2ND EDITION

The Psychology of HAPPINESS

MICHAEL ARGYLE

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2nd Edition

Michael Argyle

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He taught social psychology at Oxford from 1952 and his research interests in this area include the experimental study of social interaction and its application to wider social problems. He has lectured internationally, and was a visiting professor at a number of universities in the USA, Canada, and Australia.

He is the author of many books, including *The Social Psychology of Everyday Life* (1992), *The Psychology of Social Class* (1993), *The Psychology of Religious Behaviour: Belief and Experience* (with Beit-Hallahmi) (1997), *The Psychology of Money* (with Furnham) (1998), and *Psychology and Religion: An Introduction* (2000), all published by Routledge.

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Preface

The first edition of this book was published in 1987, when the field of happiness research was quite young. Since then it has expanded enormously. A lot of new work has appeared in the journal *Social Indicators Research*, *The Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* and in *Personality and Individual Differences*. Veenhoven produced a reanalysis of surveys from around the world, *Correlates of Happiness* (1994). Kahneman, Diener, and Schwarz edited their equally massive *Well-Being: The Foundations of Hedonic Psychology* (1999), in which I have a chapter. Happiness and well-being research is now published mainly in psychological journals. However economists have also taken an increasing interest in this topic, through their concern with whether money makes people happy, and the effects of unemployment. Governments too have started to take an interest.

Since the first edition of this book I have been carrying out research and writing on some of the central topics of the present book, and this has helped me to rewrite some chapters. During this period I produced books on *The Social Psychology of Work* (2nd edition) (1989), *The Social Psychology of Leisure* (1996) and *Psychology and Religion: An Introduction* (2000).

I have been greatly helped by Peter Hills, Professor Adrian Furnham and Professor Peter Robinson, who read and commented on the whole manuscript. I am indebted to students, especially at Oxford Brookes University, some of whom have done empirical projects in this area. Two conferences have been very useful, one organised by Kahneman at Princeton in connection with the *Well-Being* book, the other at Nuffield College, organised by Professor Avner Offer and others.

Several libraries have been very helpful, especially the Radcliffe Science Library and the PPE Reading Room, New Bodleian at Oxford.

June 2000
Oxford Brookes University

Chapter 1

Introduction

> We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
>
> (American Declaration of Independence)

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

It does not really need to be proved that most people, perhaps all people, want to be happy. However there is data to prove it. King and Napa (1998) found with two American samples that happiness and meaning in life were rated as much more important than money in producing the good life, more than moral goodness and more even than going to heaven (this was done in the mid-West). However, although students thought that money was unimportant, adults thought it was a factor in the good life. Skevington, MacArthur, and Somerset (1997) found with a number of focus groups in England that happiness was rated as the most important component of Quality of Life, greater than money, health or sex for example. The enthusiasm for the Lottery, and TV shows where people can win a lot of money, suggests that many people believe that money would solve their problems and make them happy.

It is sometimes said that we can't or shouldn't pursue happiness, that it is the by-product of hard work or some other aspects of a good life. On the other hand psychologists are quite successful in relieving depression in other people, and the aim is to make them happier. We shall discuss later the possible ways of enhancing the happiness both of others and oneself, and indeed of the whole community.

It is sometimes said that the very concept of happiness is obscure and mysterious. But it is clear that most people know very well what it is. Surveys have asked people what they mean by it, and they say either that it is often being in a state of joy or other positive emotion, or it is being satisfied with one's life. These two components, positive emotion and satisfaction, are often measured, and we shall see that they have somewhat different causes. Often a third

component is included—the absence of depression, anxiety or other negative emotions. Happiness has sometimes been measured by the answers to a single question in big surveys, but this has led to some very improbable results, especially on international comparisons. Longer scales are better. We discuss the measurement of happiness in Chapter 2.

It was the great imbalance between the number of psychological books and papers on depression and on happiness, 17:1 in one survey, which motivated some of us to start looking at the neglected positive emotions. Recently the situation has changed and there are now many studies of what has come to be called "subjective well-being", SWB for short, which means exactly the same thing, and I shall use this term as an alternative to happiness. "Well-being" is different, since it usually includes objective variables such as income and health.

It is possible that happiness can take different forms. There is the high arousal kind of happiness of those who enjoy noisy and exciting social events, and the quieter happiness of those who enjoy quieter and solitary activities. This becomes a problem when comparing the happiness levels in different cultures. We shall see how happiness can best be measured in the next chapter.

WHAT DO WE WANT TO KNOW FROM HAPPINESS RESEARCH?

Psychologists want to understand the causes of happiness and the psychological processes that produce it, but what do other people want to know? They too may want to know the causes, because this will tell us how to improve the happiness of self or others. Some causal factors can be manipulated, such as choice of leisure activities. And it is possible to change one's mood by simple methods of positive mood induction. This gives the answer to another question—can happiness be changed? The answer is that it can, even though some of the causal factors such as personality are partly innate and outside our control. We discuss how to do it in Chapter 13.

Psychologists are also interested in fundamental issues, which may have practical consequences when they are solved. Good moods depend on physiological processes, some of which we understand. This enables us to explain the effects of drugs like Prozac, but also of exercise for example. In the end we would like to be able to trace the detailed physiological production of this aspect of happiness. And we want to know is there a biological advantage of happiness; does it lead to survival? We shall suggest some answers to this question (Chapter 3).

Happiness depends partly on objective conditions such as being married and employed, but it is partly in the mind; it depends on how we look at things. Optimism is good, but what about "unrealistic optimism"? Having goals is good, but what if the "goal–achievement gap" is too large? These are some of the cognitive processes behind our judgements of happiness and satisfaction with life (Chapter 4).

Seeing the funny side of things is good for happiness too, and a chapter on humour has been added since the first edition of this book. Humour works in several ways, the most important is that being able to look at events in a second, less serious way, can make negative events less stressful. It is also a means of enjoying social encounters, it is part of sociability and a part of social skills. It can discharge conflicts between people and in society (Chapter 5).

The central part of the book is about the main causes of happiness—which I believe are social relationships, work and leisure. We now know that relationships like romantic love, marriage and friendship are major causes of positive emotion and happiness, and also of other aspects of well-being like mental and physical health. They do this by providing social support, in the form of actual help, emotional support and companionship in pleasant activities. There is a close link between happiness and sociability (Chapter 6).

Work is satisfying and enjoyed by most people, partly because it leads to rewards and other goal-attainment, but also because of intrinsic satisfaction from doing the work, and social satisfaction from relations with work mates. Work can be stressful but is overall good for us. Working conditions have been changing, not always for the better; happiness researchers are keeping a watchful eye on new forms of working. Unemployment is high throughout the industrialised world, and we discuss how the effects of it can be alleviated (Chapter 7).

Leisure is an important cause of happiness, and it is the one that is most under individual control. There are several theories of what motivates leisure activity; it will be shown that the main motivation is often to enjoy social relations, real or imaginary. Psychologists are quite puzzled about the great popularity of TV watching, since those watching report very low levels of satisfaction from it and also say that they are almost asleep when watching. There can be positive effects, however, such as for the socially isolated (Chapter 8).

Does money make people happy? This is a really important question, but it has been very hard to resolve since the findings are contradictory. Many people, and governments, act as if it is so, yet rising incomes have not affected life satisfaction, winning lotteries has negative effects for some, and the rich are no happier than those on middle incomes; those most preoccupied with money are less happy. On the other hand the very poor are less happy, and richer countries have higher levels of reported happiness than poorer countries. There are quite large effects of social class and of education, and both of them have a greater effect in some other countries (Chapter 9).

Psychologists also want to know which kinds of personality are happiest. This was once a focus of controversy, but now it has been well researched and it has been found that there are strong links with certain personality traits such as extraversion and neuroticism. There are some other aspects of personality in the domain of styles of thinking: happy people have more self-esteem, sense of control, optimism, and a sense of purpose derived from having goals. Any findings in this area can be made use of in psychotherapy—to persuade patients to look at things in the best way. There are also age differences in happiness, but

could this be due to historical changes? Fortunately there have been some longitudinal studies to find out. Chapter 10 deals with personality.

Does religion make people happier? Yes, but not as much as joining a sports club or getting married. Church members benefit from more specialised aspects of well-being—services produce intense positive experiences, as music does; believers have more existential well-being, less fear of death, can cope with major stresses, and they live longer. This is all partly due to the strong social support of church communities (Chapter 11).

There is great interest in knowing how our country compares with other countries. There is a lot of material on this, and the upshot is that Britain, along with the USA, Australia and Scandinavia, score high on self-reported happiness. However, some of the findings in this area have been questioned—is Iceland really the happiest country in the world, and is Europe unhappy, as single-item surveys tend to find? The differences may be due to social norms about expressing happiness. If we also look at objective social indicators, a more complex picture emerges. In Chapter 12 we also consider whether there have been historical changes. Over the last 40 years, since surveys started, there has been surprisingly little change, despite great increases in average prosperity in many countries; we shall see that this itself is a further problem to be explained. Meanwhile social changes continue, which may affect happiness, some of them in the wrong direction, such as more unemployment, and more family break-up. Chapter 12 deals with differences between countries.

In Chapter 13 we consider how happiness can be enhanced. It can be done in the lab by mood induction experiments, and in field situations by increasing the frequency of positive events such as exercise. Happiness therapy has consisted of increasing positive life events, and using cognitive therapy and training in social skills training. Elaborate packages built on these have been used with both depressed patients and normals. We shall discuss the effects of Prozac and other happiness drugs, but conclude that a changed lifestyle is the best way of achieving happiness (Chapter 13).

Finally we ask, is happiness good for us? Does it produce better health or mental health, make people more sociable, more helpful, work harder or solve problems better? The answer to these questions may help answer another one, what is the use of happiness? Although, of course, happiness is an end in itself (Chapter 14).

DIDN'T WE KNOW IT ALL BEFORE?

Most people are not aware that there is a large body of happiness research. And when they hear about it they are not always impressed. They say "It's obvious". It can be pointed out that findings like these seem more obvious when they have been found out than before the work was done—when it was certainly not obvious to those carrying out the research. I sometimes avoid this reaction

when lecturing on this topic by listing some totally unsolved problems. Many "obvious" theories of course turn out to be wrong. Admittedly some of the findings are not very surprising, for example that being unemployed or divorced makes people unhappy. On the other hand we did not know the details, that is which individuals are and are not made unhappy by these experiences—indeed some are happier. But there are other findings that are a lot more surprising to most of us. For example:

- on the whole money does not make people happy
- winning the lottery makes many people less happy
- happiness is partly innate
- happy people live longer
- so do those who go to church
- having children has no overall effect on happiness (it depends on stage in the family life cycle)
- older people are happier than younger
- watching TV soap operas is beneficial (despite evidence that TV watchers are only half awake).

There is research into what people think will make them happy or unhappy. They are often wrong. For example American students think they would be happier living in California than in the Middle West; there is no difference. Faculty think they will be happier if they get tenure: it made no difference. Soldiers expect more fear doing a difficult parachute jump, and dental patients think that it will hurt more, than actually happens. People say that money is not an important cause of happiness, and they are correct; however, their behaviour suggests that they think money is very important (Loewenstein and Schkade, 1999).

I have mentioned a number of issues where there are still unsolved problems. These include sheer empirical matters such as whether some countries are happier than others, and exactly what effect money has on happiness. There are also more theoretical issues, such as tracing the physiological processes producing joy, explaining exactly why extraverts are happy. And there are applied problems, such as which training packages enhance happiness most.

INSPIRATIONAL AND NON-EMPIRICAL THEORIES OF HAPPINESS

There are several groups who think they know all about happiness, without the need for further research. There are some religious people for example, who think that the secret of life can be found in their sacred book. Muslims think this, and think that research into psychology is unnecessary, since it is all in the Koran. If this was true it would follow that religious individuals would be happier than the non-religious. As we shall see several other causes have a greater effect.

Another group is the authors of self-help books, in the tradition of Norman Vincent Peale's *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1953), and there are many books with the general title of *How to be Happy*. These books however do not make any use of the research enterprise described above, they are a kind of inspirational common sense. They advise people to assert themselves, accept themselves and think positively, sometimes with some religious elements such as love people and forgive them. Recent examples are Holden's *Happiness Now* (1998) and Lindenfeld's *Emotional Confidence* (1997). What such books lack is any evidence that the contents are true or that reading them does you any good. We have seen already that common sense is a very poor guide, since often what seems obvious turns out to be wrong, and many problems are still unsolved. The central component, *think positively*, is really part of happiness, and it is doubtful whether it can be acquired by sheer will-power. These books are also full of strange and unverifiable propositions such as "You are truly happy 100% of the time; your only problem is that you are not always aware of this", and "Making a whole-hearted commitment to being happy is a powerful medicine" (Holden, 1998, pp. 160 and 70). It is probably a mistake to think of these as in any sense empirical propositions; they are inspirational statements, with the intention of changing the way their readers feel about their lives. But in this case there is no way of deciding which of many self-help books is right, or best.

THE HISTORY OF HAPPINESS RESEARCH

This is a very short history since the field emerged quite recently. In the 1960s American survey organisations started asking questions about happiness and satisfaction. This led to some early classics: Cantril (1965), *The Pattern of Human Concerns*, an international survey with 23,875 respondents; Bradburn (1969), *The Structure of Psychological Well-Being*, which used an NORC survey; and Campbell, Converse, and Rogers (1976), *The Quality of American Life*, from the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. In 1967 Wilson published a review of the happiness literature in the *Psychological Bulletin*, and in 1984 Diener did the same, updating this in 1999 (Diener et al.). Gallup, MORI, and other survey organisations were carrying out further surveys, and not only in America—in Europe the Eurobarometer surveyed Common Market countries.

The journal *Social Indicators Research* began in 1974, and published a lot of happiness material; *Personality and Individual Differences* published increasing numbers of papers on individual differences in happiness. Psychological journals such as *The Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* also began to publish papers on happiness. In 1999 the *Journal of Happiness Research* started, edited by Veenhoven. In 1994 Veenhoven brought out his massive three-volume *Correlates of Happiness*, reanalysing 630 major surveys from around the world. Kahneman, Diener, and Schwarz edited a large volume, *Foundations of Hedonic*

Psychology (1999) (in which I have a chapter), based on a conference at Princeton, containing chapters on most fields of happiness research.

I found a lot to write about in the first edition of the present book, but since then there has been a great deal more. This field has grown at an astonishing rate, and built up a large volume of research and knowledge. It produces conferences, and part of general psychological conferences. It has not however had much impact on the general field of psychology; it does not yet have a chapter in psychology textbooks, for example.

The practical application of happiness research

What can be done with all this knowledge that other approaches can't do?

1 *Enhancing the happiness of individuals*. There has been follow-up research into the benefits of several kinds of therapy or changes in lifestyle. Such follow-up is essential, since many forms of psychotherapy have been found to have no effect at all. Pleasant activities therapy, and some versions of cognitive therapy, are directly addressed to happiness and have been found to be effective. Social skills training has another aim but is successful with depression and has similar results with normals through improving social relationships. Changed leisure activities, such as increased exercise, have been found to work for depression and for normal individuals too. Leisure in particular is under our own control and can therefore be manipulated to increase happiness.
2 *Enhancing the happiness of communities*. Happiness is not entirely an individual matter, but is partly a property of communities. This is particularly true in collectivist societies. The well-being of communities is partly a function of joint facilities, e.g. for leisure, and of social cohesion. In the case of working organisations, their size (smaller is better) and shape (less hierarchical is better), and amount of participation in decisions are important. When we have found out exactly what is the effect of money it should be possible to advise governments on economic matters too.
3 *International agencies*. These are concerned with the quality of life in different countries. First they considered only economic measures, then they added health and education, and a number of other objective measures can be considered. However, subjective well-being is also important, and is not very closely related to these objective indicators. Therefore SWB needs to be taken into account and it might be a matter of concern by these agencies if any country has a very low level of happiness. But making these comparisons is not easy; some happiness may take a different form in different cultures, and there may also be different ways of answering questions.

Chapter 2

How to measure and study happiness

WHAT IS HAPPINESS?

As we have seen, people seem to understand this term perfectly well, and have a fairly clear idea that it is about positive emotions and satisfaction with life. Many surveys have simply asked respondents how happy they are. We are concerned here primarily with such measures of "subjective well-being" (SWB), the subjective side of well-being, rather than with objective measures of income, health etc., which we shall describe as "social indicators".

A lot of the data on happiness comes from social surveys, often with large numbers of respondents. It is expensive to ask a lot of questions so often there was only one question, of the form "How happy are you?" or "How satisfied are you with your life as a whole?". Andrews and Withey (1976) discovered a single item which was intended to measure the two aspects, affect and satisfaction—"How do you feel about your life as a whole?", from "delighted" to "terrible" with a seven-point scale. Campbell et al. (1976) in a famous study *The Quality of American Life* asked another version of this question: "How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?"

Another way of measuring satisfaction is with the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS), which is shown in Table 4.2 (see page 40). Research with these scales shows that most people report that their satisfaction is considerably above average, and that there is quite a wide distribution of satisfaction in the population. Diener and Diener (1996) show that many studies of happiness, satisfaction and other measures of subjective well-being have found this. On average 75–80% are above average. Brandstatter (1991) using experience sampling (to be described shortly) found that the people are in a state of positive emotion 68% of the time.

Fordyce (1988) devised a Happiness Measure consisting of two questions: (1) "In general how happy or unhappy do you usually feel?", from "Extremely happy" (feeling ecstatic, joyous, fantastic), which scores 10, to "Extremely unhappy" (utterly depressed, completely down), which scores 0; (2) "On average what percent of the time do you feel happy?" (or unhappy or neutral). The two scores are combined; the average for the first was 6.9 ("mildly happy"), and for the second 54%.

Single-item measures can be quite successful. Job satisfaction can be measured in this way by asking "All things considered, how much do you like your job?", and questions like this correlate as high as .67 with longer scales (Wanous, Reichers, and Hudy, 1997).

The Fordyce scale has high correlations with much longer scales for happiness. However there are problems with simple one-item measures. One is that they are too obvious, and hence likely to be affected by response biases. Psychologists would not try to measure racial attitudes with an item like "Do you like black people?"; they use less direct items. We shall see later that cross-national surveys using single happiness items have produced some very strange results. The second objection arises because psychologists like to know that a variable has some internal validity, i.e. consists of a number of correlated components, and this means having a look at a longer set of items or measures, of domains that can be sampled, like the questions in an intelligence test. Several studies have taken a variety of measures of SWB, and have found that all of these different measures correlate together and do produce a single factor. For example Compton et al. (1996) gave a series of happiness and mental health questionnaires to 338 students and adults, and obtained a clear first factor with loadings that included those shown in Table 2.1. These measures will all be discussed later. It can be seen that the highest loading was Fordyce's Happiness Measure, followed by Diener's Satisfaction With Life Scale and Bradburn's Affect Balance (Positive affect minus Negative affect)—all well-known and widely used measures. The highest correlation was with a measure of general happiness, the second highest was with satisfaction with life, and the third was with affect balance. Other studies have found the same thing: happiness is a basic dimension of experience, something like a personality trait. For the affect part of it we usually want to know more than a person's mood at this minute, we want their usual mood, how they have been "feeling in recent weeks", rather than "now", for example.

The most widely used measure of satisfaction is the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS), due to Diener et al. (1985), and this will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The Oxford Happiness Inventory (OHI; Argyle et al., 1989) was designed to

Table 2.1 Loadings on Compton's happiness factor

Happiness (Fordyce)	.84
Satisfaction with life (Diener)	.83
Affect balance (Bradburn)	.74
Quality of life (Flanagan)	.69
Optimism (LOT)	.69
Psychological well-being (Fordyce)	.60
Self-esteem (Rosenberg)	.51

Source: Compton et al. (1996).

measure happiness as a whole, and followed the design of the well-known measure of depression, the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI; 1976), using some of the same items reversed, plus others, with the same four-choice format. There are 29 items, and the latest version is shown in Table 2.2. The OHI has been used in most of the research done at Oxford, and has been found to have better test–retest reliability than the BDI, it has been found to correlate with ratings by friends, and has strong and predicted relations with personality dimensions, stress and social support. There are Chinese and Israeli versions.

Joseph and Lewis (1998) devised a general Depression–Happiness scale; they found that it correlated with the OHI at .54 and with the Beck Depression Inventory at –.75. This is further confirmation that there is a single happiness dimension, which has a strong negative correlation with depression.

Does happiness have two, three or four main components?

We have just seen that happiness may have somewhat separate cognitive and emotional parts, which can be elicited by asking about satisfaction or about joy and elation. Andrews and McKennell (1980) used 23 SWB measures with substantial British and American samples. They found clear affective and cognitive factors, and that happiness measures correlated more with the affective factor. The affective and cognitive variables are of course correlated, but only at about $r = .50$, sometimes less than this. Suh et al. (1997) reported data from 43 countries, with 56,661 subjects in all; the average correlation between affect balance and satisfaction was .41, but this was higher for countries rated as individualist, like Britain and the USA at .50 or more, but less in collectivist countries, where it was as low as .20; the reason may be that in collectivist cultures reported satisfaction depends on the state of others as well as oneself. So happiness can be said to have at least two components which are partly independent of each other.

The Fordyce measure described above is mainly a measure of affect. Kammann and Flett's Affectometer (1983) is entirely about affect, while Diener et

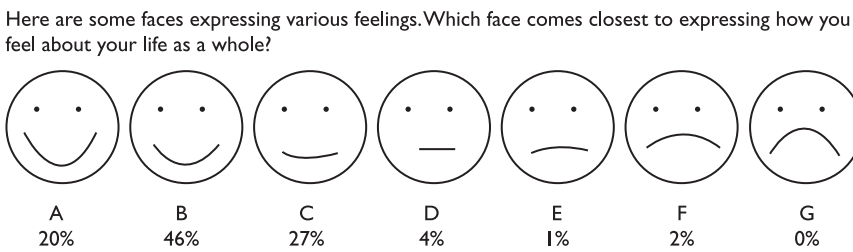

Figure 2.1 Faces and feelings (Andrews and Withey, 1976).

Table 2.2 The Revised Oxford Happiness Inventory

Below, there are groups of statements about personal happiness. Please read all four statements in each group and then pick out the one statement in each group that best describes the way you have been feeling in the past week, including today. Circle the letter (a, b, c, or d) beside the statement you have picked.

01.	a	I do not feel happy.
	b	I feel fairly happy.
	c	I am very happy.
	d	I am incredibly happy.
02.	a	I am not particularly optimistic about the future.
	b	I feel optimistic about the future.
	c	I feel I have so much to look forward to.
	d	I feel that the future is overflowing with hope and promise.
03.	a	I am not really satisfied with anything in my life.
	b	I am satisfied with some things in my life.
	c	I am satisfied with many things in my life.
	d	I am completely satisfied about everything in my life.
04.	a	I feel that I am not especially in control of my life.
	b	I feel at least partially in control of my life.
	c	I feel that I am in control most of the time.
	d	I feel that I am in total control of all aspects of my life.
05.	a	I don't feel that life is particularly rewarding.
	b	I feel that life is rewarding.
	c	I feel that life is very rewarding.
	d	I feel that life is overflowing with rewards.
06.	a	I don't feel particularly pleased with the way I am.
	b	I am pleased with the way I am.
	c	I am very pleased with the way I am.
	d	I am delighted with the way I am.
07.	a	I never have a good influence on events.
	b	I occasionally have a good influence on events.
	c	I often have a good influence on events.
	d	I always have a good influence on events.
08.	a	I get by in life.
	b	Life is good.
	c	Life is very good.
	d	I love life.
09.	a	I am not really interested in other people.
	b	I am moderately interested in other people.
	c	I am very interested in other people.
	d	I am intensely interested in other people.
10.	a	I do not find it easy to make decisions.
	b	I find it fairly easy to make some decisions.
	c	I find it easy to make most decisions.
	d	I can make all decisions very easily.

continued

Table 2.2 contd

11.	a	I find it difficult to get started to do things.
	b	I find it moderately easy to start doing things.
	c	I find it easy to do things.
	d	I feel able to take anything on.
12.	a	I rarely wake up feeling rested.
	b	I sometimes wake up feeling rested.
	c	I usually wake up feeling rested.
	d	I always wake up feeling rested.
13.	a	I don't feel at all energetic.
	b	I feel fairly energetic.
	c	I feel very energetic.
	d	I feel I have boundless energy.
14.	a	I don't think things have a particular "sparkle".
	b	I find beauty in some things.
	c	I find beauty in most things.
	d	The whole world looks beautiful to me.
15.	a	I don't feel mentally alert.
	b	I feel quite mentally alert.
	c	I feel very mentally alert.
	d	I feel fully mentally alert.
16.	a	I don't feel particularly healthy.
	b	I feel moderately healthy.
	c	I feel very healthy.
	d	I feel on top of the world.
17.	a	I do not have particularly warm feelings towards others.
	b	I have some warm feelings towards others.
	c	I have very warm feelings towards others.
	d	I love everybody.
18.	a	I do not have particularly happy memories of the past.
	b	I have some happy memories of the past.
	c	Most past events seem to have been happy.
	d	All past events seem extremely happy.
19.	a	I am never in a state of joy or elation.
	b	I sometimes experience joy and elation.
	c	I often experience joy and elation.
	d	I am constantly in a state of joy and elation.
20.	a	There is a gap between what I would like to do and what I have done.
	b	I have done some of the things I wanted.
	c	I have done many of the things I wanted.
	d	I have done everything I ever wanted.
21.	a	I can't organise my time very well.
	b	I organise my time fairly well.
	c	I organise my time very well.
	d	I can fit in everything I want to do.

22.	a	I do not have fun with other people.
	b	I sometimes have fun with other people.
	c	I often have fun with other people.
	d	I always have fun with other people.
23.	a	I do not have a cheerful effect on others.
	b	I sometimes have a cheerful effect on others.
	c	I often have a cheerful effect on others.
	d	I always have a cheerful effect on others.
24.	a	I do not have any particular sense of meaning and purpose in my life.
	b	I have a sense of meaning and purpose.
	c	I have a great sense of meaning and purpose.
	d	My life is totally meaningful and purposive.
25.	a	I do not have particular feelings of commitment and involvement.
	b	I sometimes become committed and involved.
	c	I often become committed and involved.
	d	I am always committed and involved.
26.	a	I do not think the world is a good place.
	b	I think the world is a fairly good place.
	c	I think the world is a very good place.
	d	I think the world is an excellent place.
27.	a	I rarely laugh.
	b	I laugh fairly often.
	c	I laugh a lot.
	d	I am always laughing.
28.	a	I don't think I look attractive.
	b	I think I look fairly attractive.
	c	I think I look attractive.
	d	I think I look extremely attractive.
29.	a	I do not find things amusing.
	b	I find some things amusing.
	c	I find most things amusing.
	d	I am amused by everything.

Source: Hills and Argyle (1998b).

al.'s Satisfaction With Life Scale (1985) is of course about satisfaction. Another affect measure is Andrews and Withey's "faces" measure, shown in Figure 2.1. This uses the "life as a whole" question, but the response format makes it into an affect item.

However the emotional part may need to be subdivided further, since it turns out that positive moods are not the opposite of negative moods. Bradburn (1969) asked people about the percentage of the time they had been in positive and in negative moods in the past few weeks; some of the questions were:

> During the past few weeks did you ever feel . . .
> e.g. pleased about having accomplished something

that things were going your way
depressed or very unhappy
very lonely or remote from other people?

His key finding was that these two dimensions were almost totally independent of each other. This issue has been much debated and investigated. The short answer is that PA (positive affect) and NA (negative affect) correlate at about –.43 (Tellegen et al., 1988). We shall explore this further in the next chapter.

Negative affect takes us into the well-charted regions of psychological distress, for which there are several widely used measures, such as the Eysenck Neuroticism scale, and the Beck Depression Inventory. Andrews and Withey (1976) found that their satisfaction measure was fairly independent of measures of both positive and negative affect. This all leads us to the widely agreed conclusion that happiness has three main parts, satisfaction and positive and negative affect—though as we saw earlier all three are correlated with each other. Happiness can be divided up in other ways, but this is the one that has been used most often by research workers so far.

Another way of dividing up emotions in particular is to measure their intensity, or depth, and their frequency. Both influence overall affect, and it is found that frequency is the more important. We shall return to this topic when considering the effect of positive life events, where we will look at the intense ones too.

However, negative affect may need to be subdivided too. Headey and Wearing (1992), in their big Australian study, found that depression (Beck Depression Inventory) and anxiety (Spielberger scale) correlated only at $r = .50$, so these two main forms of negative affect or distress are partly independent. These authors also used Bradburn's negative affect and the General Health Questionnaire, and found that the four measures of negative affect and distress all correlated, but not very highly, between .36 and .50, so there is a case for separating the components of negative affect, and it may be desirable to assess the different negative emotions separately. If two are used, depression and anxiety, this gives us four components of happiness. The relations between these four components found by Headey and Wearing are shown in Figure 2.2.

Lucas, Diener, and Suh (1996) found that different measures of life satisfaction formed a clear factor, correlating tightly together and they were separate from a group of measures of positive emotion, and from the negative emotion factor, also from measures of optimism and self-esteem.

So are optimism and self-esteem parts of happiness? Or purpose in life? There are well-established scales for measuring optimism (the Life Orientation Scale), purpose in life and self-esteem. These can all be looked at as parts of positive thinking and feelings. Or we can keep to a narrower definition of happiness and say that these variables are among the causes of happiness. This is the way most investigators have proceeded. Ryff (1989) took a different approach and has developed a measure of psychological well-being with six factors:

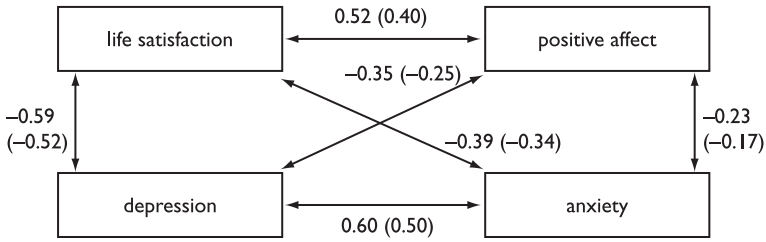

Figure 2.2 Estimates of "true" correlations among sub-dimensions of WB and psychological distress[1] (Headey and Wearing, 1992, p. 45). The reliability estimates (Cronbach alphas) used to disattenuate the observed correlations were: life satisfaction 0.92, positive affect 0.64, depression 0.82 and anxiety 0.85.

- Self-acceptance
- Positive relations with others
- Autonomy
- Environmental mastery
- Purpose in life
- Personal growth.

They also form a single super-factor, though the correlations between them are fairly low. They have somewhat different relations with other variables, and we shall meet several of them again later in this book.

What is the relation between happiness and mental health? Mental health can be assessed in terms of a single factor. The General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) (Goldberg, 1978) is widely used, as is Eysenck's Neuroticism factor (Eysenck, 1976). The short form of the GHQ is shown in Table 2.3. We saw that a single factor of well-being and (good) mental health can be found, as shown in Table 2.1. But we have also seen that positive and negative affect are somewhat independent of each other, so that (absence of) distress, negative affect, depression or anxiety, are better seen as one component of subjective well-being.

Physical health is another matter. It is both a cause and an effect of subjective well-being, and it can be seen as part of a broader concept, Quality of Life. Subjective health is another matter, part of SWB, but not very closely related to physical health; the latter has been measured in recent British studies by the SF-36 scale, which asks about details of how the individual's activities are impaired (Jenkinson and McGee, 1998).

How good are these measurements?

There are several ways of evaluating a psychological test.

1 Does it have internal coherence, that is do the items correlate together? We need to know that there is a variable there to be measured, with components that correlate together, and which have been sampled successfully

Table 2.3 The General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) (12-item version)

Have you recently

*1	been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing?
2	lost much sleep over worry?
*3	felt that you are playing a useful part in things?
*4	felt capable of making decisions about things?
5	felt constantly under strain?
6	felt you couldn't overcome your difficulties?
*7	been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?
*8	been able to face up to your problems?
9	been feeling unhappy and depressed?
10	been losing confidence in yourself?
11	been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?
*12	been feeling reasonably happy all things considered?

Source: Goldberg (1972).

Note
*These items are scored in reverse; 0 means agree strongly.

by the test. This is usually assessed by Cronbach's "alpha". Most of the tests referred to have high scores here, for example Diener's Satisfaction with Life Scale (.84), and the Oxford Happiness Inventory (.85). And these are not narrow scales where all the items are nearly the same.

2 Are the scores stable over time? Most of these tests do very well here too. We have found that the OHI is more stable than the very similar BDI, at .67 over 6 months, and Headey and Wearing (1992) found levels of .5 to .6 for a 6-year interval. The scores are also sensitive to change however, and current hassles as well as past well-being are predictors of current well-being (Chamberlain and Zika, 1992).

3 Are these tests valid? That is do the scores agree with better or more direct measures of happiness? Two kinds of validation have been used. Reports by others correlate at about .5 to .6 with ratings by others who know the subjects, for the OHI, the Delighted–Terrible (D–T) scale and other scales. For example Lepper (1998) with 1500 retired individuals found that ratings of happiness by a significant other correlated as follows:

- happiness .59, .54 (there were two samples)
- positive affect .45, .43
- affect balance .53
- satisfaction .53, .51

They also correlate with daily reports of mood over a period of weeks, a little higher, at .66 for the D–T scale. Sandvik, Diener, and Seidlitz (1993) compared four self-report measures of subjective well-being and a number of non-self-report measures, including ratings by friends and family, daily mood reports, a written interview and cognitive measures. The average correlation between one type of measure and the other was .73, though