Dive Into SWB:
history and philosopy
major theories
measurment

Adam Okulicz-Kozaryn

Saturday 22nd January, 2022 adam.okulicz.kozaryn@gmail.com

<u>outline</u>

why study happiness?

common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [just quick, properly next week!]

the classics, the pioneers: Campbell, etc

today

- we'll properly motivate "why happiness?"
- review some of the common and ancient wisdom
- have a snapshot of history and philosophy
- "prove" it is science
- and start with five theories, which we will dig deep into next week

<u>outline</u>

why study happiness?

common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically

five major theories [just quick, properly next week!]

the classics, the pioneers: Campbell, etc

why study happiness ?

why?

- "a prince who will not undergo the difficulty of understanding must undergo the danger of trusting"
- so if you want to be happy, better understand what makes people happy

•

 a number of fascinating research questions to answer eg: can money buy happiness?

why study happiness ? 5/59

can money buy happiness?



"Researchers say I'm not happier for being richer, but do you know how much researchers make?"

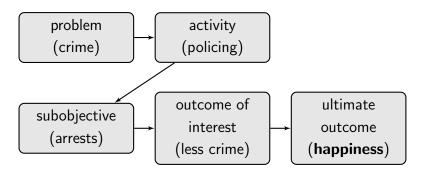
why study happiness ? 6/59

why?

- end in itself
- a measure of utility/well-being/quality of life/standard of living
- a better, more comprehensive and precise measure than individual or national income/consumption
- the ultimate outcome in public policy/adm process>

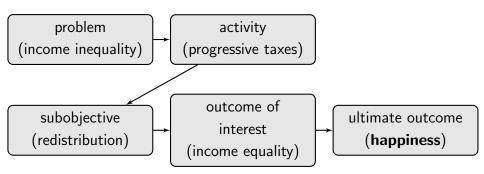
why study happiness?

the outcome line (easy)



why study happiness?

the outcome line (not easy!)



why study happiness?

<u>outline</u>

why study happiness ?

common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [just quick, properly next week!]

the classics, the pioneers: Campbell, etc

carpe diem

• "Happiness, not in another place but this place...not for another hour, but this hour." Walt Whitman

money

- Life is a progress from want to want, not from enjoyment to enjoyment. Samuel Johnson, 1776
- People who claim that money can't buy happiness just don't know where to shop. Anonymous
- A wealthy man is one who earns \$ 100 a year more than his wife's sister's husband. H.L. Mencken
- If thou wilt make a man happy, add not unto his riches but take away from his desires. Epicurus

civilization

- "Happiness," said Freud, "is no cultural value."
- (civilization is based on suppressed or delayed gratification/happiness)
- Freud defined happiness as the "subsequent fulfillment of a prehistoric wish. That is why wealth brings so little happiness: money was not a wish in childhood"

work

- "Success is not the key to happiness. Happiness is the key to success. If you love what you are doing, you will be successful" Herman Cain
- "It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied."

welfare/redistribution

 No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable. It is but equity, besides, that they who feed, clothe, and lodge the whole body of the people, should have such a share of the produce of their own labor as to be themselves tolerably well fed, clothed, and lodged.

Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, Bk. 1, Ch. 8.

bad capitalism (more on capital later)

- "Greed, envy, sloth, pride and gluttony: these are not vices anymore. No, these are marketing tools. Lust is our way of life. Envy is just a nudge towards another sale. Even in our relationships we consume each other, each of us looking for what we can get out of the other. Our appetites are often satisfied at the expense of those around us. In a dog-eat-dog world we lose part of our humanity." Jon Foreman
- "If you're not a leftist or socialist before you're 25, you
 have no heart; if you are one after 25 you have no head"

 (Apocryphal)

<u>outline</u>

why study happiness ?

common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically

five major theories [just quick, properly next week!]

the classics, the pioneers: Campbell, etc

history

- SWB in history: McMahon D "Happiness: A history"
- o From beginnings we were interested in happiness:
- essentially two ideas, "good life" v "happy life/pleasure"
- kind of like Apollo v Dionysus:
- Apollo: rational thinking and order, and appeals to logic, prudence and purity.
- Dionysus, the god of wine and dance: irrationality and chaos, and appeals to emotions and instincts.
- o but more precisely:
- Aristotelian Eudaimonia (good life, living well)
- Benthamite Greatest Happiness for the Greatest Number

history and philosophy 18/59

Aristotelian Eudaimonia

- Eudaimonia=good life: virtue, good spirit Aristotle's
 Nicomachean Ethics:
 - Eudaimonia (happiness) = active, complete life inclusive of all that has intrinsic value
- perfection in respect of virtue; resources sufficient for a living creature
- O https://positivepsychologyprogram.com/eudaimonia/
- O https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eudaimonia

history and philosophy 19/59

Benthamite Greatest SWB for the Greatest Num

- more pleasure than pain for as many as possible
- hedonic calculus: seek pleasure, avoid pain:
- happiness = pleasure pain
- have political and legal reforms to produce
- Greatest Happiness for the Greatest Number
- this is what we're witnessing today!
- o early political advocates: (Stiglitz et al., 2009), now even Sachs!
- UK, New Zealand, UAE/Dubai, OECD, Bhutan, etc

history and philosophy 20/59

Epicurus

- all pleasure is good! (Annas, 1987)
- but not unnecessary desires (consumerism!), rather simple and frugal life; desire only the very basics, otherwise setting up yourself for hedonic treadmill (Weijers, 2011)
- o overindulgence often leads to pain
- achieve inner tranquility
- http://www.pursuit-of-happiness.org/history-of-happiness/epicurus/
- (Brooks, 2021)

history and philosophy 21/59

Dionysus aka Bacchus

- god of the grape-harvest, wine making and wine, of fertility, ritual madness, religious ecstasy and theater
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dionysus
- and on hedonism, pleasure
- o eg see doctoral thesis by Dan Weijers: http:

//researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10063/2370/thesis.pdf?sequence=2

history and philosophy 22/59

and the winner is...

which one do you like? Bentham or Aristotle?
 (a fascinating philosophical debate (Nussbaum, 2005))

history and philosophy 23/5

<u>outline</u>

why study happiness i

common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [just quick, properly next week!]

the classics, the pioneers: Campbell, etc.

but it is in the clouds

- the first question or criticism i always get
- when i say i study happiness
- o is that we cannot really measure it
- specifically:
- o happiness is something different for everyone
- o one moment i am happy, another moment i am unhappy
- happiness doesn't really matter; it's just a silly emotion

in the clouds?

- seems like intangible concept
- everybody seems to be happy with something else
- not really! (few exceptions, eg diff cultures)
- a new field economics of happiness recently developed
- o (earlier psychology, soc ind res: 50s, 60s; took off in 90s)
- now, we can define, measure and study life satisfaction
- let's define it first

definition

- self-reported
- subjective
- sometimes surprising
- life satisfaction≈ utility
- $max(life satisfaction) \approx utilitarianism$
- here, use interchangeably but remember distinction
- SWB (subjective wellbeing) is another popular term

measurement

- wvs question: "all things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" (1 to 10)
- gss question: "taken all together, how would you say things are these days - would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" (1-3)
- these measures were cross-validated using other measures: suicide, PET scans, other people ratings (Layard, 2005, Di Tella and MacCulloch, 2006)

validity (Diener et al., 2013)

- even though self reported and subjective, valid (people know whether they are happy) (Myers, 2000) and some reliability (precision varies)
- closely correlated with similar objective measures such as brain waves (Layard, 2005)
- unhappiness strongly correlates with suicide incidence and mental health problems (Bray and Gunnell, 2006)
- not only correlates highly with other non-self reported measures, but also does not correlate with measures that are not theoretically related to it: happiness has discriminant validity (Sandvik et al., 1993)

how?

- quantitative data analysis; eg correlation, regression.
- we have quantitative (numerical) data on happiness, so we have data on income, marital status, age, and so forth.
- then we investigate who the happy people are:
- the rich? educated? females?
- o guess who? ideas?

<u>outline</u>

why study happiness

common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [just quick, properly next week!]

the classics, the pioneers: Campbell, etc.

five major theories

- genes/set point (eg Schnittker, 2008)
- adaptation/adjustment; hedonic treadmill (Brickman et al., 1978)
- needs/livability (Veenhoven and Ehrhardt, 1995)
- comparison/discrepancies (Michalos, 1985)
- happiness just a motivator (Carver and Scheier, 1990)

genes/set point theory

- genes explain about half of everything (eg Schnittker, 2008)
- incl happiness!
- but have bad rep in soc sci bc of Eugenics, Nazi, etc
- some people are just happy no matter what and some miserable!
- this is also called a set point theory: you win lottery, lose a limb, doesn't matter, your swb comes back to its set point
- but the pendulum seem to have swung too far in the other direction (Pinker, 2003, Haidt, 2012) we downplay the genes, and some would outright deny they exist!
- one reviewer told me that race is purely socially constructed, no genetic component to it!

genes/set point theory

- Personality matters, ala Cuddy's fake it till you become
- fake yourself into an extrovert

```
https:
```

//amp.businessinsider.com/your-personality-could-affect-your-happiness-2018-9

genes/set point theory

- a see homeostasis, eg ch4 by cummins in "wealth(s) and swb"
- swb, like any physiological system requires homeostasis, a stable narrow range to function properly
- about 70-90 on 0-100 scale; still some people are chronically low say due to arthisis or caring for an elderly; and some over time change is still possible
- not that set point is set in stone

adaptation theory (Brickman et al., 1978)

- [related to genes/set point]
- adjustment to external circumstances
- 'hedonic treadmill'
- the more one has the more one wants, since satisfactions received only stimulate instead of filling needs (Durkheim, [1895]
- human adaptation is astonishing:
- o winning millions in a lottery, losing limbs, etc
- about 1b people live in poverty and they somehow manage and don't commit suicide; people can adapt to just about anything

needs/livability theory (Veenhoven and Ehrhardt, 1995)

- humans, like other animals have certain needs
- physiological needs like water, food, sleep; and other needs:
- eg contact with other living organisms (biophilia, social capital, nature, etc)
- o and higher (human) needs eg belonging, selfactualization
- kind of like Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs
- if needs are satisfied, then happiness follows
- then there are attr of places, environment, or ecology
- if it is "livable" then happiness follows
- this is optimistic for public policy—we can change needs and livability provision

comparisons/discrepancies

- multiple discrepancy theory (Michalos, 1985)
- social comparison, eg co-workers, high school friends, relatives
- comparison to various standards, eg clothes, car expected in a given profession
- over-time: your swb now is determined by how you were doing in the past and what you expect in the future
- o eg losing may be more felt than gaining (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979)
- "it is better to be a big frog in a small pond than a small frog in a big pond" (Davis, 1966)

- "Happiness is the feeling that power increases—that resistance is being overcome." Nietzsche
- SWB merely signals that task at hand has been accomplished
- then it dissipates and pain settles in so that the signal is that I can move to another task!
- Earth is not for comfort (or happiness)
- it's for struggle, and pain has its motivating place
- happiness-seeking/pain avoidance is complacence
- "The word 'happiness' would lose its meaning if it were not balanced by sadness" Jung

- no pain, no gain!
- one must struggle to succeed
- one must even struggle to discover oneself!
- o see Nietzsche, eg: https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/10/nietzsches-guide-to-better-living/568375/
- people who are very emotionally stable may be too happy to feel the need to create
- "One must have chaos in oneself to be able to give birth to a dancing star." Nietzsche cited in Chamorro-Premuzic (2015)

- also like the earlier equation (Carver, 2003):
 swb=achievement/experience-expectations/aspirations
- \circ if rate of progress below the reference rate: negative affect
- o if above: positive affect
- also if doing well: become satisfied, comfortable, possibly complacent (Carver, 2003)
- o until you fall below the reference line and it goes over again
- note: winner-take-all capitalism raises the reference line

 (Frank, 2012)

- we're not designed to be happy but to survive and reproduce!
- (Euba, 2019)

various models (Carver, 2003)

- cruise control: going over the hill
- o gets tough, increase velocity and fuel use
- o reach plateau and going down the hill: decrease fuel
- coasting: positive affect leads to coasting
- opportunistic shifting: positive feelings promote play
- also see Marcuse

- it follows from happiness just a motivator
- that too much of happiness is not a good thing
- or perhaps even that there's a dark side to happiness
- Gruber et al. (2011) and https://positivepsychology.com/dark-side-of-happiness/
- o (also Gilbert's "Stumbling on happiness")
- "too much of a good thing is a bad thing"
- food makes us thrive physically, happiness makes us thrive psychologically—but just like food, happiness is not always good
- (like fame, success or even money—to get them—pursue other stuff like curiosity)

- always being very happy may result from being out of
- touch with reality; and this may lead dysfunction
 life is not for happiness! it is for survival and reproduction
 (Dawkins, 2006) (also see Shopenhauer, eg
 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q0zmfNx70M4)
- moderate happiness allows room for unpleasant emotions, which enableus to learn and grow and move forward
- anything?being too happy can make you:
- o nay loss attention to details
- pay less attention to details
- less creativetake more risks [binging food and alc, drugs etc,sex]

if you're constantly very happy, why would you do

- "Getting angry ... is easy and everyone can do it; but doing it ... in the right amount, at the right time, and for the right end, and in the right way is no longer easy, nor can everyone do it." Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics
- too much happiness can be dysfunctional and maladaptive
- extreme positive emotion is like mania; during mania can't experience negative emotions (that may be necessary, even for survival, such as fear)
- (btw flow seems similar to mania)

- you set some goal, say academic achievement
- o and then you fail
- disappointment/discontent/unhappiness is relatively fine for most goals
- but if your goal is happiness, then failiure kills the goal!
 so the more you strive for happiness, the more likely it is
- that you will be unhappy
 say you are in a positive situation, a birthday party, and
- your goal is happiness, but you don't feel happy, then you fail your goal, and feel disappointed and even less happy!!

 instead, accept or not try to decrease negative feelings—be

mindful and accept

<u>outline</u>

why study happiness î

common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically

five major theories [just quick, properly next week!]

the classics, the pioneers: Campbell, etc

a note

- this is somewhat subjective
- "the classics/pioneers" could be approached in many ways
- here, i just subjectively list those that i consider the most important ones
- most of these writings, especially by Fromm, Marcuse, and Freud are available online for free
- also, one purpose of this section is to briefly summarize and introduce you to each of them
- and you should pick at least one and use him in your project!

Veenhoven

- aka the Godfather of Happiness https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruut_Veenhoven
- i am lucky to know Ruut well :)
- he is a sociologist and main person in social indicators strand of the literature (there is also positive psychology and economics)
- and he is a creator of the World Database of Happiness:
- ${\tt o https://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/}\\$
- o if that's something that you're into, have a good look
- o and if you'd like to contribute, i can introduce you

other key people by the field

- Diener (and Seligman) are main in psychology
- Easterlin (and Oswald) are main in economics
- Radcliff is main in political science
- Cantril came up with the famous ladder
- o it is important because it is self-anchoring:

https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK189562

Campbell

- he is probably the leading pioneer, and hence we use his book as the textbook
- not just an early scholar, a pioneer
- but also comprehensive and indepth
- indeed, his book is not only relevant
- but many of the findings remain cutting-edge!
- also, his research is on the US

Maslow

- a humanist, and into spirituality
- o (like Fromm, Marcuse, and me)
- really great books:
- Toward a Psychology of Being

```
https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=jcKbDAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT15&dq=maslow&ots=eTsqFrXdED&sig=UlvB9X_8k3NCfVa-NcO8ZvwOzeo#
```

 $\verb|v=onepage&q=maslow&f=false|\\$

o and Peak Experience (kind of like flow) https:

//en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religions,_Values,_and_Peak_Experiences

Freud

- eg see his "Civilization and its discontents"
- https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=AW3z38T3u7YC&oi=fnd&pg=PP13&dq=freud+civilization+and+its+discontents&ots=6emidLE-nd&sig=6sA07tnq7Rk8_i1R2G4hLg4sq9o#v=onepage&q=freud%20civilization%20and%20its%20discontents&f=false
- o note, i am doing some psychoanalysis, too!
- O https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/52123/PDF/1/play/

Fromm and Marcuse

- they have political economy and psychoanalytic/Freudian and Marxist leanings
- o (like me)
- \circ and have created some of the greatest writings in the field
- o in general and short: joy, fun, spontaneity, no harm, positive attitude, kindness, equality, freedom, etc

Fromm and Marcuse

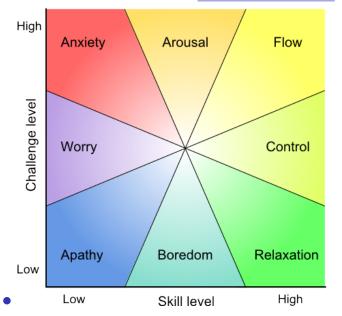
- just see google scholar for their writings, eg:
- "Escape from freedom"

https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=d2g8L1sLykwC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=info:WPqc-LXi3BUJ:scholar.google.com&ots=JnDgRDoiLn&

- sig=dX7ipJr_fK8R6sxnrytdUYkIkMg#v=onepage&q&f=false
- One dimensional man" https://books.google.com/books?id=
 - eXlTAQAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=One-dimensional+man:
 +Studies+in+the+ideology+of+advanced+industrial+society&hl=en&sa=
 X&ved=OahUKEwiImdSzn83dAhVNGt8KHShSBI8Q6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=
 - One-dimensional%20man%3A%20Studies%20in%20the%20ideology%20of%
 20advanced%20industrial%20society&f=false
- o "Eros and civilization" https://books.google.com/books?id=

the @F2UCeAACBAIMMeInterec=frontcover&dg=Eros+and+civilization&hl=en&/59

Flow: the psychology of optimal experience (Csikszentmihalyi, 1991)



happiness equation

- happiness =
 achievement or experience expectations or aspirations
- that's one reason why educ doesn't help with happiness

more key studies (in addition to the above)

- describe in few sentences
- (the need to belong) (Baumeister and Leary, 1995, Maslow, [1954] 1987)
- •
- evolution/genes:
- Birds of a feather: <u>Homophily</u> in social networks (McPherson et al., 2001)
- The social cage: Human nature and the evolution of SOCiety (Maryanski and Turner, 1992)
- The Compass of Pleasure: How Our Brains Make Fatty Foods, Orgasm, Exercise, Marijuana, Generosity, Vodka, Learning, and Gambling Feel So Good (Linden, 2011)

Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper. Annas, J. (1987): "Epicurus on pleasure and happiness," Philosophical Topics, 15, 5-21. BAUMEISTER, R. AND M. LEARY (1995): "The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments

ALESINA, A. AND E. L. FERRARA (2000): "Participation in Heterogeneous Communities," National

BRAY, I. AND D. GUNNELL (2006): "Suicide rates, life satisfaction and happiness as markers for population mental health," Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 41, 333-337. BRICKMAN, P., D. COATES, AND R. JANOFF-BUMAN (1978): "Lottery winners and accident

as a fundamental human motivation," Psychological bulletin, 117, 497-529.

within a general model of affect," Cognition and Emotion, 17, 241–261.

References

us strive for a virtuous life. Others strive for a pleasant one. We could all use a better balance." The Atlantic CARVER, C. (2003): "Pleasure as a sign you can attend to something else: Placing positive feelings

victims: Is happiness relative?" Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36, 917-927. BROOKS, A. C. (2021): "HOW TO BUILD A LIFE. There Are Two Kinds of Happy People. Some of

CARVER, C. S. AND M. F. SCHEIER (1990): "Origins and functions of positive and negative affect: a control-process view." Psychological review, 97, 19.

CHAMORRO-PREMUZIC, T. (2015): "The Dark Side of Creativity," Harvard Business Review. CSIKSZENTMIHALYI, M. (1991): Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience, Harper Perennial.

DAVIS, J. A. (1966): "The Campus as a Frog Pond: An Application of the Theory of Relative Deprivation to Career Decisions of College Men," American Journal of Sociology, 72, 17-31.

DAWKINS, R. (2006): The selfish gene, Oxford university press, New York NY.

DI TELLA, R. AND R. MACCULLOCH (2005): "Partisan Social Happiness," Review of Economic Studies, 72, 367-393.

unemployment: Evidence from surveys of happiness," American Economic Review, 91, 335–341.

DIENER, E. AND R. BISWAS-DIENER (2002): "Will money increase subjective well-being? A literature review and guide to needed research," Social Indicators Research, 57, 119–169.

DIENER, E., R. INGLEHART, AND L. TAY (2013): "Theory and validity of life satisfaction scales," Social Indicators Research, 112, 497–527.

DI TELLA, R. AND R. MACCULLOCH (2006): "Some Uses of Happiness Data in Economics," The

DI TELLA, R., R. J. MACCULLOCH, AND A. J. OSWALD (2001): "Preferences over inflation and

Journal of Economic Perspectives, 20, 25-46.

and subjective well-being: relative or absolute?" Social Indicators Research, 28, 195–223.

DIENER, E. AND M. E. P. SELIGMAN (2004): "Beyond Money: Toward an Economy of Well-being," Psychological Science, 5, 1–31.

DIENER, E., E. M. Suh, AND R. E. Lucas (1999): "Subjective Well-being: Three Decades of Progress," Psychological Bulletin, 125, 276–302.

DIENER, E., E. SANDVIK, L. SEIDLITZ, AND M. DIENER (1993): "The relationship between income

DURKHEIM, E. ([1895] 1950): The Rules of Sociological Method, The Free Press, New York NY.

EUBA, R. (2019): "Humans aren't designed to be happy," medicalxpress.

FOWLER, J. H. AND N. A. CHRISTAKIS (2008): "Dynamic Spread of Happiness in a Large Social Network: Longitudinal Analysis Over 20 Years in the Framingham Heart Study," British Medical

Network: Longitudinal Analysis Over 20 Years in the Framingham Heart Study," British Medical Journal, Vol. 3, January 09.

Frank, R. (2012): The Darwin economy: Liberty, competition, and the common good, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ.

University Press, Princeton NJ.

FREY, B. S. AND A. STUTZER (2000): "Happiness, economy and institutions," Economic Journal,

110, 918–938.
References 59/59

happiness is not always good," Perspectives on Psychological Science, 6, 222.

HAIDT, J. (2012): The righteous mind: Why good people are divided by politics and religion, Vintage.

HELLIWELL, J. F. (2006): "Well-being, social capital and public policy: what's new?" The

Economic Journal, 116, C34-C45.

References

GRUBER, J., I. MAUSS, AND M. TAMIR (2011): "A dark side of happiness? How, when, and why

Econometrica, 47, 263–291.

KAHNEMAN, D., P. P. WAKKER, AND R. SARIN (1997): "Back to Bentham? Explorations of Experienced Utility," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 112, 375–405.

KAHNEMAN, D. AND A. TVERSKY (1979): "Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk,"

LAYARD, R. (2005): Happiness. Lessons from a new science., The Penguin Press, New York NY.
 LINDEN, D. (2011): The Compass of Pleasure: How Our Brains Make Fatty Foods, Orgasm,
 Exercise, Marijuana, Generosity, Vodka, Learning, and Gambling Feel So Good, Viking Press.
 MARYANSKI, A. AND J. H. TURNER (1992): The social cage: Human nature and the evolution of

society, Stanford University Press.

MASLOW, A. ([1954] 1987): Motivation and personality, Longman, 3 ed.

MCPHERSON, M., L. SMITH-LOVIN, AND J. M. COOK (2001): "Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks." Annual Review of Sociology, 415–444

social networks," Annual Review of Sociology, 415–444.

MICHALOS, A. (1985): "Multiple discrepancies theory (MDT)," Social Indicators Research, 16, 347–413.

347–413.

MYERS, D. G. (2000): "The Funds, Friends, and Faith of Happy People," American Psychologist, 55, 56–67.

55, 56–67.

NUSSBAUM, M. C. (2005): "Mill between Aristotle and Bentham," in Economics and Happiness, ed. by L. Bruni and P. L. Porta, Oxford University Press, New York NY, 170–184.

SANDVIK, E., E. DIENER, AND L. SEIDLITZ (1993): "Subjective Well-Being: The Convergence and Stability of Self-Report and Non-Self-Report Measures." Journal of Personality, 61, 317-342. SCHNITTKER, J. (2008): "Happiness and Success: Genes, Families, and the Psychological Effects of Socioeconomic Position and Social Support," American Journal of Sociology, 114, S233-S259.

PINKER, S. (2003): The blank slate: The modern denial of human nature, Penguin, New York NY.

STIGLITZ, J., A. SEN, AND J. FITOUSSI (2009): "Report by the Commission on the measurement of economic performance and social progress," Available at www.stiglitz-sen-fitoussi.fr. VEENHOVEN, R. (2000): "Freedom and Happiness. A comparative study in 46 nations in the early

90's," in Culture and subjective wellbeing, ed. by E. Diener and E. Suh, MIT press, Cambridge MA. 257-288.

VEENHOVEN, R. AND J. EHRHARDT (1995): "The Cross-National Pattern of Happiness: Test of Predictions Implied in Three Theories of Happiness," Social Indicators Research, 34, 33-68. Weijers, D. (2011): "Hedonism," Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

59/59