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ARTICLE

Beyond a single story: The heterogeneity of human flourishing in 22 countries

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Abstract: Contemporary cross-cultural research on flourishing and development has been limited by a focus on Western populations and typically Western priorities, and by attention to only a few indicators of flourishing, such as life satisfaction, life expectancy, or GDP per capita. This paper highlights some significant challenges for robust cross-national and cross-cultural research on the domains and drivers of flourishing. Using data from the recently proposed Global Comparison Framework and the Gallup World Poll, we explore the within- and between-country heterogeneity of flourishing and its determinants across the 22 countries which are the subject of the Global Flourishing Study. Sources of heterogeneity considered include potential tradeoffs among domains of flourishing; the effects of cultural differences on the conceptualization and actualization of flourishing; and the cultural specificity of core analytical concepts, including "life evaluation" and "nation."

Keywords: Flourishing; Cross-cultural perspectives; Global flourishing study; Gallup World Poll; Global Comparison Framework

1. Introduction

In 2009, the Nigerian novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie called attention to "the danger of a single story," whether a Eurocentric story which grants Austen but not Achebe a place in the literary canon, or a reductive and patronizing story about the misery of the poor (Adichie, 2009). The richness of life in all its variety defies any simple summary. Contemporary cross-cultural research on flourishing and development is particularly vulnerable to such "single stories," dominated as it is by attention to a few – albeit important – indicators of well-being, such as life satisfaction (Helliwell, 2021), life expectancy (Hansen & Lønstrup, 2015), or GDP per capita (Linden & Ray, 2017). This fixation is by no means merely academic, as is evident from the cottage industry of journalistic rankings of the "happiest" countries in the world (Saunders, 2023; Hunter, 2023).

Such a simplified approach courts the danger of a single story, obscuring the complexity and richness of human flourishing. Life satisfaction is undeniably important and might represent the best single-item measure of well-being, despite its limitations (cf. Helliwell, 2021; Pavot & Diener, 2008; Diener et al., 2018). So too are other widely studied and reported constituents or determinants of well-being. Focusing on isolated indicators, however, necessarily obscures the multifaceted nature of human flourishing and downplays the impact of contingent cultural factors in how individuals and communities construe it (cf. VanderWeele, 2017; Henrich, 2020; Lomas & VanderWeele, 2021).

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Even the concept of "flourishing" itself is often used interchangeably with "well-being." We propose, by contrast, to distinguish between "well-being," as pertaining to individual life experiences in relative isolation from one's environments, and "flourishing," as treating individuals within the broader context of their communities and ecosystems (Lomas & VanderWeele 2023). Against this backdrop, it is important to consider how we might broaden our understanding of flourishing by acknowledging the heterogeneity of its determinants across time and place, its complex constituents, and the diversity of ways in which cultures conceptualize it. If we widen the zoom to consider how countries fare on many aspects of flourishing at once, and ask ourselves how these might be internally related to one another, the picture becomes considerably more complex and more interesting. For one thing, with a wider perspective, we can consider potential trade-offs among drivers or domains of flourishing. Some populations that fare poorly on measures such as hedonic well-being (desire fulfillment and pleasure), income, or life expectancy, for instance, rank highly on measures of eudaemonic well-being (personal character and meaning in life) (Ryff et al. 2021). Might improvements in the former area come at the cost of declines in the latter? Or, as we'll see below, contemporary societies that rank highly in life satisfaction, education, and income today tend to have shrinking populations and sluggish economic growth, which raises questions about how those goods might be sustained long-term.

1.1 Widening the zoom: Modern approaches to conceptualizing flourishing

Academic resistance to reductive accounts of flourishing is hardly new. Many scholars, from Christopher (1999, 2014) to Lomas and VanderWeele (2021), have raised objections to a myopic focus on individual indicators, and have advocated for a more catholic approach both to the conceptualization and measurement of flourishing. And particularly since 2010, scholars have become increasingly sensitive to the ways in which the study of flourishing has been biased toward that narrow segment of the human population which is "Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic" (WEIRD), as well as toward the WEIRDest segments of non-WEIRD populations (e.g., college students) (Henrich et al., 2010; Henrich 2020).

A variety of approaches have been employed in recent scholarship to underscore the breadth of goods in which flourishing consists, and the extent of cross-cultural variation in conceptualizing it. On the issue of the range of constituents of flourishing, one family of approaches, which can broadly be described as "objective list" or "telic" (goal satisfaction) theories, posit that people have basic needs and core capacities, and that their flourishing depends on how well their environment meets these needs and permits them to realize their capacities (Veenhoven, 2000; Sen, 1998; VanderWeele, 2017).

Some objective-list approaches, such as that implicit in the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDG, cf. UN General Assembly, 2015) or explicit in the "human capabilities approach" to development advocated by Sen (1998), address basic needs without hierarchy. The SDG goals explain varying percentages of the variance in countries' happiness and wellbeing levels, demonstrating that human flourishing is a multifaceted outcome shaped by numerous intersecting variables that are embedded in place (cf. Counted et al., 2021).

More commonly, however, objective-list approaches stress the interdependence and interrelation among flourishing domains and drivers. Maslow's (1943) framework is an influential model within this broad family, featuring six overarching needs (i.e., physiological, safety, love and belonging, esteem, self-actualization, and transcendence). While Maslow conceived of these needs as arranged in a rough hierarchy – so that people will tend to seek to meet their needs for basic housing and food before addressing their needs for transcendence – he

also acknowledged that many needs can be partially satisfied and unsatisfied simultaneously (Maslow, 1943). Subsequent empirical work has not verified the hierarchy in its entirety (Soper, Milford & Rosenthal, 1995; Ronen, 1994): in some cases, higher-level resources can mitigate the lack of lower ones (Kaskdan et al., 2008), while in other cases, hierarchies among human needs seem to break down altogether (Trigg, 2004), e.g., human societies hardly waited for modern food security before they began composing poetry and worshipping the gods.

Broadly Neo-Aristotelian approaches to conceptualizing flourishing often emphasize a subtly different hierarchy of goods, insisting on the primacy of character and virtue among the constituents of flourishing (MacIntyre, 1981, 1999). Indeed, Aristotle describes the good life as in some sense reducible to rational activity in accord with virtue (1926: 1098a15), though he acknowledges the importance of "external goods (τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν)" – including wealth, honor, and friendship – without which one could not actualize one's capacities for virtuous action. This insistence on the primacy of character entails that one would be justified, for instance, in sacrificing physical health for the sake of an obligation of justice, but never the reverse. It also suggests that certain dimensions of flourishing, such as life satisfaction or meaning and purpose, are in fact only genuine goods conditional on one's possessing a good character: intuitively, for instance, it would seem *worse* for a serial killer to feel satisfied with his life or to derive a deep sense of meaning from his crimes than for him to be unhappy or listless as a result of them.

A Confucian approach to conceptualizing flourishing, by contrast, would share the Aristotelian concern with the priority of virtue – and particularly the disposition to "*ren* (benevolence or humaneness)" – over external goods, but would also place a distinctive accent on the importance of well-ordered social relationships, including deference to one's elders as well as service to one's deceased ancestors, all of which are governed by the core Confucian virtue of "*li*," roughly, "ritual propriety," including appropriate deference to one's elders and social superiors (Mengzi, 2008; van Norden, 2011: 91-97; Yearley, 1990). For Kongzi (sc. Confucius), filial piety took primacy even over dedication to (retributive) justice: "The duke of one state bragged to Kongzi that his people were 'upright,' explaining that one son had turned in his own father for stealing a sheep. Kongzi replied, 'Among my people, those whom we consider "upright" are different from this: fathers cover up for their sons, and sons cover up for their fathers. "Uprightness" is to be found in this' ([*Analects*] 13.18)" (van Norden, 2011: 43). This emphasis on communal and especially familial obligations in Confucian thought is centrally related to the idea that Eastern cultures such as China are in some sense fundamentally "collectivist" in comparison with the more "individualist" orientation of the West (Singelis et al., 1995; Henrich, 2020: 21-30; for complications in conceptualizing and applying the construct, cf. Earley & Gibson, 1998; Oyserman et al., 2002; Lomas et al., 2023).

Other lines of enquiry emphasize, not the hierarchy, but rather the mutual entanglement among the various domains and drivers of flourishing. The concept of "multidimensional conditionality," for instance, captures the complex interplay of various factors that influence human flourishing. Based on a Buddhist conception on the nature of flourishing and life, multidimensional conditionality is the idea that all phenomena depend, in large part, on a complex network of supporting conditions that shape human flourishing (Lomas, 2017). Lomas et al.'s (2015) Layered Integrated Framework Example (LIFE) model, based on Wilber's (1997) Integral Framework, is a useful tool for understanding the complex interactions between individual and collective factors shaping happiness. The model includes both subjective (mind) and objective (brain/body) dimensions at individual and collective levels, thus stratifying both dimensions into heuristic layers, such as subjective well-being, psychological well-being, social

well-being, and ecological well-being. This integrative approach underscores the importance of considering multiple dimensions and layers to understand the complexity of human flourishing.

This perspective allows us to underscore the central role which the environment plays in shaping well-being and flourishing, notwithstanding its frequent neglect within psychology's overly individualistic research agenda (Lomas, 2015). Lyubomirsky et al.'s (2005) model, for instance, proposes that only 10% of the variance in happiness is shaped by circumstances, while 50% is owing to genetics, and 40% to intentional activities—but gene expression and deliberate action also must occur within and in response to the social and physical environment. Thus, the three categories in Lyubomirsky et al.'s model (i.e., circumstances, genetics, and intentional activities) are not separate elements but interact, including when people shape their environment through intentional activities that promote happiness and well-being.

We seek throughout this paper to be attentive to the cross-cultural considerations canvassed above, but a key theoretical inspiration for our approach is VanderWeele's (2017) five-domain conceptualization of flourishing. VanderWeele emphasizes that subjective well-being is only one of many domains of flourishing, which also arguably includes at least physical and mental health, meaning and purpose, character and virtue, and close social relationships. Financial and material security also figure in this model as a sixth domain contributing to "secure flourishing" over time.

There is increasing empirical evidence for cross-cultural variation in the interrelations among the six flourishing domains specified in VanderWeele (2017) (mental and physical health, meaning and purpose, character strengths, social relationships, and financial and material security). Höltge et al. (2022), for example, explored the interrelationships among those six domains, and found that five out of the six exhibited positive inter-correlations in all ten countries studied, albeit with varying strengths in each dyadic relationship. Financial stability, which is treated by VanderWeele (2017) as a determinant of flourishing rather than a constituent of it, displayed negligible positive correlations with other domains in most countries and exhibited weak negative correlations with several domains in countries like Cambodia, China, Sri Lanka, and Colombia. The domain of meaning and purpose held the strongest positive correlations with other domains, which suggests that strategies aimed at enhancing this domain could potentially have far-reaching beneficial effects on other aspects of well-being. Adopting such a nuanced approach when comparing the flourishing of different countries allows us to eschew the simplicity of a single narrative and instead embrace the intricate and multidimensional nature of human well-being.

Inspired by these precursors, this paper aims to incorporate a broader spectrum of perspectives that complicates such simplistic divisions as that between "First" and "Third World" or "developed" and "developing," or "individualist" and "collectivist" countries, among other popular schemata for global comparison. As we examine a broad array of social, environmental, and personal factors which are relevant to flourishing, we hope to expose some of the intricate dynamics among the drivers of global flourishing, and to explore some dimensions of its variation across contemporary cultures. This approach involves a thorough exploration of both environmental and individual factors, leading us towards a more holistic and nuanced understanding of flourishing as a complex, multifaceted construct. In this pursuit, we hope to shed light on the rich diversity and depth of human flourishing that remains obscured by more conventional approaches.

2. Methods

In this paper, we challenge the single-story paradigm of global flourishing by exploring the nuances and interpretive complexities of some significant dimensions of flourishing and its

determinants across countries representing a broad array of cultural heritages, political systems and development levels. Existing gaps in the literature often reflect an overly generalized, single-story approach to well-being, overly focused on the United States and Europe, thus reflecting Western populations and typically Western priorities. This limited perspective neglects the richness and diversity of human experiences across cultures (Henrich et al., 2010), highlighting a need for more inclusive and culturally sensitive research.

Our data are drawn from the 2022 Gallup World Poll (GWP). The GWP presents comprehensive data across multiple indices, offering valuable insights on life evaluation, daily emotions and experiences, and quality of life, among others. In 2022, the GWP included 142 countries, representing over 90% of the world's adult population and comprising 142,601 individual respondents. Our use of the Gallup World Poll is innovative, given that it is at once capacious in the range of data it collects for each country, and extraordinarily broad in its global reach. This approach, coupled with our aim to integrate a wider spectrum of comparative approaches beyond the standard scholarly dichotomies provides a novel perspective on the interplay of socio-cultural and environmental factors shaping well-being.

We analyzed a subset of 22 countries that were included in the GWP which account for approximately 50% of the world's population. These same 22 countries are involved in the Global Flourishing Study, a five-year, 200,000-person cohort study investigating a broad spectrum of well-being domains (Crabtree et al., 2021). Collection of data in that study is still in progress, but we hope to encourage and model nuanced approaches to interpreting both that data and other cross-cultural studies of flourishing, by illustrating how complex the terrain of global well-being appears when viewed through this composite lens.

The indicators of flourishing constituents and determinants which we employ for comparison in Tables 1-3 – on life evaluation (Table 1), daily emotions and experiences (Table 2), and quality of life (Table 3) – are drawn from the 2022 Gallup World Poll (GWP). In 2022, the GWP included 142 countries, representing over 90% of the world's adult population and comprising 142,601 individual respondents. Our use of the Gallup World Poll is one of the present paper's innovative features, given that it is at once capacious in the range of data it collects for each country, and extraordinarily broad in its global reach. This approach, coupled with our aim to integrate a wider spectrum of comparative approaches beyond the standard scholarly dichotomies provides a novel perspective on the interplay of socio-cultural and environmental factors shaping well-being.

The indicators employed to compare the GFS countries in Tables 4-9 are drawn from the Global Comparison Framework (GCF) set out in Lomas (in press), which consists in a set of "one hundred psychologically salient ways of conceptualizing and assessing the world, including factors relating to demography, geography, and environment; economics, health, and safety; and politics and culture." We analyzed data for these 22 countries on select items in the GCF, including items related to environment and health (Table 4), demography (Table 5), economics (Table 6), health (Table 7), education (Table 8), and culture and society (Table 9). Additionally, Table 10 collates each country's rankings among the GFS countries on each of the indicators assembled in the prior tables, allowing for a synoptic picture of how individual countries fare on a range of flourishing constituents and determinants. The GWP and GCF, and the specific variables under consideration herein, are described in detail in Appendix 1.

We also tested whether a country's relative ranking for any one domain, such as happiness or GDP, generalizes to its mean relative ranking across all the domains of Flourishing described in this paper. Proxies for each of the six "secure flourishing" domains from VanderWeele (2017) were selected from measures included in the Gallup World Poll for the 22 countries included in

the Global Flourishing Study. The relative rankings were assessed by ranking the 22 countries based on the country average value of each proxy, resulting in a set of proxies for the six Flourishing domains ranging from 1 to 22, which captures the relative position of each country on the domains of flourishing. A country's overall relative degree of Flourishing was calculated using the mean ranking over these six proxies. The resulting overall measure of Flourishing provides an assessment of the relative differences among countries as measured by these proxies for Flourishing (cf. Table 11). The overall measure of relative Flourishing (FLproxy, mean rank) was compared with that country's best ranking on the six proxies to test whether a country's ranking on its best measure of flourishing reflected its mean ranking (Figure 1). The mean rank and the variability (standard deviation) of ranks were compared with GDP to test whether a country's ranking in GDP is reflected in overall Flourishing as we have defined in (mean across rankings in Flourishing Proxies) (Figure 2). The comparison between GDP per capita ranking and variability across the six Flourishing proxies tests whether countries' GDP rank was similar on all proxies or varied from lower to higher Flourishing-proxy rankings independent of GDP ranking. Using the ranks on proxies and the summary statistics of ranks provides a nonparametric assessment of the differences among countries for the study of general trends without relying on specific distributional assumptions of the proxies or their joint distribution (Gibbons, 1993: 2-4; Kendall & Gibbons, 1990: 25-38). These isolated efforts to assess within- and between-country variability suggest the desirability of developing a more generalized "variability index"; the present authors are in the process of developing such an index, which will cover every country and item in the Gallup World Poll.

3. Results

Table 1. GWP Life Evaluation

Rank	Life evaluation (present) *mean (st. dev.)*		Life evaluation (future) *mean (st. dev.)*		Life evaluation (combined) *mean (st. dev.)*	
1	Sweden	7.52 (1.49)	Brazil	8.36 (1.92)	Israel	7.70 (1.48)
2	Israel	7.33 (1.54)	South Africa	8.32 (1.86)	Sweden	7.70 (1.34)
3	Australia	7.29 (1.75)	Nigeria	8.13 (1.94)	USA	7.48 (1.62)
4	USA	7.18 (1.82)	Israel	8.00 (1.67)	Brazil	7.46 (1.65)
5	Germany	7.00 (1.71)	Indonesia	7.90 (2.00)	Australia	7.40 (1.56)
6	UK	6.82 (1.81)	Sweden	7.85 (1.64)	Mexico	7.24 (1.89)
7	Mexico	6.57 (2.08)	Mexico	7.82 (2.24)	UK	7.03 (1.69)
8	Brazil	6.50 (2.06)	USA	7.77 (1.90)	Germany	7.02 (1.65)
9	Poland	6.42 (1.71)	Australia	7.50 (1.84)	South Africa	7.01 (1.62)
10	Spain	6.40 (1.78)	Argentina	7.46 (2.26)	Argentina	6.96 (1.80)
11	Argentina	6.37 (1.93)	Philippines	7.33 (2.01)	Indonesia	6.78 (1.72)
12	Japan	6.16 (1.86)	UK	7.22 (1.89)	Nigeria	6.71 (1.71)
13	Russia	5.84 (2.03)	Kenya	7.20 (2.33)	Spain	6.68 (1.63)
14	Philippines	5.74 (2.01)	Germany	7.15 (1.87)	Poland	6.64 (1.74)
15	South Africa	5.64 (2.01)	Spain	6.97 (1.88)	Philippines	6.55 (1.70)
16	Indonesia	5.59 (2.11)	Russia	6.93 (2.53)	Russia	6.41 (2.04)
17	Turkey	5.22 (2.22)	India	6.85 (2.67)	Kenya	6.22 (1.96)
18	India	5.12 (2.46)	Poland	6.83 (2.17)	Japan	6.21 (1.79)
19	Nigeria	5.12 (2.22)	Tanzania	6.53 (2.65)	India	6.12 (2.21)
20	Kenya	5.11 (2.40)	Turkey	6.41 (2.70)	Turkey	5.93 (2.16)
21	Egypt	4.72 (1.95)	Japan	6.24 (2.00)	Tanzania	5.76 (2.11)
22	Tanzania	4.63 (2.37)	Egypt	6.09 (2.39)	Egypt	5.46 (1.89)

Table 2. GWP Daily Emotions/Experiences

Rank	Smile or laugh *% of respondents*		Enjoyment *% of respondents*		Calmness *% of respondents*		Well-rested *% of respondents*		Treated with respect *% of respondents*		Learn something new *% of respondents*	
1	Indonesia	89.7	Indonesia	84.1	Philippines	92	Indonesia	82.8	Sweden	96.7	Philippines	78.2
2	South Africa	86.0	Mexico	83.8	Indonesia	85.8	Japan	80.7	Mexico	96	Kenya	71.5
3	Mexico	84.0	UK	83.2	Japan	84.1	South Africa	78.6	Argentina	96	Sweden	68.6
4	Philippines	83.5	Sweden	82.5	Sweden	83.9	Spain	76.8	Philippines	95.6	Nigeria	68.1
5	Argentina	81.4	USA	81.1	Mexico	82.3	Philippines	75.1	Poland	95	South Africa	67.6
6	Nigeria	81.2	South Africa	79.9	USA	81.6	Mexico	74.9	Spain	94.9	Mexico	67
7	Kenya	79.3	Australia	78.8	Argentina	81	Germany	74.9	Australia	94.6	Australia	65.4
8	Tanzania	77.8	Poland	78.8	Australia	80.9	USA	74.2	USA	94.5	Indonesia	64.6
9	Japan	76.8	Argentina	78.6	Germany	80.5	UK	73.5	Indonesia	94.3	Tanzania	64.2
10	Spain	75.8	Germany	78.5	Tanzania	79.7	Australia	71.6	Brazil	93.5	Spain	63.4
11	USA	75.2	Philippines	77.8	Poland	78	Sweden	70.6	Russia	92.2	USA	61.9
12	Germany	73.7	Kenya	73.3	UK	77.4	Tanzania	70.5	UK	91.9	UK	61.5
13	Australia	73.4	Brazil	71	Brazil	77.3	Argentina	69.7	Germany	91.8	Germany	60.8
14	Sweden	73.4	Japan	69.4	Russia	77.3	Nigeria	68.5	Egypt	91.6	Brazil	60.4
15	Brazil	72.3	India	69.3	Spain	74.4	Kenya	68.2	Israel	89.8	Japan	57.9
16	Poland	72.3	Tanzania	66	Kenya	73.1	India	65.7	South Africa	88.4	Argentina	56.9
17	India	72.2	Russia	65.1	Nigeria	72.1	Israel	64.9	Tanzania	82.1	Russia	54.6
18	UK	70.9	Nigeria	62.6	South Africa	71	Poland	64	Nigeria	81.3	India	47.2
19	Egypt	64.2	Spain	61.1	Turkey	69.4	Brazil	62	India	80.4	Poland	47.1
20	Russia	63.5	Israel	61	Egypt	58.6	Russia	59	Kenya	78.6	Israel	44.8
21	Israel	54.6	Egypt	45	India	47.2	Egypt	57.8	Turkey	77.4	Egypt	34.6
22	Turkey	41.2	Turkey	38.2	Israel	46.2	Turkey	49.7	Japan	70.2	Turkey	25.9

Rank	Pain *% of respondents*		Worry *% of respondents*		Sadness *% of respondents*		Stress *% of respondents*		Anger *% of respondents*	
1	Poland	16.1	Tanzania	23.3	Japan	11.9	Indonesia	18	Australia	10.3
2	Philippines	16.7	Russia	26.9	Israel	17.5	Russia	21	Mexico	10.3
3	Sweden	19.5	Japan	27.1	Sweden	18	Kenya	22.9	Sweden	10.5
4	Japan	19.5	Germany	27.9	Germany	20.1	India	26.8	Russia	11.7
5	Israel	19.5	Sweden	29	South Africa	20.5	Germany	28.8	Japan	13.2
6	Indonesia	21.4	Australia	30	Poland	20.9	Israel	29.4	Argentina	13.9
7	Russia	22.2	Kenya	32.6	Australia	21.2	Sweden	29.8	Germany	15.2
8	South Africa	24.5	UK	32.9	Russia	21.6	Spain	31.3	UK	15.7
9	Germany	25.1	Poland	34.9	Mexico	23.1	UK	33.8	Tanzania	15.8
10	Turkey	25.1	Philippines	35.2	Nigeria	23.1	Poland	34.3	USA	16.7
11	UK	25.6	South Africa	35.8	Spain	24.3	Australia	34.3	South Africa	16.8
12	Spain	26.2	Israel	37.3	Tanzania	24.5	Japan	35.3	Israel	16.9
13	Australia	27	Indonesia	39.3	UK	25.6	South Africa	38.9	Indonesia	19.5
14	Mexico	28.2	USA	40.2	USA	26	Argentina	42	Spain	19.5
15	USA	28.2	Mexico	40.4	Indonesia	27.1	Brazil	44	Brazil	19.5
16	Kenya	29.7	Nigeria	41.6	Argentina	27.6	Mexico	46.1	Poland	22.1
17	Nigeria	29.7	India	43.6	Brazil	30.1	USA	46.6	Nigeria	23.7
18	Argentina	35.7	Egypt	44.9	Egypt	32.5	Nigeria	47.7	Philippines	26.9
19	India	36.8	Turkey	45.8	Kenya	33.7	Philippines	48.1	Egypt	29.3
20	Tanzania	36.9	Spain	47.8	Philippines	34.7	Egypt	50.4	India	31.9
21	Brazil	40	Argentina	52.4	India	36.7	Tanzania	57.1	Turkey	45.2
22	Egypt	50.1	Brazil	61.1	Turkey	43.5	Turkey	64.6	Kenya	53.6

Table 3. GWP Quality of Life

Rank	Health problems *% of respondents*		People to count on *% of respondents*		Opportunities to make friends *% of respondents*		Safe walking alone *% of respondents*		Money/property stolen *% of respondents*		Assaulted *% of respondents*		Not enough money for food *% of respondents*	
1	Nigeria	10.7	Sweden	94.5	Indonesia	91.1	Egypt	84.3	Japan	4.5	Japan	0.9	Sweden	3.6
2	Turkey	13.3	USA	94	Sweden	88.5	Japan	82.9	Spain	6.6	Australia	1.5	Germany	6.6
3	Israel	14	Australia	94	USA	87.8	Sweden	81.9	Germany	6.7	USA	1.5	Japan	6.9
4	Indonesia	14.5	Israel	93.9	India	86.9	Spain	81.2	Poland	7.1	Sweden	1.8	Israel	8
5	Mexico	15.1	Poland	93.4	Spain	86.7	Indonesia	80.8	UK	7.3	Russia	2	Poland	8.1
6	Philippines	16.3	Spain	92.9	Philippines	86.4	Israel	80.1	Israel	7.4	Poland	2.5	UK	8.2
7	Kenya	16.3	Argentina	90.9	South Africa	84.7	Germany	78.7	Philippines	7.9	Indonesia	2.7	Australia	9
8	Spain	16.4	UK	90.3	UK	84.2	UK	77.8	Sweden	8	Germany	3.3	Spain	10.1
9	Argentina	17.7	South Africa	90.2	Mexico	83.9	USA	77.6	Turkey	9.4	Philippines	3.3	USA	13.4
10	South Africa	19.4	Russia	90.2	Australia	83	Poland	77.3	Australia	9.8	UK	4	Brazil	26.8
11	Brazil	19.4	Germany	89.3	Argentina	81.5	Australia	69.7	USA	10	Israel	4.1	Argentina	30.1
12	Poland	19.4	Japan	88.4	Brazil	81.2	Tanzania	68.7	Indonesia	10.6	Tanzania	4.3	Russia	34.6
13	Tanzania	20.8	Brazil	85.6	Kenya	80.3	Philippines	66.5	Russia	10.7	Spain	4.6	Mexico	36
14	USA	20.8	Indonesia	83.4	Poland	80.1	India	64.8	India	11.8	Brazil	6.6	Egypt	37.3
15	Sweden	21.3	Mexico	82.9	Nigeria	79	Russia	63.9	Brazil	13.4	Turkey	7	Indonesia	39.5
16	Japan	22.7	Philippines	80.4	Germany	78.4	Turkey	53	Egypt	14.5	India	8	India	42.3
17	India	22.7	Turkey	80	Egypt	76.6	Kenya	51.1	Argentina	19.2	Egypt	8.5	Turkey	47
18	Australia	23.3	Egypt	74.8	Tanzania	76.4	Argentina	49.8	Mexico	20.7	Mexico	8.5	Tanzania	50.2
19	UK	23.7	Kenya	72.3	Japan	75.9	Nigeria	48.8	Tanzania	29.2	Argentina	8.6	South Africa	54.4
20	Germany	25.7	Nigeria	71.3	Russia	75.1	Mexico	44.2	South Africa	30.9	South Africa	16.5	Philippines	65.2
21	Egypt	26.2	Tanzania	69.3	Israel	73.3	Brazil	41.9	Nigeria	35.5	Nigeria	18.7	Kenya	71.3
22	Russia	26.8	India	67.3	Turkey	68.6	South Africa	35	Kenya	37.3	Kenya	22.8	Nigeria	72.2

Rank	Not enough money for shelter *% of respondents*		Enjoy work *% of respondents*		Choice in work *% of respondents*		Satisfied with living standard *% of respondents*		Living standards improving *% of respondents*		Higher education *% of respondents*	
1	Australia	3.3	Indonesia	96	Tanzania	90.4	Sweden	94.6	Indonesia	69.7	USA	96.3
2	Sweden	3.6	Mexico	95.2	Philippines	82	Germany	90.3	Philippines	63.5	Sweden	95.7
3	Poland	6	Sweden	92.2	Nigeria	77.6	Australia	89.1	South Africa	60.8	Australia	92.7
4	Germany	6.3	Philippines	91.6	USA	76	UK	87.1	India	59.6	Poland	91.6
5	UK	6.5	Brazil	90.3	Sweden	75.1	USA	85.2	Mexico	56.8	Russia	89.3
6	Japan	6.9	Argentina	89.6	South Africa	74.1	Spain	84.2	Brazil	55.1	Germany	88.8
7	USA	7.9	Germany	89.1	Kenya	73	Philippines	79.9	Sweden	52.4	UK	87.7
8	Spain	8.8	Poland	88.4	Japan	72.9	Poland	78.7	USA	48.1	Israel	86
9	Israel	9.2	Spain	86	Mexico	71.7	Mexico	78.5	Nigeria	47.3	Japan	74.2
10	Egypt	20.2	USA	83.3	Brazil	70.2	Israel	78.3	Tanzania	46.9	Philippines	70.7
11	Brazil	20.6	India	83	Australia	69.8	India	78.3	Kenya	46.8	Spain	64.1
12	Argentina	21.3	UK	82.6	Israel	69.3	Indonesia	76.3	Poland	39.5	South Africa	62.4
13	South Africa	28.2	Israel	81	Germany	68.7	Japan	75.3	Argentina	38.8	Turkey	61.1
14	Mexico	30.5	Australia	80.3	UK	68	Egypt	74.7	Egypt	38.4	Mexico	57.8
15	Tanzania	35.8	Russia	80	Indonesia	67.2	Brazil	68.1	Australia	38	Argentina	51.9
16	India	39.1	Japan	78.1	India	66.5	Argentina	64.9	Russia	37.6	Brazil	48.6
17	Russia	39.8	Nigeria	78.1	Argentina	64.7	South Africa	62.2	UK	36.5	Egypt	39.3
18	Turkey	40.1	South Africa	78	Spain	64.2	Russia	48.4	Israel	35.3	Kenya	35.6
19	Indonesia	41.2	Kenya	77.4	Russia	56.4	Kenya	46.4	Germany	34.3	Nigeria	31.1
20	Philippines	48.3	Egypt	75.6	Poland	55.7	Turkey	43.4	Japan	31.9	India	30.4
21	Nigeria	48.6	Tanzania	74.6	Egypt	44.2	Tanzania	38.1	Spain	31.2	Indonesia	26.4
22	Kenya	57.5	Turkey	63.8	Turkey	39.9	Nigeria	33.1	Turkey	31.1	Tanzania	7.4

The Gallup World Poll (GWP) presents comprehensive data across multiple indices, offering valuable insights on life evaluation, daily emotions and experiences, and quality of life, among others. Table 1 showcases the overall results for life evaluation. Sweden (SE) emerges as the top performer in current life evaluation, while Brazil (BR) shows the highest anticipated future life evaluation. The United States (US), ranked 4th in present and 8th in future life evaluations, however, slips to 3rd in the combined ranking. Table 2, focused on daily emotions and experiences, features Indonesia (ID) as the country with the most positive experiences, including smiling, laughter, and the feeling of calmness. Interestingly, Indonesia also registers high rates of

negative experiences such as stress and anger. Quality of life measures, illustrated in Table 3, suggest that Nigeria (NG) scored high in domains related to interpersonal caring and close relationships. Simultaneously, it scores low in choice in work and health problems. The US stands out in areas with opportunities to make friends, job satisfaction, and having a choice in work.

Table 4. Climate and environment

Rank	Climate risk index		Average temp		Average temperature change		Environmental performance index (EPI) - overall		EPI environmental health		EPI ecosystem vitality	
1	Egypt	142.20	Russia	22.82	Australia	0.59	UK	77.70	Sweden	93.10	Germany	66.80
2	Sweden	131.00	Sweden	35.78	South Africa	0.61	Sweden	72.70	Australia	86.40	Australia	62.30
3	Israel	120.30	Poland	46.13	India	0.73	Germany	62.40	UK	83.90	UK	62.30
4	Turkey	111.80	UK	47.21	UK	0.95	Australia	60.10	Japan	82.50	Sweden	60.60
5	Tanzania	111.30	Germany	47.30	Indonesia	0.99	Japan	57.20	Germany	82.00	Spain	60.30
6	Nigeria	104.30	United States	47.39	Argentina	1.01	Spain	56.60	Spain	78.10	Poland	60.00
7	Brazil	79.50	Japan	52.07	Tanzania	1.07	USA	51.10	USA	76.80	Japan	59.60
8	Argentina	77.00	Spain	55.94	Mexico	1.09	Poland	50.60	Israel	76.00	Brazil	55.20
9	South Africa	76.00	Argentina	58.64	United States	1.17	Israel	48.20	Argentina	56.30	Mexico	53.70
10	Poland	75.20	Turkey	59.18	Brazil	1.17	Mexico	45.50	Poland	53.00	USA	51.40
11	Indonesia	74.00	South Africa	63.95	Philippines	1.18	Brazil	43.60	Russia	50.60	Tanzania	45.20
12	Mexico	65.50	Israel	66.56	Japan	1.22	Argentina	41.10	Turkey	47.80	South Africa	44.20
13	UK	65.00	Mexico	69.80	Germany	1.30	Russia	37.50	Brazil	46.00	Egypt	43.70
14	Japan	64.80	Australia	70.97	Kenya	1.31	South Africa	37.20	Mexico	40.90	Israel	42.50
15	Kenya	52.00	Egypt	71.78	Spain	1.31	Egypt	35.50	Egypt	31.50	Russia	39.00
16	Russia	48.50	Tanzania	72.23	Poland	1.42	Tanzania	34.20	Philippines	31.10	Argentina	38.90
17	Australia	47.70	India	74.57	Nigeria	1.50	Kenya	30.80	Tanzania	28.20	Philippines	38.60
18	Spain	46.50	Kenya	76.55	Egypt	1.61	Philippines	28.90	South Africa	28.10	Kenya	34.60
19	India	38.50	Brazil	76.91	Russia	1.64	Nigeria	28.30	Kenya	26.20	Indonesia	34.10
20	Germany	38.20	Indonesia	78.53	Sweden	1.85	Indonesia	28.20	Indonesia	25.30	Nigeria	33.30
21	United States	23.83	Philippines	78.53	Israel	1.88	Turkey	26.30	Nigeria	15.20	Turkey	20.30
22	Philippines	18.20	Nigeria	80.24	Turkey	1.93	India	18.90	India	12.50	India	19.30

Rank	EPI biodiversity		Air quality *PM2.5 (μg/m³)*		PM2.5 air pollution *mean annual exposure*		CO2 emissions *Tons per capita*		Renewable energy consumption (% of total)	
1	Russia	69.60	Sweden	5.00	Sweden	6.18	Tanzania	0.21	Tanzania	85.22
2	Egypt	63.50	Australia	7.60	USA	7.41	Kenya	0.44	Nigeria	81.40
3	Sweden	60.60	UK	8.30	Australia	8.55	Nigeria	0.57	Kenya	68.08
4	Australia	56.40	Russia	9.30	Spain	9.70	Philippines	1.32	Sweden	52.88
5	Brazil	54.20	USA	9.60	UK	10.47	India	1.78	Brazil	47.57
6	Indonesia	51.50	Japan	9.80	Japan	11.70	Brazil	2.05	India	32.93
7	USA	46.30	Germany	10.10	Germany	12.03	Indonesia	2.30	Philippines	26.73
8	Tanzania	45.60	Spain	10.40	Brazil	12.71	Egypt	2.36	Indonesia	19.09
9	Japan	44.20	Philippines	12.80	Argentina	13.31	Sweden	3.41	Spain	17.27
10	Mexico	44.20	Brazil	14.20	Russia	16.16	Mexico	3.59	Germany	17.17
11	Argentina	43.20	Argentina	14.20	Indonesia	16.50	Argentina	3.74	Turkey	14.12
12	South Africa	41.20	Kenya	14.20	Philippines	18.07	Turkey	4.75	UK	12.24
13	Israel	39.40	Israel	16.90	Poland	20.88	Spain	5.09	Poland	12.18
14	Turkey	37.30	Poland	16.90	Mexico	20.92	UK	5.22	Argentina	10.74
15	Kenya	37.20	South Africa	18.00	Israel	21.38	Israel	6.92	South Africa	10.50
16	Poland	37.00	Turkey	18.70	South Africa	25.10	South Africa	7.57	USA	10.42
17	UK	36.80	Mexico	18.90	Kenya	28.58	Poland	7.77	Mexico	10.34
18	Germany	36.20	Nigeria	21.40	Tanzania	29.08	Germany	7.91	Australia	10.13
19	Philippines	35.80	Tanzania	29.00	Turkey	44.31	Japan	8.54	Japan	7.69
20	Nigeria	33.00	Indonesia	40.70	Nigeria	71.80	Russia	11.80	Egypt	5.30
21	Spain	32.80	India	51.90	Egypt	87.00	USA	14.67	Israel	4.47
22	India	30.50	Egypt	63.00	India	90.87	Australia	15.25	Russia	3.22

Table 5. GCF population

Rank	Population *total*		Population growth		Population density *People per sq. km*		Population 0-14 *% of population*		Population 15-64 *% of population*		Population 65+ *% of population*		Net migration	
1	India	1407563842	Tanzania	3.01	Australia	3	Tanzania	43.61	Brazil	69.88	Japan	29.79	USA	561580
2	USA	331893745	Nigeria	2.41	Russia	9	Nigeria	43.29	Turkey	68.14	Germany	22.17	Russia	320617
3	Indonesia	273753191	Kenya	1.94	Argentina	17	Kenya	38.40	Indonesia	67.74	Sweden	20.10	Germany	312735
4	Brazil	214326223	Egypt	1.66	Brazil	25	Egypt	33.05	India	67.51	Spain	19.90	Spain	275022
5	Nigeria	213401323	Israel	1.60	Sweden	25	Philippines	30.64	Mexico	66.91	UK	18.92	UK	202027
6	Russia	143449286	Philippines	1.49	USA	36	South Africa	28.67	Russia	66.69	Poland	18.84	Australia	117929
7	Mexico	126705138	South Africa	1.00	South Africa	49	Israel	28.17	Spain	65.99	USA	16.68	Japan	87584
8	Japan	125681593	Argentina	0.95	Mexico	66	India	25.69	Poland	65.79	Australia	16.57	Sweden	80097
9	Philippines	113880328	India	0.80	Tanzania	67	Indonesia	25.48	South Africa	65.35	Russia	15.59	Brazil	20376
10	Egypt	109262178	Turkey	0.76	Kenya	94	Mexico	24.95	USA	65.08	Israel	11.93	Israel	16856
11	Turkey	84775404	Indonesia	0.69	Spain	95	Turkey	23.48	Australia	65.06	Argentina	11.82	South Africa	10934
12	Germany	83196078	Sweden	0.60	Egypt	103	Argentina	23.36	Argentina	64.82	Brazil	9.58	Argentina	2344
13	UK	67326569	Mexico	0.56	Turkey	110	Brazil	20.54	Philippines	64.04	Turkey	8.38	Poland	-2968
14	Tanzania	63588334	Brazil	0.53	Poland	124	Australia	18.37	Germany	63.96	Mexico	8.13	Tanzania	-4865
15	South Africa	59392255	UK	0.37	Nigeria	226	USA	18.24	UK	63.42	India	6.80	Indonesia	-14992
16	Kenya	53005614	Australia	0.13	Germany	238	Russia	17.72	Sweden	62.18	Indonesia	6.78	Egypt	-32370
17	Spain	47415750	USA	0.12	UK	278	Sweden	17.71	Egypt	62.17	South Africa	5.97	Kenya	-52549
18	Argentina	45808747	Spain	0.11	Japan	345	UK	17.66	Israel	59.90	Philippines	5.33	Mexico	-52649
19	Poland	37747124	Germany	0.04	Philippines	368	Poland	15.37	Kenya	58.76	Egypt	4.77	Turkey	-69729
20	Australia	25688079	Poland	-0.40	Israel	426	Spain	14.11	Japan	58.44	Tanzania	3.12	Nigeria	-76364
21	Sweden	10415811	Russia	-0.43	India	464	Germany	13.87	Nigeria	53.73	Nigeria	2.98	Philippines	-80125
22	Israel	9364000	Japan	-0.46	Indonesia	146	Japan	11.77	Tanzania	53.27	Kenya	2.84	India	-301970

Table 6. GCF economics

Rank	GDP		GDP per capita		GDP annual growth		GINI		Human development index		Prosperity index		Unemployment % of workforce	
1	USA	2.33151E+13	USA	70248.63	Turkey	11.35	Sweden	30.00	Australia	0.95	Sweden	3.00	Philippines	2.41
2	Japan	4.94088E+12	Sweden	61028.74	Argentina	10.40	Poland	30.20	Sweden	0.95	Germany	9.00	Tanzania	2.65
3	Germany	4.25993E+12	Australia	60443.11	India	8.68	Egypt	31.50	Germany	0.94	UK	13.00	Japan	2.80
4	India	3.1763E+12	Israel	52170.71	Israel	8.61	Germany	31.90	UK	0.93	Australia	16.00	Poland	3.37
5	UK	3.13138E+12	Germany	51203.55	UK	7.52	Japan	32.90	Japan	0.93	Japan	19.00	Germany	3.54
6	Russia	1.77878E+12	UK	46510.28	Kenya	7.52	Australia	34.40	USA	0.92	USA	20.00	Mexico	4.38
7	Brazil	1.60898E+12	Japan	39312.66	Poland	6.85	Spain	34.70	Israel	0.92	Spain	24.00	Indonesia	4.41
8	Australia	1.55267E+12	Spain	30103.51	USA	5.95	UK	35.10	Spain	0.91	Israel	32.00	UK	4.53
9	Spain	1.42738E+12	Poland	17999.91	Philippines	5.70	Nigeria	35.10	Poland	0.88	Poland	36.00	Russia	5.01
10	Mexico	1.27284E+12	Russia	12194.78	Spain	5.52	India	35.70	Argentina	0.84	Argentina	57.00	Israel	5.05
11	Indonesia	1.18609E+12	Argentina	10636.12	Sweden	5.08	Russia	37.50	Turkey	0.84	Indonesia	62.00	Australia	5.11
12	Turkey	8.19035E+11	Mexico	10045.68	South Africa	4.91	Indonesia	38.20	Mexico	0.76	Brazil	68.00	USA	5.46
13	Poland	6.79445E+11	Turkey	9661.24	Russia	4.75	Israel	39.00	Brazil	0.75	Russia	70.00	Kenya	5.74
14	Sweden	6.35664E+11	Brazil	7507.16	Mexico	4.72	Tanzania	40.50	Egypt	0.73	Mexico	71.00	India	5.98
15	Israel	4.88527E+11	South Africa	7055.04	Brazil	4.62	Kenya	40.80	South Africa	0.71	Philippines	84.00	Sweden	8.66
16	Argentina	4.87227E+11	Indonesia	4332.71	Tanzania	4.28	USA	41.40	Indonesia	0.71	South Africa	85.00	Egypt	9.33
17	Nigeria	4.40834E+11	Egypt	3698.83	Indonesia	3.69	Turkey	41.90	Philippines	0.70	Turkey	93.00	Nigeria	9.79
18	South Africa	4.19015E+11	Philippines	3460.53	Nigeria	3.65	Philippines	42.30	India	0.63	India	101.00	Argentina	10.90
19	Egypt	4.04143E+11	India	2256.59	Egypt	3.33	Argentina	42.90	Kenya	0.58	Kenya	112.00	Turkey	13.39
20	Philippines	3.94086E+11	Kenya	2081.80	Germany	2.63	Mexico	45.40	Tanzania	0.55	Tanzania	117.00	Brazil	14.40
21	Kenya	1.10347E+11	Nigeria	2065.75	Australia	2.24	Brazil	53.40	Nigeria	0.54	Egypt	121.00	Spain	14.73
22	Tanzania	67841049193	Tanzania	1099.29	Japan	1.66	South Africa	63.00	Russia	0.53	Nigeria	143.00	South Africa	33.56

Table 7. GCF health

Rank	Life expectancy at birth		Birth rate *per 1000*		Adolescent fertility rate		Maternal mortality ratio *per 100,000 births*		Under-5s mortality rate		Date rate *per 100,000 people*		Incidence of TB *per 100,000 people*	
1	Japan	84.62	Nigeria	37.47	Japan	3.43	Poland	2.00	Japan	2.50	Israel	5.30	USA	2.60
2	Australia	83.20	Tanzania	36.65	Sweden	5.22	Israel	3.00	Sweden	2.60	Philippines	5.57	Israel	2.80
3	Israel	82.70	Kenya	28.00	Spain	7.02	Sweden	4.00	Spain	3.20	Egypt	5.85	Sweden	3.80
4	Sweden	82.41	Egypt	23.05	Germany	7.38	Spain	4.00	Israel	3.60	Tanzania	6.18	Germany	5.00
5	Spain	82.33	Philippines	22.04	Israel	8.36	Japan	5.00	Australia	3.70	Australia	6.30	UK	6.30
6	Germany	80.94	South Africa	20.33	Poland	9.43	Australia	6.00	Germany	3.70	Turkey	6.38	Australia	6.50
7	UK	80.90	Israel	19.20	India	9.86	Germany	7.00	UK	4.20	India	7.35	Spain	8.20
8	USA	77.28	Indonesia	16.65	Australia	10.55	UK	7.00	Poland	4.40	Brazil	7.42	Egypt	10.00
9	Poland	76.60	India	16.57	UK	11.18	Russia	17.00	Russia	5.40	Kenya	7.46	Poland	10.00
10	Argentina	75.89	Mexico	15.57	USA	15.95	Turkey	17.00	USA	6.30	Argentina	8.51	Japan	11.00
11	Turkey	75.85	Turkey	15.03	Russia	17.46	USA	19.00	Argentina	8.60	Indonesia	8.96	Turkey	18.00
12	Brazil	74.01	Argentina	14.13	Turkey	23.55	Mexico	33.00	Turkey	9.50	Mexico	9.33	Mexico	25.00
13	Philippines	72.12	Brazil	13.08	Indonesia	45.97	Egypt	37.00	Mexico	13.70	South Africa	9.43	Argentina	30.00
14	Russia	71.34	Australia	11.50	Egypt	51.62	Argentina	39.00	Brazil	14.70	Sweden	9.50	Russia	47.00
15	Egypt	70.99	Sweden	10.90	Brazil	55.44	Brazil	60.00	Egypt	19.50	USA	10.30	Brazil	48.00
16	India	70.15	USA	10.90	Philippines	55.97	South Africa	119.00	Indonesia	23.00	Spain	10.40	Tanzania	208.00
17	Mexico	70.13	UK	10.20	Mexico	57.63	Philippines	121.00	Philippines	26.40	UK	10.40	India	210.00
18	Indonesia	68.81	Russia	9.80	Argentina	62.13	India	145.00	South Africa	32.20	Japan	11.10	Nigeria	219.00
19	Tanzania	66.41	Poland	9.40	South Africa	67.73	Indonesia	177.00	India	32.60	Germany	11.90	Kenya	251.00
20	South Africa	65.25	Germany	9.30	Kenya	71.98	Kenya	342.00	Kenya	41.90	Poland	12.60	Indonesia	354.00
21	Kenya	62.68	Spain	7.10	Nigeria	101.68	Tanzania	524.00	Tanzania	48.90	Nigeria	13.00	South Africa	513.00
22	Nigeria	52.89	Japan	6.80	Tanzania	114.01	Nigeria	917.00	Nigeria	113.80	Russia	14.60	Philippines	650.00

Rank	Prevalence of diabetes *% of population*		Prevalence of undernourishment		Healthcare spending per capita		Healthcare spending *% of GDP*	
1	Nigeria	3.60	Sweden	2.50	USA	10921.01	USA	16.77
2	Kenya	4.00	Russia	2.50	Sweden	5671.39	Germany	11.70
3	Sweden	5.00	UK	2.50	Germany	5440.25	Sweden	10.87
4	Argentina	5.40	Australia	2.50	Australia	5427.46	Japan	10.74
5	Russia	5.60	Poland	2.50	Japan	4360.47	UK	10.15
6	UK	6.30	Germany	2.50	UK	4312.89	Australia	9.91
7	Australia	6.40	Israel	2.50	Israel	3456.39	Brazil	9.59
8	Japan	6.60	Spain	2.50	Spain	2711.19	Argentina	9.51
9	Poland	6.80	USA	2.50	Poland	1014.04	Spain	9.13
10	Germany	6.90	Turkey	2.50	Argentina	945.99	South Africa	9.11
11	Philippines	7.10	Japan	3.20	Brazil	853.39	Israel	7.46
12	Israel	8.50	Argentina	3.70	Russia	653.42	Poland	6.45
13	Brazil	8.80	Brazil	4.10	South Africa	546.69	Russia	5.65

Table 8. GCF education

Rank	Education spending *% of GDP*		Expected years of schooling		Mean years of schooling		Primary school enrollment		Primary school completion rate		Tertiary school enrollment	
1	Mexico	13.63	Australia	21.05	Germany	14.09	Sweden	125.67	Kenya	108.14	Turkey	117.11
2	Spain	6.58	Sweden	19.42	USA	13.68	Argentina	108.88	USA	106.00	Australia	114.19
3	Kenya	6.21	Turkey	18.34	UK	13.41	Egypt	106.41	Russia	105.23	Argentina	99.17
4	Sweden	5.34	Spain	17.92	Japan	13.37	Brazil	105.50	Sweden	105.09	Spain	95.96
5	Egypt	5.19	Argentina	17.87	Israel	13.34	Israel	104.46	Japan	102.00	USA	87.57
6	Australia	5.07	UK	17.31	Poland	13.16	Russia	104.17	Australia	99.67	Russia	84.60
7	USA	4.92	Germany	17.01	Russia	12.77	Kenya	103.86	Spain	97.88	Sweden	84.52
8	Turkey	4.80	USA	16.28	Australia	12.73	Mexico	103.69	Israel	97.55	Germany	72.99
9	Germany	4.66	Israel	16.05	Sweden	12.61	Spain	103.38	India	97.37	Poland	70.48
10	Nigeria	4.63	Poland	16.03	South Africa	11.37	Germany	101.10	Egypt	96.44	UK	69.48
11	India	4.47	Russia	15.77	Argentina	11.15	USA	100.31	Brazil	96.04	Japan	64.62
12	Japan	4.45	Brazil	15.60	Spain	10.61	India	99.90	Philippines	94.82	Israel	61.07
13	Israel	4.27	Japan	15.22	Egypt	9.57	UK	99.66	UK	93.53	Brazil	54.57
14	UK	3.85	Mexico	14.86	Mexico	9.22	Australia	99.02	Argentina	93.17	Mexico	44.81
15	Philippines	3.73	Egypt	13.79	Philippines	8.97	Philippines	98.27	South Africa	90.30	Indonesia	36.31
16	South Africa	3.70	Indonesia	13.75	Turkey	8.63	Japan	97.59	Turkey	89.37	Egypt	34.44
17	Russia	3.33	South Africa	13.64	Indonesia	8.56	South Africa	97.41	Indonesia	76.01	Philippines	33.37
18	Indonesia	3.23	Philippines	13.13	Brazil	8.13	Tanzania	96.91	Nigeria	73.30	India	29.44
19	Poland	3.17	India	11.87	Nigeria	7.18	Turkey	96.54	Mexico	71.70	South Africa	24.24
20	Brazil	3.06	Kenya	10.70	India	6.66	Indonesia	90.14	Poland	69.70	Nigeria	12.10
21	Argentina	2.71	Nigeria	10.13	Kenya	6.65	Nigeria	87.45	Tanzania	68.74	Kenya	10.04
22	Tanzania	2.59	Tanzania	9.22	Tanzania	6.37	Poland	84.13	Germany	63.03	Tanzania	7.83

Table 9. GCF culture/society

Rank	Gender equality index		Incarceration rate *per 100,000 people*		Intentional homicides *per 100,000 people*		Safety and security index		Personal freedom index		Social capital index		Corruption perception index	
1	Sweden	0.82	Nigeria	32	Japan	0.25	Japan	5	Sweden	3	Sweden	5	Sweden	83
2	Germany	0.80	India	35	Indonesia	0.43	Sweden	10	Germany	12	Australia	8	Germany	79
3	Spain	0.79	Japan	37	Spain	0.64	UK	17	Australia	15	USA	13	Australia	75
4	Philippines	0.78	Tanzania	52	Poland	0.70	Poland	20	UK	17	Indonesia	15	UK	73
5	South Africa	0.78	Germany	70	Australia	0.87	Germany	21	Spain	18	Germany	16	Japan	73
6	UK	0.78	Sweden	73	Germany	0.93	Australia	27	USA	22	UK	20	USA	69
7	USA	0.76	Kenya	81	UK	1.12	Spain	28	Argentina	28	Spain	31	Israel	63
8	Mexico	0.76	Indonesia	97	Sweden	1.23	USA	69	Japan	34	Philippines	34	Spain	60
9	Argentina	0.75	Spain	113	Israel	1.47	Argentina	74	South Africa	36	South Africa	39	Poland	55
10	Australia	0.73	Egypt	118	Turkey	2.48	Indonesia	85	Poland	47	Israel	49	South Africa	43
11	Israel	0.72	UK	140	Egypt	2.55	Tanzania	109	Brazil	50	Poland	56	India	40
12	Poland	0.71	Philippines	151	India	2.95	Israel	111	Israel	56	Russia	62	Tanzania	38
13	Russia	0.71	Australia	167	Kenya	3.46	Brazil	117	Mexico	72	Tanzania	64	Argentina	38
14	Tanzania	0.71	Mexico	169	Argentina	5.35	South Africa	137	Philippines	78	India	68	Brazil	38
15	Brazil	0.70	Poland	190	USA	6.52	Russia	138	Kenya	95	Kenya	79	Turkey	36
16	Kenya	0.69	Israel	234	Tanzania	6.95	India	139	Indonesia	102	Argentina	97	Indonesia	34
17	Indonesia	0.69	Argentina	243	Russia	7.33	Kenya	145	Nigeria	105	Nigeria	108	Philippines	33
18	Japan	0.66	South Africa	248	Philippines	7.86	Turkey	146	India	106	Brazil	121	Kenya	32
19	Egypt	0.64	Russia	326	Brazil	22.45	Philippines	147	Tanzania	112	Mexico	126	Mexico	31
20	Turkey	0.64	Turkey	347	Mexico	28.37	Mexico	148	Russia	130	Turkey	140	Egypt	30
21	Nigeria	0.63	Brazil	381	South Africa	33.46	Egypt	149	Turkey	154	Egypt	141	Russia	28
22	India	0.63	USA	394	Nigeria	34.52	Nigeria	153	Egypt	161	Japan	143	Nigeria	24

Table 10. Country rankings across all variables

AR = Argentina; ASTL = Australia; BR = Brazil; DE = Germany; EG = Egypt; ES = Spain; IN = India; ID = Indonesia; IL = Israel; JP = Japan; KE = Kenya; MX = Mexico; NG = Nigeria; PL = Poland; RUS = Russia; SA = South Africa; SE = Sweden; TAZN = Tanzania; TR = Turkey; UK = United Kingdom; US = United States

	AR	ASTL	BR	EG	DE	IN	ID	IL	JP	KE	MX	NG	PH	PL	RUS	SA	ES	SE	TAZN	TR	UK	US
GWP life evaluation																						
Life evaluation (present)	11	3	8	21	5	18	16	2	12	20	7	19	14	9	13	15	10	1	22	17	6	4
Life evaluation (future)	10	9	1	22	14	17	5	4	21	13	7	3	11	18	16	2	15	6	19	20	12	8
Life evaluation (combined)	10	5	4	22	8	19	11	1	18	17	6	12	15	14	16	9	13	2	21	20	7	3
GWP daily emotions/experiences																						
Smile or laugh	5	13	15	19	12	17	1	21	9	7	3	6	4	16	20	2	10	14	8	22	18	11
Enjoyment	9	7	13	21	10	15	1	20	14	12	2	18	11	8	17	6	19	4	16	22	3	5
Calmness	7	8	13	20	9	21	2	22	3	16	5	17	1	11	14	18	15	4	10	19	12	6
Well-rested	13	10	19	21	7	16	1	17	2	15	6	14	5	18	20	3	4	11	12	22	9	8
Treated with respect	3	7	10	14	13	19	9	15	22	20	2	18	4	5	11	16	6	1	17	21	12	8
Learn something new	16	7	14	21	13	18	8	20	15	2	6	4	1	19	17	5	10	3	9	22	12	11
Pain	18	13	21	22	9	19	6	5	4	16	14	17	2	1	7	8	12	3	20	10	11	15
Worry	21	6	22	18	4	17	13	12	3	7	15	16	10	9	2	11	20	5	1	19	8	14
Sadness	16	7	17	18	4	21	15	2	1	19	9	10	20	6	8	5	11	3	12	22	13	14
Stress	14	11	15	20	5	4	1	6	12	3	16	18	19	10	2	13	8	7	21	22	9	17
Anger	6	1	15	19	7	20	13	12	5	22	2	17	18	16	4	11	14	3	9	21	8	10
GWP quality of life																						
Health problems	9	18	11	21	20	17	4	3	16	7	5	1	6	12	22	10	8	15	13	2	19	14
People to count on	7	3	13	18	11	22	14	4	12	19	15	20	16	5	10	9	6	1	21	17	8	2
Opportunities to make friends	11	10	12	17	16	4	1	21	19	13	9	15	6	14	20	7	5	2	18	22	8	3
Safe walking alone	18	11	21	1	7	14	5	6	2	17	20	19	13	10	15	22	4	3	12	16	8	9
Money/property stolen	17	10	15	16	3	14	12	6	1	22	18	21	7	4	13	20	2	8	19	9	5	11
Assaulted	19	2	14	17	8	16	7	11	1	22	18	21	9	6	5	20	13	4	12	15	10	3
Not enough money for food	11	7	10	14	2	16	15	4	3	21	13	22	20	5	12	19	8	1	18	17	6	9
Not enough money for shelter	12	1	11	10	4	16	19	9	6	22	14	21	20	3	17	13	8	2	15	18	5	7
Enjoy work	6	14	5	20	7	11	1	13	16	19	2	17	4	8	15	18	9	3	21	22	12	10
Choice in work	17	11	10	21	13	16	15	12	8	7	9	3	2	20	19	6	18	5	1	22	14	4
Satisfied with living standard	16	3	15	14	2	11	12	10	13	19	9	22	7	8	18	17	6	1	21	20	4	5
Living standards improving	13	15	6	14	19	4	1	18	20	11	5	9	2	12	16	3	21	7	10	22	17	8
Higher education	15	3	16	17	6	20	21	8	9	18	14	19	10	4	5	12	11	2	22	13	7	1

Climate and environment																						
Climate risk index	8	17	7	1	20	19	11	3	14	15	12	6	22	10	16	9	18	2	5	4	13	21
Average temperature	9	14	19	15	5	17	20	12	7	18	13	22	21	3	1	11	8	2	16	10	4	6
Average temperature change	6	1	10	18	13	3	5	21	12	14	8	17	11	16	19	2	15	20	7	22	4	9
EPI (overall)	12	4	11	15	3	22	20	9	5	17	10	19	18	8	13	14	6	2	16	21	1	7
EPI (environmental health)	9	2	13	15	5	22	20	8	4	19	14	21	16	10	11	18	6	1	17	12	3	7
EPI (ecosystem vitality)	16	2	8	13	1	22	19	14	7	18	9	20	17	6	15	12	5	4	11	21	3	10
EPI (biodiversity)	11	4	5	2	18	22	6	13	9	15	10	20	19	16	1	12	21	3	8	14	17	7
Air quality	11	2	10	22	7	21	20	13	6	12	17	18	9	14	4	15	8	1	19	16	3	5
PM2.5 air pollution	9	3	8	21	7	22	11	15	6	17	14	20	12	13	10	16	4	1	18	19	5	2
CO2 emissions	11	22	6	8	18	5	7	15	19	2	10	3	4	17	20	16	13	9	1	12	14	21
Renewable energy	14	18	5	20	10	6	8	21	19	3	17	2	7	13	22	15	9	4	1	11	12	16
GCF population																						
Population	18	20	4	10	12	1	3	22	8	16	7	5	9	19	6	15	17	21	14	11	13	2
Population growth	8	16	14	4	19	9	11	5	22	3	13	2	6	20	21	7	18	12	1	10	15	17
Population density	3	1	4	12	16	21	22	20	18	10	8	15	19	14	2	7	11	5	9	13	17	6
Population 0-14	12	14	13	4	21	8	9	7	22	3	10	2	5	19	16	6	20	17	1	11	18	15
Population 15-64	12	11	1	17	14	4	3	18	20	19	5	21	13	8	6	9	7	16	22	2	15	10
Population 65+	11	8	12	19	2	15	16	10	1	22	14	21	18	6	9	17	4	3	20	13	5	7
Net migration	12	6	9	16	3	22	15	10	7	17	18	20	21	13	2	11	4	8	14	19	5	1
GCF economics																						
GDP	16	8	7	19	3	4	11	15	2	21	10	17	20	13	6	18	9	14	22	12	5	1
GDP per capita	11	3	14	17	5	19	16	4	7	20	12	21	18	9	10	15	8	2	22	13	6	1
GDP annual growth	2	21	15	19	20	3	17	4	22	6	14	18	9	7	13	12	10	11	16	1	5	8
GINI	19	6	21	3	4	10	12	13	5	15	20	9	18	2	11	22	7	1	14	17	8	16
Human development index	10	1	13	14	3	18	16	7	5	19	12	21	17	9	22	15	8	2	20	11	4	6
Prosperity index	10	4	12	21	2	18	11	8	5	19	14	22	15	9	13	16	7	1	20	17	3	6
Unemployment	18	11	20	16	5	14	7	10	3	13	6	17	1	4	9	22	21	15	2	19	8	12
GCF health																						
Life expectancy at birth	10	2	12	15	6	16	18	3	1	21	17	22	13	9	14	20	5	4	19	11	7	8
Birth rate per 1000	12	14	13	4	20	9	8	7	22	3	10	1	5	19	18	6	21	15	2	11	17	16
Adolescent fertility rate	18	8	15	14	4	7	13	5	1	20	17	21	16	6	11	19	3	2	22	12	9	10
Maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 births	14	6	15	13	7	18	19	2	5	20	12	22	17	1	9	16	4	3	21	10	8	11
Under-5s mortality rate	11	5	14	15	6	19	16	4	1	20	13	22	17	8	9	18	3	2	21	12	7	10
Date rate per 100,000 people	10	5	8	3	19	7	11	1	18	9	12	21	2	20	22	13	16	14	4	6	17	15
Incidence of TB per 100,000 people	13	6	15	8	4	17	20	2	10	19	12	18	22	9	14	21	7	3	16	11	5	1
Prevalence of diabetes	4	7	13	22	10	14	16	12	8	2	21	1	11	9	5	18	15	3	19	20	6	17
Prevalence of undernourishment	12	4	13	14	6	20	17	7	11	22	16	19	15	5	2	18	8	1	21	10	3	9
Healthcare spending per capita	10	4	11	16	3	21	18	7	5	19	14	20	17	9	12	13	8	2	22	15	6	1
Healthcare spending % of GDP	8	6	7	15	2	21	22	11	4	16	14	20	18	12	13	10	9	3	19	17	5	1
GCF education																						
Education spending % of GDP	21	6	20	5	9	11	18	13	12	3	1	10	15	19	17	16	2	4	22	8	14	7
Expected years of schooling	5	1	12	15	7	19	16	9	13	20	14	21	18	10	11	17	4	2	22	3	6	8
Mean years of schooling	11	8	18	13	1	20	17	5	4	21	14	19	15	6	7	10	12	9	22	16	3	2
Primary school enrollment	2	14	4	3	10	12	20	5	16	7	8	21	15	22	6	17	9	1	18	19	13	11
Primary school completion rate	14	6	11	10	22	9	17	8	5	1	19	18	12	20	3	15	7	4	21	16	13	2
Tertiary school enrollment	3	2	13	16	8	18	15	12	11	21	14	20	17	9	6	19	4	7	22	1	10	5
GCF culture/society																						
Gender equality index	9	10	15	19	2	22	17	11	18	16	8	21	4	12	13	5	3	1	14	20	6	7
Incarceration rate per 100,000 people	17	13	21	10	5	2	8	16	3	7	14	1	12	15	19	18	9	6	4	20	11	22
Intentional homicides per 100,000 people	14	5	19	11	6	12	2	9	1	13	20	22	18	4	17	21	3	8	16	10	7	15
Safety and security index	9	6	13	21	5	16	10	12	1	17	20	22	19	4	15	14	7	2	11	18	3	8
Personal freedom index	7	3	11	22	2	18	16	12	8	15	13	17	14	10	20	9	5	1	19	21	4	6
Social capital index	16	2	18	21	5	14	4	10	22	15	19	17	8	11	12	9	7	1	13	20	6	3
Corruption perception index	13	3	14	20	2	11	16	7	5	18	19	22	17	9	21	10	8	1	12	15	4	6

In Table 4, addressing climate and environment, Egypt (EG) is identified as the most climate vulnerable nation, reflecting the highest average temperature. Conversely, Sweden tops the Environmental Performance Index (EPI) in all categories. The US, with its high CO2 emissions,

finds itself in the 12th position. Table 5, focusing on population, highlights India (IN) with the highest population and growth, while Israel (IL) has the highest population density. In the domain of economics, depicted in Table 6, the US leads in GDP, but the UK excels in GDP per capita. Sweden claims the top spot in the Human Development Index and Prosperity Index. Turning to Table 7, which examines health, Japan (JP) boasts the highest life expectancy at birth, while Nigeria records high in negative health outcomes like adolescent fertility rate and under-5s mortality rate. Sweden and the UK, on the other hand, demonstrate high life expectancy, despite the US's concerning death rate. Table 8 pertains to education, which showed varied performances among countries. Finland leads in literacy and numeracy skills, while the US excels in tertiary education. However, challenges remain, such as high out-of-school rates in India and gender disparity in countries like Pakistan. Lastly, Table 9, focusing on culture and society, reveals Japan's rich cultural heritage, Brazil's significant cultural exports, and Saudi Arabia's societal transformations. Table 10 provides a succinct depiction of each country's rank, within the 22 GFS nations, for all the evaluated items. This table highlights the pronounced variation within and across countries in terms of both dimensions of well-being and their various socio-economic and environmental influences.

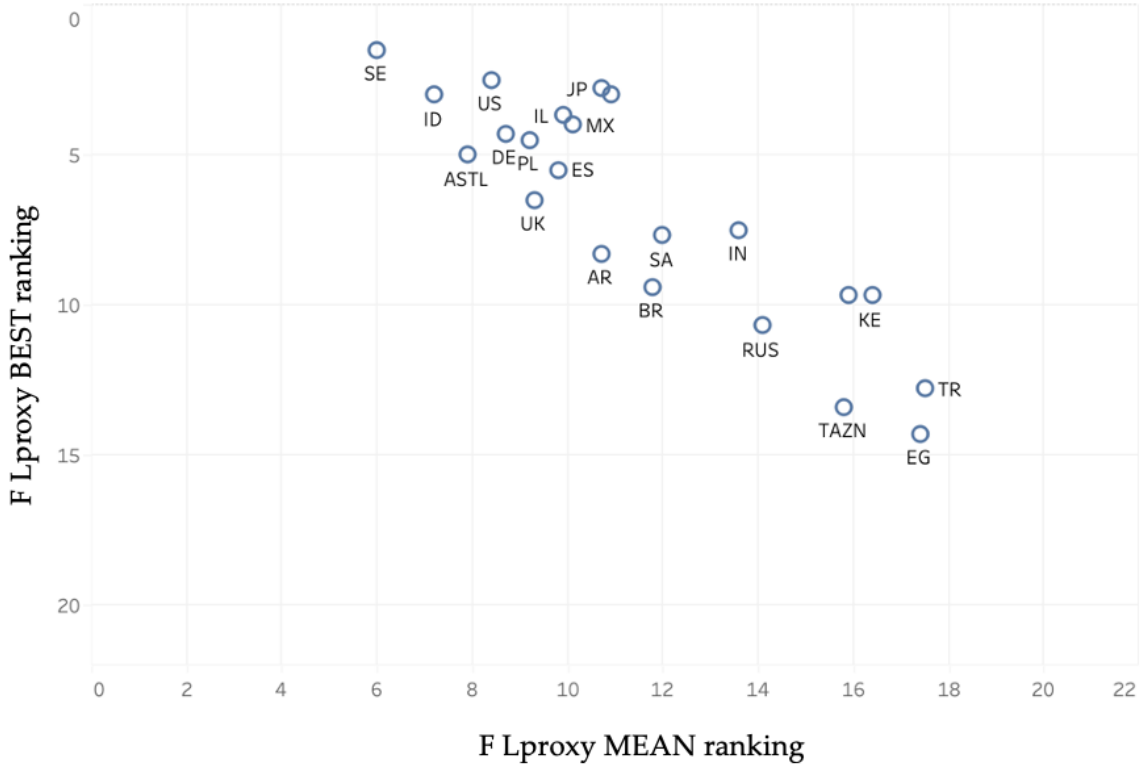
Table 11: Flourishing proxies from the Gallup World Poll and Global Comparison Framework

FL	Flourishing Measures	GWP/GCF Flourishing Proxies	Human Flourishing Index Items
1	Happiness and Life Satisfaction	Enjoyment-Smile/Laugh (*Happiness*) Life Evaluation present (*Life Satisfaction*) (Table 1)	Overall, how satisfied are you with life as a whole these days? In general, how happy or unhappy do you usually feel?
2	Mental and Physical Health	Sadness-Stress (*Mental Health*) Pain, Health Problems (*Physical Health*) (Table 2)	In general, how would you rate your physical health? How would you rate your overall mental health?
3	Meaning and Purpose	Enjoy Work, Choice in Work (Table 3)	Overall, to what extent do you feel the things you do in your life are worthwhile? I understand my purpose in life.
4	Character and Virtue	FL4A Life Evaluation (Future) (Table 1), Helped a Stranger,* Volunteered,* Corruption Perception Index (Table 9).	I always act to promote good in all circumstances, even in difficult and challenging situations. I am always able to give up some happiness now for greater happiness later.
5	Close Social Relationships	People to count on, Opportunities to make friends (Table 3)	I am content with my friendships and relationships. My relationships are as satisfying as I would want them to be.
6	Financial and Material Stability	Not Enough Money for Food, Not Enough Money for Shelter, Money/Property Stolen, Assaulted (Table 3)	How often do you worry about being able to meet normal monthly living expenses? How often do you worry about safety, food, or housing?

NB: This table correlates a few items from the tables above with each of the five flourishing domains (plus material stability) described in VanderWeele (2017).
NB: "Helped a Stranger" and "Volunteered" are drawn from the GWP, but are not included in the Tables above.

Figure 1: Mean vs. Best FL Proxy Ranking

AR = Argentina; ASTL = Australia; BR = Brazil; DE = Germany; EG = Egypt; ES = Spain; IN = India; ID = Indonesia; IL = Israel; JP = Japan; KE = Kenya; MX = Mexico; NG = Nigeria; PL = Poland; RUS = Russia; SA = South Africa; SE = Sweden; TAZN = Tanzania; TR = Turkey; UK = United Kingdom; US = United States



NB: This graph plots each country's mean ranking based on the average of its flourishing proxy rankings against its single best Flourishing Proxy ranking (see Table 11 above). Estimated correlation between Flproxy (mean ranking) and Best Ranking on six dimensions (Flproxy Best Ranking) is 0.89 (95% CI [0.75, 0.95], p<.001).

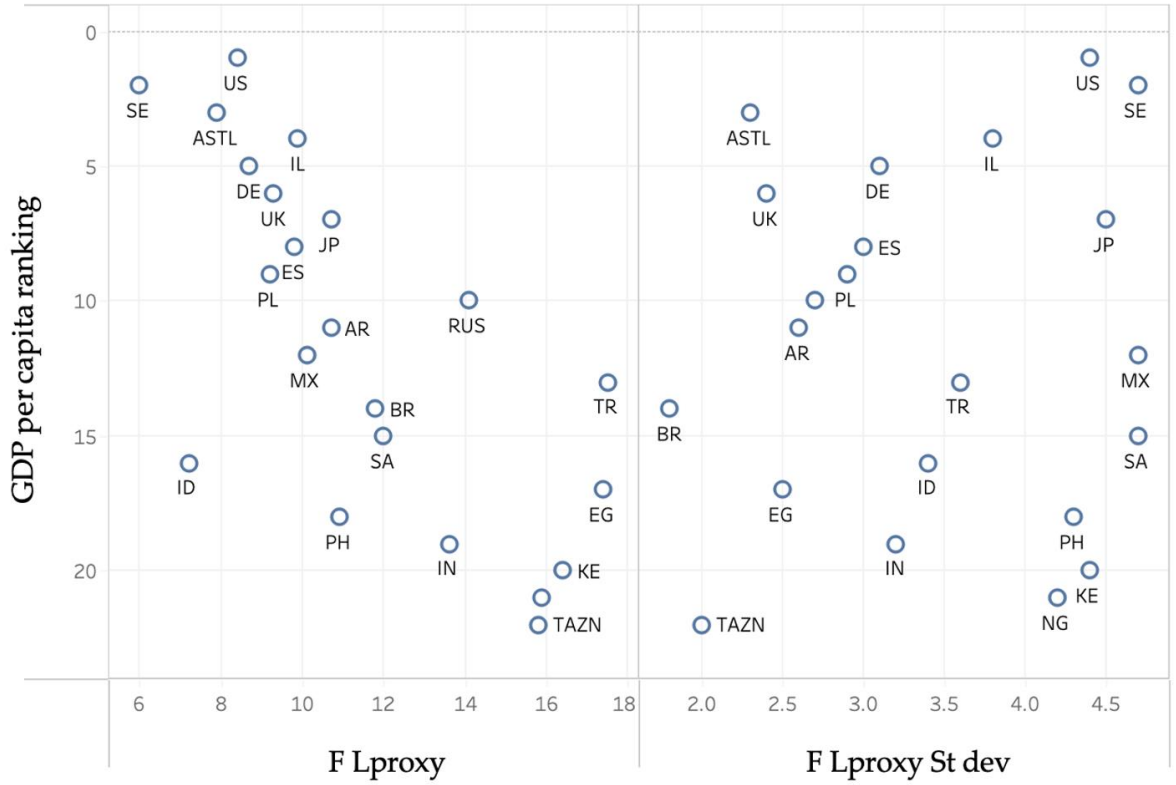
Table 11 devises a "Flourishing Proxy" measure utilizing the current data. It does this by correlating one or two significant items from Tables 1-9 (plus two items drawn from the wider Gallup World Poll) with each of the six domains of human flourishing (including material stability) outlined in VanderWeele (2017). Subsequently, Figure 1 graphically represents each country's average "Flourishing Proxy" ranking (out of 22) against its highest ranking. Meanwhile, Figure 2 plots the variability of each country's Flourishing Proxy rankings against its per capita GDP. The results indicate that a simplistic division between "the West" and "the rest" is not adequately representative of the variety and inconsistency observed in the scores across various measures of flourishing.

This is particularly evident in Table 11 and Figures 1-2, which details the within- and between-country variation in the 'Flourishing Proxy' measure. For instance, Japan, while having a mean ranking of 12.1, secures the 2.4 rank in Financial and Material Stability. Similarly, Nigeria, despite a mean ranking of 13.2, achieves 3rd rank in the Character and Virtue domain. Furthermore, the analysis suggests that there isn't a straightforward correlation between GDP per capita and variation in flourishing scores. Half of the countries show low standard deviation in their flourishing scores, regardless of their GDP per capita. For instance, the US, despite ranking first in GDP per capita, has a flourishing score standard deviation of 4.5, suggesting significant variation across different flourishing domains. In summary, the notion of global

flourishing is complex and multifaceted, and simple categorizations or economic metrics alone do not capture this complexity adequately, thus necessitating the need to study global heterogeneity and the multitude of facets that shape and define human flourishing.

Figure 2: GDP per capita vs. Flourishing Proxy Standard Deviation

AR = Argentina; ASTL = Australia; BR = Brazil; DE = Germany; EG = Egypt; ES = Spain; IN = India; ID = Indonesia; IL = Israel; JP = Japan; KE = Kenya; MX = Mexico; NG = Nigeria; PL = Poland; RUS = Russia; SA = South Africa; SE = Sweden; TAZN = Tanzania; TR = Turkey; UK =



NB: This chart plots each country's GDP per capita against the standard deviation of its Overall Flourishing Proxy Mean (see Table 11 above). Estimated correlation between Flproxy and GDP per capita ranking is 0.72 (95% CI [0.43, 0.88], p<.001). Estimated correlation between Flproxy standard deviation and GDP per capita ranking is -0.06 (95% CI [-0.47, 0.37], p=.783).

4. **Discussion**

4.1. The transnational heterogeneity of flourishing among GFS countries

The data collated above suggest some interesting patterns, both intuitive and counter-intuitive in nature. Sweden consistently ranked among the top across fifteen indicators, and never appeared in the bottom five for any indicator. This happy combination of political, economic, and cultural factors in Scandinavia is why many development economists now describe their work in terms of helping other countries "get to Denmark" (Fukuyama 2011). Tanzania not only had the lowest average score for present life evaluation, but also ranked lowest (22nd) on ten other indicators, including GDP per capita, teen pregnancy, healthcare spending per capita, and education spending as a percentage of GDP. Also appearing at the bottom of many lists was Nigeria, which ranked lowest in nine categories (not enough money for food, satisfied with living standard, prosperity index, life expectancy, maternal mortality, under-5 mortality, homicides, safety & security, and corruption perception). This is intuitive: life is objectively harder in many

respects for Tanzanians or Nigerians than for Swedes, and this translates into subjective evaluations of citizens' own lives.

These differences map cleanly onto the intuitive distinction between "developed" and "developing" nations (for further discussion of this and related ways of carving up the world – e.g., between "First" and "Third World" countries, or between North and South, see Lomas, in press). The relative poverty and unhappiness of sub-Saharan Africa in particular has been the subject of much debate in the development literature, with explanations ranging from the relatively recent and exogenous (e.g., colonial misrule in the nineteenth century) (Hochschild, 1998) to ancient and endogenous (e.g., Diamond's (1999) thesis that the continent's north-south orientation and paucity of domesticable animals constrained its prospects relative to Eurasia in particular).

A closer look at these data, however, suggest that a bright line distinction between "the West" (meaning Western Europe and its colonial diasporas in North America and Oceania) and "the rest" obscures at least as much as it reveals. Many GFS countries display a remarkable degree of variety and even apparent incoherence in their scores across the various measures tabulated here. In Figure 1, our "Flourishing Proxy" measure (i.e., the mean ranking across Flourishing dimensions based on items from Tables 1-9 that map onto the five flourishing domains VanderWeele (2017) plus material stability) was plotted against each country's best Flourishing ranking. We would expect a strong positive association between high mean and high best rankings. This was partly the case ($r = 0.89$); Sweden had both the highest mean and highest best ranking in the GFS countries, while Egypt had both the lowest mean and lowest best ranking.

Nonetheless, there is considerable variation as well: 8 countries had a mean FL proxy ranking between 8 and 12 but a best FLproxy ranking of between 2 and 5, suggesting that even if they are struggling across many domains of flourishing, there are particular areas in which they excel. For example, Mexico's mean ranking is 10, but it ranked fourth among the GFS countries in Happiness and Life Satisfaction. Nigeria's mean ranking is 13.2, but it ranked third on Character and Virtue. A general picture of well-being can mask particular areas of strength, and vice versa.

Likewise, Figure 2 plots each country's GDP per capita against the standard deviation of its Flourishing Proxy means. Half of the countries have a low standard deviation in their FLproxy, but this appears unrelated to their GDP per capita ranking. Several countries vary tremendously in their FLproxy rankings, irrespective of GDP. The USA ranks first in GDP per capita, with a FLproxy standard deviation of 4.5. Japan ranks seventh on GDP per capita, with a FLproxy standard deviation of 6.8.

Other intriguing results show that a country context may appear unfavorable for well-being even as citizens are flourishing in important respects. Indonesia, for instance, fares poorly on many intuitive constituents and determinants of flourishing: it has the lowest level of healthcare spending as a percentage of GDP, and is in the bottom five for money for shelter and higher education (Table 3); for the environmental performance index (EPI) overall, EPI health, EPI ecosystem vitality, and air quality (Table 4); for maternal mortality and incidence of tuberculosis (Table 7); and for education spending as a percentage of GDP and primary school enrollment (Table 8). However, Indonesia also had the highest scores on seven items related to flourishing, more than any country other than Sweden and Japan. It fared particularly well on measures of subjective well-being, including of daily smiling or laughing, sense of enjoyment, feeling well-rested, and a low stress level (Table 2), as well as opportunities to make friends, enjoying one's work, and the sense that living standards are improving (Table 3). The overall picture which emerges here is of a country in which important forms of collective investment, such as health and education, remain underdeveloped, and in which the natural environment is being despoiled

at an alarming rate, but whose citizens are nonetheless remarkably at ease in the world, enjoying their neighbors and their work, and with a high degree of optimism about the future. At the very least, these data suggest that there is no simple account to be given of the extent to which contemporary Indonesia is flourishing: it all depends on what domains are most of interest.

Other countries exhibit similarly counter-intuitive mixes of subjective and objective indicators of flourishing or its determinants. For instance, Turks ranked last in their perception that their living standards are improving, despite the fact that Turkey ranked first in annual GDP growth and in university enrollment. So too, Egyptians reported the highest level of felt safety in walking alone (Table 3), despite ranking 21st (out of 22) on the "safety and security index" (Table 9), which "tracks the impact on war, terror, conflict, and crime on individuals' overall security in both the short and long term" (cf. the description in Appendix 1 below). As we might expect across countries, these two measures typically have a moderately strong correlation (r = .61): Japan and Sweden rank second and third respectively in self-rated safety in walking alone, and first and second respectively in safety and security; Tanzania is 13th on the former and 11th on the latter, while Russia is 15th in both.

Nonetheless, the correlation between the two indicators is weak enough to accommodate a number of surprising divergences. Egypt's split is the starkest, but South Africa is a weaker outlier in the opposite direction: despite being the 14th-safest country in objective terms, it came last in self-reported safety in walking alone. Might these isolated divergences between subjective and objective safety be attributable to the concentration of severe conflict in particular regions or demographics, from which the majority of the population is insulated (e.g., the plight of Egypt's persecuted Coptic Christian population, Amnesty International, 2021)? Or do they reflect psychological differences in particular traits (e.g., optimism or courage) that prompt different population-level perceptions of similar levels of danger?

Japan's place in the country context and flourishing rankings illustrates a different but equally intriguing set of contrasts. On the one hand, Japan has the highest scores for nine items (low sadness, property crime, assault, the percentage of the population over 65, life expectancy, adolescent fertility rate, under-5 mortality, homicide, safety/security index), but also had the lowest scores for five (feeling treated with respect, population growth, population 0-14, GDP growth, and birth rate). Japan arguably offers the clearest illustration of the tradeoffs involved in international development: as nations grow richer and longer-lived and shift toward a "slow-life strategy," they have fewer children (Twenge, 2023). Having grown into a remarkably wealthy and peaceful society, Japan – shortly to be followed by the rest of the developed world – now faces the difficult question of whether there will be anyone to inherit it. After all, any community that does not reckon with the fundamental question of where its next generation will come from needn't worry overmuch about funding the welfare state or providing for national defense; in relatively short order, it will resolve all such problems by ceasing to exist.

In societies with low levels of infant mortality, each woman generally needs to bear an average of 2.1 children to sustain the population at current levels. At 6.8 children per annum per 1000 women of child-bearing age (or about 1.34 children to each woman over her lifespan), Japan's birth-rate is among the lowest in the world, and still dropping. Japan's population has been declining in absolute terms for over a decade, and in parts of the country, it is already possible to buy abandoned homes (*akiya*) for as little as $45 (Montgomery, 2023). On its present trajectory, its population will have decreased by 30% from its 2020 levels by 2070. In that situation, lonely seniors and strained social-welfare systems will be the least of Japan's problems, as it struggles to cope with collapsing supply chains and empty cities (cf. Zeihan, 2022).

It bears stressing, however, that while Japan is a leading indicator for trends in depopulation, much of the rest of the world is not far behind. Indeed, half of the countries in our study, including wealthier parts of the Global South such as Brazil and Argentina, now have below-replacement birth rates; if current trends hold, global population will begin to decline in the late 21st century after peaking at around 10.4 billion people ("Population," 2022). The great question demographic contractions in developed (and increasingly, developing) countries pose for cross-cultural comparisons of flourishing and its determinants is whether the forms of life that have made, e.g., Sweden or Japan so prosperous and peaceful might in fact undermine the necessary conditions for their long-term sustainability.

4.2. Interpreting the indicators

In the prior section, we considered the substantial heterogeneity of flourishing both within and among the countries in our study. Some countries with a low average Flourishing ranking or relatively low per capita GDP nonetheless rank near the top on particular Flourishing indicators. The causes of this heterogeneity are themselves likely heterogenous: it may reflect unavoidable (or at least deeply rooted) tradeoffs, such as those between longevity and birth-rates, while others might reflect local contingencies, such as religious or cultural factors influencing respondents' range of positive emotions or the density of their social networks. These considerations raise significant challenges for efforts at cross-national and cross-cultural comparison of flourishing and its determinants.

Equally as complex is that not every factor which predicts flourishing in one context will do so in another, nor will every dimension that is a constituent of flourishing in one culture, be so in another. Several of the potential determinants of flourishing seem likely to be universal (e.g., longer life-expectancy is likely intrinsically valued in most societies, while being violently assaulted is likely universally devalued). However, others are not so clear. For example, a low incarceration rate has to be interpreted contextually: it is likely an indicator of overall flourishing in a society with low rates of violent crime (e.g., Sweden, ranked 6th in incarceration per 100,000 people and 4th in rates of violent assault), but low incarceration may be an indicator of a weak or corrupt state in a society with relatively high rates of such crime, as in Nigeria (which is ranked lowest in incarceration rates, but has the second-highest rate of assault). For other indicators, perhaps the "best" level might be middling. This might be true for birth rates, with either the highest (Nigeria) or lowest (Japan) rates indicating undesirable trends either toward unsustainable population growth or demographic collapse.

Even some apparent constituents of flourishing need to be interpreted with nuance. Consider, for instance, "life evaluation" (also often described as "life satisfaction"), which is now widely used both by academics and by governments as a single-item measure of individual well-being (Helliwell, 2021; Bates 2008). One striking feature of Table 1 above is the distribution of countries by life evaluation scores, with Sweden (ranked 2nd) having a combined mean score 1.49 units higher than Japan's (7.70 vs. 6.21, ranked 18th), despite each country's performing well overall on a range of other indicators, as we saw above. Why does Japan score so much lower on life evaluation relative to other dimensions of flourishing?

This is no isolated concern. Despite its undoubted usefulness in international development and cross-cultural comparisons (cf. Pavot & Diener, 2008), recent research has raised significant questions about whether measures of life satisfaction are to some extent parochially WEIRD, and so variously misleading when applied to non-Western cultures. The positive association of life satisfaction and cultural individualism was noted by Diener et al. (1995), and has been confirmed in many subsequent studies (for a summary, see Krys et al., 2021; see also the complications of

the individualism/collectivism distinction described in Lomas et al., 2023; Henrich 2020; Earley & Gibson, 1998; Kirkman, Lowe & Gibson, 2016). For instance, Pavot and Diener (2008) note that "latent mean [life satisfaction] scores of the Chinese sample were [sometimes] substantially lower than those of the Americans," and that "as more sophisticated approaches are applied to the analysis of survey data for cross-cultural comparisons, it has become apparent that, in some cases, comparisons based on raw scores on measures such as the [Satisfaction with Life Scale] may be misleading" (145).

Why this association between individualism and life satisfaction? Is it simply that individualistic societies produce more life satisfaction than collectivistic societies? Or might "life satisfaction" measures themselves be somehow intrinsically individualistic, so that the correlation between life satisfaction and individualism is effectively a tautology, a demonstration only that individualistic countries are indeed more individualistic than collectivist ones? This second possibility has been explored in recent years, in particular by researchers focused on East Asian populations, who observe, in the first instance, that life satisfaction measures are individualist in the sense that they focus on the individual's good ("*my* life"), even if the individual is free to incorporate other-concern of many kinds into that assessment. There is also substantial evidence that life satisfaction is tacitly associated by most respondents with achievement-oriented dimensions of well-being, including income, but also and perhaps more importantly, the individual's personal striving for success, whether professional or relational (Lu & Gilmour, 2009; Oishi, 2010; Krys et al., 2021), for example, one Satisfaction with Life Survey item reads, "So far I have *gotten* the important things I want in life" (Diener et al., 1985).

We might expect that, in a culture in which individuals are strongly bound within and identified with collectives – whether of kinship, faith, or nation – this focus on the individual's success in life would less faithfully measure well-being than would assessments that focus on the good of the wider communities to which the individual belongs. With that concern in mind, Hitokoto & Uchida (2015) developed a measure of "interdependent happiness," which they defined as "a type of happiness that is experienced by achieving interdependent goals that are more prevalent in the interdependent daily life" (e.g., "I believe that I and others around me are happy"), and which incorporates an emphasis on internal balance and on harmony with the wider world (214) (See also Lomas et al. 2022 for the importance of balance and harmony in the assessment of flourishing in East Asian and still-wider contexts.)

In a study of 50 countries (n = 13,009), Krys et al. (2021) took up the distinction between life satisfaction and interdependent happiness, but supplemented it with a further distinction between "individual" and "family happiness," the latter construct describing the well-being (either individually or as a member of a wider social setting) of a given family unit. They found that across all 50 countries, individualistic context was more strongly associated with personal SWLS (the most individualism-themed measure of happiness) than with family IHS (the most collectivism-themed measures of happiness)." This suggests that we may have an imprecise view of the extent of flourishing in collectivistic contexts, unless items take into account the various nuances in how flourishing is experienced across nations (or more broadly cross-culturally).

We also suggest caution in the use of nation or country as the unit of analysis. We compared 22 nations, but it is not obvious that they are equal tokens of a single type. The essence of nationhood is a vexed question, but it seems to consist, at minimum, in membership (however aspirational) in a common culture – defined by language, artistic and literary traditions, and perhaps religion – as embodied in a shared territory. As Benedict Anderson (2006) put it, nations are, distinctively among political forms, "imagined communities," in which membership is defined less in terms of descent or territory than of a shared conception of "our" form of life. But

nations are relatively late additions to the pantheon of polities: there have been – and indeed still are – expansionist empires comprising many cultures (e.g., imperial Rome), as well as tiny states, often no larger than a single city, within a broader cultural and linguistic unity (e.g., Florence within Renaissance Italy or Athens within classical Greece). Henrich (2020) offers a clear illustration of the weakness of national identity relative to tribal or religious identity outside the WEIRD world with an anecdote about "Wali Khan, a Pashtun politician in Pakistan. At a time of national instability in 1972, Khan was asked about his personal identity and 'first allegiance' during an interview. He replied, 'I have been a Pashtun for six thousand years, a Muslim for thirteen hundred years, and a Pakistani for twenty-five'" (Henrich, 2020: 204). Unsurprisingly, Sweden – tiny, culturally homogenous, and more-or-less continually self-governing since the eleventh century AD – is perhaps the closest to Platonic nationhood within our sample (Kent, 2008).

Others, particularly those outside of the West, are more tenuously national. For instance, the very notion of "Indonesia" as a discrete political and cultural unit is to a great extent a legacy of European colonialism, given that it consists of roughly 6,000 inhabited islands, which are home to 300 distinct languages. Over the centuries, these have been home to Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic civilizations, with considerable Confucian and later Christian influences peppered in as well (Hannigan 2015). As such, Indonesia had at best a loosely regional identity until a more rigid unity was imposed when the Netherlands colonized it as the "Dutch East Indies." Even the name "Indonesia" was coined by an English ethnologist from the Greek "Ἰνδός" (*Indos*, India) and "νῆσος" (*nēsos*, island) (Reece, 1992). Tanzania might present a still more extreme case, in which the country lacks elements, not only of a coherent national identity, but even of a functioning state. As with Indonesia, the name "Tanzania" is a colonial legacy, a portmanteau term derived from combining "Tanganikya" and "Zanibar," two former British colonies which united to form a new state in 1964. The resulting country comprises 120 distinct ethnic groups speaking 100 languages, including isolated hunter-gatherer tribes such as the Hadza (Ndembwike 2008). Moreover, the Tanzanian state exists more as an aspiration than a reality: though the population is desperately poor, with ⅔ of the population living on $1.25 or less per day and a third suffering from malnutrition, the government functions to a great extent as a spoils system. In 2009, for instance, the government was spending $390 million USD per year – "enough to pay the salaries of more than 100,000 teachers" – on housing and food allowances for bureaucrats attending out-of-town events, most often ordinary meetings held at seaside resorts; in May 2022, the government voted to double that *per diem* allowance (Economist, 2022).

These differences in the degree of nation- and statehood within our sample are important to keep in view in comparisons of particular countries. That is, the very practice of singling out nations for comparison assumes that each of them possesses a reasonably coherent national character – defined in terms of political organization, economic activity, and cultural traits – in which citizens will, on average, participate. To the extent that they do not, comparisons among them become misleading if not simply meaningless. Cross-cultural psychologists refer to this as "cultural tightness-looseness," distinguishing between cultures that are tight (have many strong norms and a low tolerance of deviant behavior) versus loose (have weak social norms and a high tolerance of deviant behavior) (see Berry, 1979; Fiske et al. 1998; Kitayama, 2002; Gelfand et al. 2011).

By way of illustration: we could, if we liked, create a new "nation" – let's call it Fredonia – for the GFS by combining, say, one quarter of the populations of Sweden, Indonesia, Australia, and Tanzania, perhaps drawing each quarter from a distinct income quartile. We could then, with some effort, assemble a dataset describing Fredonia's average psychological, economic, and

health profile. We could do this, but we won't, for much the same reason that we will not assemble time-series health data about the conjunction of your uncle's torso and your father's legs. "Fredonia" carves no joints in human culture, much less in nature, and so data about it would be uninformative, corresponding to nothing in the world that might draw our interest or prompt our intervention.

In our data, a helpful quantitative indicator of a tendency toward incoherence within a given country for a particular indicator is its dispersion around the mean of an indicator. The wider the dispersion, the less underlying coherence the average reflects, and the wider the array of experiences and perspectives distilled therein (i.e., it is loose rather than tight). We have standard deviations for three measures of life evaluation (Table 1). In Sweden, the standard deviation for present life evaluation is .88 units lower (sc. tighter) than in Tanzania. This is significant, given that "responses to the Cantril Ladder are [typically]…centered more closely around the scale midpoint than other subjective well-being measures of life satisfaction, happiness and affect balance" (OECD 2013: 69). This is precisely what we would have expected simply from reflecting on the relative cultural homogeneity of Sweden in comparison with the greater diversity of Tanzania, where Neolithic cultures still hold out against an industrializing core. By the same token, in the combined measure of life evaluation, continent-spanning India had a standard deviation .73 units wider than that of tiny Israel.

The point of this extended reflection on the complications and limitations of some of the more central categories assembled for comparing countries is not to deny the utility of the flourishing framework, or even of any particular item within it. Sources of data on hundreds of countries are unfortunately hard to come by, and every measurement approach is necessarily imperfect. Our aim, instead, is to highlight the need for researchers using such tools in cross-cultural comparisons to be cognizant of their limitations and deft in applying them. We must recognize that categories such as "life evaluation," or indeed "nation," are neither univocally significant across all contexts nor self-interpreting in any of them.

5. Limitations

In the preceding section, we have already discussed some limitations of the particular categories employed in this comparison of the countries: in some respects, categories such as "life evaluation" or even "nation" are blunt instruments, and must be handled sensitively in cross-national comparisons. Other limitations of the present study follow less from the categories employed than from the framework adopted. In particular, the selection for comparison of the 22 countries excludes roughly 50% of the world's population, and screens out a great deal of global diversity. As we noted above, our focus on the countries that are included in the Global Flourishing Study is not a function of their intrinsically greater importance than other countries for flourishing research, but rather a recognition of the fact that the study itself will likely generate significant interest in these countries in coming years.

Moreover, it bears emphasizing that the data analyzed here are cross-sectional, reflecting the state of these 22 countries in 2022. As such, they do not permit us to draw firm inferences about the specific causes of any particular outcome of interest. We employ cross-sectional data here for illustrative purposes. Applying the Global Comparison Framework and the Gallup World Poll framework to the 22 countries allowed us to document the extent of heterogeneity among the flourishing domains both within and across countries. It also allows us to illustrate the dangers in assuming that critical concepts in the study of flourishing – from "life satisfaction" to the very idea of "nation" itself – have univocal meanings across countries or cultures. And finally, it allows us to generate suggestive relationships for further investigation. To draw robust

inferences regarding causation in any of these cases, we await the completion of the Global Flourishing Study, whose longitudinal data will offer an excellent resource to that end.

6. Conclusion

We began this paper by warning against "the dangers of a single story" in global research on flourishing. Such single stories can emerge from a myopic fixation on significant but nonetheless limited individual indicators, whether related to GDP, longevity, or subjective well-being. They can equally arise from a naïve and unthinking restriction of one's analysis to those small and psychologically unusual populations that happen to be WEIRD. We have attempted here, through a consideration of a wide range of measures both of flourishing and its determinants for 22 countries, to highlight some methodological considerations and analytical approaches which researchers keen to avoid the pitfalls of the single-story might do well to keep in view.

These include the importance of recognizing that even apparently universal constructs – "life evaluation," "nation" – are in many ways parochially WEIRD, and need to be handled cautiously when applied outside North Atlantic contexts. They also include a recognition that there is significant heterogeneity among flourishing domains and determinants both within individual countries and across countries. This heterogeneity might be in due, in specific cases, to irreducible tradeoffs among them (best illustrated in the relationship between wealth and longevity and population growth). They might also, however, be owing to particular cultural strengths, from which others might do well to learn (can we export Indonesian *joie de vivre*?). Or they might be caused by still more contingent and as-yet unmeasured factors.

Human cultures are generally domains neither of pure sunlight nor unbroken shadow, but rather of a dappled, mottled twilight, where happiness and sadness, success and failure, and even good and evil mingle in varying measure. Researchers hoping to map the shifting terrain of human flourishing need keen eyes and keener wits, attuned to all the complexity and diversity offered up by their endlessly engrossing subjects.

Conflict of interest statement

On behalf of all authors, the corresponding author states that there is no conflict of interest.

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BC developed the study concept, contributed to the study design, and served as primary point person in drafting the manuscript. VC, JRD, RC, TL, and NP contributed to the study design, data collection and analysis. VC, CG, HK, and NP contributed to the literature review and to drafting the manuscript. All authors contributed to and approved the final version of the manuscript for submission.

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Appendix 1. The Gallup World Poll and the Global Comparison Framework

This paper combines two main data sources. The first is the Gallup World Poll (GWP), involving a selection of 31 items capturing huam flourishing with data taken from the 2020, 2021, and 2022 waves of the poll. The second is a new "Global Comparison Framework" (GCF) created by Lomas (in press), which is a collection of 100 "psychologically salient" (e.g., likely to influence wellbeing) variables on which countries can be differentiated, sourced from various organizations (such as the World Bank).

A1 GWP

A1.1 GWP data collection

The GWP survey typically takes between 15-20 minutes to finish, consisting of approximately 60 - 80 questions (though the exact count can vary based on the respondent's specific answers to certain preliminary questions). The GWP is comprised of nationally-representative, probability-based samples drawn from adult populations aged 15 and above, with each country contributing about 1,000 participants who are selected anew each year. This sample size was chosen to establish, after applying the survey weights, a maximum confidence interval of around 4 percentage points, which gives enough statistical power ($\beta = 0.80$, $\alpha = .05$) to detect a group difference of roughly 9 percentage points. The present paper analyzes data from three years of the GWP (2020, 2021, and 2022), merging the three waves in the analysis to obtain a larger overall sample. The standard and recognized protocol of the GWP was followed during data collection. The specifics of each data collection wave are detailed below:

2020 Wave. In this year, 116 countries were surveyed, which encompassed more than 90% of the global adult population and included 121,207 participants. For the complete national adult sample, the margin of sampling error falls within ±1.1 to ±5.5 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. Although the GWP generally involves in-person data collection, a contingency plan was developed in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, based entirely on telephone interviewing. As a result, while a few in-person interviews took place in select countries early in the year before nationwide lockdowns, most of the surveying was conducted via mobile and landline phones for the rest of the year. The sample thus represents adults aged 15 and above who own a phone (either landline or mobile), encompassing all eligible landline exchanges and valid mobile service providers, thereby covering the entirety of each country, rural areas included.

2021 Wave. The following year, the survey extended to 122 countries, again representing over 90% of the world's adult population, with a total of 122,846 respondents. As many countries continued to grapple with vaccination efforts and intermittent lockdowns throughout 2021, the GWP assessed each country's situation to decide on the safe resumption of in-person data collection, or continued telephone data collection, or exclusion from the year's data collection roster. In 2021, 51 out of the 122 countries sampled resumed face-to-face interviewing (comprising most sub-Saharan African countries, along with a few countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, former Soviet states, developing Asia, and the Middle East), while the rest persisted with the telephone-based format initiated in 2020 due to the ongoing pandemic.

2022 Wave. For this year, the sample included 142 countries, which represented over 90% of the world's adult population, comprising 142,601 individual respondents. By 2022, the GWP had managed to revert to face-to-face interviewing in most regions/countries where the World Poll surveys were traditionally conducted in this manner.

A1.2 GWP analyzed items

We selected 31 distinctive items that effectively cover the diverse facets of well-being. These items involve 3 components related to life evaluation (Table 1), 11 associated with daily emotions and experiences (Table 2), and a further 16 that touched on a variety of wellbeing determinants (Table 3). Each item from the GWP reports the percentage of respondents in a given country who agreed that they felt the relevant emotion or had the relevant experience on a typical day. The rest of the tables extract items from the Global Comparison Framework (GCF) (Lomas, in press), a tool that offers "one hundred psychologically significant methods to comprehend and evaluate the world," with a focus on a wide variety of aspects including demographics, geography, environment, economics, health, safety, politics, and culture.

A1.2.1 Life Evaluation

Two aspects of life quality evaluation were chosen from the GWP and presented as follows:

Life Evaluation Today. "Please imagine a ladder, with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. The top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time?"

Life Evaluation in Future. "Please imagine a ladder, with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. The top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. Just your best guess, on which step do you think you will stand in the future, say about five years from now?"

Combined Present and Future Life Evaluation. The scores for the two aspects were combined to establish a composite metric of present and future life evaluation, hence providing a third outcome for life quality assessment in this context.

A1.3 Daily Emotions and Experiences

The GWP comprises of a set of items about the daily experiences of respondents, beginning with this prompt: "Now, please think about yesterday, from the morning until the end of the day. Think about where you were, what you were doing, who you were with, and how you felt." The survey first probes about four distinct experiences, providing the response choices of Yes, No, Unsure, and Declined to Answer. In our study, we concentrated exclusively on 'Yes' and 'No' answers for the sake of simplicity and lucidity, as well as the fact that a very small percentage—typically less than 1% of respondents—selected 'Unsure' or 'Declined to Answer'. The inquiries are as follows (i.e., "Did you feel well-rested yesterday?", "Were you treated with respect all day yesterday?", "Did you smile or laugh a lot yesterday?", "Did you learn or do something interesting yesterday?").

Subsequent to these items, the survey solicits information about seven distinct feelings/emotions. These items are introduced with the question "Did you experience the following feelings during a lot of the day yesterday?" The same answer options are provided as before (Yes; No; Unsure; and Declined to Answer), and in our study, we again only considered 'Yes'/'No' responses for these items: "How about calmness?", "How about physical pain?", "How about worry?", "How about sadness?", "How about stress?", "How about anger?".

A1.4 Wellbeing Determinants

In addition to the aforementioned items, the GWP comprises a wide array of items that—based on our interpretation—could be seen as broader facets of wellbeing or as significant elements influencing it. We chose 13 of these that we believed provided the most comprehensive insight into these diverse facets and factors. Unless otherwise mentioned, all items have the same response options as the daily emotions/experiences items (yes, no, don't know, refused to answer). In our analysis, we continued to concentrate solely on the yes and no responses (for the same reasons as before). For items that didn't have this standard yes/no dichotomy in response options, we transformed the responses into a binary format, as detailed where relevant below. First, there is one item relating to health.

1. Do you have any health problems that prevent you from doing any of the things people your age normally can do?

There are three items pertaining to friendship and relationships. The second of these is part of a series of questions featuring the prompt: "In the city or area where you live, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with …". The third item is again part of the Global Wellbeing Initiative module, preceded by the stem, "In general, how often …", and with the response options again converted into a binary as per above.

2. If you were in trouble, do you have relatives or friends you can count on to help you whenever you need them, or not?

3. [In the city or area where you live, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with] the opportunities to meet people and make friends?
4. [In general, how often] are you in harmony with those around you?

There are three items relating to personal safety and security:

5. Do you feel safe walking alone at night in the city or area where you live?
6. Within the last 12 months, have you had money or property stolen from you or another household member?
7. Within the last 12 months, have you been assaulted or mugged?

There are two items relating to work:

8. Do you enjoy the work you do in your job every day, or not? (Interviewer: If the respondent says they don't work every day, ask them to think about the days when they work.)
9. Do you, personally, have many choices in regard to the type of work you can do in your life?

There are two items relating to poverty, both preceded by "Have there been times in the past 12 months when you did not have enough money…".

10. … to buy food that you or your family needed?
11. … to provide adequate shelter or housing for you and your family

Finally, there are two items relating to standard of living. The first has the response options: Satisfied; Dissatisfied; Don't Know; Refused to Answer. As with the yes/no items above, in the analysis we just compared the first two options. The second item had five response options: Getting better; The same; Getting worse; Don't Know; Refused to Answer. In that case, the analysis focused on Getting better versus Getting Worse:

12. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the city or area where you live?
13. Right now, do you feel your standard of living is getting better or getting worse?

A2 The Global Comparison Framework

Our paper draws on a new Global Comparison Framework (GCF) developed by Lomas (2023). The GCF was created in response to the increasing recognition that fields like psychology have historically been Western-centric, and that there is great need for more cross-cultural research. However, it is also in response to there being relatively little clarity, consensus, or nuance in terms of how best to conceptually "carve up" and assess different peoples and places. Arguably the two most common distinctions are East versus West, and differentiating countries into low, middle, and high income. However, both categorizations have their issues, not to mention that overreliance on these hardly does justice to the complexity of the world. To encourage more nuanced, complex, granular thinking, this GCF thus offers a curated list of one hundred variables on which countries can be differentiated. These have been selected primarily as: psychologically salient (e.g., likely to influence outcomes such as mental health); (b) having publicly available data from reputable organizations (e.g., the World Bank); and (c) having relatively global coverage (e.g., including at least two thirds of nations). For our analysis here, we selected … variables from this list, covering … different areas of life.

A2.1 Climate and Environment

We selected 11 variables pertaining to climate and the environment, as follows:

1. *Global Climate Risk Index*. Summarizes the extent to which countries have been affected by the impacts of weather-related loss events (storms, floods, heat waves etc.). Scores are derived from country's rankings within four indicators (number of deaths; number of deaths per 100,000 inhabitants; sum of losses in US$ in purchasing power parity; and losses per unit of GDP), and averaged according to their weighting, with lower index scores indicating countries with higher risk. Source: German Watch – www.germanwatch.org/

2. *Temperature*. Average annual temperature in Fahrenheit. Source: World Population Review (credited to various sources) – https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/hottest-countries-in-the-world
3. *Temperature change*. Annual estimates of mean surface temperature change in Celsius measured with respect to a baseline climatology. Source: International Monetary Fund (credited to Food and Agriculture Organization) – https://climatedata.imf.org/datasets/4063314923d74187be9596f10d034914_0/
4. *Environmental Performance Index (EPI)*. A summary of sustainability, using 40 performance indicators across 11 issue categories, with an overall focus on climate change performance, environmental health, and ecosystem vitality. Source: Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy – https://epi.yale.edu/epi-results/2022/component/epi
5. *EPI Environmental Health Index*. A sub-index of the EPI index, summarizing how well countries are protecting their populations from environmental health risks. This constitutes 20% of the total EPI score, and comprises four issue categories: Air Quality, Sanitation & Drinking Water, Heavy Metals, and Waste Management. Source: Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy – https://epi.yale.edu/epi-results/2022/component/epi
6. *EPI Ecosystem Vitality Index*. A sub-index of the EPI index, summarising how well countries are preserving, protecting, and enhancing ecosystems and the services they provide. This constitutes 42% of the total EPI score, and comprises six issue categories: Biodiversity & Habitat, Ecosystem Services, Fisheries, Acid Rain, Agriculture, and Water Resources. Source: Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy – https://epi.yale.edu/epi-results/2022/component/epi
7. *EPI Biodiversity and Habitat*. A sub-index of the EPI index, summarizing countries' actions toward retaining natural ecosystems and protecting the full range of biodiversity within their borders, comprising seven indicators: terrestrial biome protection, marine protected areas, Protected Areas Representativeness Index, Species Habitat Index, Species Protection Index, and Biodiversity Habitat Index. Source: Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy – https://epi.yale.edu/epi-results/2022/component/epi
8. *Air Quality*. Annual average PM2.5 concentration (μg/m³). Higher scores indicate worse air quality. Source: IQ Air – https://www.iqair.com/us/world-most-polluted-countries
9. *Air Pollution*. PM2.5 mean annual exposure (micrograms per cubic meter). Source: World Bank – https://databank.worldbank.org/metadataglossary/world-development-indicators/series/EN.ATM.PM25.MC.M3
10. *CO2 Emissions*. Emissions in metric tons per capita. Source: World Bank (credited to Climate Watch) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.ATM.CO2E.PC
11. *Renewable Energy Consumption*. The percentage of renewable energy in total final energy consumption. Source: World Bank (credited to various sources) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EG.FEC.RNEW.ZS

A2.2 Population

We selected 7 variables pertaining to population, as follows:

1. *Population*. Total number of people living in a country. Source: World Bank (credited to United Nations Population Division and other sources) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL
2. *Population Growth*. Annual percentage growth (with rate for year t being the exponential rate of growth of midyear population from year t-1 to t). Source: World Bank (credited to United Nations Population Division and other sources) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.GROW
3. *Population Density*. People per square kilometre of land area. Source: World Bank (credited to Food and Agriculture Organization and World Bank population estimates) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.POP.DNST

4. *Population Aged 0-14*. Percentage of the total population. Source: World Bank (credited to United Nations Population Division) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.0014.TO.ZS
5. *Population Aged 15-64*. Percentage of the total population. Source: World Bank (credited to United Nations Population Division) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.1564.TO.ZS
6. *Population Aged 65+*. Percentage of the total population. Source: World Bank (credited to United Nations Population Division) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.65UP.TO.ZS
7. *Net Migration*. Net total of migrants during the period (i.e., number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants). Source: World Bank (credited to United Nations Population Division) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SM.POP.NETM

A2.3 Economics

We selected 7 variables pertaining to economics, as follows:

1. *Gross Domestic Product (GDP)*. The sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products, expressed in US$. Source: World Bank – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD
2. *GDP Per Capita*. GDP divided by midyear population, expressed in US$. Source: World Bank – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD
3. *GDP Growth*. Annual percentage growth rate of GDP at market prices based on constant local currency. Source: World Bank –https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG
4. *Gini Index*. A measure of income distribution, expressed as a percentage; the greater the number, the greater the gap between the incomes of a country's richest and poorest people. Source: World Population Review (credited to CIA World Factbook, World Bank Income Inequality, and Our World in Data) – https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/gini-coefficient-by-country
5. *Human Development Index*. Summarizing three key dimensions of human development: health (life expectancy at birth); education (mean of years of schooling for adults aged 25 years and more, and expected years of schooling for children of school entering age), and standard of living (gross national income per capita, calculated as a logarithm to reflect the diminishing importance of income with increasing GNI). Source: United Nations Development Program – https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/human-development-index#/indicies/HDI
6. *Prosperity Index*. The Legatum Prosperity Index ranks 167 of the world's countries and territories across 104 different variables in twelve categories including health, education, personal freedoms, safety and security, and the business environment. Source – https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/legatum-prosperity-index
7. *Unemployment*. Percentage of total labour force. Source: World Bank (credited to International Labour Organization) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS

A2.4 Health

We selected 11 variables pertaining to health, as follows:

1. *Life Expectancy at Birth*. The number of years a newborn infant would live if prevailing patterns of mortality at the time of its birth were to stay the same throughout its life. Source: World Bank (credited to United Nations Population Division) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN
2. *Birth Rate*. The number of live births occurring during the year, per 1,000 population estimated at midyear. Source: World Bank (credited to United Nations Population Division) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.CBRT.IN
3. *Adolescent Fertility Rate*. The number of births per 1,000 women ages 15-19. Source: World Bank (credited to United Nations Population Division) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.ADO.TFRT

4. *Maternal Mortality Ratio*. The number of women who die from pregnancy-related causes while pregnant or within 42 days of pregnancy termination per 100,000 live births. Source: World Bank (credited to WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, World Bank Group, and the United Nations Population Division) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.STA.MMRT
5. *Mortality Rate (Under-5s)*. The probability per 1,000 that a newborn baby will die before reaching age five, if subject to age-specific mortality rates of the specified year. Source: World Bank (credited to UN Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.DYN.MORT
6. *Death Rate*. The number of deaths occurring during the year, per 1,000 population estimated at midyear. Source: World Bank (credited to United Nations Population Division) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.CDRT.IN
7. *Incidence of Tuberculosis*. The estimated number of new and relapse tuberculosis cases arising in a given year, expressed as the rate per 100,000 population. Source: World Bank (credited to WHO) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.TBS.INCD
8. *Prevalence of Diabetes*. The percentage of people ages 20-79 who have type 1 or type 2 diabetes. Source: World Bank (credited to International Diabetes Federation) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.STA.DIAB.ZS
9. *Prevalence of Undernourishment*. The percentage of the population whose habitual food consumption is insufficient to provide the dietary energy levels that are required to maintain a normal active and healthy life. Source: World Bank (credited to Food and Agriculture Organization) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SN.ITK.DEFC.ZS
10. *Healthcare Spending Per Capita*. Current expenditures on health per capita in current US$. Source: World Bank (credited to WHO) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.CHEX.PC.CD
11. *Healthcare Spending*. Level of current health expenditure expressed as a percentage of GDP. Source: World Bank (credited to WHO) –https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.CHEX.GD.ZS

A2.5 Education

We selected 6 variables pertaining to education, as follows:

1. *Government Expenditure*. General government expenditure on education (current, capital, and transfers) is expressed as a percentage of GDP. Source: World Bank (credited to UNESCO Institute for Statistics) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS
2. *Expected Years of Schooling*. Number of years a child of school entrance age is expected to spend in the education system. Source: United Nations Development Program – https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/human-development-index#/indicies/HDI
3. *Mean Years of Schooling*. Average number of completed years of education of a country's population aged 25 years and older. Source: United Nations Development Program – https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/human-development-index#/indicies/HDI
4. *School Enrolment (Primary)*. The ratio of total enrolment, regardless of age, to the population of the age group that officially corresponds to the level of education shown. Source: World Bank (credited to UNESCO Institute for Statistics) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.ENRR
5. *Primary Completion Rate*. The number of new entrants (enrolments minus repeaters) in the last grade of primary education, regardless of age, divided by the population at the entrance age for the last grade of primary education. Source: World Bank (credited to UNESCO Institute for Statistics) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.CMPT.ZS
6. *School Enrolment (Tertiary)*. The ratio of total enrolment, regardless of age, to the population of the age group that officially corresponds to the level of education shown. Source: World Bank (credited to UNESCO Institute for Statistics) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.TER.ENRR

A2.6 Culture and Society

We selected 7 variables pertaining to culture and society, as follows:

1. *Gender Equality Index*. The Global Gender Gap Index summarizes the extent of gender-based gaps among four key dimensions (economic participation and opportunity; educational attainment; health and survival; and political empowerment), giving each country a ranking between 0 and 1 (lowest to highest possible gender equality). Source: World Economic Forum – https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2022/
2. *Incarceration Rate*. Number of people incarcerated per 100,000 population. Source: World Population Review (credited to various sources) – https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/incarceration-rates-by-country
3. *Intentional Homicide Rate*. Estimates of unlawful homicides per 100,000 population. Source: World Bank (credited to UN Office on Drugs and Crime) – https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/VC.IHR.PSRC.P5
4. *Safety and security*. One category of the Legatum Prosperity Index, focusing on the impact on war, terror, conflict, and crime on individuals' overall security in both the short and long term. Source : World Population Review (credited from Legatum) – https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/legatum-prosperity-index
5. *Personal Freedom*. One category of the Legatum Prosperity Index, focusing on basic legal rights, individual liberties, and social tolerance within a country's society and legal system. Source : World Population Review (credited from Legatum) – https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/legatum-prosperity-index
6. *Social Capital Index*. A sub-index of the Global Sustainable Competitiveness Index, summarizing the social stability and wellbeing of the entire population, involving 15 indicators grouped into five categories: health; equality; crime; freedom; and satisfaction. Source: Solability – https://solability.com/the-global-sustainable-competitiveness-index/the-index/social-capital/
7. *Corruption Perception Index*. Summarizes countries by their perceived levels of public sector corruption on a scale of 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean). Source: Transparency International – https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2022