

A critique of eight country studies using the Global Flourishing Study

David G. Blanchflower

Abstract: I examine nine recent papers published in the *International Journal of Wellbeing* that use the Global Flourishing Study of 2022-2024 for Argentina, Hong Kong, Philippines, Poland, South Africa, Sweden, Turkey and the USA plus a summary paper. No econometric analysis is undertaken, and the various papers simply report means. I show that the findings in these papers have previously been published in 91 other papers, making 100 in all, including a total of 91 in peer reviewed journals since 2024, by the same group of authors. Of the 100 published papers only 15 are cited in these nine papers. This is not in keeping with normal publishing standards and practices.

Keywords: Global Flourishing Study, well-being, survey mode

1. Introduction

There is a large literature across many fields, especially psychology, demography, economics and sociology that has examined 'happiness' and 'unhappiness', variously defined across countries. This includes early work by Cantril (1965) and more prevalent work by Easterlin (1974) that examined how income and happiness were related. Easterlin showed that a nation's average happiness does not increase as the country's income and economy grow over the long term—the so-called Easterlin paradox. Easterlin noted, that there were patterns in the happiness data:

"In addition to classification by income level, data on happiness are sometimes available by characteristics such as sex, age, race, education, and marital status. While the association of happiness with income is the most pervasive, some other patterns are apparent, though not without exception. Perhaps the firmest is a positive association between happiness and years of schooling. There is also some suggestion that the young are happier than the old, married persons than unmarried, and whites than blacks." (Easterlin, 1974, p.103).

Subsequent work by Easterlin (2003, 2006) as well as others, including Nobel Economic Laureates, showed how happiness and life satisfaction varied by characteristics, measures and across countries including Diener (1984), Argyle (1989), Inglehart (1990), Andrews (1991), Veenhoven (1991, 1993), Fox and Kahneman (1992), Douthitt, MacDonald and Mullis (1992), Oswald (1997), Frey and Stutzer (2001), DiTella, MacCulloch and Oswald (2001), Blanchflower and Oswald (2004), Kahneman, Krueger et al (2004), Frey (2008), Kahneman and Deaton (2010), Layard (2011), Ferrer-i-Carbonell (2013), Steptoe, Deaton and Stone (2015), Cheng, Powdthavee and Oswald

(2017), Graham and Pozuelo (2017), Clark et al (2019), Case, Deaton and Stone (2020), Case and Deaton (2021), Graham (2017, 2023), and Bartram (2024).¹

Blanchflower (2020) for example looked at how wellbeing varied by age across 145 countries using 15 datasets and multiple measures including happiness, life satisfaction, Cantril's, life evaluation, worthwhileness, satisfaction with family life, the economy and living standards and the answers were broadly the same. It also made little difference whether responses were 3-step, 4-step, 5-step, 10-step or 11-step or what measures were used, the patterns were essentially the same. Blanchflower (2021) looked at *unhappiness* and how it varied with age across many countries.

As background there is recent global evidence on the declining wellbeing of the young in the years since around 2013, first, documented in the United States by Twenge and co-authors (Twenge, Haidt et al (2021, Udupa et al, 2023). This has subsequently been documented in the US, the UK and many other countries (Blanchflower Bryson and Xu, 2025, Blanchflower, 2025).

In what follows I examine nine papers on eight countries - Argentina; Hong Kong; Philippines; Poland; South Africa; Sweden; Turkey and USA – plus a summary paper. These papers largely ignored this entire literature described above, stretching back five decades and mostly repeat what is already known about wellbeing. It is well documented in hundreds of papers that wellbeing and ill-being are correlated with age, income, education, labor force and immigrant status, religion and political beliefs. These forefathers of happiness studies already knew most of the stuff in these eight papers. They learnt it from a myriad of other datasets from around the world. There is nothing much new under the sun.

All eight country papers are focused on wellbeing and ill-being published in a special supplement in this journal in 2025, using the Global Flourishing Survey (GFS) which was conducted from 2022-2024.² The GFS survey includes data from 23 countries of which these countries are a subset.³ It is unclear why these eight countries were picked for analysis. For details of the survey see <https://globalflourishingstudy.com/>.

Seven of the eight papers simply report weighted means, of approximately 69 wellbeing variables by country, either in the body of the text of the papers or in the extensive supplementary tables. No formal analysis is conducted. The papers simply report means and as such, they are much more akin to codebooks than to academic papers. The paper on Argentina is different and has no supplement and focuses primarily on religion. There is very little here though that was not already known in the prior literature.

Moreover, I show that the main body of the results presented in this symposium have previously been reported, by the same group of authors, starting in 2024, when the survey data

¹ Measures of consumer confidence, which is just another way of saying happiness, are published monthly across every European country, by the European Commission along with measures of the happiness of businesses (https://economy-finance.ec.europa.eu/economic-forecast-and-surveys/business-and-consumer-surveys_en). In the US the monthly University of Michigan (<https://www.sca.isr.umich.edu/>) and the Conference Board measures (<https://www.conference-board.org/topics/consumer-confidence/>) report people's happiness about various aspects of the economy including inflation and unemployment. These surveys are market moving and go back decades.

² <https://internationaljournalofwellbeing.org/index.php/ijow/issue/view/81>

³ The other 15 countries are Australia, Brazil, China, Egypt, Germany, India, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Spain, Tanzania and the UK. Many of the studies exclude China as it was added later and collected data between March and April 2024. The remaining 22 countries collected data from March 2022-January 2024.

came out of the field, in a total of 91 other papers using the same GFS data. The list of these studies is reported in Appendix A. The authors of these papers fail to cite most of their own prior papers on the same issues they authored in other published journal papers. I also note that the authors seem unaware of the voluminous prior published literature on wellbeing based on many other international datasets for the same eight countries. The GFS is just one of half a dozen international datasets available on the same countries and the authors do not tell us what is new. I further point out importance of survey mode in the GFS which was not considered by any of these papers. I argue that is not consistent with usual publishing standards and practices that I am used to in over forty years in academia

2. Other international datasets

I examine country papers using the GFS on Argentina, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Poland, South Africa, Sweden, Turkey and the USA for the period 2022-2024 using the GFS. There is nothing especially unique about the GFS. There are many other international surveys containing wellbeing and illbeing data over the same time period for these countries. Several of them go back decades. These include the Gallup World Poll (2005-2025), Global Minds (2020-2026), International Social Survey Programme (1985-2025), World Values Survey (1981-2022), European Social Surveys (2002-2024) and Eurobarometers (1973-2024), surveys, all of which have data available for the years since 2020. All of these surveys are ongoing.

Plus, there are several ongoing panel datasets around the world that include wellbeing data including the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP), the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), the Swiss Household Panel (SHP), Come-Here a longitudinal study in France, Germany, Italy, Sweden and Spain; the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) and the National Longitudinal Surveys in the US. So, the question is what is added to what is already known by the GFS? I would argue not that much.

Table 1 (below) shows that six other datasets have wellbeing data for the same countries. The GFS has 82,921 observations across these eight countries. It is of interest also that there are several other international surveys on wellbeing with data for the years since 2020 or so and countries. In Table 1, I show the availability by country with sample size for six datasets, each have which have long time series data with which comparisons can be drawn. These include the Gallup World Poll and Global Minds that have data in each of these countries with sample sizes of 48,161 and 328,529 respectively.⁴ Also, the World Values Study has data on 5/8 (Argentina, Hong Kong, Philippines, Turkey and the USA (n=9289). The Eurobarometer has data on three (Poland, Sweden and Turkey (n=38,013), and the European Social Survey has data on Poland and Sweden,⁵ while the International Social Survey Program surveys of 2021 and 2022 combined has data on four (Poland, South Africa, Sweden and the USA (n=12015). GM and GWP also have data on the remaining 13 GFS countries.

⁴ Global Minds also has large sample sizes (>10k) on 10 of the other 13 countries included in the GFS - Australia=31,553, Brazil=25,673, Egypt=119,426, Germany=30,945, India=247,858, Israel=21,245, Kenya=14,197, Mexico=109,851, Nigeria=34,327, Spain=55,560, Tanzania=10,313 and UK=69,515. Sample size for China (n=2,753), Japan (n=4,763), and Indonesia (n=760) were relatively small.

⁵ As does the European Loneliness Survey of 2022 which is a CAWI survey.

Of note also is that there is data available for South Africa in the Afrobarometers, for Argentina in the Latino Barometer, and for the Philippines and Hong Kong and Turkey in the Asia barometer and for South Africa in the South African Quality of Life Survey 2009-2021. Blanchflower 2025 notes that there is data on wellbeing in the USA available from seven major surveys, the first three of which were examined by Udupa et al, (2023).

- 1) Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance surveys (BRFSS), 2020-2024.⁶
- 2) National Health Interview Surveys (NHIS) 2020-2025).⁷
- 3) National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES). 2019-2026.⁸
- 4) General Social Surveys (GSS) 2021, 2022 & 2024 see (<https://gss.norc.oregon.edu/>).
- 5) American National Election Studies (ANES), 2020 and 2024.⁹
- 6) The National Survey of Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) 2021-2024.¹⁰
- 7) US Household Pulse Surveys, 2020-2024.¹¹

Table 1. Samples by country in six international datasets, 2020-2026

	GFS 2022-2024	GWP 2020-2025	EB 2020-2024	GM 2020-2026	WVS 2017-2022	ISSP 2021-2022	ESS 2020-2024
Argentina	6,724	6,012		100,178	1,003		
Hong Kong	3,012	6,032		1,178	2,075		
Philippines	5,292	6,000		36,498	1,200		
Poland	10,389	6,018	14,323	504		2,196	3,507
South Africa	2,651	6,061		48,397		5,934	
Sweden	15,068	6,018	13,622	640		1,613	3,517
Turkey	1,473	6,000	10,068	736	2,415		
USA	38,312	6,020		140,408	2,596	2,272	
Total	82,921	48,161	38,013	328,539	9,289	12,015	7,024

Note. GWP – Cantril plus worry, sadness, enjoyment, smiling, well-rested, pain, anger (Yes/No); EB – 4-step life satisfaction, economy, democracy; GM – 75 wellbeing variables including life satisfaction and Cantril; WVS – 11-step life satisfaction and happiness, satisfied with family life, home life, financial situation, democracy, political system; ISSP – 7-step happiness; ESS – 10-step life satisfaction and happiness, democracy, health services, felt depressed, lonely and sad.

These surveys all contain wellbeing variables as well as data on age, gender, education, marital status and labor force status and year. None of these many surveys have had 100 papers, or close

⁶ <https://www.cdc.gov/brfss/index.html> Sample size for the BRFSS from 2020-2025 is 2,195,426.

⁷ <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nhis/documentation/2024-nhis.html>

⁸ <https://wwwn.cdc.gov/nchs/nhanes/default.aspx>

⁹ <https://electionstudies.org/data-center/>

¹⁰ <https://www.samhsa.gov/data/data-we-collect/nsduh-national-survey-drug-use-and-health/datafiles>

¹¹ <https://www.census.gov/data/experimental-data-products/household-pulse-survey.html>

to it, written about a single cross-section as is the case with the GFS. Much of what was reported in these eight country papers is already known, especially by age.

The penultimate section of Blanchflower's (2026) paper is entitled, "All results have previously

3. The country papers

There is an additional summary paper with seven co-authors along with the eight country papers. The papers are as follows with country sample sizes in parentheses. The numbers in {} parentheses refer to their reference number in Appendix A.

1. Summary paper – Lomas, Padgett et al {89} – 19 pages.
2. Argentina – Vanney et al {90} – 30 pages + 2 page appendix.
3. Hong Kong – Huang et al {91} – 26 pages + 43 page appendix.
4. Philippines – Buenconsejo et al {92} – 34 pages + 62 page appendix.
5. Poland – Weziak-Bialowolska et al {93} – 27 pages + 89 page appendix.
6. South Africa – Cowden et al {94} – 19 pages + 43 page appendix.
7. Sweden – Bittár et al {95} – 28 pages + 50 page appendix.
8. Turkey – Yemiscigil et al {96} – 31 pages + 42 page appendix.
9. USA – Ortega et al {97} – 39 pages + 63 page appendix.

There is a total of 37 authors across these nine papers including Case, Chen, Cowden (8 times each) and Lomas, Padgett, BR Johnson and Vanderweele who are authors on all nine papers.¹² These were in addition to the satellite research groups in each country. A subsequent paper by nine of the same authors on the Bittár et al (2025) paper also published a paper on Swedish wellbeing using these same data on identical issues (Nilsson et al 2026).

I am still unclear why these particular eight countries were chosen for analysis, especially Turkey, Hong Kong and South Africa with small numbers of observations ($n < 3000$) rather than other countries from the 23 with much larger samples such as Japan ($n = 20,543$); India ($n = 12,765$) or Kenya ($n = 11,389$).

According to Lomas, Padgett et al (2025), which is the opening summary paper, the central team at the Global Flourishing Study "provided results tables for them which they could selectively use and comment upon as they saw fit. The contribution of the teams would then mainly be in writing the Introduction, Results, and Discussion sections, bringing all their expertise and insights about their country to bear on interpreting and explaining the data." (p.7). All of the eight papers had the same five co-authors who were not members of the country 'teams'.¹³ 7/8 country papers have essentially the same structure. The Argentina paper is different.

¹² Plus Asici AA, Baskurt AB, Bittár NH, Buenconsejo JU, Case B (8), Chen Y (8), Contreras E, Cowden RG (8), Dahlen M, Fadji AW, Govender K, Hendriks HJ, Herbert ALF, Hou H, Huang L, Jarden A, Johnson BR (9), Kajonius PJ, Kjell O, Kryk K, Lomas T (9), Mesurado B, Nabia JO, Nathanson M, Nilsson AH, Ortega F, Padgett RN (8), Schoeman WJ, Snower DJ, Socrates MCA, VanderWeele TJ (8), Vanney CE, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Xu J, Yemiscigil A, Zalewska AM and Zhao MY. Number in parentheses are numbers of co-authored papers.

¹³ Lomas, Padgett, Case, Johnson and Vanderweele.

The eight country papers average ten co-authors each. In total there are 251 pages of text, figures and tables and 392 pages of appendices. These country papers are much more similar to codebooks such as those published for other international datasets. A good example is the codebook for the 2022 International Social Survey Programme dataset that reports variable means, by country, and is 787 pages long.¹⁴

Seven of the eight papers have a broadly similar structure. All eight of the appendices are identical. Presumably the statistical command was the same in each case, with one change to the if statement for each country in turn. For example, the appendix for the Ortega et al, (2025) paper has a series of tables and the appendices in all other papers minus Argentina which doesn't have an appendix all follow the same exact structure.

- Table S1. variable definitions
- Table S2. the mean and standard deviations of all 68 outcome variables
- Then mean of all 698 variables for the US are reported
- Table S3. by eight age groups
- Table S4. does it by gender
- Table S5. by marital status
- Table S6. by employment status
- Table S7. by education
- Table S8. by religious attendance
- Table S9. by immigration status
- Table S10. by religious affiliation
- Table S11. by race

The other six appendices for the other countries Hong Kong, Philippines, Poland, South Africa, and Sweden are identical. Argentina has a short appendix simply listing the means of the 68 variables across all 22 countries.

We are never told which of the 68 variables we should focus on and why and the contradictions between variables are not explained. This is classic kitchen sink modelling which tosses in everything available without justification. It is not the job of the reader to decide which of the 68 should be focused on. What if the results for life satisfaction differ from those for life evaluation, happiness or anxiety? I have never before come across any published wellbeing papers that report distributions by 68 variables.

It is well known from the prior literature that wellbeing varies by age, gender, marital status, labor force status, education, religion and race, so nothing new to see here. There are major issues also regarding the female happiness paradox ignored by the authors (Blanchflower and Bryson, 2025a, 2025b). Females tend to answer positively to questions on both happiness and unhappiness. Graham and Crown (2014) in this journal also note causality issues in relation to

¹⁴ https://search.gesis.org/research_data/ZA10000

religion and happiness, not addressed by any of these authors.¹⁵ Of course marital status is also deeply endogenous to wellbeing.

The 68 variables reported in each of the appendices are identified in Appendix B. There are four groupings – a) wellbeing b) personality traits c) socio-economic outcomes d) religious stuff. Most of the papers ignored variables in parts b)-d) so it remains unclear why variables 46-68 were included at all. There are many better datasets that tell us about housing, education, marriage and employment, for example, in the United States, including the American Community Survey, the Current Population Survey, the American Housing Survey, the National Health Interview Survey, the National Survey on Drug Use and Health, the Household Pulse Survey, plus the US Census.

4. What did the papers do?

4.1 USA

In the text Ortega et al (2025), look at 47/68 variables and the authors report means and proportions, by age (Table 2), education (Table 3), immigration (Table 4) in the text. In the supplement this is also done for all 68 variables by age, gender, marital status, employment status, education, religious affiliation, race/ethnicity, and immigration status.

Recent work on wellbeing data, especially by age, is not cited. They argue that "*older adults reported higher happiness, life satisfaction, and mental health*" (p. 8) which is already known (Udupa et al 2023, Blanchflower, Bryson and Xu, 2025, Blanchflower and Oswald, 2020). None of this prior literature is cited.

Of note in Table 2 is that for the first 34 variables from happiness to forgiveness, wellbeing rises in age while illbeing declines in age for almost all variables with the main exception being life in five years ahead which declines in age. This suggests there is not a lot gained by including all of these variables when the main patterns can be seen, for example in two e.g. belonging which rises in age and anxiety which declines in age.¹⁶

¹⁵ They argue that "*a number of studies find that religious people are happier than non-religious ones. Yet a number of fundamental questions about that relationship remain unanswered. A critical one is the direction of causality: does religion make people happier or are happier people more likely to have faith in something that is beyond their control? We posit that the relationship between religion and wellbeing is mediated by factors ranging from intrinsic purpose, to its social aspects, to its role as an insurance mechanism for people who face great adversity*". (2014, p1).

¹⁶ The distribution of belonging and depression in table 2 of Ortega et al (2025) are as follows

Age	Belonging scores	Depression probability
18-24	5.89	.45
25-29	6.01	.43
30-39	6.28	.34
40-49	6.68	.26
50-59	7.43	.18
60-69	7.89	.13
70-79	8.21	.09
80+	8.67	.09

4.2 Hong Kong

In the paper the authors simply reported means for 68 variables (Table 2). In the supplement the authors reported means and proportions of 68 variables by age, gender, marital status, employment status, education, religious affiliation, race/ethnicity, and immigration status.

4.3 The Philippines

Compared means in Philippines and the average of the 22 countries (Table 2). Then means by gender (Table 3), age (Table 4), marital status (Table 5), employment, (Table 6), and education (Table 7) and religion (Table 8) for 17/68 variables. No rationale is provided as to why this select band of variables were chosen. In the supplement the authors reported means of 68 variables by age, gender, marital status, employment status, education, religious affiliation, race/ethnicity, and immigration status.

4.4 Poland

Reported means in Poland of 68 variables. In the supplement the authors reported means of 68 variables by age, gender, marital status, employment status, education, religious affiliation, race/ethnicity, and immigration status.

4.5 South Africa

Compared means in South Africa and the average of the 22 countries (Table 2). In the supplement the authors reported means of 68 variables by age, gender, marital status, employment status, education, religious affiliation, race/ethnicity, and immigration status.

4.6 Sweden

Compared means in Sweden of 21/68 variables – unclear how chosen – with averages of 22 countries by gender (Table 3), age 18-24 versus 80+ (Table 4), gender (Table 5), immigrant (Table 6). Then plots nineteen wellbeing variables by age (figures 1-7). Of note is that loneliness, depression, anxiety and suffering decline in age, whilst happiness, life evaluation rise in age. In the supplement) for 68 variables the report means and proportions by age, gender, marital status, employment status, education, religious affiliation, race/ethnicity, and immigration status.

4.7 Turkey

Reported means in Turkey for 26/68 variables (Table 2). In the supplement the authors reported means of 68 variables by age, gender, marital status, employment status, education, religious affiliation, race/ethnicity, and immigration status.

4.8 Argentina

Here the focus was on religion and there is a short two-page appendix. Means of 13 variables including happiness and life satisfaction were compared with the 22 country GFS means (Table 3). Table 4 compared means of these variables for Christians versus no religion/atheists. Table 5 looked at how these 13 variables varied by religious attendance.

5. All of the positive and all of the negative affect variables have almost identical patterns

For simplicity here I focus here in particular on what follows on differences by age, which is the main issue, with the exception of the paper on Argentina, which focuses on religion, that is examined in these papers.¹⁷ This reflects the fact that the main global wellbeing issue over the last decade has been the well-documented decline in the wellbeing of the young, relative to that of older age groups and is the main focus in the text of these various papers.

If we assume there is some underlying wellbeing variable, then it is perhaps not surprising that they each have similar structures. It may well be that many of the variables are basically measuring the same thing. 'Positive affect' includes life satisfaction, life evaluation, happiness, belonging, city satisfaction, satisfaction with relationships, inner peace, being agreeable, optimism, hope, gratitude, having meaning and purpose, having intimate friends and where one lives as well as in relation to democracy, political views etc. Happy people are more religious is a well-known result in the literature. *"People who are active in religious congregations tend to be happier and more civically engaged than either religiously unaffiliated adults or inactive members of religious groups"*¹⁸ Unsurprisingly then these variables all look very similar country by country, by age, gender, education etc.

'Negative affect' includes anxiety, depression, worry, loneliness, distress, pain, poor mental health, lack of financial security, lack of material security, health limitations. For the same reasons these variables tend to look the same. In general, positive wellbeing now rises in age and 'negative affect' declines in age. These authors already published nine papers using a flourishing variable that aggregated 12 of these variables together. Blanchflower and Bryon (2026) showed the usefulness of a not-flourishing variable that summed together four negative affect variables – depression, anxiety, worry and little pleasure in doing things. I am unconvinced of the value in reporting on how 68 wellbeing variables vary by age, gender etc., when two might well do.

6. Literature reviews

The literature reviews in these papers are highly partial. As background Appendix C provides details of sixty papers on wellbeing across these eight countries not cited by the authors. By around 2020 there was a voluminous published literature, of around 625 papers that modeled wellbeing and ill-being especially across age and other variables, including gender, education and employment across many countries (Blanchflower, Graham and Piper, 2023).¹⁹ They also have missed the well documented decline in the wellbeing of the young and the disappearance of the U-shape globally, in the years since around 2013 as first documented in Udupa et al, (2023) and Blanchflower, Bryson and Xu (2025).

¹⁷ Data for Argentina on age, for example, is available in the data file so I report that.

¹⁸ 'Religion's relationship to happiness, civic engagement and health around the world' Pew Research Center, January 31, 2019. <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2019/01/31/religions-relationship-to-happiness-civic-engagement-and-health-around-the-world/>

¹⁹ The link to these 625 papers is here

https://bpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/sites.dartmouth.edu/dist/5/2216/files/2023/04/supp-materials_resolving-the-debate.pdf

7. Survey mode

None of the eight papers take account of the literature on the impact of survey mode which it turns out is substantial in relation to the GFS (Blanchflower, 2025, Blanchflower and Bryson 2026a, 2026b, 2025b, Blanchflower, Bryson and Cui, 2025) and evidence consistent with Rickwood and Coleman-Rose (2023) of social desirability bias. These papers show survey mode has a major impact on findings on the wellbeing of the young.

This matters as the distribution of responses by interviewers (Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing or CATI) or online (CAWI varies across these eight countries (Table 2, part a). Hong Kong, Sweden and the USA collected data online (most commonly referred to as Computer-Assisted Web Interviewing or CAWI) while the other five used both.

Table 2. Response rates by Survey Mode and wellbeing

a) Response rates to GFS by survey mode

	CATI	CAWI	All
Argentina	5,273	1,451	6,724
Hong Kong		3,012	3,012
Philippines	1,118	4,174	5,292
Poland	9,764	625	10,389
South Africa	641	2,010	2,651
Sweden		15,068	15,068
Turkey	633	640	1,473
USA		38,312	38,312

b) Distribution of wellbeing by survey mode GFS and Global Minds

Cantril	GFS			Global Minds	
	CATI5	CAWI5	CAWI3	GM5	GM3
<25	6.25	6.77	6.38	30	26
25-34	6.11	6.81	6.43	46	46
35-44	6.10	6.91	6.69	64	59
45-54	6.17	6.99	6.91	82	68
55-64	6.35	7.11	7.28	98	85
65-74	6.38	7.28	7.66	107	108
75-84	6.58	7.32	7.90	111	123
85+	7.05	7.00	7.75	110	127
N	9,084	17,405	56,322	186,313	142,226

If we simply take the age distribution of life satisfaction in the five countries with both survey modes, there are clearly sharp differences (Table 2, part b). Life evaluation declines through age 35-44 and is U-shaped in the CATI sample but rises more or less linearly in age in the CAWI sample. This is consistent with the findings in Blanchflower and Bryson (2026a) using these GFS data across seven countries in Asia and the Middle East – including three of the eight countries

examined here—Hong Kong, the Philippines and Turkey. In that paper it was found (Table 4) that youth had significantly higher emotions than older age groups in 20 emotional variables (such as life satisfaction and anxiety) in the CATI data and had significantly lower emotions in the CAWI sample. In contrast with more objective variables such as bodily pain, amount of exercise, smoking and drinking there were no differences between CATI and CAWI responses. Cantril rises in age in the CWI5 sample and the CAWI3 sample.

The Global Minds Survey, which is also a CAWI survey, for the years 2020-2026 also contains data on these same five countries. It includes a Mental Health Quotient (MHQ) wellbeing score (see Newson, Sukhoi and Thiagarajan, 2024) that ranges in value between -100 and +200 and has a mean of 78 in these five countries. I present the data in Table 2 by age, and it is entirely consistent with that in the second column, also using CAWI data, wellbeing rises in age in both CAWI surveys. MHQ rises in age in the CAWI5 sample and the CAWI3 sample using Global Minds.

This suggests social desirability bias. It is a major flaw that the five country papers with both survey modes ignored these differences.

8. Authors

Of note is that in addition to these 9 papers published in this country symposium there are a further 83 papers published in journals and 8 unpublished papers on wellbeing, making **100 in all** using the same dataset (in Appendix A papers are identified here by their #). Overall, of the 100 papers there are a total of 144 co-authors, with VanderWeele being on all of the papers (100/100), with Byron R Johnson on 97/100, Padgett on 69/100; Lomas 26/100, Cowden 40/100 and Bradshaw 35/100.²⁰ Four papers were from 2024; 76 from 2025 and 20 from 2026. The 91 papers published in peer reviewed journals include an astonishing *thirty-seven* papers published in the single journal *Scientific Reports*, ten in *Communications Medicine*, seven in *BMC Global Public Health* and nine in *The International Journal of Wellbeing*.

²⁰ 144 co-authors were as follows - Eric Aglozo; Kelly-Ann Allen; AA Asici; Caroline Bartel; AB Baskurt; Jessica Benfer; Piotr Bialowolski; NH Bittár; Rebecca Bonhag; Matt Bradshaw; Thomas Breedlove; JU Buenconsejo; Erik Carter; Brendan Case; Manas Chattopadhyay; Ying Chen; Zhuo Chen; Joo Choi; William Chopik; Caleb Chung; E Contreras; Alicia Cortright; Victor Counted; RG Cowden; Steve Crabtree; Micael Dahlen; Johannes De Kock; Pedro de La Rosa; Christy Denckla; Stewart Donaldson; Jean-Berluche Duce; Cynthia English; AW Fadji; Daisy Fancourt; Chris Felton; Alex Fogleman; Fernando Garzon; Cristina B Gibson; David M Goodman; K Govender; Nikolitsa Grigoropoulou; Craig Gundersen; Ying Han; JA Hanson; William Hathaway; John F Helliwell; HJ Hendriks; ALF Herbert; Andrew D Ho; Jan Hölte; John Honohan; H Hou; L Huang; Katherine Jackson-Meyer; Sung Joon Jang; A Jarden; Byron R Johnson; Micah Kaats; PJ Kajonius; RL Kanter; BV Kent; Todd Kettler; ES Kim; YI Kim; Young-Il Kim; John Kiweewa; Oscar Kjell; HG Koenig; Hayami Koga; Stephanie Koning; K Krys; Laura D Kubzansky; Elizabeth Kwon; Junhye Kwon; Margie E Lachman; Chung Lee; Chung Gun Lee; Matthew Lee; MJ Lennon; J Levin; Tim Lomas; KNG Long; C Loo; Christos A Makridis; Shunsuke Managi; Lesley Markham; Daniel Martin; SA Mattson; rg Meekang; B Mesurado; PB Mitchell; Jordan Moon; Alexander Moreira-Almeida; JO Nabia; JS Nakamura; M Nathanson; AH Nilsson; Nicholas Norman-Krause; Chukwuemeka Okafor; S Okuzono; F Ortega; Suzanne Ouyang; Fernández Pacheco; RN Padgett; Jason Paltzer; Vikram Patel; James O Pawelski; NL Pertel; Alan Piper; Emily Purcell; Maya Rajah; A Ratheesh; James Ritchie-Dunham; Zacc Ritter; WJ Schoeman; H Andrew Schwartz; Koichiro Shiba; Deborah Skinstad; DJ Snower; MCA Socrates; Rajesh Srinivasan; John Ssozi; Victor Strecher; Meekang Sung; Joseph Suttie; Zachary Swanson; X Symons; Dwight Tse; Tyler J VanderWeele; CE Vanney; James Walsh; Meg Warren; Dorota Weziak-Bialowolska; Renae Wilkinson; Charlotte Witvliet; Robert Woodberry; JS Wortham; Everett Worthington Jr; J Xu; George Yancey; A Yemiscigil; AM Zalewska; Michela Zambelli; MY Zhao.

All of these 100 papers were primarily focused on the same 68 variables examined in these eight papers.²¹ In a number of cases there are multiple papers on the same subject including four on pain (#13-#15, #81, #84), three on 'suffering' (#52, #71, #89) and three on 'purpose and meaning' (#21, #22, #88). The papers all have broadly the same structure and just focus on wellbeing.

Data for the wave 1 survey came out of the field on the 12th, April 2024. Assuming it took three months or so to gather the data that is about 100 weeks to the time of writing (June 1st, 2026). So that averages almost exactly a paper a week. Also 1.44 new authors every week also. Quite the daunting pace.

Ioannidis, Klavans and Boyack (2018) defined a '*hyperprolific*' author as one who published 72 papers a year. The number of such authors they noted grew about 20-fold between 2001 and 2014.²² VanderWeele and Byron R Johnson, with 74 and 73 papers respectively using the GFS alone in 2025, not including other papers they may have published on other matters, get into the *hyperprolific* category. This is the case based on only their GFS papers.

Ioannidis, Collins and Bass (2024), reported they had never found evidence in the Social Sciences of any authors in the world in this category. This huge number of papers is unusual to say the least, and the speed at which they have been accepted and actually published is astonishing. Presumably that also implies journal editors finding at least two referees a week or using the same ones, over and over.

The editors of *Scientific Reports*, for example, would still have to have found referees for 37 papers in two years, which is fast given that on average it says on its website that "*total time from submission to published article: 6-12 months for most papers*".²³ It remains unclear how they could have managed to process, from submission to publication, in two years of 37 papers, when 144 co-authors are ruled out of the pool as referees.²⁴ A tall order.

It is also surprising to find that the authors in these papers make little mention of the fact that the same group of authors have published 91 papers on the same variables, and countries. Often there are multiple papers on the same variables such as pain, physical health, gratitude, purpose and meaning and forgiveness. Ortega et al (2025) {#1 and #3} and Vanney et al (2025) {#3 and #6} both only cited two of these papers.²⁵ Huang et al (2025) and Weziak-Bialowolska et al (2025) both only cited {#3}. Yemiscigil et al (2025) cited only {#3, #52 and #61}. Buenconsejo et al (2025) cited {#1, #3, #10, #44, #51}, Bittár et al (2025) {#3, #5, #7, #2} and Cowden et al (2025) {#1, #2, #3, #5, #52, #84, #92}, Lomas et al (2025) {#1, #2, #27}. Overall, only 15/100 papers are cited in these nine papers.

9. Analysis

None of the eight country papers conducts any formal econometric or other statistical analysis but as noted above, simply reports weighted means across multiple variables already published by them. The weights used are provided in the public use file (*annual_weight_c1*) that are used to correct for under sampling especially of the young. This is a particular issue in the US where

²¹ The variables are defined in the GFS codebook (<https://osf.io/cg76b>).

²² They do note that "*We must be clear: we have no evidence that these authors are doing anything inappropriate.*"

²³ <https://manusights.com/blog/scientific-reports-review-time>

²⁴ Noting that there is a submission fee to *Scientific Reports* of \$2,850 per paper.
<https://www.nature.com/srep/open-access>

²⁵ The numbers in squared parentheses relate to study numbers in Appendix A.

296/38,312 observations or 0.77% were age 18-24. With the weights imposed the proportion rises to 7.0%. So, each young person's estimate for the US is multiplied by 9.²⁶ I can replicate their findings from the data file.

Each paper reports that multiple imputations were used to remove missing values, but no explanation was given on why this was done or its impact. I was able to replicate exactly the reported results from the data file in every case without any imputation. In any case in the publicly available data file there were few missing values, which obviates the need for imputation given it is likely to have only very small effects. For example, in the USA there are 38,312 observations on life evaluation, 38,257 for life satisfaction and 38,276 for happiness. Overall, across the 23 countries there are 207,919 observations and 207,206 on life satisfaction and 207,480 for happiness. Despite what these authors claim in each of the eight papers it doesn't seem that imputations were implemented in any of these papers. Unless the publicly available data has already had imputations included but I understand from the study managers that this is not the case.

10. Variables

We are never told which of the many variables are the most important, what is gained by analyzing sixty-eight variables and when they contradict each other, or which to believe. Or indeed why two or three variables wouldn't tell us the same story. This is especially relevant here as there is a large literature on several of the variables such as life satisfaction, happiness, anxiety, depression and self-reported physical health. This is a classic case of kitchen-sink modelling.²⁷

There is virtually no prior literature on the vast majority of these other variables including promoting good, mastery, meaning, gratitude, forgiveness, helping, freedom, purpose and social support. For all intents and purposes, they are simply other ways of measuring wellbeing. We are never told whether any of the fifty variables have predictive power. As we know from Hudomiet et al (2021), life satisfaction predicts longevity. Also, despite having written at least a dozen papers on a flourishing variable (Papers #1-#9 in Appendix A) which is the sum of twelve variables they examine, none of these eight country papers model that flourishing variable and we are never told why not.

11. All results have previously been published by the same authors

As far as I can tell, the results in all of these eight country papers have *all* previously been published in numerous prior papers by a large subset of these authors, especially VanderWeele, Lomas, Padgett, Bradshaw and Johnson. This is most unusual.

It turns out that these results have also previously been published in other journals by some of these authors. In many cases where there are two papers with the same variable the authors double dip, simply include a number of self-recall questions on childhood experiences. There is a large literature on Adverse Child Experiences (ACEs) across many countries that the authors

²⁶ The GFS is a panel, and the second sweep is now available and the attrition rate which is 38% overall is especially high among the young at 56%. There is also no replenishment of the sample so in the second sweep there are only a total of 10/128/868 observations are age 18. It turns out for the US there are 296/38312 observations of those age 18-24 in sweep 1 and only 213/32245 in sweep 2.

²⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kitchen_sink_regression

seem unaware of even in this journal (Blanchflower and Bryson, 2024c). Adding these childhood variables, in my view, warrants a footnote to a paper rather than the 28 papers by these authors out of the 100 listed in Appendix A. We know there are issues with recall of childhood experiences which is why it is appropriate to examine data from childhood (Blanchflower and Bryson, 2024d).

11.1 USA

The simplest place to start is with the US paper (n=38,312) by Ortega et al (2025). That paper selects a subset of the 68 variables reported in their supplementary appendix and simply reports weighted means of 48/68 variables by age (Table 2), education (Table 3), immigration status (Table 4). So, the first column below in Table 3 from the paper is for life evaluation also called Cantril's ladder, which is the same as reported in Table S3 of their supplementary appendix reported in column 2 of the appendix.²⁸

Table 3. USA Life evaluation and physical health

	Life evaluation			Physical health		
	Table 2	Table 3b	Table S23b	Table 2	Table S23b	Table S22b #11
18-24	6.18	6.18	6.18	6.64	6.64	6.64
25-29	6.18	6.18	6.18	6.49	6.49	6.49
30-39	6.51	6.51	6.51	6.73	6.73	6.73
40-49	6.7	6.7	6.7	6.61	6.61	6.61
50-59	7.04	7.04	7.04	6.81	6.81	6.81
60-69	7.45	7.45	7.45	7.06	7.06	7.06
70-79	7.79	7.79	7.79	7.1	7.11	7.11
80+	7.9	7.9	7.9	7.02	7.02	7.02

	Physical pain			Gratitude		
	Table 2	Table 3b	Table S44 #15	Table 2	Table S23b	Table S22b #19
18-24	0.46	0.46	0.46	7.39	7.39	7.38
25-29	0.42	0.42	0.42	7.46	7.46	7.46
30-39	0.49	0.49	0.49	7.75	7.75	7.76
40-49	0.51	0.51	0.51	7.96	7.96	7.97
50-59	0.55	0.55	0.55	8.31	8.31	8.31
60-69	0.54	0.54	0.54	8.6	8.6	8.6
70-79	0.56	0.56	0.56	8.79	8.79	8.8
80+	0.54	0.54	0.54	8.96	8.96	8.98

²⁸ The variables are defined in the various papers.

If we then go to paper #54 in Appendix A on Cantril's ladder, life satisfaction and happiness (Lomas, Hayami Koga, Padgett, Pawelski, Kim, Makridis, Gundersen, Bradshaw, Le Pertel, Shiba, Felton, Helliwell, Johnson and VanderWeele (2025) we find exactly the same results reported in the 521 page supplementary appendix as reported in this paper. Of note is that four of the same authors on this paper are also on this new one, published in *Scientific Reports* - Lomas, Padgett, Johnson and VanderWeele. On page 443 of Table S23b of paper #54 we find almost exactly the same results which are reported in the third column of Table 3.²⁹

The same is true of the other variables. As an example, we repeated the exercise for physical health, and we also report the estimates in Table 3 and report estimates for physical health from the Ortega et al (2025) paper and supplement are reported in columns 4 and 5 of the table. A paper (#11 Bradshaw, Kent, Levin, Wortham, Pertel, VanderWeele and Johnson (2025) was also published on physical health in February 2025 in *BMC Global Public Health* again with two of the same authors Vanderweele and Johnson (Bradshaw, Kent, Levin et al, 2025).³⁰ If we go to the 125-page appendix on page 88 of Table S22b we can see they are identical – they are reported in column 6 of the table.

In the second part of the table I do the same in the first three columns for 'physical pain'. The age-related results are the same in column 1 in the paper and column 2 in the appendix and then again in the supplement to paper #15 by Macchia, et al, (2025). In the next part of the table again I do the same in columns 4 and 5 from the paper and the supplement for 'gratitude'. Column 6 is from the supplement to paper # #19. (Okuzono, Cowden, Padgett, Yancey, Byron R Johnson and Tyler J VanderWeele, 2025).³¹ There is a large overlap in authors on all three papers.

I did a further investigation of 20 variables in Table 2, by age, in the Ortega et al (2025) paper. I examined the various papers and looked at the online supplements and found that the data by age for twenty of the variables had been published in other papers. Below are the paper numbers and relevant supplement table numbers. Most are the same as the structure of the various supplements are broadly similar.

	Paper #	Table
1. Life evaluation, Cantril	{54}	S23b
2. Happiness	{54}	S23b
3. Life satisfaction	{54}	S23b
4. Balance in life	{24}	S22b
5. Mastery	{20}	S23b
6. Self-rated mental health	{16}	S44
7. Social support	{34}	S22b
8. Depression	{74}	S44

²⁹ https://static-content.springer.com/esm/art%3A10.1038%2Fs41598-026-35777-y/MediaObjects/41598_2026_35777_MOESM1_ESM.pdf

³⁰ That paper has a 125-page, supplement listing the means of physical health for very country.

³¹ Interestingly, the Okuzuno et al (2025) paper doesn't cite the Counted (2025) paper or the Ortega (2025) paper. The Ortega paper neither cites the Okuzuno paper nor the Counted (2025) paper and the Counted (2025) paper cites neither of the other two.

9. Anxiety	{74}	S88
10. Suffering	{52}	S45
11. Promoting good	{10}	S22b
12. Delayed gratification	{59}	S22c
13. Hope	{44}	S22b
14. Gratitude	{19}	S22b
15. Forgiveness	{60}	S22b
16. Charitable giving	{28}	S22b
17. Volunteering	{31}	S22b
18. Self-rated physical health	{11}	S22b
19. Health limitations	{32}	S22b
20. Physical pain	{15}	S44

Ortega et al (2025) didn't cite any of these seventeen papers even though Byron R. Johnson and Tyler J. VanderWeele were co-authors on all seventeen and R. Noah Padgett was co-author on 12/17.

11.2 Sweden

If we now turn to a second paper {98} by Bittár et al (2025) for Sweden the picture is essentially identical. In the paper the authors plot 22 wellbeing variables by age (Figures 1-7) but report the estimates for all 68 in the supplement. The estimates for Cantril's life evaluation measure are reported in column 1 of Table 4, taken from Table 3 of the supplementary appendix is exactly the same as in Table S19b of #54 Lomas et al (2025) paper which is reported in column 2. If we examine the plot for physical health (Figure 5) is exactly the same numbers on physical health as was reported on Table S18b for Sweden in #11 Bradshaw et al (2025).

Table 4. Sweden

	Life evaluation		Physical health	
	Table 3	Table S19b	Table 3	Table S18b
18-24	6.65	6.65	6.71	6.71
25-29	6.73	6.73	6.41	6.41
30-39	6.86	6.86	6.36	6.36
40-49	6.94	6.94	6.2	6.2
50-59	7.19	7.19	6.19	6.19
60-69	7.59	7.59	6.39	6.39
70-79	7.88	7.88	6.69	6.69
80+	7.99	7.99	6.55	6.55

It should also be noted that another paper on wellbeing in Sweden using the same GFS dataset has recently been published in another journal in 2025 {65} by a subset of the same authors

(Nilsson et al, 2025) including seven of the same authors (Nilsson, Dahlen, Case, Lomas, Padgett Johnson and Vanderweele). The Nilsson et al (2026) paper also looks at wellbeing and age in Sweden with the same data.

11.3 Argentina

If we now turn to Argentina, I will focus on Vanney et al (2025) [93] Table 5 which reports religious attendance. The authors argue that "7.9% of participants attended more than once a week, while 12% attended once a week. Those who never attend make up 44% of participants. The remaining participants, who participate in religious services with varying frequencies, constitute 36.1%." I am able to replicate that in the first column of Table 5 which presents the distribution in the data with weights imposed. I then calculate the weighted means of happiness and life satisfaction, in columns 2 and 3 and then report in columns 4 and 5 the estimates reported (in three categories) by Vanney et al [93]. In parentheses I report the life satisfaction and happiness estimates from the Lomas et al (2025) [54] paper Table S2b, which are the same. The results have been presented before.

Table 5. Argentina – religious attendance

	(1) Distribution	(2) Happiness	(3) Life	(4) Happiness	(5) Life
>1 a week	7.94%	8.51	8.45	8.48 (8.52)	8.44 (8.45)
1/week	11.55%	7.64	7.67	7.65 (7.64)	7.67 (7.66)
1-3 times a month	6.88%	7.42	7.18	- (7.42)	- (7.18)
Few times a year	29.11%	7.44	7.22	- (7.44)	- (7.22)
Never	44.53%	7.02	6.88	7.02 (7.03)	6.88 (6.88)

11.4 Other country papers

I find, similarly, for the other five countries that the data has previously been published in papers by the same team of authors. It seems that essentially *all* of the evidence in these eight papers has previously been published elsewhere by many of the same authors. In many cases this has been done two or three times. This is unusual to say the least.

12. Conclusions

The authors of the eight country papers examined here do not seem aware of the many other wellbeing surveys on the same countries or of the substantial prior literature on wellbeing using them. In any case it turns out to not be very useful to produce estimates using 68 very different variables and leave the reader to decide what is important. In any case, most of what the authors report is already known.

In addition, and worryingly, the vast majority of the results in these eight papers are essentially already known and are available in other datasets and other published papers by the same group of authors. All eight papers look very similar to each other with essentially the same structure and authors. They have identical appendices. My most serious concern is that the results

in the eight papers have previously been published in approximately 90 other papers by the same authors over the last two years. This is not in keeping with normal publishing standards and practices.

This isn't cricket.³²

Authors

David G. Blanchflower

Department of Economics, Dartmouth College and Adam Smith Business School, University of Glasgow

blanchflower@dartmouth.edu

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2856-7039>

Acknowledgments

I thank Alan J. Cui for helpful research assistance and Andrew Clark, Carol Graham, Paul Novosad, Alois Stutzer and Tara Thiagarajan for helpful comments and suggestions.

Conflict of Interest

The author has no conflict of interest.

Funding Statement

No funding.

AI statement

AI was not used in the preparation of this paper.

Publishing Timeline

Received 10 June 2026

Revised version received 13 August 2026

Accepted 14 August 2026

Published 15 August 2026

References

- Andrews FM (1991), 'Stability and change in levels and structure of subjective well-being: USA 1972 and 1988', *Social Indicators Research*, 25, 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00727649>
- Argyle M (1989), *The Psychology of Happiness*, Routledge, London
- Bartram D (2024), 'To evaluate the age–happiness relationship, look beyond statistical significance', *Journal of Happiness Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-024-00728-9>
- Blanchflower DG (2025), 'Declining youth well-being in 167 UN countries. Does survey mode, or question matter? NBER Working Paper #33415. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w33415>
- Blanchflower DG (2021), 'Is happiness U-shaped everywhere? Age and subjective well-being in 145 countries', *Journal of Population Economics*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-020-00797-z>
- Blanchflower DG (2020), 'Unhappiness and age', *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 2020, 176, 461–488. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2020.04.022>

³² An English language phrase meaning unsportsmanlike conduct in sports, in business, or in life in general.

- Blanchflower DG and Bryson AJ (2026a), 'The mental health of the young in Asia and the Middle East: the importance of self-reports', *Quality and Quantity*, 60, 965–993. (first available online 23 July 25, 2025). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-025-02264-x>
- Blanchflower DG and Bryson AJ (2026b), 'Wellbeing, youth and survey mode: comparisons across 23 countries using three international datasets', NBER Working Paper #35058, April. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w35058>
- Blanchflower DG and Bryson AJ (2025a), 'Life satisfaction in Western Europe and the gradual vanishing of the U-shape in age', *Academia Mental Health and Well-Being*, 2(3). <https://doi.org/10.20935/MHealthWellB7877>
- Blanchflower DG and Bryson AJ (2025b), 'Not flourishing', NBER WP #34321, October. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w34321>
- Blanchflower DG and Bryson A (2024a), 'The female happiness paradox', *Journal of Population Economics*, 37(16). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-024-00981-5>
- Blanchflower DG and Bryson A (2024b), 'The gender well-being gap', *Social Indicators Research*, 173, 1–45. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-024-03334-7>
- Blanchflower DG and Bryson A (2024c), 'The adult consequences on wellbeing of abuse and neglect in childhood', *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 14(3), 3513, 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v14i3.3513>
- Blanchflower DG and Bryson, A (2024d), 'The adult consequences of being bullied in childhood', *Social Science and Medicine*, 345. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2024.116690>
- Blanchflower DG, Bryson A and Alan J Cui (2025), 'An evaluation of biases in well-being estimates using interviewers versus online in the Global Flourishing Study', NBER Working Paper #34599. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w34599>
- Blanchflower DG, Bryson AJ and Xu X (2025), 'The declining mental health of the young and the global disappearance of the hump shape in age in unhappiness', *Plos One*. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0327858>
- Blanchflower DG, Graham C and Piper A (2023), 'Happiness and age: Resolving the debate', *National Institute Economic Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nie.2023.1>
- Blanchflower DG and Oswald AJ (2020), 'Trends in extreme distress in the United States, 1993–2019', *American Journal of Public Health*. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2020.305811>
- Blanchflower, DG and Oswald AJ (2004), 'Well-being over time in Britain and the United States', *Journal of Public Economics*, 88(7–8), 1359–1386.
- Cantril H, (1965). *The Pattern of Human Concerns*. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Case A and Deaton A (2021), *Deaths of Despair and the Future of Capitalism*, Princeton University Press.
- Case A, Deaton A and Stone A (2020), 'Decoding the mystery of American pain reveals a warning for the future', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117, 24785–24789. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2012350117>
- Cheng TC, Powdthavee N and Oswald AJ (2017), 'Longitudinal evidence for a midlife nadir: result from four data sets', *Economic Journal*, 127, 126–142. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ecoj.12256>
- Clark AE, Flèche S, Layard, R, Powdthavee N and Ward G (2019), *The Origins of Happiness: The Science of Well-Being Over the Life Course*, Princeton University Press.
- d'Hombres B, Kovacic M and Martinez BC (2026), 'Social media use, loneliness and emotional distress among young people in Europe', *SSM - Mental Health*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmmh.2026.100621>
- Di Tella R, MacCulloch RJ, and Oswald AJ (2001). 'Preferences over inflation and unemployment: evidence from surveys of happiness', *American Economic Review*, 91(1), 335–341. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.91.1.335>

- Diener E (1984), 'Subjective well-being', *Psychological Bulletin*, 95, 542–575. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.95.3.542>
- Douthitt RA, MacDonald M and Mullis R (1992), 'The relationship between measures of subjective and economic well-being: a new look', *Social Indicators Research*, 26, 407–422. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00347898>
- Easterlin RA (2006), 'Life cycle happiness and its sources: intersections of psychology, economics and demography', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 27(4), 463–482. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joep.2006.05.002>
- Easterlin RA (2003) 'Explaining happiness. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 100(19), 11176–11183. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1633144100>
- Easterlin RA (1974), 'Does economic happiness improve the human lot? Some empirical evidence', in *Nations and Households in Economic Growth: Essays in honor of Moses Abramovitz* (1974), edited by Paul A David and Melvin W. Reder, Academic Press: New York.
- Ferrer-i-Carbonell, A (2013), 'Happiness economics', *SERIEs* 4: 35–60. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13209-012-0086-7>
- Fox CR and Kahneman, D (1992), 'Correlations, causes and heuristics in surveys of life satisfaction', *Social Indicators Research* 27, 221 – 234. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00300462>
- Frey BS (2008), *Happiness: A Revolution in Economics*, MIT Press.
- Frey BS and Stutzer A (2002), 'What can economists learn from happiness research?', *Journal of Economic Literature*, 40(2): 402–435. <https://doi.org/10.1257/002205102320161320>
- Graham C (2023). *The Power of Hope*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Graham C (2017). *Happiness for all? Unequal hopes and lives in pursuit of the American dream*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Graham C and Crown S (2014), 'Religion and wellbeing around the world: Social purpose, social time, or social insurance?', *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 4(1), 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v4i1.1>
- Graham C and Pozuelo JR (2017), 'Happiness, stress, and age: how the U curve varies across people and places', *Journal of Population Economics*, 30, 225–264. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-016-0611-2>
- Hudomiet P, Hurd MD, Rohwedder S (2021), 'The age profile of life satisfaction after age 65 in the U.S.', *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 189, 431–442. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2021.07.002>
- Ioannidis JPA, Collins TA & Baas J (2024), 'Evolving patterns of extreme publishing behavior across science', *Scientometrics*, 129, 5783–5796. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-024-05117-w>
- Ioannidis JPA, Klavans R and Boyack KW (2018), 'The scientists who publish a paper every five days', *Nature*, <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-018-06185-8>
- Inglehart, R (1990), *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Kahneman D and Deaton A (2010), 'High income improves evaluation of life but not emotional well-being', *PNAS*, 107(38), 16489–16493. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1011492107>
- Kahneman D, Krueger A, Schkade D, Schwarz N and Stone A (2004), 'Toward national wellbeing accounts', *American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings*, 94, 429–434. <https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828041301713>
- Layard R (2011), *Happiness: Lessons from a New Science*, Penguin,
- Newson JJ, Sukhoi O and Thiagarajan TC (2024), 'MHQ: constructing an aggregate metric of population mental wellbeing', *Population Health Metrics*. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12963-024-00336-y>
- Oswald, AJ (1997), 'Happiness and economic performance', *Economic Journal*, 107, 1815–1831. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0297.1997.tb00085.x>
- Rickwood D and Coleman-Rose CL (2023), 'The effect of survey administration mode on youth mental health measures: Social desirability bias and sensitive questions', *Heliyon*, 9(9), e2013. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e20131>

- Stephoe A, Deaton A and Stone AA (2015), 'Subjective wellbeing, health, and ageing', *The Lancet*, 385(9968), 640–648. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(15\)61489-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(15)61489-0)
- Twenge JM (2023), *Generations: The Real Differences Between Gen Z, Millennials, Gen X, Boomers, and Silents—and What They Mean for America's Future*, Atria Books.
- Twenge JM, Haidt J, Blake AB, McAllister C, Lemon H and LeRoy A (2021), 'Worldwide increases in adolescent loneliness', *Journal of Adolescence*, 93, 257–269. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2021.06.006>
- Udapa, NS, Twenge JM., McAllister C and Joiner TE (2023), 'Increases in poor mental health, mental distress, and depression symptoms among U.S. adults, 1993–2020', *Journal of Mood and Anxiety Disorders*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.xjmad.2023.100013>
- Veenhoven, R (1991), 'Is happiness relative?', *Social Indicators Research*, 24, 1–34. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00292648>
- Veenhoven, R (1993), *Happiness in Nations: Subjective Appreciation of Life in 56 Nations, 1946–1992*. Erasmus University Press, Rotterdam.

Appendices

Appendix A: 100 papers using the Global Flourishing Study by Vanderweele, Johnson and co-authors

a) Nine Flourishing papers

1. Padgett RN, Bradshaw M, Chen Y, Cowden RG, Jang SJ, Kim ES, Shiba K, Johnson BR and J VanderWeele TJ (2024), 'Analytic methodology for demographic variation analyses for wave 1 of the global flourishing study', *BMC Global Public Health*, 3, 28. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s44263-025-00140-2>
2. Lomas T, Bradshaw M, Case B, Cowden, RG, Crabtree S, English C, Fogleman A, Johnson KA, Ritter Z, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'The development of the Global Flourishing Study questionnaire: charting the evolution of a new 109-item inventory of human flourishing', *BMC Global Public Health*, 3, 30. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s44263-025-00139-9>
3. Cowden RG, Skinstad D, Lomas T, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2024), 'Measuring wellbeing in the Global Flourishing Study: insights from a cross-national analysis of cognitive interviews from 22 countries', *Quality and Quantity*, 59, 575–597. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-024-01947-1>
4. VanderWeele TJ, Johnson BR, Bialowolski PT, Bonhag R, Bradshaw M, Breedlove T, Case B, Chen Y, Chen ZJ, Counted V, Cowden RG, de la Rosa PA, Felton C, Fogleman A, Gibson C, Grigoropoulou N, Gundersen C, Jang SJ, Johnson ZA, Kent BV, Kim ES, Kim Y, Koga HK, Lee MT, Le Pertel N, Lomas T, Long KNG, Macchia L, Makridis CA, Markham L, Nakamura JS, Norman-Krause N, Okafor CN, Okuzono SO, Ouyang ST, Padgett RN, Paltzer J, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Ritter Z, Shiba K, Srinivasan R, Ssozi J, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Wilkinson R, Woodberry RD, Wortham J & Yancey G (2025), 'The Global Flourishing Study: Study profile and initial results on flourishing', *Nature Mental Health*, 3: 636–653 <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44220-025-00423-5>
5. Padgett RN, Cowden RG, Chattopadhyay M, Han Y, Honohan J, Ritter Z, Srinivasan R, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Survey sampling design in wave 1 of the Global Flourishing Study', *European Journal of Epidemiology*, 40, 391–406. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10654-024-01167-9>
6. Lomas T, Pawelski JO and VanderWeele TJ (2024), 'Flourishing as 'sustainable well-being': Balance and harmony within and across people, ecosystems, and time,' *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 10(2) <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2024.2362435>
7. Zambelli M, Tse DCK, Cowden RG, Hölte J, Johnson BR, Padgett RN and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'The psychometric network of individual flourishing across nationally representative samples from 22 countries', *Scientific Reports* volume 15, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-15016-6>
8. VanderWeele TJ and Johnson BR (2025) Why we need to measure people's well-being — lessons from a global survey. Greater insights into what makes people happy, secure and hopeful will make for a better world', *Nature*, 641, 34-36. <https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-025-01254-1>

9. Lomas T, Padgett RN, Warren MA, Johnson BR &, VanderWeele TJ (2026) 'A cross-sectional analysis of male versus female flourishing among 202,898 participants across 22 countries on 73 variables in the global flourishing study', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-026-40963-z>

b) 74 journal papers

10. Promote good (1)

Chen Y, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Kim ES, Nakamura JS, Hanson JA, Padgett RN, Byron R Johnson and Tyler J Vanderweele (2025), 'Variations in character involving an orientation to promote good across socio-demographic groups in 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-83539-5>

11. Physical health (1)

Bradshaw M, Kent BV, Levin J, Wortham JS, Pertel NL, VanderWeele TJ and Johnson BR (2025), 'Demographic variation in self-rated physical health across 22 countries: findings from the Global Flourishing Study', *BMC Global Public Health*, Apr 30;3(1): 38. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s44263-025-00141-1>

12. Physical health (2)

Bradshaw M, Kent BV, Wortham JS, Le Pertel N, VanderWeele TJ & Johnson BR (2026), 'Childhood experiences and adult self-rated physical health in 22 countries', *BMC Global and Public Health* <https://doi.org/10.1186/s44263-026-00253-2>

13. Physical pain (1)

Macchia M, Okafor CN, Breedlove T, Shiba K, Piper A, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'A cross-national analysis of childhood predictors of physical pain,' *Communications Medicine*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856-025-00997-2>

14. Physical pain (2)

Macchia L, Kaats M, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Physical pain as a component of subjective wellbeing', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-98421-1>

15. Physical pain (3)

Macchia L, Okafor CN, Breedlove T, Shiba K, Piper A, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Demographic variation in pain across 22 countries', *Communications Medicine*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856-025-00858-y>

16. Mental health

Okafor CN, Jean-Berluche D, Paltzer J, Kwon E, Grigoropoulou N, VanderWeele TJ and Johnson BR (2025), 'A cross-national analysis of demographic variation in self-rated mental health across 22 countries', *Communications Medicine* volume 5, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856-025-01038-8>

17. Community participation (1)

Chen Y, Case BW, Long KNG, Ying Chen, Brendan W. Case, Katelyn N. G. Long, Robert D. Woodberry, Eric S. Kim, R Noah Padgett, Byron R Johnson and Tyler J VanderWeele (2025), 'Community participation in secular and religious contexts across sociodemographic groups in 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*, 15. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-22806-5>

18. Sampling

Padgett RN, Cowden RG, Chattopadhyay M, Han Y, Honohan J, Ritter Z, Srinivasan R, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Survey sampling design in wave 1 of the Global Flourishing Study', *European Journal of Epidemiology*, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10654-024-01167-9>

19. Gratitude

S Okuzono, Cowden RG, Padgett NR, Yancey G, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Sociodemographic variation in gratitude using a cross-national analysis with 22 countries', *International Journal of Applied Positive Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41042-025-00254-w>

20. Mastery (1)

Kim ES, Padgett RN, Bradshaw M, Chen Y, Chopik WJ, Okuzono S, Wilkinson R, Lachman ME, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Mapping demographic variations in sense of mastery across the world a cross-national analysis of 22 countries in the global flourishing study', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-15304-1>

21. Purpose and meaning (1)

Bradshaw M, Padgett RN, Chen Y, Shiba K, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Case BW, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Identifying childhood correlates of adult purpose and meaning across 22 countries (Global Flourishing Study)', *npj Mental Health Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44184-025-00127-9>

22. Purpose and meaning (2)

Kim ES, Padgett RN, Bradshaw M, Chen Y, Chopik WJ, Okuzono S, Wilkinson R, Lachman ME, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Mapping demographic variations in purpose and meaning across the world: a cross-national analysis of 22 Countries in the Global Flourishing Study', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-15304-1>

23. Social trust

Kim YI, VanderWeele TJ & Johnson BR (2025), 'Childhood predictors of perceptions of social trust across 22 countries in the Global Flourishing Study', *Scientific Reports* 15. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-78201-z>

24. Balance in life (1)

Lomas T, Padgett RN, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Pawelski JO, Shiba K, B Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025a), 'Demographic variation in balance in life across 22 countries: a cross-national analysis of the Global Flourishing Study', *Applied Research in Quality of Life* 20, 1011–1036. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-024-10407-9>

25. Balance in life (2)

Lomas T, Padgett RN, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Pawelski JO, Shiba K, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025b), 'Childhood predictors of balance in life: a cross-national analysis of the Global Flourishing Study', *Scientific Reports*, 15. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-89853-w>

26. Inner peace (1)

Lomas T, Padgett RN, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Lee MT, Pawelski JO, Shiba K, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025c), 'Demographic variation in inner peace across 22 countries: a cross-national analysis of the Global Flourishing Study', *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 26, 66. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-024-00822-y>

27. Inner peace (2)

Lomas T, Padgett RN, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Lee MT, Pawelski JO, Shiba K, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'An exploratory cross-national analysis of the childhood predictors of inner peace in the Global Flourishing Study', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-83353-z>

28. Charitable giving (1)

Nakamura JS, Węziak-Białowolska D, Woodberry RD, Kubzansky LD, Shiba K, Padgett RN, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Demographic variation in charitable giving and helping across 22 countries in the Global Flourishing Study', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-96009-3>

29. Charitable giving (2)

Nakamura JS, Woodberry RD, Weziak-Białowolska D, Kubzansky LD, Shiba K, Padgett RN Johnson R & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Childhood predictors of charitable giving and helping across 22 countries in the Global Flourishing Study', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-77950-1>

30. Volunteering (1)

Nakamura JS, Woodberry RD, Gibson CB, Lee MT, Kim Y, Shiba K, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Childhood predictors of volunteering across 22 countries in the Global Flourishing Study', *Scientific Reports*, 15. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-81639-w>

31. Volunteering (2)

Nakamura JS, Gibson CB, Woodberry RD, Lee MT, Kim YI, Shiba K, Padgett RN, Johnson BR and VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Understanding who volunteers globally through an examination of demographic variation in volunteering across 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-05459-2>

32. Health problems (1)

Paltzer J, Carter EW, Kwon E, Okafor CN, Padgett RN, Benfer J, VanderWeele TJ & Johnson BR (2025), 'A cross-sectional study of demographic variation in health problem-related limitations in life across 22 countries: a cross-national analysis. *BMC Global Public Health* 3, 78. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s44263-025-00190-6>

33. Health problems (2)

Paltzer K, Kwon E, Okafor CN, Padgett RN, Carter EW, Benfer J, VanderWeele TJ & Johnson BR (2025), 'Childhood predictors of health limitations in life across 22 countries: a cross-national and cross-sectional analysis', *BMC Global Public Health* 3. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s44263-025-00188-0>

34. Social support (1)

Ritchie-Dunham JL, Yancey G, Managi S, Bartel C, Bonhag R, Padgett RN, Shiba K, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'variation in social support and intimate friend across 22 countries: a cross-national analysis', *International Journal of Applied Positive Psychology*, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41042-025-00226-0>

35. Social support (2)

Ritchie-Dunham JL, Yancey G, Managi S, Bartel C, Bonhag R, Padgett RN, Shiba K, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Childhood predictors of social support and intimate friends in a Cross-National analysis of the Global Flourishing Study', *Scientific Reports*, 15. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-09953-5>

36. Religious reading

Weziak-Bialowolska D, Cowden RG, Bialowolski P, Bradshaw M, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Childhood predictors of religious reading: a cross-national analysis in the Global Flourishing Study', *Scientific Reports*, 15. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-10142-7>

37. Worry and anxiety

Bradshaw M, Shiba K, Jang SJ, Kente BV, Bonhag R, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2024), 'Demographic variation in symptoms of worry and anxiety across 22 Global Flourishing Study countries', *Communications Medicine*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856-025-01366-9>

38. Alcohol use (1)

de la Rosa PA, Jang SJ, Paltzer J, Okafor CN, Bradshaw M, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Demographic variation in weekly alcohol use across countries in the Global Flourishing Study', *Communications Medicine*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856-025-01346-z>

39. Alcohol use (2)

de la Rosa PA, Jang SJ, Paltzer J, Okafor CN, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Childhood predictors of weekly alcohol use in adulthood: a cross-national Analysis', *Journal of Child and Family Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-025-03126-8>

40. Social relationship quality (1)

Wilkinson R, Shiba K, Gibson CB, Okafor CN, Chen Y, Bradshaw M, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Life course insights into social relationship quality: a cross-national analysis of 22 countries', *Scientific Reports* 15. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-86246-x>

41. Social relationship quality (2)

Wilkinson R, Shiba K, Gibson CB, Okafor CN, Chen Y, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'Strangers, friends, and everything between: sociodemographic variation in social relationship quality across 22 Countries', *Social Indicators Research*, 181(11). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-025-03743-2>

42. Place satisfaction

Counted V, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Cowden RG, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Childhood antecedents of adult place satisfaction in 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-00731-x>

43. Hope (1)

Counted V, Long KNG, Cowden RG, Witvliet CVO, Gibson C, Cortright A, Walsh J, Purcell E, Garzon F, Hathaway W, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Seeds of hope: cross-national analysis of childhood predictors of hope in 22 Countries', *Applied Research in Quality of Life*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-025-10450-0>

44. Hope (2)

Counted V, Long KNG, Cowden RG, Witvliet CVO, Gibson C, Cortright A, Purcell E, Walsh J, Hathaway W, Garzon F, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'Where hope thrives: demographic variation in hope across 22 Countries', *Journal of Happiness Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-025-00981-6>

45. Belief in life after death

Chen ZJ, Cowden RG, Moreira-Almeida A, Breedlove T, Victor Kent B, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele (2025), 'Childhood predictors of belief in life after death across 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-91615-7>

46. Belief in God

Aglozo EY, Johnson KA, Case B, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'A cross-national analysis of demographic variation in belief in God, gods, or spiritual forces in 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-79103-w>

47. Religious and Spiritual comfort

Weziak-Bialowolska D, Cowden RG, Paltzer J, Bialowolski P, Bradshaw M, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Early-life predictors of religious and spiritual comfort: a cross-national analysis in the Global Flourishing Study', *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*; Berkeley Vol. 21 <https://www.proquest.com/docview/3275419744?pq-origsite=gscholarandfromopenview=trueandsourcetype=Scholarly%20Journals>

548. Love and Care

Lee MT, Wilkinson R, Long KNG, Case BW, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Bradshaw M, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'Sociodemographic variation and childhood predictors of showing love and care for others in 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-31380-9>

49. Physical activity

Lee CG, Kwon E, Paltzer J, Okafor CN, VanderWeele TJ, Johnson BR & Kwon J (2025), 'Comparison of the effects of childhood demographic characteristics on physical activity during adulthood across 22 countries', *BMC Public Health*, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-025-23430-8>

50. Promote good (2)

Chen Y, Kim ES, Nakamura JS, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Wilkinson R, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Early life experiences and adult orientation to promote good in 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-03343-7>

51. Prayer and Meditation

Bradshaw M, Counted V, Lomas T, Woodberry RD, VanderWeele TJ and Johnson BR (2025), 'Childhood experiences and adult prayer or meditation in 22 countries around the world', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-99796-x>

52. Suffering (1)

Cowden RG, Chen ZJ, Wilkinson R, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Breedlove D, Gundersen C, Shiba K, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'A cross-national analysis of sociodemographic variation in suffering across 22 countries', *Communications Medicine*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856-025-00859-x>

53. Faith sharing

Woodberry RD, Bradshaw M, VanderWeele TJ & Johnson BR (2025), 'Cross-national variation in faith sharing across religious traditions', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-83531-z>

54. Cantril's ladder, life satisfaction, happiness

Lomas T, Koga HK, Padgett RN, Pawelski JO, Kim ES, Makridis CA, Gundersen C, Bradshaw M, Le Pertel N, Shiba K, Felton C, Helliwell JF, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Exploring associations of three evaluative subjective wellbeing measures (Cantril's ladder, life satisfaction, happiness) with 15 childhood and demographic factors across 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-026-35777-y>

55. Mental illness and wellbeing

VanderWeele TJ, Johnson BR, Bradshaw M, Goodman DM, Kubzansky LD, Lomas T, Moreira-Almeida A, Okafor CN, Ouyang ST & Patel V (2026), 'Mental illness, mental health, and mental well-being', *npj Mental Health Research* volume 5, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44184-026-00193-7>

56. Prosociality and Loving Care

Nakamura JS, Lee MT, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'Echoes of compassion in the Global Flourishing Study: Cross-national distributions and predictors of prosociality and loving care', *International Journal of Wellbeing*, <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v16i2.5585>

57. Measuring wellbeing

VanderWeele TJ & Johnson BR (2025), 'Why we need to measure people's well-being — lessons from a global survey', *Nature*, <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-025-01254-1>

58. Beauty

Lomas T, Padgett RN, Pawelski JO, Makridis CA, Pacheco PA, Kim Y, Breedlove T, Cowden RG, Counted V, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'The prevalence and predictors of experiences of beauty in 22 countries: An international assessment of aesthetic appreciation in the Global Flourishing Study', *Applied Research in Quality of Life*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-025-10532-z>

59. Delayed gratification

Weziak-Bialowolska D, Bialowolski P, Cowden RG, Jang SJ, Bradshaw M, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Delayed gratification across 22 Countries: A cross-national analysis of demographic variation and childhood predictors', *Journal of Research in Personality*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2025.104627>

60. Dispositional forgiveness (1)

Cowden RG, Worthington EL Jr, Chung CA, De Kock JH, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Yancey G, Shiba K, Padgett RN, Bradshaw M, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Sociodemographic variation in dispositional forgivingness: a cross-national analysis with 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-82502-8>

61. Dispositional forgiveness (2)

Cowden RG, Worthington JR EL, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Yancey G, Witvliet CVO, Shiba K, Padgett RN, Bradshaw M, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Childhood predictors of dispositional forgiveness in adulthood: a cross-national analysis with 22 countries. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-025-10451-z>

62. Dispositional forgiveness (3)

Cowden RG, Worthington JR EL, Padgett RN, Felton C, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Wilkinson R, Jackson-Meyer K, Chen ZJ, Bradshaw M, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'Longitudinal associations of

dispositional forgivingness with multidimensional well-being: a two-wave outcome-wide analysis in the Global Flourishing Study', *npj Mental Health Research*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44184-026-00187-5>

63. Optimism

Chen Y, Kubzansky LD, Kim ES, Koga H, Shiba K, Padgett RN, Wilkinson R, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'The distribution of optimism across sociodemographic groups in 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-77257-1>

64. Belonging (1)

Counted V, Allen K, Byron R Johnson BR and Tyler J VanderWeele (2025), 'Variations in belonging across 22 countries in the Global Flourishing Study', *The Journal of Positive Psychology* <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2025.2569083>

65. Swedish wellbeing

Nilsson AH, Kajonius PJ, Kjell O, Dahlen M, Schwartz HA, Case B, Johnson BR, Lomas T, Padgett RN & VanderWeele TJ (2026) 'Swedish well-being: the rising importance of age among demographic, personality, and social relationship factors', *SSM - Population Health*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2026.101913>

66. Financial wellbeing

Bialowolski P, Makridis CA, Bradshaw M, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Gundersen C, Le Pertel N, Gibson C, Jang SJ, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Analysis of demographic variation and childhood correlates of financial well-being across 22 countries', *Nature Human Behavior*, 9: 917–932. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-025-02207-4>

67. Religious centrality

Woodberry RD, Johnson KA, Case B, Bradshaw M, VanderWeele TJ & Johnson BR (2025), 'Religious centrality across 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-99183-6>

68. Smoking (1)

Jang SJ, de la Rosa PA, Padgett RN, Bradshaw M, TJ VanderWeele & Johnson BR (2025), 'A cross-national analysis of demographic variation in daily smoking across 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-76318-9>

69. Smoking (2)

Jang SJ, de la Rosa PA, Padgett RN, Bradshaw M, VanderWeele TJ & Johnson BR (2025), 'A cross-national analysis of childhood predictors of daily smoking in adulthood', *Communications Medicine*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856-025-01005-3>

70. Educational attainment

Padgett RN, Le Pertel N, Hinton C, Kettler T, Ho AD, Chen Y, Bradshaw M, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'A cross-national analysis of sociodemographic variation in educational attainment', *Scientific Reports*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-87406-9>

71. Suffering (2)

Cowden RG, Chen ZJ, Wilkinson R, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Breedlove T, Gundersen C, Shiba K, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Childhood predictors of suffering in adulthood across 22 countries' *Communications Medicine*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856-025-00913-8>

72. Physical activity (2)

Lee CG, Kwon E, Paltzer J, Okafor CN, VanderWeele TJ, Johnson BR & Choi JH (2025), 'Comparison of the relationship between key demographic features and physical activity levels across 22 countries', *BMC Public Health* <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-025-23594-3>

73. Belonging (2)

Counted V, Allen V, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'The roots of belonging: childhood predictors of belonging in 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-14410-4>

74. Depression and anxiety

Bradshaw M, Shiba M, Jang Sj, Kent BV, Bonhag R, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Demographic variation in symptoms of depression and anxiety across 22 Global Flourishing Study countries', *Communications Medicine*, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856-025-01366-9>

75. Political voice

Ssozi J, Kiweewa J, Norman-Krause N, Bradshaw M, VanderWeele TJ & BR Johnson (2026), 'Childhood predictors of political voice across 22 countries in the Global Flourishing Study'. *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-026-46513-x>

76. Life balance and flourishing

Lomas T, Padgett RN, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Pawelski JO, Nilsson AH, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'A longitudinal outcome-wide assessment of the association of life balance with flourishing: a 2-year cross-national analysis of 22 countries in the global flourishing study', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-026-47553-z>

77. Methodology

Padgett RN, Felton C, Bradshaw M, Chen Y, Cowden RG, Kim KS, Wilkinson R, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'Coordinated outcome-wide analytic methodology for multi-wave analyses of the Global Flourishing Study', *BMC Global and Public Health*, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s44263-026-00287-6>

78. Religious reading

Weziak-Bialowolska D, Bialowolski P, Cowden RG, Fogleman A, Bradshaw M, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'Religious reading across borders and demographics: A Study of 22 Countries' *Studia Religiologica*, <https://doi.org/10.4467/20844077SR26.002.23351>

79. Traumatic distress

Sung M, Mattson SA, Cowden RG, Sung M, Mattson SA, Cowden RG, Wilkinson R, Padgett RN, Denckla C, Shiba K, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'A cross-national study of demographic variation and childhood predictors of traumatic distress'. *Communications Medicine*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856-026-01657-9>

80. Community Participation (2)

Chen Y, Case BW, Long KNG, Woodberry R, Kim ES, Padgett Rn, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Childhood experiences and adult community participation in secular and religious contexts in 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-24020-9>

81. Social Trust (2)

Kim Y, Jang SJ, VanderWeele TJ & Johnson BR (2026), 'A cross-national analysis of demographic variation in perceived social trust across 22 countries'. *Scientific Reports*.

<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-026-56453-1>

82. Happiness

Lomas T, Padgett RN, Koga H, Kim E, Pawelski JO, Makridis CA, Gundersen C, Bradshaw M, Le Pertel N, Shiba K, Felton C, Cowden RG, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'A longitudinal outcome-wide assessment of the impact of happiness on flourishing: A 2-year cross-national analysis of 22 countries', *Scientific Reports*, https://www.nature.com/articles/s41598-026-47553-z_reference.pdf

83. Mastery (2)

Kim ES, Bradshaw M, Chen Y, Chopik WJ, Okuzono SS, Wilkinson R, Padgett RN, Lachman ME, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), *Scientific Reports* <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-03045-0>

c) Eight Unpublished Papers

84. Suicide

MJ Lennon, Symons X, Ratheesh A, Suttie J, Mitchell PB, Loo C, Cowden RG & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Human flourishing and suicide: A national-level analysis with 22 countries'

<https://www.researchsquare.com/article/rs-8487304/v1>

85. Physical pain (4)

Macchia L, VanderWeele TJ & Cowden RG (2025). 'Pain and suffering have distinct effects on distress and wellbeing: evidence from a longitudinal multi-country analysis',

<https://www.researchsquare.com/article/rs-7933890/v1>

86. Education and wellbeing

Fadiji AW, Padgett RN, Le Pertel N, Cowden RG, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'Outcome-wide study on the relationship between education and well-being. The Global Flourishing Study'.

<https://osf.io/preprints/psyarxiv/b2ykd>

87. Comparative wellbeing

Lomas T, Padgett RN, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Cowden RG, Chung CA, Case B, Chen Y, Felton C, Makridis CA, Lee MT, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'The Global Flourishing Study national report card: A case study in comparative wellbeing assessment across 22 countries',

<https://www.researchsquare.com/article/rs-8426416/v1>

88. Smoking (3)

Jang SJ, de la Rosa PA, Padgett RN, Felton C, Bradshaw M, VanderWeele TJ & Johnson BR (2026), 'An outcome-wide study of the associations of daily smoking with subsequent well-being and other outcomes in the Global Flourishing Study', <https://www.researchsquare.com/article/rs-8752309/v1>

89. Purpose and Meaning (3)

Kim ES, Strecher VJ, Chen Y, Wilkinson R, Padgett RN, Felton C, Shiba K, Bradshaw M, Fancourt D, Case B, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Koning S, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2026), 'Purpose and meaning's association with 56 health and well-being outcomes: evidence from 23 countries/territories in the Global Flourishing Study' https://osf.io/preprints/psyarxiv/a5mc2_v1

90. Suffering (3)

Cowden RG, Padgett RN, Felton C, Wilkinson R, Macchia L, Chen Z, Węziak-Białowolska D, Koning S, Gundersen C, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Longitudinal Associations of Suffering with Subsequent Multidimensional Well-Being in the Global Flourishing Study', https://osf.io/preprints/psyarxiv/hxdnw_v1

91. Longitudinal flourishing

VanderWeele TJ, Johnson BR, Padgett RN, Bialowolski P, Bonhag R, Bradshaw M, Breedlove T, Case B, Chen Y, Chen Z, Counted V, Cowden RG, Antonio de la Rosa P, Felton C, Fogleman A, Gibson C, Grigoropoulou N, Gundersen C, Jang SJ, Johnson K, Kent B, Kim E, Kim Y, Koga H, Le Pertel N, Lee C, Lee M, Lomas T, Long K, Macchia L, Makridis CA, Markham L, Moon J, Nakamura J, Norman-Krause N, Okafor CN, Okuzono S, Ouyang S, Paltzer J, Ritchie-Dunham JL, Ritter Z, Shiba K, Srinivasan R, Sung M, Ssozi J, Weziak-Bialowolska D, Wilkinson R, Woodberry R, Wortham J and Yancey G (2025), 'Longitudinal Analyses in the Global Flourishing Study: Wave 1 Predictors of Wave 2 Flourishing'. <https://www.researchsquare.com/article/rs-7491892/v1>

d) Plus nine *International Journal of Wellbeing* special supplement papers

(<https://internationaljournalofwellbeing.org/index.php/ijow/issue/view/81>)

92. Summary paper

Lomas T, Padgett RN, Case B, Chen Y, Cowden RG, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'A country-specific all-outcome approach to the Global Flourishing Study: The origin, aims, and process of the country-specific special issue', *International Journal of Wellbeing*. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v15i3.5105>

93. Argentina

Vanney CE, Mesurado B, Herbert ALF, Lomas T, Padgett RN, Case B, Cowden RG, Chen Y, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Flourishing in Argentina: Evidence from the Global Flourishing Study (GFS) across socioeconomic groups and levels of religiosity', *International Journal of Wellbeing*. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v15i3.5955>

94. Hong Kong

Huang L, Xu J, Zhao MY, Hou H, Jarden A, Lomas T, Case B, Padgett RN, Chen Y, Cowden RG, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Flourishing in Hong Kong: An analysis of wellbeing-related outcomes in the Global Flourishing Study', *International Journal of Wellbeing*. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v15i3.6119>

95. Philippines

Buenconsejo JU, Contreras E, Nabia JO, Socrates MCA, Case B, Lomas T, Chen Y, Cowden, RG, Padgett, RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Flourishing in the Philippines: Country-specific insights from the Global Flourishing Study', *International Journal of Wellbeing*. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v15i3.6247>

96. Poland

Weziak-Bialowolska D, Zalewska AM, Kryś K, Case B, Lomas T, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Understanding Well-Being in Poland: Insights from the Global Flourishing Study', *International Journal of Wellbeing*. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v15i3.5175>

97. South Africa

Cowden RG, Fadji AW, Govender K, Hendriks HJ, Schoeman WJ, Case B, Chen Y, Lomas T, Padgett RN, Johnson & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Flourishing in South Africa: Benchmarks and sociodemographic

variation across 69 health, wellbeing, and related factors in the Global Flourishing Study', *International Journal of Wellbeing*. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v15i3.5237>

98. Sweden

Bittár NH, Nilsson AH, Dahlen M, Nathanson M, Kajonius PJ, Kjell O, Lomas T, Padgett RN, Case B, Chen Y, Cowden RG, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Flourishing in Sweden: Great overall – but not for all', *International Journal of Wellbeing*. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v15i3.6001>

99. Turkey

Yemiscigil A, Baskurt AB, Asici AA, Case B, Cowden RG, Chen Y, Lomas T, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Flourishing in Türkiye: A comprehensive country-specific analysis of wellbeing-related outcomes in the Global Flourishing Study', *International Journal of Wellbeing*. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v15i3.5933>

100. USA

Ortega F, Snower DJ, Case B, Chen Y, Cowden RG, Lomas T, Padgett RN, Johnson BR & VanderWeele TJ (2025), 'Well-being in the United States: Insights from the Global Flourishing Study', *International Journal of Wellbeing*. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v15i3.5907>

Appendix B: 68 Variables examined by the eight papers

a) Wellbeing variables

1. Happiness
2. Life Satisfaction
3. Life Evaluation Today
4. Life Evaluation Five Years from Now
5. Optimism
6. Freedom
7. Peace
8. Balance in Life
9. Mastery
10. Meaning
11. Purpose
12. Self-Rated Mental Health
13. Subjective Social Connectedness
14. Social Support
15. Intimate Friend
16. Government Approval
17. Political Voice
18. Belonging
19. City Satisfaction
20. Trust
21. Community Participation
22. Traumatic Distress
23. Depression
24. Anxiety
25. Suffering
26. Loneliness
27. Discrimination
28. Promoting Good
29. Delayed Gratification
30. Hope
31. Gratitude
32. Love
33. Forgiveness
34. Charitable Giving
35. Helping strangers
36. Volunteering
37. Self-Rated Physical Health
38. Health Limitations
39. Pain
40. Smoking

41. Drinking
42. Exercise
43. Financial Security
44. Material Security
45. Subjective Financial Wellbeing

b) Personality traits

46. Openness to Experience
47. Agreeableness
48. Conscientiousness
49. Neuroticism
50. Extraversion

c) Socio-economic outcomes

51. Housing
52. Divorced
53. Children
54. Education
55. Employment
56. Ever Married

d) Religious variables

57. Religious Service Attendance
58. Life after Death Belief
59. Religious Experience
60. Religious Reading
61. Prayer-Meditation
62. Belief in God
63. Intrinsic Religiosity
64. Religious Comfort
65. Loved by God
66. Spiritual Punishment
67. Religious Criticism
68. Evangelism

Appendix C: Prior country wellbeing papers

a) Turkey

1. Birdal, M, Acun, S. and Onuk, P. (2018), 'What makes us happy? Socioeconomic determinants of subjective well-being in Turkey', *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social and Community Studies*, 13(4). <https://doi.org/10.18848/2324-7576/CGP/v13i04/1-18>
2. Caner, A. (2015), 'Happiness, comparison effects, and expectations in Turkey', *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 16: 1323-1345. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-014-9562-z>
3. Dumludag, D., O. Gokdemir and Giray, S. (2017), 'The determinants of happiness in Turkey: Evidence from city-level data', *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 18: 647-669. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-016-9746-9>
4. Dumludag, D., O. Gokdemir and Giray, S. (2016), 'Income comparison, collectivism and life satisfaction in Turkey', *Quality and Quantity*, 50: 955-980. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-015-0185-1>
5. Eren, K.A. and Aşıcı, A.A. (2017), 'The determinants of happiness in Turkey: evidence from city level data', *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 18: 647-669. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-016-9746-9>
6. Susanlı, Z.B. (2018), 'Life satisfaction and unemployment in Turkey: evidence from Life Satisfaction Surveys 2004-2013', *Quality and Quantity*, 52: 479-499. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0479-6>

b) Eastern Europe

7. Amini, C, Douarin, E. (2020), 'Corruption and life satisfaction in transition: is corruption a social norm in Eastern Europe?', *Social Indicators Research*, 151: 723-766. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-020-02389-6>
8. Djankov, S. E. Nikolova and Zilinsky, J., (2016), 'The happiness gap in Eastern Europe', *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 44(1): 108-124, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2015.10.006>
9. Humpert, S. (2010), 'A note on happiness in Eastern Europe', *European Research Studies*, Vol. XIII, No. 3: 133-144. https://www.ersj.eu/repec/ers/papers/10_3_p6.pdf
10. Guriev, S. and N. Melnikovd (2018), 'Happiness convergence in transition countries', *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 46(3): 683-707. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2018.07.003>
11. Hayo, B, and Seifert, W. (2003), 'Subjective economic well-being in Eastern Europe', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 24: 329-348. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0167-4870\(02\)00173-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0167-4870(02)00173-3)
12. Rodríguez-Pose, A. and Maslauskaitė, K. (2012), 'Can policy make us happier? Individual characteristics, socio-economic factors and life satisfaction in Central and Eastern Europe', *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 5(1): 77-96. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsr038>
13. Blanchflower DG and Bryson A (2025), 'The mental health of the young in Eastern Europe and Central Asia', *Review of Development Economics*, December 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-025-02264-x>
14. Growiec, K. and Growiec, J. (2014), 'Trusting only whom you know, knowing only whom you trust: the joint impact of social capital and trust on happiness in CEE countries', *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 15: 1015-1040. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-013-9461-8>

c) Latin America

15. Ateca-Amestoy, V, Aguilar, A.C. and Moro-Egido, A.I. (2014), 'Social interactions and life satisfaction: evidence from Latin America', *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 15: 527-554. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-013-9434-y>
16. Graham, C., Felton, A. (2006), 'Inequality and happiness: Insights from Latin America', *Journal of Economic Inequality*, 4: 107-122. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10888-005-9009-1>
17. Londoño, O. C., D.G. Mesa, D., Cardona-Sosa, L. and CG Toro (2019), 'Happiness and victimization in Latin America', *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 20: 935-954. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-018-9981-3>
18. Rojas, M (2024), 'The joint enjoyment of life. Explaining high happiness in Latin America' *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 25, 100 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-024-00817-9>

19. Rojas, M. (2016), *Handbook of Happiness Research in Latin America*, Springer
20. Blanchflower, D.G., Bryson, A. (2025b), 'The mental health of the young in Latin America' *Social Indicators Research*, 180, 759–786. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-025-03669-9>

d) Western Europe

21. Georgellis, Y, Tsitsianis, N. and Yin, Y.P. (2009), 'Personal values as mitigating factors in the link between income and life satisfaction: evidence from the European Social Survey', *Social Indicators Research*, 91: 329–344. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-008-9344-2>
22. Gerdtham, U-G. and Johannesson, M. (2001), 'The relationship between happiness, health, and socio-economic factors: result based on Swedish microdata', *Journal of Socio-Economics*, 30(6): [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1053-5357\(01\)00118-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1053-5357(01)00118-4)
23. Realo, A, and Dobewall, H. (2011), 'Does life satisfaction change with age? A comparison of Estonia, Finland, Latvia, and Sweden', *Journal of Research in Personality*, 45(3): 297–308. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2011.03.004>
24. Venetoklis, T. (2019), 'Do interactions cancel associations of subjective well-being with individual level socioeconomic characteristics? An exploratory analysis using the European Social Survey', *Quality and Quantity*, 53: 3033–3061. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-019-00919-0>
25. Axelsson, S., Dahlberg, S (2024), 'Measuring happiness and life satisfaction amongst Swedish citizens: an inquiry into semantic equivalence in comparative survey research', *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 25, 113. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-024-00827-7>
26. Albiol-Sánchez, J, Diaz-Serrano, L. and Teruel, M. (2020), 'The transition to self-employment and perceived skill-mismatches: panel data evidence from eleven EU Countries', *Social Indicators Research*, 153: 957-977. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-020-02520-7>
27. Hoogerbrugge, M.M., M.J. Burger and Van Oort, F.G. (2021), 'Spatial structure and subjective well-being in North-West Europe', *Regional Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2021.1873261>
28. Marton, B., Ng, J.W.J. & Želinský, T. (2026), 'The role of aspiration gap and affect in shaping life satisfaction', *Social Indicators Research*, 181, 68. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-025-03783-8>
29. Uvhagen L, Gustafsson J, Söderqvist F (2025), 'Mental well-being in Swedish adolescents 2014–2023: A repeated population-based cross-sectional study focusing on temporal variations and differences between groups. *PLoS One* 20(5). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0323963>

e) Asia

30. Hori, M., Kamo, Y. (2018), 'Gender differences in happiness: the effects of marriage, social roles, and social support in East Asia'. *Applied Research in Quality Life*, 13: 839–857. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-017-9559-y>
31. Ngoo, Y.T, Tan, E.C, and Tey, N.P. (2021), 'Determinants of life satisfaction in Asia: a quantile regression approach', *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 22, pp. 907-926. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-020-00257-1>
32. Ngoo, Y.T, Tey, N.P. and Ta, E.C. (2015), 'Determinants of life satisfaction in Asia', *Social Indicators Research*, 124: 141-156. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-014-0772-x>
33. Trung, N.N, Cheong, K. Pham, K.C, Nghi, P.T. and Kim, W.J. (2013), 'Relationship between socioeconomic values and wellbeing: an overview of research in Asia', *Social Indicators Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-012-0014-z>
34. Bauer, J. M, Levin, V, Boudet, A. M. M, Nie, P, and Sousa-Poza, A. (2017), 'Subjective well-being across the lifespan in Europe and Central Asia', *Journal of Population Ageing*, 10, 125–158. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12062-016-9148-0>
35. Beja, E. L, Jr. (2018), 'The U-shaped relationship between happiness and age: Evidence using World Values Survey data' *Quality and Quantity*, 52: 1817–1829. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0570-z>

e) USA

36. Blanchflower, DG and Oswald AJ, (2008), 'Is well-being U-shaped over the life cycle?', *Social Science & Medicine*, 66(6): 1733-1749. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2008.01.030>
37. Stone, A.A., J.E. Schwartz, J. E. Broderick, and A. Deaton (2010), 'A snapshot of the age distribution of psychological well-being in the United States', *PNAS*, 107 (22): 9985-9990. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1003744107>
38. Blanchflower DG and Oswald AJ (2020), 'Trends in extreme distress in the United States, 1993–2019', *American Journal of Public Health*, 110(10): 1538-1544. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2020.305811>
39. Jean Twenge (2019) 'The sad state of happiness in the United States and the Role of Digital Media', *World Happiness Report*, 2019. <https://www.worldhappiness.report/ed/2019/the-sad-state-of-happiness-in-the-united-states-and-the-role-of-digital-media/>
40. Lawrence EM, Rogers RG, Wadsworth T. (2015), 'Happiness and longevity in the United States'. *Social Science and Medicine*, 18(145): 115–119. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2015.09.020>
41. Song, Y. (2025), 'COVID-19 and subjective well-being in the United States: Age Matters' *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 83. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-025-00911-6>
42. Bardo, A. R. (2017), 'A life course model for a domains-of life approach to happiness: Evidence from the United States', *Advances in Life Course Research*, 33, 11–22. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2017.06.002>
43. Eichstaedt, J. C, Yaden, D. B, Ribeiro, F, Adler, A, and Kern, M. L. (2020), 'Lifestyle and wellbeing: Exploring behavioral and demographic covariates in a large US sample', *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 10(4): 87-112. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v10i4.831>

g) South Africa

44. Akokuwebe ME, Likoko S, Osuafor GN and Idemudia ES (2023), 'Determinants of life satisfaction among migrants in South Africa: an analysis of the GCRO's quality of life survey (2009–2021)', *BMC Public Health* (2023) 23: 2030. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-023-16868-1>
45. Alloush M and Wu, S (2021), 'Income improves subjective well-being: evidence from South Africa', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 71(2). <https://doi.org/10.1086/716056>
46. Botha, F. and Booysen, F. (2014), 'Family functioning and life satisfaction and happiness in South African households', *Social Indicators Research*, 119: 163–182. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-013-0485-6>
47. Botha F, Morris RW, Butterworth P and Glozier N (2023), 'Generational differences in mental health trends in the twenty-first century', *PNAS*, 120(49). <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2303781120>
48. Botha, F., Wouters, E. and Booysen F. (2018), 'Happiness, socioeconomic status, and family functioning in South African households: a structural equation modelling approach', *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 13: 947–989. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-017-9568-x>
49. Ebrahim, A. Botha, F. and Snowball, J. (2013), 'Determinants of life satisfaction among race groups in South Africa', *Development Southern Africa* 30(2). <https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2013.797227>
50. Hinks T and Gruen C (2007), 'What is the structure of South African happiness equations? Evidence from quality-of-life surveys', *Social Indicators Research*, 82: 311–336. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-006-9036-8>
51. Kollamparambil U (2019), 'Happiness, happiness inequality and income dynamics in South Africa', *Journal of Happiness Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-006-9036-8>
52. Lloyd N and Leibbrandt M (2014), 'New evidence on subjective well-being and the definition of unemployment in South Africa', *Development Southern Africa*, 31(1): 85-105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2013.864513>
53. Møller V and Roberts BJ (2019), 'The best and worst times of life for South Africans: evidence of universal reference standards in evaluations of personal well-being using Bernheim's ACSA', *Social Indicators Research*, 143: 1319–1347. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-018-2018-9>

54. Posel D and Bruce-Brand J (2020), 'Only a housewife?' Subjective well-being and homemaking in South Africa' *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 22, 323–342. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-020-00232-w>
55. Powdthavee, N. (2005), 'Unhappiness and crime: evidence from South Africa', *Economica*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0013-0427.2005.00429.x>
56. Pretorius M, Biyase ME and Fisher B (2021), 'Anticipation and adaptation of subjective wellbeing to marriage in South Africa', *Journal of Economic and Financial Sciences*, 14(1). <https://jefjournal.org.za/index.php/jef/article/view/676/1342>
57. Sulemana I (2015a), 'The effect of fear of crime and crime victimization on subjective well-being in Africa', *Social Indicators Research*, 121(3): 849–872. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-014-0660-4>
58. Blaauw, P.F. and Pretorius, A. (2013), 'The determinants of subjective well-being in South Africa: An exploratory enquiry', *Journal of Economic and Financial Sciences*, 6(1): 179-194. <https://jefjournal.org.za/index.php/jef/article/view/283>
59. Blanchflower DG and Bryson A (2026), Wellbeing of the young in Africa, *Journal of African Economics*. 35(2). <https://doi.org/10.1093/jae/ejaf016>
60. Kamdem, C.B., Mamadou Asngar, T., Ongo Nkoa, B.E. et al. (2025), 'Cultural diffusion and happiness: A New Evidence in Sub Saharan Africa' *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 26, 64. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-025-00897-1>