundings, (u) I feel challenged, (v) I feel I have clear goals, (w) I feel assertive, and (x) I feel good about myself. Each item was responded to on a 7-point scale with the endpoints labeled *not at all characteristic of me* and *very characteristic of me*.

An overall measure of the cognitive-affective state associated with each activity was calculated, for which the negative affect item scores were reversed. Statistical analyses were carried out for the overall measure and separately for each of the 24 cognitive-affective components.

*Items assessing the frequency of occurrence of each activity and the importance of each activity.* The question concerning frequency was phrased as follows: "How often have you engaged in this activity in the past year?" The item was answered on a 7-point scale with the endpoints labeled *very seldom* and *very frequently*.

The question concerning the importance of the activity was phrased as follows: "Overall, how important is this activity to you in your life?" A 7-point scale was again used, with the endpoints labeled *not at all important* and *extremely important*.

On the initial version of the PEAQ, the frequency item was embedded between the group of items assessing satisfaction and the group assessing cognitive-affective state, while the importance item appeared as the last in the series of questions for each activity. On the expanded version of the instrument, the frequency and importance items both appeared before the block of questions pertaining to the cognitive-affective state accompanying an activity.

*Items assessing the levels of challenges and skills associated with each activity.* For the second study, items pertaining to the level of challenges encountered in an activity and the level of skills brought to it were added to assess the components involved in the concept of flow. The question concerning challenges was phrased as follows: "What is the usual level of challenges you encounter when you engage in this activity?" The question pertaining to skills was phrased as follows: "What is the usual level of skills you bring to this activity?" Both items were answered on a 7-point scale with the endpoints labeled *very low* and *very high*. These items were placed just before the frequency and importance items.

## Procedure

In Study 1, the undergraduate respondents were provided with a brief description of the research project and then completed the PEAQ and a brief background questionnaire either alone or in groups. The graduate student respondents were provided with the description of the project in their classes and were then given the questionnaires to be completed at home and returned at a subsequent class meeting. For Study 2, the undergraduate students completed the research questionnaires in groups conducted outside of classtime, and the graduate students completed the instruments during class. In both studies, some students received points toward their course grade for their participation in the research.

### Results

The PEAQ calls for respondents to describe five activities important in their lives to obtain a range of activities differing in their levels of reported personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment. By analyzing the data separately for the activities chosen to occupy each sequential position on the instrument, it is possible to test each of the hypotheses five times. Having multiple replications of the test for each hypothesis provides evidence for the stability of the findings observed.

For each study, a series of preliminary analyses regarding gender and educational level (undergraduate or graduate level) differences in the variables studied were conducted to determine whether all respondents could appropriately be incorporated into a combined sample for the test of the hypotheses advanced here. For Study 1, only three of 55 *t* test comparisons on gender yielded significant differences, indicating that women and men are quite comparable with respect to how they perceived the activities they chose to include on their lists. None of the differences occurred for the scores on the measures of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment. For Study 2, 13 of 65 *t* test comparisons on gender yielded significant differences. None of these differences occurred for the measure of hedonic enjoyment (with women providing higher scores, on average).

For educational level in Study 1, 13 of the 55 *t* test comparisons of undergraduate and graduate students indicated significant differences. For none of the replications was a significant effect found for the measure of personal expressiveness. However, for two of the five replications, graduate students indicated greater hedonic enjoyment associated with the activities they listed. For Study 2, significant differences for educational level were found for 11 of the 65 comparisons. None of the significant effects were found for the measures of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment.

Despite the presence of a modest number of gender and educational level differences regarding the ways in which the activities included on the lists were perceived, the direction and magnitude of the correlations used in the tests of the various hypotheses under study here were generally quite similar for both women and men and for both undergraduate and graduate students. It was therefore concluded that, within each study, the conducting of a single set of analyses on the combined data for both genders and both educational levels would be appropriate.

Table 1  
*Correlations Between Levels of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment for Each Activity: Studies 1 and 2*

Activity listed by respondent (in sequential order)	Study 1		Study 2	
	<i>n</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>r</i>	<i>n</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>r</i>
1	206	.71*	246	.77*
2	208	.79*	246	.78*
3	206	.76*	242	.83*
4	206	.74*	246	.86*
5	204	.71*	240	.85*
Average	206	.74*	244	.82*

<sup>a</sup> Sample sizes vary among activities due to missing data.

\*  $p < .0001$ .

Table 2

*Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment to Opportunities for Satisfaction Arising From Activities: Study 1*

Activity listed by respondent (in sequential order)	<i>r</i> with		<i>t</i>
	Personal expressiveness	Hedonic enjoyment	
Opportunities to develop one's best potentials			
1	.39*****	.10	6.07*****
2	.48*****	.39*****	2.24**
3	.40*****	.16**	5.60*****
4	.45*****	.20***	5.73*****
5	.38*****	.14**	4.84*****
Average	.42*****	.20***	4.92*****
Opportunities to satisfy one's drives			
1	.33*****	.27*****	1.18
2	.41*****	.34*****	1.70*
3	.31*****	.26*****	1.10
4	.43*****	.35*****	1.75*
5	.40*****	.33*****	1.40
Average	.38*****	.31*****	1.51
Opportunities to appreciate beauty in any of its forms			
1	.25****	.32*****	-1.39
2	.49*****	.53*****	-1.05
3	.47*****	.51*****	-0.98
4	.36*****	.42*****	-1.33
5	.42*****	.41*****	0.21
Average	.40*****	.44*****	-0.88
Opportunities to share experiences with others			
1	.40*****	.21***	3.85*****
2	.42*****	.41*****	0.25
3	.43*****	.23***	4.61*****
4	.51*****	.40*****	2.55**
5	.48*****	.43*****	1.07
Average	.45*****	.34*****	2.43**
Opportunities to satisfy the desire for competition			
1	.06	-.10	2.98***
2	.19***	.11	1.80*
3	.09	-.13*	4.57*****
4	.21***	.10	2.22**
5	.18**	.03	3.19***
Average	.15**	.00	3.03***
Opportunities to have spiritual experiences			
1	.17**	.18**	-0.19
2	.38*****	.26****	2.84***
3	.38*****	.32*****	1.33
4	.50*****	.36*****	3.21***
5	.39*****	.23***	3.19***
Average	.36*****	.27*****	1.92*

\*  $p < .10$ . \*\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\*  $p < .001$ . \*\*\*\*\*  $p < .0001$ .

### *Relationship of Personal Expressiveness to Hedonic Enjoyment*

The correlations between the scale scores for reported levels of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment associated with the activities listed in each sequential position on the

PEAQ for both Studies 1 and 2 are provided in Table 1. As expected, the correlations are high and quite stable across the sequential listing of activities, with the correlations ranging from .71 ( $p < .0001$ ) to .79 ( $p < .0001$ ) in Study 1 and from .77 ( $p < .0001$ ) to .86 ( $p < .0001$ ) in Study 2. Hypothesis 1a is thus

Table 3  
*Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment to Opportunities for Satisfaction Arising From Activities: Study 2*

Activity listed by respondent (in sequential order)	<i>r</i> with		<i>t</i>
	Personal expressiveness	Hedonic enjoyment	
Opportunities to develop one's best potentials			
1	.44*****	.15**	7.81*****
2	.42*****	.11*	8.83*****
3	.44*****	.21****	7.07*****
4	.54*****	.32*****	8.06*****
5	.54*****	.30*****	8.38*****
Average	.48*****	.22****	8.25*****
Opportunities to satisfy one's drives			
1	.39*****	.34*****	1.26
2	.44*****	.38*****	1.56
3	.43*****	.38*****	1.45
4	.56*****	.49*****	2.48**
5	.49*****	.46*****	0.97
Average	.46*****	.41*****	1.45
Opportunities to appreciate beauty in any of its forms			
1	.29*****	.35*****	-1.45
2	.29*****	.38*****	-2.28**
3	.42*****	.47*****	-1.52
4	.47*****	.51*****	-1.37
5	.45*****	.48*****	-0.95
Average	.38*****	.44*****	-1.72*
Opportunities to share experiences with others			
1	.34*****	.25*****	2.20**
2	.50*****	.38*****	3.24****
3	.45*****	.40*****	1.47
4	.49*****	.42*****	2.40**
5	.42*****	.35*****	2.16**
Average	.44*****	.36*****	2.29**
Opportunities to satisfy the desire for competition			
1	.03	-.12*	3.54****
2	.13**	.00	3.14***
3	.08	-.04	3.30***
4	.15**	.01	4.25*****
5	.09	-.04	3.78****
Average	.10	-.04	3.76****
Opportunities to have spiritual experiences			
1	.18***	.19***	-0.24
2	.36*****	.28*****	2.03**
3	.38*****	.36*****	0.57
4	.41*****	.45*****	-1.31
5	.47*****	.37*****	3.17***
Average	.36*****	.33*****	0.84

\*  $p < .10$ . \*\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\*  $p < .001$ . \*\*\*\*\*  $p < .0001$ .

confirmed: Those activities experienced as most personally expressive are also hedonically enjoyed.

To further evaluate Telfer's (1980) claim that eudaimonia is a sufficient, but not a necessary condition for hedonic happiness, cutpoints between high and low scores on the PEAQ scales for personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment were established and the proportions of activities high on one quality but low on the other were compared. For the purposes of testing Hypothesis 1b, an a priori decision was made to consider scores in Study 1 for personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment of 12 or above as high, and those 11 or below as low. Thus, to be considered high on either conception of happiness, an activity had to receive an average item score of 6 or higher. For Study 2, the corresponding cutpoints were 36 or above vs. 35 or below.

In testing the hypothesis that the relative proportions of activities high on scores for one conception of happiness but low on the other would be asymmetrical, the activities from the five replications in each study were combined into a single analysis. This was done to maximize the number of activities in the categories of concern here. Of 1,030 activities rated in Study 1, 339 were found to be high on personal expressiveness and 440 were high on hedonic enjoyment. Consistent with expectations, 16.8% of the activities that were high on personal expressiveness were low on hedonic enjoyment, and 35.9% of activities high on hedonic enjoyment were low on personal expressiveness ( $z = 6.87$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). Correspondingly, of the 1,220 activities rated in Study 2, 361 were high on personal expressiveness and 440 were high on hedonic enjoyment. Whereas 13.9% of activities high on personal expressiveness were low on hedonic enjoyment, 29.3% of the activities high on hedonic enjoyment were low on personal expressiveness ( $z = 5.90$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). These results support Hypothesis 1b and provide evidence consistent with the view that personal expressiveness is a sufficient, but not a necessary condition for hedonic enjoyment.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment to Opportunities for Satisfaction Arising From Activities*

The correlations of scores for personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment with responses for each of the six types of opportunities for satisfaction for Study 1 are presented in Table 2, and the corresponding correlations for Study 2 are presented

<sup>3</sup> Whereas philosophers might argue that the existence of even a single activity assessed as being high on personal expressiveness and low on hedonic enjoyment could be taken as a refutation of Telfer's (1980) claim, empirical demonstrations of the point require the use of less demanding standards. In the present research, the finding that the category of activities high on personal expressiveness and low on hedonic enjoyment was not a perfect null may be largely accounted for by the arbitrary element in the cutpoints established. Average item scores of 4 or 5 (scores at or slightly above the center points of the response scale) were nevertheless considered to be low on the measures for both conceptions of happiness. Thus, as an example, in Study 1 an activity with a score of 12 on personal expressiveness but 11 on hedonic enjoyment would be placed in the theoretically null category. Furthermore, error variance in the measures makes it inappropriate to apply here the philosophers' exacting standards.



in Table 3. The results of *t* test comparisons for differences in correlation coefficients for correlated samples are also included in these tables.

As anticipated in Hypothesis 2a, there were highly significant correlations between the reported level of personal expressiveness of an activity and the extent to which it was perceived as affording opportunities for the development of one's best potentials, with an average correlation across the five activities in Study 1 of .42 ( $p < .0001$ ) and an average correlation in Study 2 of .48 ( $p < .0001$ ). The correlations between reported level of hedonic enjoyment of an activity and perceptions of this type of opportunity averaged only .20 ( $p < .01$ ) in Study 1 and .22 ( $p < .001$ ) in Study 2. In both studies, comparisons of the relative strength of the two sets of correlations across the five replications for activities listed in the different sequential positions indicated a significant difference in all five instances, in each instance in the direction anticipated.

The findings obtained with respect to Hypothesis 2b stand in some contrast to expectations. In Study 1, the correlations between scores for both hedonic enjoyment and feelings of personal expressiveness with opportunities to satisfy one's drives were highly significant, averaging .31 ( $p < .0001$ ) for hedonic enjoyment and .38 ( $p < .0001$ ) for personal expressiveness. In Study 2 the corresponding correlations were .41 ( $p < .0001$ ) and .46 ( $p < .0001$ ). These differences are in the reverse direction from that anticipated. In only one instance did the strength of the difference between the correlations attain statistical significance, and in two other instances nonsignificant trends were observed.

With regard to the other four types of opportunities for satisfaction afforded by activities, consistent variations in the pattern of outcomes were observed across the two studies. For social and spiritual opportunities, there were significant correlations with both feelings of personal expressiveness and he-

donic enjoyment. When significant differences were found in their association with the two conceptions of happiness, the stronger correlations were with personal expressiveness. For aesthetic opportunities there were again significant correlations with both conceptions of happiness. The strength of the correlations were generally comparable, but in the instance in which a significant difference was observed, the stronger effect was with hedonic enjoyment. For competitive opportunities, the correlations with personal expressiveness, when significant, were generally low, and with hedonic enjoyment were nonsignificant. However, comparisons in the strength of the correlations typically indicated significant differences, with more positive correlations with feelings of personal expressiveness.

#### *Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment to Accompanying Cognitive-Affective Experiences*

It was predicted that the measures of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment would both be positively and comparably correlated with the overall assessment of the cognitive-affective state accompanying the activities. For both studies, the correlations for the relationships of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment with the overall tone of the experience across the five replications are reported in Table 4. In Study 1, the average correlation for personal expressiveness was .47 ( $p < .0001$ ), and the average correlation for hedonic enjoyment was .52 ( $p < .0001$ ). In only one instance did the difference between the paired correlations approach significance, with the stronger correlation found for hedonic enjoyment. In Study 2, the average correlation with personal expressiveness was .59 ( $p < .0001$ ), and that with hedonic enjoyment was .64 ( $p < .0001$ ). In one instance, the difference in the strength of the correlations was statistically significant and, in another two, it approached significance.

More important, in Hypothesis 3, differences were expected regarding the particular components of the cognitive-affective experience associated with personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment. Because 24 components were studied using the PEAQ, it was considered appropriate to limit the number of statistical comparisons reported. For this reason, in Table 5, only the average correlations across the five replications in Studies 1 and 2 are reported. Six categories of outcomes were observed: (a) components significantly correlated with both conceptions of happiness, but with stronger average correlations with personal expressiveness, (b) a component significantly correlated with personal expressiveness but not hedonic enjoyment (and where the difference was statistically significant), (c) components significantly correlated with both conceptions of happiness, with stronger average correlations with hedonic enjoyment, (d) components that were negatively associated with hedonic enjoyment but not related to personal expressiveness, and where the differences were significant, or nearly so, (e) components significantly correlated with both conceptions of happiness, where the differences in strength were not significant, and (f) one component that was not significantly correlated with either conception of happiness.

The inspection of this pattern of outcomes indicates strong support for Hypothesis 3. Whereas the two conceptions of happiness were generally equivalent in their overall emotional

Table 4  
*Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment to Accompanying Cognitive-Affective Experiences: Studies 1 and 2*

r of overall cognitive-affective tone with			
Activity listed by respondent (in sequential order)	Personal expressiveness	Hedonic enjoyment	<i>t</i>
Study 1			
1	.40***	.49***	-1.93*
2	.53***	.57***	-1.06
3	.46***	.51***	-1.20
4	.56***	.53***	0.73
5	.45***	.52***	-1.53
Average	.47***	.52***	-1.17
Study 2			
1	.51***	.57***	-1.66*
2	.57***	.61***	-1.21
3	.62***	.68***	-2.16**
4	.59***	.64***	-1.93*
5	.67***	.68***	-0.40
Average	.59***	.64***	-1.69*

\*  $p < .10$ . \*\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*\*  $p < .0001$ .

Table 5  
*Cognitive-Affective Components Associated With Personal Expressiveness  
 and Hedonic Enjoyment: Studies 1 and 2*

Component	<i>r</i> with		<i>t</i>
	Personal expressiveness	Hedonic enjoyment	
Correlated with both personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment, with a greater correlation with personal expressiveness			
I invest a great deal of effort			
Study 1	.25****	.13*	2.45**
Study 2	.40****	.19***	6.19*****
I feel competent			
Study 2	.36****	.24****	3.35***
I have a high level of concentration			
Study 2	.32****	.21****	2.99**
I know how well I am doing			
Study 2	.33****	.21****	3.31***
I have clear goals			
Study 1	.31****	.13*	3.84****
Study 2	.40****	.24****	4.59*****
I feel assertive			
Study 1	.32****	.20***	2.53**
Study 2	.37****	.27****	2.79***
Correlated with personal expressiveness but not hedonic enjoyment			
I feel challenged			
Study 1	.17**	.05	2.45**
Study 2	.28****	.10	4.96*****
Correlated with both hedonic enjoyment and personal expressiveness, with a greater correlation with hedonic enjoyment			
I feel relaxed			
Study 1	.24****	.39****	-3.24***
Study 2	.17***	.35****	-5.03*****
I feel excited			
Study 1	.38****	.46****	-1.77*
Study 2	.48****	.55****	-2.16**
I feel content			
Study 1	.35****	.50****	-3.44****
Study 2	.36****	.52****	-6.03*****
I lose track of time			
Study 1	.20***	.32****	-2.53**
Study 2	.25****	.40****	-4.30*****
I feel happy			
Study 1	.43****	.60****	-4.20****
Study 2	.45****	.64****	-6.42*****
I forget my personal problems			
Study 1	.17**	.36****	-4.10****
Study 2	.21****	.32****	-2.99***
I feel in harmony with my surroundings			
Study 2	.43****	.50****	-2.06**

Table 5 (continued)

Component	<i>r</i> with		<i>t</i>
	Personal expressiveness	Hedonic enjoyment	
Correlated with hedonic enjoyment but not personal expressiveness			
I feel angry			
Study 1	-.05	-.18**	2.66***
Study 2	-.03	-.19***	4.35*****
I feel restless			
Study 1	-.03	-.18**	3.03***
Study 2	-.09	-.20***	2.92***
I feel anxious			
Study 1	-.02	-.17**	3.03***
Study 2	-.03	-.11*	2.07**
I feel confused			
Study 1	-.01	-.16**	3.06***
Study 2	-.02	-.17***	3.98****
I feel self-conscious			
Study 2	-.00	-.08	2.09**
Correlated with both personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment, with no difference in the correlations			
I feel confident			
Study 1	.36*****	.36*****	0
Study 2	.40*****	.40*****	0
I feel competent			
Study 1	.25*****	.22***	0.61
I feel in control			
Study 1	.21***	.23****	-0.40
Study 2	.26*****	.30*****	-1.09
I feel alert			
Study 1	.36*****	.30*****	1.28
Study 2	.41*****	.38*****	0.84
I have a high level of concentration			
Study 1	.20***	.13*	1.41
I know how well I am doing			
Study 1	.21***	.13*	1.62
I feel it's always different for me			
Study 1	.23****	.20***	0.61
Study 2	.23****	.19***	1.06
I feel in harmony with my surroundings			
Study 1	.40*****	.38*****	0.44
I feel good about myself			
Study 1	.40*****	.39*****	0.22
Study 2	.48*****	.51*****	-0.91
Correlated with neither personal expressiveness nor hedonic enjoyment			
I feel self-conscious			
Study 1	.04	-.03	1.40

Note. Correlations were averaged across the five activities reported on the Personally Expressive Activities Questionnaire.

\*  $p < .10$ . \*\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\*  $p < .001$ . \*\*\*\*\*  $p < .0001$ .

tone, there was, at the same time, a substantial number of distinctive components that could be used to differentiate between the two conceptions of happiness. Consistent with expectations, the components more strongly associated with per-

sonal expressiveness, for example, investing a great deal of effort, feeling challenged, feeling competent, having a high level of concentration, and having clear goals, appear conceptually related to the development of one's eudaimonic poten-

tials, either in terms of advancing one's skills and talents, advancing one's personal goals, or both. In contrast, the components more strongly associated with hedonic enjoyment, for example, feeling relaxed or content, losing track of time, and forgetting personal problems, do not appear closely related conceptually to happiness in its eudaimonic form.

*Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment to the Levels of Challenges and Skills Associated With Activities*

Hypothesis 4 was tested only in Study 2 using the revised version of the PEAQ. It was anticipated that scores on personal expressiveness would be more strongly associated with the level of challenges encountered in the listed activities and with the level of skills brought to those activities than would scores on hedonic enjoyment. The correlations of levels of challenges and skills with scores on the two conceptions of happiness are reported in Table 6.

The average correlation for the level of challenges with scores on personal expressiveness was .27 ( $p < .0001$ ), whereas the average correlation with hedonic enjoyment was .04 ( $ns$ ). For each of the five replications, the difference between the correlations was in the expected direction and was statistically significant. The average correlation for the level of skills with scores on personal expressiveness was .30 ( $p < .0001$ ), whereas the average correlation with hedonic enjoyment was .09 ( $ns$ ). Again, the differences between the correlations were in the expected direction and were statistically significant across all of the replications. These findings serve both to provide support for Hypothesis 4 and to establish a link between the construct of personal expressiveness and the components identified by Csikszentmihalyi (1975, 1988) as providing the basis for flow experiences.

Table 6  
*Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment to the Levels of Challenges and Skills Associated With Activities: Study 2*

Activity listed by respondent (in sequential order)	<i>r</i> with		<i>t</i>
	Personal expressiveness	Hedonic enjoyment	
Level of challenges encountered in the activities			
1	.23***	.02	5.06****
2	.22***	-.03	6.42****
3	.27****	.05	6.39****
4	.30****	.04	9.06****
5	.31****	.12*	5.85****
Average	.27****	.04	6.42****
Level of skills brought to the activities			
1	.36****	.10	6.66****
2	.28****	.05	5.91****
3	.23***	.05	5.09****
4	.28****	.07	6.98****
5	.36****	.16**	6.35****
Average	.30****	.09	6.02****

\*  $p < .10$ . \*\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . \*\*\*\*  $p < .0001$ .

Table 7  
*Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment With the Frequency of Occurrence and Importance of Activities: Study 1*

Activity listed by respondent (in sequential order)	<i>r</i> with		<i>t</i>
	Personal expressiveness	Hedonic enjoyment	
Frequency of occurrence of activities			
1	.17**	.15**	0.38
2	.07	.09	0.44
3	.18***	.13*	1.04
4	.18***	.14**	0.77
5	.14**	.07	1.31
Average	.15**	.12*	0.59
Importance of activities			
1	.41*****	.31*****	2.05**
2	.60*****	.53*****	1.94*
3	.61*****	.55*****	1.58
4	.62*****	.47*****	3.76****
5	.62*****	.58*****	0.98
Average	.57*****	.49*****	1.95*

\*  $p < .10$ . \*\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\*  $p < .001$ . \*\*\*\*\*  $p < .0001$ .

*Relationship Between Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment and the Frequency and Importance of Activities*

The correlations of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment with reported frequencies and importance of the activities in each sequential position in Studies 1 and 2 are presented in Tables 7 and 8, respectively.

Because individuals are often called on to engage in activities that are neither personally expressive nor hedonically enjoyed,

Table 8  
*Relationships of Personal Expressiveness and Hedonic Enjoyment With the Frequency of Occurrence and Importance of Activities: Study 2*

Activity listed by respondent (in sequential order)	<i>r</i> with		<i>t</i>
	Personal expressiveness	Hedonic enjoyment	
Frequency of occurrence of activities			
1	.28*****	.13**	3.62****
2	.17***	.12*	1.01
3	.25*****	.22****	0.83
4	.20****	.16**	1.20
5	.21***	.20***	0.29
Average	.22****	.17***	1.33
Importance of activities			
1	.43*****	.33*****	2.53**
2	.50*****	.41*****	2.46**
3	.66*****	.56*****	3.61****
4	.60*****	.51*****	3.30***
5	.64*****	.61*****	1.10
Average	.57*****	.48*****	2.77***

\*  $p < .10$ . \*\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\*  $p < .001$ . \*\*\*\*\*  $p < .0001$ .

no hypothesis had been advanced regarding the association of the two conceptions of happiness and the frequency of activities. In Study 1, the results indicate relatively weak associations of the frequency with personal expressiveness, with an average correlation of .15 ( $p < .05$ ), and with hedonic enjoyment, where the average correlation was .12 ( $p < .10$ ). In no instance did the difference between these correlations attain significance. In Study 2 similar results were obtained. The average correlation with personal expressiveness was .22 ( $p < .001$ ), whereas the average correlation with hedonic enjoyment was .17 ( $p < .01$ ). For only one replication was the correlation with personal expressiveness significantly stronger than that with hedonic enjoyment.

With respect to the reported importance of the activities to the respondents, in Study 1 correlations of moderate strength were found for both personal expressiveness, with an average correlation of .57 ( $p < .0001$ ), and hedonic enjoyment, with an average correlation of .49 ( $p < .0001$ ). Significant differences between paired correlations were found for two of the five replications, and a nonsignificant trend was found for another. In Study 2, the average correlation with personal expressiveness was again .57 ( $p < .0001$ ), whereas the average correlation with hedonic enjoyment was .48 ( $p < .0001$ ). Here, significant differences were found for the strength of correlations on four of the five replications. In each instance across the two studies, as predicted in Hypothesis 5, personal expressiveness was more strongly associated with the rated importance of an activity than was hedonic enjoyment.

### Discussion

The principal objective in this study was to determine whether it is possible to distinguish between two conceptions of happiness: personal expressiveness (eudaimonia) and hedonic enjoyment. Toward that objective, philosophical descriptions of the two forms of happiness were examined along with assumptions regarding the nature of the activities from which each could be expected to arise. A series of hypotheses was developed in which it was anticipated that despite a relatively strong correlation between the two conceptions of happiness (Hypothesis 1a), they would differ in the strength of their associations with a variety of other variables suggested by the philosophical analysis (Hypotheses 2–5).

Hypothesis 1a, regarding the correlation between reports of the extent to which activities are experienced as personally expressive and reports of the extent to which those activities are hedonically enjoyed, was strongly and consistently supported. Hypothesis 1b, that the relative frequency of activities high on personal expressiveness and low on hedonic enjoyment would be significantly lower than the frequency of activities with the reverse pattern, was also strongly supported in both studies. Together, these findings support Telfer's (1980) claim that eudaimonia is a sufficient, but not a necessary condition for hedonic happiness.

With approximately one half to two thirds of the variance for the measures of the two forms of happiness operating in common, difficulties in demonstrating differential relationships between the two subjective conditions with other variables might be anticipated. Because of this common variance, the overall pattern of correlations for the scales for personal expressiveness

and hedonic enjoyment with a variety of other variables was quite similar in direction, if not in strength. However, the finding that the two conceptions of happiness could be distinguished in terms of the strength of their associations with a substantial number of measures, despite the common variance, can be taken as evidence that the two subjective states are distinct experiences.

The findings from both studies reported here provide support, with one partial exception, for each of the hypothesized differences between personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment. In comparisons of the two conceptions of happiness, feelings of personal expressiveness were more strongly associated with the perception of activities as affording opportunities for the development of one's best potentials (Hypothesis 2a), although no differences were found for perceived opportunities for the satisfaction of one's drives (Hypothesis 2b). Whereas both feelings of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment were experienced as positive cognitive-affective states to a comparable degree, differences were found with respect to the strength of particular cognitive-affective components associated with each conception of happiness (Hypothesis 3). Consistent with expectations, feelings of personal expressiveness were more strongly associated with feeling challenged, feeling competent, investing a great deal of effort, having a high level of concentration, feeling assertive, having clear goals, and knowing how well one is doing, whereas hedonic enjoyment was more strongly associated with feeling relaxed, excited, content, happy, losing track of time, and forgetting one's personal problems. Feelings of personal expressiveness were also found to be more strongly associated with the level of challenges afforded by an activity and the level of skills brought to it (Hypothesis 4). With respect to the rated importance of activities, a stronger association was found with feelings of personal expressiveness than with hedonic enjoyment (Hypothesis 5).

The only aspect of the hypotheses not confirmed concerned the absence of differences with respect to the relative strength of the association of the two conceptions of happiness with perceived opportunities to satisfy one's drives. It had been reasoned that the satisfaction of one's drives (e.g., hunger, thirst, sex, and relaxation) would minimally involve the development and use of one's talents and skills or the furtherance of one's purposes in living. The presence of consistent significant correlations between reported opportunities to satisfy one's drives and the level of personal expressiveness calls this piece of the analysis into question. Perhaps skills are more important in the process of achieving drive satisfactions than had been initially credited. Alternatively, the wording of the item pertaining to drive satisfaction may have been less than ideal, resulting in some respondents reading more into the item than had been intended. This item referred to "the opportunity for me to satisfy my drives (whether through increasing or decreasing levels of stimulation)." Because such biologically based drives as hunger or sex were not explicitly specified, it is possible that drives could have been interpreted by some to include such things as achievement motivation and self-actualization, although these would not be expected to relate to the two conceptions of happiness in the same manner as biological drives.

The results obtained here provide empirical support for the theoretical linkage of personal expressiveness and Csikszent-

mihalyi's (1975, 1988) concept of flow (Waterman, 1990a). Csikszentmihalyi has conceptualized flow in terms of (a) the balance of challenges and skills, when both are relatively high, and (b) a distinctive cognitive-affective state. Moderate, and comparable, correlations were found between the levels of personal expressiveness associated with activities and their associated levels of perceived challenges and skills (whereas hedonic enjoyment was unrelated to either challenges or skills). With respect to flow as a distinctive cognitive-affective state, many of the descriptors provided by Csikszentmihalyi as characteristic of flow were among those more strongly associated with personal expressiveness, for example, having clear goals, having a high level of concentration, and knowing how well one is doing. However, two other cognitive-affective components noted by Csikszentmihalyi (1975), losing track of time and forgetting personal problems, were found here to be more strongly associated with hedonic enjoyment than with personal expressiveness. This suggests that the description of flow as a cognitive-affective state involves an amalgam of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment, whereas its conceptualization in terms of a balance of challenges and skills is tapping only the former conception of happiness.

The demonstration that feelings of personal expressiveness and hedonic enjoyment differ with respect to their association to activities that advance an individual's personal potentials, whether in terms of skills and talents, purposes in living, or both, confirms the first, and most important, of the distinctions between the two conceptions of happiness that I had earlier proposed (Waterman, 1990b). Among other distinctions between the two conceptions of happiness that can be empirically evaluated are the following:

1. Whereas hedonic enjoyment may be expected to arise in conjunction with activities either actively or passively performed, feelings of personal expressiveness should be experienced only in association with one's active strivings for excellence.
2. Whereas hedonic enjoyment may be expected to arise from activities without regard to the quality of performance attained, experiences of personal expressiveness should be associated only with making progress with respect to the development of personally significant potentials.
3. Whereas repeatedly engaging in activities yielding hedonic enjoyment should result in satiation, opportunities for the repeated experience of personally expressive activities are expected to be more continually sought.
4. Whereas within any category of activities, hedonic enjoyment may be anticipated to arise from any of a range of possibilities considered as relatively interchangeable, feelings of personal expressiveness will likely be experienced only with respect to some relatively specific, and noninterchangeable, actions. This list of hypothesized differences between the two conceptions of happiness should not be considered exhaustive. There is a long tradition within both philosophy and psychology involving efforts to distinguish higher from lower pleasures that can be brought to bear on this matter. The works of Fromm (1947) and Maslow (1968) are particularly useful in this regard. The evaluation of potential differences between the two conceptions of happiness is deserving of continuing research attention.

The hypotheses evaluated in the study reported here were derived, in part, from eudaimonist philosophy, which holds that self-realization is central to the attainment of human excellence. The findings of this study provide empirical evidence to strengthen the claim that self-realization constitutes an aspect of optimal psychological functioning. Taken in conjunction with research on the benefits associated with the expression of personal constructs embodying eudaimonist values, for example, a sense of personal identity, self-actualization, an internal locus of control, and principled moral reasoning, there is a strong emerging case in support of such a claim. Given this accumulating body of evidence, it appears appropriate to direct attention to the matter of how our social institutions facilitate or inhibit the identification and pursuit of those activities fostering the process of self-realization. The results of such an analysis may usefully contribute to the development of policy recommendations for promoting quality of life.

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