What makes people happier?
(economic versus overall wellbeing: Russian case)

Advisor:

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Аннотация

Большинство исследований, посвященных проблеме субъективных оценок благосостояния, основано на статистических данных собранных на развитых европейских странах. Автор этой работы, как правило, исходит из предположения об абсолютной шкале субъективного благосостояния – т.е. что все индивидуумы придерживаются общего мнения по поводу численного выражения своего субъективного благосостояния. Для России, однако, подобное предположение, едва ли может считаться разумным, поскольку российское общество весьма разнообразно, как в национальном, так и социальном аспекте, и понятие монс кулуры к нему едва ли применимо.

Настоящая работа основана на существенно более слабом предположении о более одной лишь межвременной сравнимости субъективного благосостояния каждого конкретного респондента. Предметом исследования являются сдвиги в лучшему и действительному благосостоянии. Была использована бинарная logit-модель с фиксированными эффектами метод Чемберлена. Проведено сравнение двух типов субъективного благосостояния экономическое и общее). Выявлено, что для экономического благосостояния более существенными являются такие называемые финансовые факторы изменения в подушевом доходе домохозяйства, влияние финансового кризиса 1998 года, в то время как на общее благосостояния сильнее влияют нефинансовые факторы потерь нахождение работы, вступление в брак, изменение самооценки здоровья).
Abstract

Usually economists in their surveys concerning, as a rule, advanced European countries interpret answers to subjective wellbeing questions as comparable across individuals. It seems that such an assumption is too strong for Russian case, however, since people’s opinion about what happiness is changes from region to region and from one social group to another, and thus such term as “mono-culture” hardly can be applied towards Russian society. Assuming only intertemporal comparability of wellbeing answers for each individual, we analyze positive changes in real (latent) wellbeing with the help of fixed effect binary logit model. Two types of subjective wellbeing (economic and overall) are compared. Results suggest that financial factors (change in income, financial crisis) affect economic wellbeing, while non-financial factors (change in marital status, employment status, self-evaluation of health) are more important for overall wellbeing.
I. Introduction

Last few years showed a dramatic growth of interest of economists to self-reported satisfaction. The concept itself existed for more than 30 years (first mentioned by Easterlin 1974), Scitovski 1975), Kapteyn and van Praag 1976)). According to Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijers (2002). nowadays one can count more than 3000 psychological and sociological studies devoted to this subject. The discussion began with an empirical paradox noted by Easterlin: despite growing income, subjective wellbeing of population of some advanced countries (for example, USA and Japan) remained almost the same. This phenomenon required an explanation. There should be some other factors affecting life satisfaction besides income. It was proved in many works that so-called non-financial characteristics, such as employment status, crime rate, health and many others have strong influence on life-satisfaction.

The most part of empirical investigations of subjective wellbeing used data from West-European countries, such as Netherlands and West Germany. It is interesting therefore to investigate also a transition economy, an example of which is given by Russia. The Russian case seems more complicated for several reasons: contradictory official statistics, lack of stability, regional differences. Moreover, Russian households often include several different families and this stirs up the whole picture. It would be explained later that in such situation one can assume only intertemporal comparison of subjective wellbeing.

Another distinctive feature of Russia is an impressive number of unsatisfied people. This is easily seen on Figure 1, where histograms of life satisfaction in Germany (year 1984, the data is taken from Winkelmann and Winkelmann 1998), and in Russia (year 1996, RLMS, round 7) are presented. It can be mentioned also that for round 8 (year 1998, immediately after the crisis) the difference in the distribution of life satisfaction is even more impressive. Unfortunately, the data on the life satisfaction in Germany was measured on a 11 grades scale, while in RLMS database a 5 grades scale was used. Nevertheless, it can be easily seen that in Russia the most part of population belongs to the first third of distribution of satisfaction in contrast with Germany, where it belongs to the last third.
Figurc 1. Life satisfaction in Russia 1996 (5 grades scale) and in Germany, 1984 11 grades scale).

The previous researchers, see Ravallion and Lokshin 1999), have found a strong income effect on subjective wellfare while ill-health and losing a job lower wellfare ceteris paribus. Since year 1996 two new rounds of RLMS have appeared, it allows us getting rid of individual effects that cannot be traced by several explanatory variables. So a fixed-effect logit model is applied to the data. Some authors successfully use ordered probit or probit in their research (Clark and Oswald 1994, or Das and van Soest), however only binary-fixed effect models are available in Stata reductor. To use this model we have to construct appropriate binary variables (positive changes in
wellbeing and negative changes in wellbeing – their formal definitions can be found below).

Also the structure of RLMS data allows to consider two types of subjective wellbeing: economic wellbeing and life-satisfaction (or overall wellbeing). We have a possibility to compare these two concepts and determine what factors are more important for each of them.

The paper is organized in the following way. In section 2 brief literature review is made. In section 3 we briefly describe RLMS database and discuss in details its part concerning economic and life satisfaction (in our research we prefer to call it "overall satisfaction", thus emphasizing a difference with economic wellbeing). In section 4 we discuss which changes in subjective satisfaction are more likely to be interpreted as improvements. Description of explanatory variables can be found in section 5. The formal description of the model used can be found in section 6. Set of explanatory variables includes change in log-income, change in marital status, change in employment status, change in self-evaluation of health, change in number of children aged < 18, and some time dummies. Lagged expectations about future life are also included. In section 7 the results of regressions are presented. Two types of subjective satisfaction (economic and overall) are compared. Finally, in section 8 we summarize our results.

II. Literature review.

Among numerous papers concerning subjective wellbeing we will describe only those that either use similar methods as we do, or analyse Russian data.

As it was mentioned in the introduction, Ravallion and Lokshin (1999) use in their research RLMS data (years 1994, 1996). They introduce a concept of economic wellbeing, using RLMS Economic Ladder question (see details in section III). According to the authors, this concept is a narrower one in comparison with the "satisfaction of life", which is usually analysed by other researchers. Authors expect that investigation of economic wellbeing would give sharper results for economic variables. They use the following model: after taking first differences over time they apply an ordered probit model to changes in observed subjective wellbeing (i.e. changes in self-reported economic rank). It should be mentioned that only two rounds of RLMS are used which is a bit small for a panel model. Ravallion and Lokshin obtained
the following results: household income is a highly significant predictor of economic subjective wellbeing while individual income is a far weaker predictor. Deterioration of self-estimation of health and becoming unemployed lower subjective wellbeing although an income-compensated wellbeing cost of unemployment is less strong and robust as it was expected according to the previous studies.

The closest predecessor of the work of Ravallion and Lokshin is the paper by Winkeimann and Winkelmann (1998). This work is focused on investigation of the influence of unemployment on life-satisfaction in West Germany in the middle eighties. Authors use binary logit-model, which forces them to collapse the subjective wellbeing variable into satisfied/unsatisfied dichotomy. A person is considered satisfied (unsatisfied) if his subjective wellbeing (life-satisfaction) is lower than the average (which equals 8 on the 11 grade scale – see Figure 1). This approach, of course, assumes interpersonal comparability of self-reported life-satisfaction. After that a fixed effect binary logit model is applied to German data (years 1984-89). The results of their regression are the following. The estimated effect of income is statistically significant although small. The negative effect of unemployment is strong (almost three times larger than the effect of bad health), while the effects of good health (measured as the absence of a chronic decease or a handicap) and of being married increase life-satisfaction.

Rather detailed review of existing methods of analysis of subjective wellbeing can be found in the work of Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters. According to their classification, modern models are based on one of the three following different assumptions (increasing in their restrictiveness):

- Subjective satisfaction can not be interpersonally compared; the only restriction required is the following: if OWBi > OWBs then WBi > WBs, where OWBi is the observable wellbeing of individual i at the moment t (the answer of an individual on the subjective satisfaction question), and WBi is his real wellbeing (unobservable).

- Subjective satisfaction is interpersonally ordinably comparable: if OWB, > OWBi, then WB, > WBi. Ordinality assumes common opinion of all individuals about what subjective wellbeing is, so subjective wellbeing is considered to be an absolute variable. This assumption is feasible only if:
  1) Each individual is able to estimate and predict subjective wellbeing of others:
2) Individuals share one language, they have common understanding of how to translate internal feeling into number scale. Under ordinality assumption ordered probit (logit) models are usually runned.

- Subjective satisfaction is interpersonally cardinally comparable: \(\text{OWB}_i - \text{OWB}_j = f(WB_i, WB_j)\). Usually \(f(WB_i, WB_j) = WB_i - WB_j\). Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters also note that under the cardinality assumption usually OLS or similar methods are used.

Authors showed that both the ordinality and the cardinality assumptions lead to very similar results. On the other hand, allowing for fixed-effects does change results substantionally. However, it is reasonable to suggest that both the ordinality and the cardinality assumptions are too strong for Russia, while for Netherlands or West Germany they are quite plausible. Indeed, Russian population differs considerably from region to region and from one social group to another, so one can't consider it to be homogeneous.

So, we believe that the first assumption, namely that the subjective satisfaction can be only intertemporally compared for each person and cannot be interpersonally compared, is the one relevant for Russia.

III. The Data

In our research we use data from Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Study (RLMS), which is based on the first nationally representative sample. It contains data about approximately 4000 households a round and approximately 9000 of individuals a round. We build a panel that includes observations from V to IX. The necessary information is available on the webpage of Carolina Population Center at the University of North Carolina: www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/rlms/rlms_home.html.

Among other information RLMS database contains some data, describing individual subjective satisfaction. The questionnaire includes two following questions:

- Economic Ladder Question: «Imagine a nine-step ladder where on the bottom, the first step, stand the poorest people, and on the highest step, the ninth, stand the rich. On which step are you today?»
- Subjective Well-Being Question: «To what extent are you satisfied with your life in general at the present time?» (5 possible answers:
fully satisfied, rather satisfied, both yes and no, less than satisfied, not at all satisfied).

The first question concerns economic wellbeing and the second presents person's opinion about his or her life-satisfaction or overall wellbeing. The second concept is much wider, since it depends on larger set of factors such as health, private life, success in work, situation inside the country and even international situation.

In our research we use RLMS data, rounds 5-9. This corresponds to Russian representative sample covering year: 1994 1996 1998, 2000

Problems.

It should be said that we had a lot of problems trying to deal with RLMS data due to lack of accuracy in collecting (numerous errors in numbers: e.g. x rubles of income instead of x thousand rubles of income) and storing data. Variables change from round to round, they appear (which is not so annoying) and disappear (which do upset the desperate researcher). To make data more confident we had to drop a number of suspicious observations, on the cost of decreasing the sample and making it not as representative as it had been.

IV. What changes in subjective satisfaction should be treated as an improvement?

Placing subjective variables in the focus of our research we have to emphasize that these variables should not be treated as absolute. The same life situation can be accepted as "excellent" by one person and "so-so" by another. This suggests that the changes in subjective wellbeing reflect happiness much better then it does wellbeing itself.

Winkelmann and Winkelmann in their work suppose that a person is happy if his life-satisfaction is greater than mean satisfaction over the whole sample.

Other authors, as it was said already in the introduction, assume that satisfaction can be interpersonally compared. We reject this assumption at least for Russia, whose population evidently do not share common opinion on what happiness is.

Only binary fixed effect logit model is available for us and so we need to determine binary variable for positive (negative) changes in real (nonobservable) wellbeing. See definitions in section 6.
V. Construction of variables.

Our explanatory variables reflects basic factors that can influence subjective wellbeing:
- change in log-income (per capita total net income of the household)
- improvement of marital status' (from never married or divorced to married, both official and non-official);
- deterioration of marital status” (reverse changes);
- improvement of job status' (from unemployed to employed);
- deterioration of job status” (from employed to unemployed);
- improvement of health’ (positive changes in self-evaluation of health);
- deterioration of health” (negative changes in self-evaluation of health);
- increased number of kids (increase in number of children younger than 18);
- good expectations (equals 1, if in the previous round person expected that “next 12 months he and his family will live better than today” (both much better and somewhat better));
  - crisis (dummy for year 1998);
  - post-crisis (dummy for year 2000).

Here sign ’ denotes that the corresponding variable is used only in models (6’) and (6") (positive changes in wellbeing), and sign ” denotes that the corresponding variable is used only in models (6”’ ) and (6””’) (negative changes in wellbeing).

Almost all regressors are quite intuitive and were discussed by numerous previous authors. The common sense suggests that a marriage, finding a job, or problems in health do effect people opinion on their wellbeing. We used variable good expectation as a regressor since it seemed worth to us to learn who improve their subjective wellbeing – those people who expect their future life improve or, on the contrary, deteriorate (we will name them, respectively, optimists or pessimists).

Since we applied fixed effect model, we had to exclude some useful characteristics, such as age, sex and region from the regression. Also we
couldn't trace the effect of changing residence due to the structure of RLMS: a person that left this particular address never reappears in database. Looking for some parameter, changing unexpectedly from round to round, one can suggest regional wages or regional incomes. However, adding regional wages to the model we receive insignificant estimate for its coefficient. Probably their effect is similar to that of the crisis and post-crisis dummies. Since the interpretation of dummies is more obvious we decided to drop regional wages out of the model.

VI. The Model

Analyzing subjective wellbeing, one can face the following problem: what changes in subjective wellbeing should be considered positive? Since subjective wellbeing is not an absolute variable, we are interested in its changes rather than in absolute values.

We assume wellbeing (either economic or overall) of an individual to be an unobservable continuous characteristic changing in time and taking values from $-\infty$ to $\infty$. We denote by $W_{B,i}(i=1,...,N, t=1,...,T)$ wellbeing of individual $i$ at period $t$. Further, we assume, that the observable wellbeing $OW_{B,i}$ (the answer of an individual on the wellbeing question) depends on $W_{B,i}$:

$$OW_{B,i} = \lfloor f(W_{B,i}) \rfloor,$$

where $\lfloor \rfloor$ stands for the integer part, and $f_i$ is an individual "transformation function", which is assumed to be monotonic and taking values on the interval $[0,M]$, where $M$ is the maximal possible answer on the wellbeing question — these assumptions are quite standard (see Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters, 2002). Moreover, we assume that the function $f_i$ is close to a linear function near the middle, which seems to be quite reasonable as well. This assumption is suggested by the following observation: if for example one estimates his wellbeing by a 9 grade scale, then a change of an estimation from 2 to 3, from 3 to 4, ..., or from 7 to 8 can be caused by approximately the same change in the unobservable wellbeing, while a change from 1 to 2, or from 8 to 9 must be caused by a significantly larger change in the unobservable wellbeing. On the other hand, if a smaller scale is used (e.g., a 5 grade scale, as in the case of the overall wellbeing), then this effect is not so strong and the scale is too rough to catch it. These assumptions are reflected in the definitions $(5')$ and $(5'')$. 
We are interested in changes of unobservable wellbeing
\[ \Delta WB_i = WB_{it+1} - WB_{it}, \quad i = 1, \ldots, N, \ t = 1, \ldots, T. \]

We assume the following model:
\[ \Delta WB_i = X_i' \beta + u_i + \varepsilon_i, \quad i = 1, \ldots, N, \ t = 1, \ldots, T, \]
(2)
where \( X_i \) is a vector of explanatory variables, \( u_i \) is a fixed effect which takes into account unobservable individual characteristics, and \( \varepsilon_i \) is logit-distributed. We will consider an individual, as "having become happier" if his wellbeing has changed at least by a constant \( C_i \), which is also considered to be individual:
\[ AWB_i > C_i. \]
(3)
Then it is clear that the probability of "becoming happier" equals
\[
F(\Delta WB_i > C_i) = P(X_i' \beta + u_i + \varepsilon > C_i) = P(\varepsilon > (C_i - u_i) - X_i' \beta) =
\]
\[ = P(\varepsilon < X_i' \beta + (u_i - C_i)) = \Lambda(X_i' \beta + (u_i - C_i)), \]
(4)
where \( \Lambda(x) = e^{x} / (1 + e^{x}) \) is the logit function. On the other hand, the condition (3) depends on a latent variable \( \Delta WB_i \), hence cannot be observed. As a substitute we consider condition
\[ AOWB_i \geq 1 \]
(5’)
in the case of overall wellbeing, and
\[ AOWB_i \geq 2, \quad AOWB_i = 1 \text{ and } OWB_i = 8 \text{ or } 1, \]
(5’’)
in the case of economic wellbeing. The distinction in conditions (5’) and (5’’) is explained by the difference in the scales of measuring: an answer on the overall wellbeing question is measured on a 5 grade scale, while an answer on the economic wellbeing question is measured on a 9 grade scale. So, in the latter case we are able to take into account "boundary effects" of a nonlinearity of the transformation function. \footnote{Note that the "boundary effects" was taken into account only partially. In fact, if \( \Delta WB_i \) takes its maximal possible value (5 in the case of overall wellbeing and 9 in the case of economic wellbeing) then an increase in \( OWB_i \) is impossible, while \( WB_i \) can increase arbitrary. We solve this problem just by dropping out the corresponding observations, however it is clear that this may lead to a bias in estimations.}

Summarizing, we obtain the following model. We introduce binary dependent variables \( OV_{Rg} \) and \( EC_{Rg} \) (probabilities of becoming richer in the overall and economical sense respectively) defined as follows
\[ OV_{Rg} = 1, \text{ if } \Delta OV_{RANK} \geq 1, \]
\[ OV_{Rg} = 0, \text{ otherwise.} \]
individuals with unchanged outcome drop out of the conditional likelihood function. However, the number of observations left in the sample is sufficiently big: 9722 (in the model (6')), 11923 (in the model (6'')), 72 1 (in the model (6'''')) and 12406 (in the model (6'''')) respectively.

Now let us turn to the obtained results. Table 1 contains the estimates of the models (6') and (6''), (models for positive changes in overall and economic wellbeing respectively). Let us discuss them.

First we see that change in log-income, improvement of marital and job status, improvement of health and the effect of overcoming the crisis increase probability of a positive change, both in economic and in overall wellbeing. On the other hand, good expectations and the effect of the crisis decrease this probability. All this is quite consistent with the common sense. For example, negative coefficient for good expectations can be considered as an evidence of the fact, that optimists are often disappointed in their expectations.

Further, let us compare the coefficients at regressor across the models. Here we see that change in log-income is more significant for economic satisfaction, while marital status, job and health is more important for overall wellbeing. The crisis decreases economic wellbeing stronger than overall wellbeing, but the post-crisis revival has stronger effect on overall wellbeing. Optimistic forecasts have stronger negative effect on economic wellbeing. All this is quite intuitive.

Table 1
Logit Regression Results for Positive Changes in Economic and Overall Wellbeing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regressors/dependent variables</th>
<th>positive change in economic wellbeing</th>
<th>positive change in overall wellbeing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>change in log-income</td>
<td>.082*** (.014)</td>
<td>.044*** (.012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good expectation</td>
<td>-.44*** (.084)</td>
<td>-.39*** (.073)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improvement of marital status</td>
<td>.21* (.11)</td>
<td>.35*** (.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improvement of job status</td>
<td>.15* (.094)</td>
<td>.21* (.084)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improvement of health</td>
<td>.17*** (.055)</td>
<td>.23*** (.050)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crisis</td>
<td>-.23*** (.051)</td>
<td>-.17*** (.045)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-crisis</td>
<td>.37*** (.048)</td>
<td>.52*** (.044)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of obs./groups</td>
<td>9722 (2924)</td>
<td>11923 (3664)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the household has considerably stronger effect on economic wellbeing. Of course, something of that sort might be expected: it is clear that appearance of a baby in spite of a lot of inconveniences and difficulties that it could bring, is a source of numerous positive emotions. Its influence on the overall wellbeing is not as strong as on the economic wellbeing: from the purely economical point of view a baby is a heavy burden for the family budget. However, the difference between coefficients (0.096 versus 0.25) looks somewhat too big. The effect of the crisis (0.70 versus 0.29) seems reasonable.

Now let us suggest possible reasons for such results. It was already said that in order to define changes in satisfaction correctly we had to drop all observations for which satisfaction in previous round was minimal (for negative changes, Table 2) or maximum (for positive changes, Table 1). But Russia is specific in the sense that there exists a lot of those who chose minimal answer and only few of those who chose maximum ones. Thus, for negative changes in economic wellbeing 2478 observations were excluded. Those excluded observations represent the poorest members of the society, so the fact that their opinion was not taken into account could lead to biased estimates.

Table 2

| Logit Regression Results for Negative Changes in Economic and Overall Wellbeing |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                  | negative change in economic wellbeing | negative change in economic wellbeing | negative change in overall wellbeing |
| change in log-income | -.056*** (.014) | -.056*** (.014) | -.069*** (.012) |
| good expectation | -.32*** (.088) | .32*** (.088) | .37*** (.067) |
| improvement of marital status | -.051 (1.15) | .32*** (.088) | -.18* (.11) |
| deterioration of working status | .12 (0.96) | .22*** (.073) |
| deterioration of health | .056 (0.061) | .19*** (.046) |
| increased number of kids | .25*** (.055) | .25*** (.055) | .096** (.040) |
| crisis | .70*** (.055) | .70*** (.055) | .29*** (.042) |
| number of observations | 7231 (2377) | 7231 (2377) | 12406 (3799) |
| LF χ² | 203.24 | 200.38 | 157.65 |

(a) Standard errors in parenthesis;
(b) *** stands for significance or 1% level, ** - 5% level, and * - 10% level,
(c) insignificant estimates;
In the paper we determined main factors causing changes in subjective wellbeing of Russian citizens. We analyzed both negative and positive changes. We have determined a group of factors affecting subjective wellbeing, such as income, marital status (or having a partner, registered or not), employment status, health. Time-dummies were included, so the effect of financial crisis 1998 and following post-crisis revival were taken into account.

Two types of subjective wellbeing (economic and overall) were compared. Speaking about positive changes in the wellbeing, the obtained results do not contradict the common sense: so called financial variables (change in log-income, dummy for financial crisis 1998) influence the economic wellbeing stronger, while non-financial variables (change in marital status, change in job status, change in health, post-crisis revival) are more important for overall wellbeing which is considerably wider concept than just economic wellbeing.

Increase in number of children aged $18$ proved to be insignificant for positive changes in wellbeing. It was also shown that people that are rather optimistic in expectations about their future life (they think that their life will be much better or somewhat better) are often disappointed by their real circumstances. So moderate pessimists win more.

We also found that the results for negative changes in wellbeing are not symmetric with those for positive changes. The results for negative changes in economic wellbeing seem slightly controversial, however, especially if compared with coefficients for negative changes in overall wellbeing. This is probably due to dramatic shortening of the sample that was done to define our model correctly.

**VIII. Conclusion**

In the paper we determined main factors causing changes in subjective wellbeing of Russian citizens. We analyzed both negative and positive changes. We have determined a group of factors affecting subjective wellbeing, such as income, marital status (or having a partner, registered or not), employment status, health. Time-dummies were included, so the effect of financial crisis 1998 and following post-crisis revival were taken into account.

Two types of subjective wellbeing (economic and overall) were compared. Speaking about positive changes in the wellbeing, the obtained results do not contradict the common sense: so called financial variables (change in log-income, dummy for financial crisis 1998) influence the economic wellbeing stronger, while non-financial variables (change in marital status, change in job status, change in health, post-crisis revival) are more important for overall wellbeing which is considerably wider concept than just economic wellbeing.

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**Bibliography**


These are nice papers. Thanks for sending.

Did you see the special issue of the Journal of Happiness Studies (2001) 'Happiness in Russia?' If not, I can send you a copy.

That would be great -- use either (or both :)

Stanislav Kolenikov, Centre for Economic and Financial Research, suite 720, Nakhimovsky, 47, Moscow 117418, Russia.

or

Stanislav Kolenikov, 117 New West, UNC Campus, CB #3260, Cameron Ave., Chapel Hill, NC, 27514-3260, US

A nice variation on your research could be to compare the expert estimates of QOL in nations with average happiness. Comparison of the rank order would show to what degree the quality estimates of experts fit with the actual experience of people. Comparison of the statistical association with objective measures could then learn where the differences are; that is what conditions are seen as a merit by experts but not experienced as such by the people, or possibly, conditions that are actually relevant to happiness, but not included in the estimates of experts. If you'd like to explore this track, I am ready to participate.

I shall send you a separate email with the ideas I could share on that later.

Please tell Polina Kuznetsova that her study is suitable for publication in the Journal of Happiness Studies. If she is interested, let her contact me.

OK.

Stanislav Kolenikov wrote:

Dear Prof. Veenhoven,

greatly appreciating your work on happiness, I am forwarding you two