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Recipes for Happiness: a Proposal for Analysing the Moral Orientation of Actions and Emotions*

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ABSTRACT
This paper draws up a proposal for analysing discourses on paths to happiness. Recipes promoted by the happiness industry are studied as moral guidelines for social action: imperative messages spread through the Internet seek to guide their recipients in their quest for happiness. In a field dominated by positive psychology, we approach happiness from a sociological perspective, which is to say as: an institutionalised social discourse; a form of social production; a socially-framed emotion. Research is based on systematic Internet observation and on quantitative and qualitative textual analysis procedures. We show how digital media in the 'happiness' field: (a) promotes

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recipes; (b) provides scientific legitimation for said recipes; (c) focuses on a generic individual as the recipient of the messages and as protagonist. A typology is proposed based on the meaning, nature and object of the actions that lead to happiness. Results show how recipes involve normative and moral orientations of actions and emotions: they indicate what to do and how to think and feel to be happy. Happiness as a moral obligation involves most concerns shaping the agenda of contemporary societies, with a strong emphasis on individualism and on a utilitarian understanding of social relations and the social environment.

Keywords: happiness, emotions, social norms, social behaviour, rules of feelings, morality.

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This paper proposes a method for analysing happiness as the social discourse stemming from the so-called "happiness industry" (Davies, 2015; Whippman, 2016; Cabanas and Illouz, 2019). Over the last few decades, this production space has spawned a common social representation of happiness as a goal that lies within the grasp of individuals, organisations, States, and for societies in global terms (Diener, 2000; Seligman, 2002; Bok, 2010). One scientific field in particular, Positive Psychology (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi, 2000), has spawned a huge body of literature on the quest for happiness (Lyubomirsky, Sheldon and Schkade, 2005a; Tkach and Lyubomirsky, 2006; Kesebir and Diener, 2008) in general and on the causes of happiness in particular (Seligman, 2002, Layard, 2005; Lyubomirsky, King and Diener 2005b; Lyubomirsky, 2008; Caunt, Franklin, Brodaty, N., and Brodaty, H., 2013; Delle Fave *et al*., 2016; Schiota, Campos, Oveis, Hertenstein, Simon-Thomas and Keltner 2017; Bubic and Erceg, 2018). Although some research addresses the issue from physiological, neuronal and cognitive standpoints (Sauter and Scott, 2007; Berridge and Kringelbach, 2013; Hofmann, Platt and Willibald 2017; Sauter and Fischer, 2018), the most common perspective starts from subjective evaluation of individual experience, mainly through happiness indicators (Diener, 2000; Tkach and Lyubomirsky, 2006; Bok, 2010; Weimann, Knabe and Schöb, 2015; Schiota *et al*., 2017). Among the various products of the happiness industry, we delve into a specific kind of message spread through global digital channels, namely "recipes for happiness". Such messages are spread through the Internet by popular digital media, health and psychology magazines, web pages, company and professional blogs, and through social networks. These recipes follow a formula as the following titles reveal: "9 Keys to Lasting Happiness"; "10 Habits of Incredibly Happy People"; "10 Simple Lifestyle Changes for Greater Happiness".[1] They all have a common structure, namely: a set number of vital ingredients, a 'cooking method' or explanatory text fleshing out each ingredient, some social actors formulating the recipe, and a discourse justifying and legitimating the magic formula. Setting out the 'vital ingredients' endows the formula with an obligatory nature, making the reader interpret the recipe as strict rules (Hochschild, 1979; 1983) or as normative propositions that guide behaviour and feelings (Goffman, 1963; 1967). To these are added norms constituting a kind of collective moral conscience

1 All the texts cited from our empirical evidence were in English.

(Collins, 2004). We argue that the message produced by the happiness industry may contain a certain interpretation of contemporary social life, placing the achievement of happiness as a fundamental goal "in the lives of human beings" (United Nations, 2012), as well as an objectifiable emotional purpose resulting from scientifically legitimised processes.

We first draw up an approach for analysing these social discourses. The subject material was provided by the texts contained in a set of recipes for happiness, and was garnered from systematic observation on the Internet. After setting out the research process and highlighting the main promoters, legitimators and recipients of the messages, we examine both our findings and the literature to put forward a typology of the actions and emotions paving the paths to happiness that are charted for and targeted at a global audience.

HAPPINESS AS A SOCIAL DISCOURSE

Approaching happiness as an institutionalised social discourse in contemporary societies implies a two-pronged approach that both creates discourse through scientific contributions led by Positive Psychology and that considers sociological interpretations of the 'happiness industry's' output. The contributions made by Positive Psychology in sustaining this industry go beyond the philosophical distinction between a hedonistic dimension (understood as pleasure) and a eudaemonic dimension (which comprises a deeper, more lasting experiential state) (Pawelski, 2013). Most recent research studies delving into the causes of and paths to happiness seek to define the phenomenon through practice, highlighting a wide range of interactional factors that include and combine many kinds of happiness. However there is no consensus on the causes of happiness but rather a host of proposals based on leading authors such as Diener (2000), Seligman (2002), and Lyubomirsky (2008). These coincide in a model based on three major factors: (1) a personal starting point that includes previous traits and predispositions — genetics and personality traits; (2) a series of life circumstances and stable socio-demographic factors — being married, religion, level of health and/or wealth; (3) factors that the individual can control at will, including everything that a person thinks and does to be happy (Lyubomirsky *et al*., 2005a). Kesebir and Diener (2008) add to the formula by giving weight to friendship and social relationships in achieving happiness. Weight is also given to love in some studies — a factor that is closely linked to the same social relationships (Rodríguez, Condom Bosch, Marín and Yter, 2017a).

Among all the possible causes of happiness (on which there is mixed evidence) (Delle Fave *et al*., 2016; Schiota *et al*., 2017), the schemes with general explanatory power are articulated to different degrees by contextual aspects, circumstantial factors, and will and action. This can be seen in the literature: thus, Tkach and Lyubomirsky (2006) stress the centrality of thought and action for happiness, relativising the impact of the individual's previous traits and circumstances. They indicate eight action strategies covering a broad list of factors (positive or negative, depending on individual experience) influencing happiness. The categories are: (1) social membership, which involves relationships and social skills; (2) party-going and hedonistic behaviours, ranging from dancing and having fun with friends to consuming drugs and alcohol; (3) mind control, which involves thinking activities: reflecting on what makes one happy/unhappy, accepting life as it is, ignoring its negative side; (4) the pursuit of instrumental, training, professional or other life goals; (5) passive leisure, which includes reading, sleeping, singing or watching television; (6) active leisure, which involves physical activity and personal effort; (7) religion, both in terms of beliefs and practices; (8) direct actions, including laughing, showing a willingness to be happy, and acting accordingly.

Caunt *et al*. (2013) take a different tack from Tkach and Lyubomirsky's broad, voluntarist view (2006) of happiness and instead stress the dimensions of personality, life circumstances, and social relationships. While they distinguish between three broad kinds of

individual activities: behavioural (physical, meditation, social), cognitive (gratitude, forgiveness, optimism, faith) and volitional (goals, hope and meaning of life), this comes in second place. Third, they add a time frame by differentiating between initial aspects and elements that result from the action. Their system of dimensions and categories includes: (1) Personality, which includes optimism and self-esteem; (2) Social Relationships, which involve family, friends, partner and the closest community; (3) Circumstances, involving initial situations such as religion, wealth, money, work and health, and those arising from action such as education, safety and mental health; (4) Initial Behavioural Activities — physical activity and meditation — and new ones — hobbies and interests, travel, relaxation, nature, humour, laughter, good food; (5) Initial Cognitive Activities — forgiveness, gratitude — and new ones — social values, philosophy of life; (6) Volitional Activities, which imply life goals, hope and the meaning of life. All the categories appear at significant levels as components of happiness, yet great weight is given to social relationships, new actions and circumstantial aspects. Finally, in a more recent study, Flores-Kanter, Muñoz-Navarro and Medrano (2018) identify a series of central terms in their sample on individuals' conception of happiness, which also involves actions, circumstances and social relationships. In descending order, these terms are: love; family; friendship; joy; pleasure; health; peace; solidarity; personal growth; company; travel; work; freedom; optimism; recreation. Here, one should note that their approach does not involve assigning dimensions and categories,

From a sociological perspective, one needs to make a critical reading of Positive Psychology's contributions to the literature on happiness. Without denying the value of delving into the causes of happiness and measuring its impact (Seligman, 2002; Lyubomirsky *et al*., 2005a; Tkach and Lyubomirsky, 2006; Kesebir and Diener, 2008; Caunt *et al*., 2013; Delle Fave *et al*., 2016; Flores-Kanter *et al*., 2018), swift advances in this academic field (Rodríguez, Yter and Arroyo, 2016) and its social influence can also be analysed as a set of messages of a performative nature that spawned an industry (Davies, 2015; Whippman, 2016; Cabanas and Illouz, 2019). These messages (which enshrine values and definitions of individual happiness) constitute a discourse on what is socially desirable (Mckenzie, 2016 and 2018; Bericat, 2018). This look at happiness as an institutionalised discourse lets us situate it as a social production, or more specifically as a socially-framed emotion (Turner, 2010; von Scheve and Ismer, 2013; Bericat, 2016 and 2018; Goldman, 2017; Salmelay Nagatsu, 2017; Olson *et al*., 2017) both at institutional levels and in the interaction between individuals (Turner, 2010). From this discursive perspective, happiness can be analysed as a collective emotion insofar as it mirrors an individual's present concerns (Salmela and Nagatsu, 2017) and his wish to be happy now — (Mckenzie, 2018) and as a social process (von Scheve and Ismer, 2013; Goldman, 2017; Bericat, 2018; Mckenzie, 2018) stemming from his interaction with others (Turner, 2010; Burkitt, 2016).

This notion is clearly supported by Hochschild's (1979; 1983) approach to emotions that holds that we find normative and moral elements in emotions, which constitute socially-produced rules on feelings. This is similar to Goffman's approach (1963; 1967) and Collins' Micro-Sociology of Interaction (2004), which consider this emotional universe as forging a collective moral conscience. Under this perspective, discourses on how to attain happiness and the recipes they foster enshrine a constructed emotion guiding the individual's social practices and behaviours.

METHODOLOGY: DISCOVERING THE RECIPES FOR HAPPINESS

Our analysis is based on the identification of 75 English-language recipes for happiness drawn from a broader observation of 914 web pages bearing on the happiness industry and taken from a broad series of searches, conducted in 2017. These searches included the word 'happiness' along with similar terms. For this purpose, we used the Google search

engine (given its global market dominance[2]), and followed an anonymity protocol to limit its biases. For this purpose, we used the same previously formatted computer, browsing in incognito mode, without links to any e-mail account and wiping cookies and history after searching. The first 10 results were taken for each search, weeding out repetitions and discarding those cases lacking any link to the subject. Each web page was used to fill in a questionnaire to gather data on: organisational forms; productive sectors; definitions of happiness; motivations for happiness; referential and legitimating authorities; subjects taking actions; products and services offered; the textual content, links and images of the pages. This information also included the media, the fields of knowledge, the messages recipients, those carrying out the actions, and a full list of each recipe's ingredients.

Most recipes have between 5 and 10 ingredients, with anything between a single ingredient for the simplest recipe to 29 for the most complicated one. The total number of ingredients collected was 639 and the average per recipe was 8.52, with 7 ingredients being the commonest value. Let's look at a typical example:

- Recipe: "The Happiness Lifestyle: Why It's Not All In Your Head" *Goalcast*, May 19, 2017.[3]
- Ingredients: (1) "Exercise"; (2) "Social contact"; (3) "Omega-3 fatty acids"; (4) "Good sleep hygiene"; (5) "Sunlight"; (6) "Concentrate your mind on something external to yourself."
- "Cooking method" or explanatory text (stress added):

> We all know that exercise is good, but many of us don't realise how physical activity affects our brain chemistry, and by extension, our moods, mental clarity, energy, motivation, and long-term health. Physical activity has been shown to alter the body and mind more effectively than any pill you can take. Physical activity, according to Ilardi, is "literally medicine" and yet many of us find it difficult to make it part of our lives.
>
> It shouldn't be a fight. If the gym isn't for you, try yoga. If yoga doesn't appeal to you, start biking everywhere, or even just go for long walks. Whatever the activity, find one that appeals to you and makes you want to integrate it into your weekly routine. Choose a form of physical activity that is social and helpful rather than running alone on a treadmill and getting nowhere, for example it can help you stop thinking of it as "exercise" and find joy in the activity itself. Exercise is powerful medicine, says Stephen Ilardi [Professor of Psychology at The University of Kansas].

Both qualitative and quantitative methodological text analysis and text-mining were carried out (Breiger, Wagner-Pacifici and Mohr, 2018). Once the information had been gathered, the text was coded and transformed into multi-response nominal variables using the IBM SPSS Statistics 24 programme, which helped with the descriptive analysis the construction of empirical groupings.

The qualitative analysis involved dimensionalisation and categorisation of recipes and ingredients with procedures rooted in Grounded Theory (Corbin and Strauss, 2015; Trinidad, Carrero and Soriano, 2006). This yielded deeper analysis of meanings in an open coding process, letting us identify central categories in the discourse system. We then defined alternative axial dimensions that were used together with the theory to come up with items for analysis.

RESULTS: KEYS TO ANALYSIS OF RECIPES FOR HAPPINESS

In presenting our proposal, we first contextualise the specific product of the recipes by characterising the main web pages used for spreading them. Next, we analyse the Legitimating mechanisms, among which science and the identification of experts stand out, especially in the field of North American Positive

2 In 2017, Google market share of global searches exceeded 80%. Source: https://netmarketshare.com/

3 https://www.goalcast.com/2017/05/19/life-of-happiness-why-its-not-all-in-your-head/ , consulted 27th March 2019.

Psychology. We show the clearly individualistic conception of responsibility for one's actions underlying the messages. We end by putting forward an analytical typology for grasping the discourses behind the recipes, which serve as moral guidelines to action and emotions in contemporary societies.

Dissemination channels of recipes for happiness

Most of the recipes for happiness in our study come from four types of broadcast channel. Of these recipes, 36% comes from digital information media, whether they be digital newspapers (22%) — such as The Huffington Post, Time, The Observer, Forbes — or psychology and health magazines (15%) such as *Psychology Today, Men's Health, and Spirituality & Health* (Table 1).

Table 1 Types of entities to which web pages belong

Main entity	Freq.	%
Virtual community	24	32 %
Digital newspaper	16	22 %
Influencer or expert	12	16 %
Magazine	11	15 %
Company	4	5 %
Association	2	3 %
Foundation	2	3 %
University	1	1 %
Web contents	1	1 %
Non-profit organisation	1	1 %
Unknown	1	1 %
Total	**75**	**100 %**

Source: Authors.

The other two main dissemination channels are collective and individual social actors, who present their visions of how to achieve happiness. These actors can be virtual communities (32%), that is, organisations or groups that collaborate in thematic web pages, usually bearing on emotional, self-help or personal growth issues. *Goalcast*[4], *Authentic Growth*[5] and *Action for Happiness*[6] are just a few examples of these. They are also pages run by what we call "influencers or experts" (16%): well-known people or experts in the field who share content through their individual web sites. Included here are pages that range from Oprah Winfrey's[7] web site to that of coach Gary van Warmerdam's personal *Pathways to Happiness*[8] page.

Legitimating mechanism: the science of happiness

Dissemination of recipes for happiness through these channels needs to be given legitimacy if they are to be effective calls to action. Appealing to Science is the main way chosen to confer this legitimacy (Table 2). That is why the recipes are seldom dreamt up by journalists (a single case) or by professionals pushing a product (for example, a nutritionist or a happiness expert with no other credentials). Instead, the main technique used to plug the recipes rests on the objectification of knowledge.

Science appears explicitly as a legitimating element in 90% of the recipes. Furthermore, there is a generic appeal to research or science in general (31 cases), the dominant specialty being Psychology (29 references), with hardly any express reference to the specific field of Positive Psychology (a single case), coming ahead of the other Social Sciences (4 references), Medicine (2 references) and Philosophy (2 references). Appeals to other channels, such as quotations from authors and their books, occur in 22% of cases, mostly in tandem with references to Science.

Scientific legitimation includes a second dimension: dropping the names of individuals or experts whose

4 https://www.goalcast.com/, consulted 27th March 2019.

5 https://www.authenticgrowth.com/, consulted 27th March 2019.

6 https://www.actionforhappiness.org/, consulted 27th March 2019.

7 http://www.oprah.com , consulted 27th March 2019.

8 https://www.pathwaytohappiness.com/ , consulted 27th March 2019.

Table 2 **Legitimating fields for the happiness recipes**

General legitimation	Scientific field	Speciality	Fr.	%	% Cases
Science			**68**	**76 %**	**90 %**
	Science (general)	Research (general)	23	26 %	31 %
		Science (general)	5	6 %	7 %
		Scientific - PhD	3	3 %	4 %
	Psychology	Psychology (general)	27	31 %	36 %
		Positive Psychology	1	1 %	1 %
		Neuro-Science	1	1 %	1 %
	Medical specialties	Psychiatry	1	1 %	1 %
		Medicine	1	1 %	1 %
	Social Sciences	Social Sciences (general)	2	2 %	3 %
		Economics	1	1 %	1 %
		Behavioural Science	1	1 %	1 %
	Philosophy	Philosophy	2	2 %	3 %
Dissemination			**16**	**18 %**	**22 %**
		Author	14	16 %	19 %
		Book	2	2 %	3 %
Business activities			**5**	**5 %**	**5 %**
		Consultancy	1	1 %	1 %
		Happiness Expert	1	1 %	1 %
		Journalism	1	1 %	1 %
		Business	1	1 %	1 %
		Nutrition	1	1 %	1 %
Other legitimation		Shogun	**1**	**1 %**	**1 %**
Grand Totals			**90**	**100 %**	

Source: Authors.

career paths, works or contributions to the 'happiness field' give credence to the recipes. The references are very varied because it is a field in which there is a group of people who have made a name for themselves rather than any clear leaders. This group includes people such as Dan Gilbert, Professor of Psychology at Harvard (4 cases), Elizabeth Dunn, Professor of Psychology at The University of British Columbia (4 cases), Michael Norton, Professor at Harvard Business School (4 cases), Martin Seligman, Professor of Psychology at The University of Pennsylvania (3 cases), and Sonja Lyubomirsky, Professor of Psychology at The University of California Riverside (2 cases), in a long list of the leading lights in American academic Psychology (especially in Positive Psychology) and in scientific and social outreach. The appeal is thus to a well- consolidated, highly influential base of scientific knowledge. Many of the authorities cited, apart from being renowned academics, are also authors of happiness and self-help bestsellers, and regularly giving

talks and appear in the media and social networks. This knowledge is endorsed by leading scientific institutions, providing strong justification for most of the following recipes (we have added underlining to stress this link):

> According to Dan Gilbert, Professor of Psychology at Harvard University and author of *Stumbling on Happiness*, the key is to spend one's money on experiences rather than on material things. Material things, while dear and highly desired, tend to lose their lustre quickly in both literal and figurative terms. Memories of people, places, and activities, however, never grow old. In a survey, Gilbert found that 57% of the respondents reported greater happiness after an experiential purchase. Only 34% said the same about a material purchase (White, October 29, 2014)

> As the author of *Happy Money: The Science of Happier Spending*, Professor Elizabeth Dunn suggests: Don't buy a slightly fancier car just to get heated seats during your two-hour commute to work. Buy a house close to work so you can use that last hour of daylight to play ball in the park with your kids. A study from the University of Zurich stated this, mentioning that a 40% increase would be needed to counteract the added sadness of a one-hour commute (Tony Robbins, n.d.)

> In one study, Martin Seligman, a Psychologist at The University of Pennsylvania, categorised hundreds of people into three groups based on how they sought happiness: a pleasant life […]; a committed life […]; a life with meaning […]. Seligman found that people who sought a pleasant life experienced little happiness, while those who sought a meaningful life and committed life were very happy (Bradberry, 15th February 2017).

These examples show how credence is lent to the recipes for happiness flogged to the general public by stressing that the knowledge is based on scientific enquiry and is endorsed by leading universities. Such solid legitimation strengthens the recipes as guides to social action and in shaping the target audience's emotions.

Messages targeted at the individual

The vast majority of messages target a single but generic individual forming part of the general population, with no notable differences regarding status, profession, age or gender (Table 3). Only a

Table 3 Recipient, objective and person responsible for the action

Message recipient	Freq.	%	Target audience	Freq.	%	Protagonist	Freq.	%
Individual	69	93 %	General Public	66	89 %	Individual	68	92 %
Older person	2	3 %	Businessmen	3	4 %	Unknown	2	3 %
Business	1	1 %	Men	2	3 %	Society	1	1 %
Society	1	1 %	People with health problems	1	1 %	Parents	1	1 %
Children	1	1 %	Psychologists	1	1 %	Family	1	1 %
Government	1	1 %	Women	1	1 %	The State	1	1 %
Totals	75	100 %	Parents	1	1 %	Businessmen	1	1 %
			Totals	75	100 %	**Totals**	75	100 %

Source: Authors.

small group of recipes target particular individuals and groups.

This generic individual is made responsible for his actions, which affect both him and others. The moralising nature of the discourse is thus strengthened, offering just one chance of achieving happiness. All the paths proposed to that end must (save in highly specific cases) yield the same results for everyone regardless of their station in life. On the other hand, the individual is identified as being actively responsible for his own happiness. Reaching this goal depends on the individual acting as he should. Those who fail to stick to the recipe are doomed to stay miserable.

The content: towards a typology of actions for happiness

One would expect a strong match between the recipes and the literature on the causes of happiness given the way the main authors of Positive Psychology are used to legitimise the approaches advocated (Seligman, 2002; Tkach and Lyubomirsky, 2006; Caunt *et al.*, 2013; Delle Fave *et al.*, 2016; Flores-Kanter *et al.*, 2018). However, the set covers a host of diverse facts and proposals for action. The number of combinations is bewildering — something that reflects: (a) the lack of consensus on scientific proposals, and (b) the process whereby academic knowledge is trivialised and packaged into a product that is pitched at a mass, global audience.

Let us look at an example: "10 simple lifestyle changes for greater happiness" (Slavko Desik, n.d.). Its ingredients are: (1) "Exercise"; (2) "Laughter"; (3) "Have a good night's sleep"; (4) "Feel the light of day"; (5) "Get in tune with your senses"; (6) "Move more, think less"; (7) "Go out with friends"; (8) "Experiment with smell"; (9) "Get a massage"; (10) "Enjoy the moment". At first glance, we can see varied proposals as imperatives of action on: the body (1, 3, 6 and 9); the mind (5, 6); the senses (5, 8); social relationships (7); nature (4); enjoyment of life (2, 10).

Consider another example: "The psychology of happiness: 7 rituals for a happy life" (James, n.d.). The ingredients are: (1) "Practice meditation"; (2) "Be grateful"; (3) "Cultivate your physical well-being"; (4) "Do what you love"; (5) "Spend money on experiences, not things"; (6) "Surround yourself with happy people"; (7) "Find your flow". The same focus is reproduced on: the body and physical well-being (3); the workings of the mind (1, 7); relationships and social behaviours (2, 6), and new possibilities for analysis emerge, such as self-realisation (4 and 7) and an idea that is absent from the literature: buy, consume, spend (5), even appealing to "post-materialist" consumption patterns (Inglehart, 2007). In addition, we find an exhortation (5) to refrain from acting in a certain way in the pursuit of happiness.

After systematically observing the 639 recipe ingredients in our sample, we drew up proposed dimensions covering the nature, the meaning, and the object of the action. First, we drew a distinction between proposals for external actions carried out by the individual and internal evaluations, thoughts or changes in attitude. Regarding the meaning of the actions advocated, most of them cover self-realisation. The advice on what one should avoid doing in order to attain happiness stands out. Last but not least, we placed the object of the individual's action in relation to him and his social relationships. Looking at the individual involves two aspects: actions linked to the body (external and visible), and actions bearing on 'the inner man' (the mind, thought, or consciousness). In Table 4 we give some examples of the resulting dimensions.

The first distinction between actions and attitudes can be analysed in Goffman's terms (1967) under the metaphor of the scene and the backstage: actions would be the socially visible face of the moral framework of the individual within society that urges him to seek happiness. Attitudes would refer to the structures of meaning that frame the individual's actions in his quest for happiness. Action can also be seen as the ritual for achieving happiness, enshrining certain attitudes and beliefs (Rodríguez, Mohr and Halcomb, 2017b). It can also be analysed in Bourdieu's terms (1994), under the dichotomy

Table 4 **Proposed dimensions**

		Body	Mind	Social Relationships
Actions	Realisation	"Exercise"; "Sleep"; "Stay Active"; "Go dancing"; "Go walking in the country"	"Meditate"; "Make your dreams come true"; "Count your blessings"; "Train your brain"; "Take pleasure in small doses"	"Show gratitude"; "Mix with happy people"; "Play with friends"; "Spend money on others"
	Abstention	"Don't do anything illegal"; "Don't spend more than you earn"	"Don't waste time feeling jealous"; "Don't link happiness with external events"	"Don't be promiscuous"; "Don't use friendliness as a weapon"
Attitudes	Realisation	"Stay healthy"; "Soak up the sun"	"Live life to the fullest"; "Focus more on the moment"	"Think of others"; "Feel love and compassion for others most of the time"
		"Stop chasing things such as fame and money"; "Stop seeing dollar signs"	"Don't think about things that make you sad"; "Don't chase happiness"	"Don't worry about others' views"; "Don't be frightened of showing your feelings to others"

Source: Authors.

between structure and agency. Here, actions would be the socially visible part of subjects' behaviour, structurally marked by the limits of the social field of happiness, whereas attitudes would configure the *habitus* towards happiness. Thus the recipes contain the society's own discourse that building happiness as key life goal, an emotional goal, and is a normative, moral guide to behaviour.

One can also readily see the normative intent behind the recipes in the exhortations to take certain actions and to abstain from others (especially the latter), based on the moral distinction between good and evil. On the one hand, one is offered many paths of thought and action to achieve happiness. On the other hand, there is a series of prohibitions, including not breaking the law but that mainly dwell on 'negative' values and actions (jealousy, envy, greed, passing judgement on others).

The object of the action is something that is shared between the individual and his social relationships. On the one hand, the body/mind dichotomy represents a form of agency with socially-determined modes of interaction on the path to happiness, and a structurally- conditioned form of introspection (Burkitt, 2016). The purpose of the guided introspection is make individuals aware of the society in which they live, getting them to act morally, to think deeply about who they are, and to become resilient and competitive. What is put over in the process is a beefed-up version of contemporary individualism (von Scheve *et al.*, 2016) While individuals may also achieve happiness in their social relationships in the process, the results are always strictly measured in terms of their individual impact.

The specific actions suggested in the recipes for happiness are very diverse and cover a much wider range than that dealt with in the academic literature.

Table 5 below sets out our classification system, comprising 13 categories of meanings grouping the most relevant kinds of actions and attitudes:

Table 5 Proposed categories

Categories	Dominant dimension	Examples of ingredients taken from different recipes
1 Relationships and social behaviours	Action on social relations	"Connect with others. Invest in relationships with family members, friends, work colleagues, neighbours"; "Do things for others"; "Inspire others"; "Do good deeds"; "Show gratitude"; "Support your family in times of need"; "Spend time with friends"
2 Eating and drinking	Action on one's body	"Eat oranges"; "Eat blue potatoes" [Adirondack Blue (*Solanum tuberosum*), a potato variety pioneered by Cornell University]; "Drink red wine"; "Drink coffee (two or three cups of caffinated coffee"; "Help your body by eating more nutritional food"
3 Body		"Keep active"; "Exercise"; "Have a massage"; "Walk"; "Sleep"
4 Nature		"Find your natural side"; "Walk in the country"; "Take a walk in the park"; "Get into a natural rhythm"
5. Salud	Action on one's mind and body	"Good health"; "Take care of your physical and mental health"; "Stay healthy"
6. Comprar		"Buy back your time"; "Use your money to secure your future"; "Buy what you like"; "Buy experiences rather than possessions"
7 Life management and organisation	Action on one's mind	"Work is work and that is what you get paid for"; "Wean yourself off social networks"
8 Mental exercise		"Meditate"; "Slow down so that you can enjoy life's pleasures"; "Mindfulness"
9 Mental management	Attitudes to and actions on one's mind	"Be hopeful"; "Ditch the spiral of negative thoughts"; "Seek positive emotions to pave your way to success"; "Always expect happiness"
10 Self-fulfilment		"Spin your own story about yourself"; "Know thyself"; "Learn to love yourself"; "Don't link happiness to external events"; "Shoulder responsibility for your life"; "Set a day just for yourself"
11 Enjoyment		"Enjoy every moment"; "Laugh"; "Sex"; "Listen to music"; "Indulge in pleasurable rituals"
12 Economic behaviour		"Remember to save for the future"; "Those who grasp interest earn more than they pay"; "Make more money than your colleagues"; "Don't spend more than you make"; "Money is not everything"
13 Religion and spirituality		"Read a religious or spiritual book, or attend Mass every day"; "Be spiritually connected"; "Show spiritual commitment and discover meaning"

Source: Authors

Most of these actions and attitudes coincide with the categories found in Positive Psychology's proposals: social relationships and behaviours; actions on the body; health; religious practice and beliefs; enjoyment; the self-realisation of the individual; mental management; exercise (Tkach and Lyubomirsky, 2006; Caunt *et al*., 2013). However, our study also highlights aspects that are often given little weight in those typologies, such as: eating and drinking; contact with nature; financial guidelines and, above all, shopping.

Although healthy eating is included in Caunt *et al*. (2013), this is subsumed in behavioural activities. Tkach and Lyubomirsky (2016) only mention alcohol as something that some religions forbid. On the other hand, eating and drinking feature prominently in the global recipes for happiness. In fact, these subjects had the highest counts for specific ingredient stories. The 'recipes', in addition to stressing the moral value of healthy eating, also go into all kinds of foods and beverages that lead to happiness, including wine and coffee.

Nature is another thing that does not appear in academic typologies of paths to happiness. Yet in recipes it is waxing fast. The explanation lies both in the fact that environmental awareness has become a hot issue in modern society, and in typologies based on individuals' introspection, not on social discourses. As a result, the discourse on the environment and nature is in full swing, which is why these issues feature prominently in the recipes for happiness.

The recipes call for financially responsible behaviour, which involves making money, being competitive, and saving. This is a category liberally sprinkled with prohibitions: not spending more than what one earns, and not coveting the money/wealth of others. However, a fundamental idea is that happiness is a market good and one that can be bought. This is an open invitation to "post-materialist" consumption (Inglehart, 2007) in which the individual can buy time, security, and experience. In reality, the proposal is fully in line with the context of the happiness industry for it is presented as an object that is not only measurable and achievable but also one that is objectifiable in a way that makes it readily definable, attainable, and consumable. Indeed, such consumption is — so goes the discourse — vital if one to be happy.

Finally, it highlights the recipes' lack of contextual and circumstantial factors — a shortcoming noted in the legitimating scientific literature (Seligman, 2002; Lyubomirsky, 2008; Caunt *et al*., 2013). Here, the 'happiness industry' turns knowledge into a market product targeting a global generic individual. The recipes focus on will and action, mostly of a hedonistic nature but always holding out the promise of lasting happiness. By contrast, they ignore elements that would undermine the 'rules' given and the normative and moral guidance they enshrine.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, we have approached the happiness industry as the creator of a social discourse with clear normative and moral content, and which indicates the paths of action, thought and emotion towards the utopia of happiness in today's societies. We have noted that the context has given wings to the happiness discourse, which is spread endlessly through the Internet and through personalised scientific legitimation of leading international researchers at top universities. The messages target an abstract individual, who could be anywhere in the world. This is proof of a discourse that reflects the global dynamics of societies guided by individualism. Although happiness may appear institutionally as a social objective, it is understood that those who seek the path to happiness are first and foremost individuals, no matter what their station in life.

Happiness is presented as an object of consumption, it has a price. The discourse presents happiness as a good like any other and so is for sale. In reality, this discourse panders to most of the concerns shaping the agenda of contemporary societies. It

not only subsumes the consumer society but also the individual's inward gaze (covering his body, health, diet, religious practices, life satisfaction, enjoyment, and self-fulfilment) in a utilitarian vision of social relationships and the world around him. All this is developed in a context that is at one with the model of society and with the social institutions of modernity. In this respect, the recipes for happiness reinforce the most traditional social ties with family, work, consumption and religion. This finding sets our paper apart from the research led by Positive Psychology on the causes of happiness in that we interpret them as being spawned by a social discourse. Accordingly, we have focused less on individual experience and more on how social institutions and agendas underlie individual dimensions and categories. In this respect, it is no coincidence that the recipes' discourse targeting an abstract individual on the quest for happiness wholly ignores the hurdles posed by social, international, and gender inequalities. It shows how the happiness industry is deeply rooted in the socio-political context of market individualism (von Scheve *et al.*, 2016). As a result, achieving happiness is turned into a moral duty and a merit for those lucky enough to attain it (Cabanas and Illouz, 2019). The message is spread through the Internet and thus the 'digital divide' is also present in terms of recipients and non-recipients. Those who do attain happiness then get to flaunt it as a badge of 'distinction' (Bourdieu, 1979). The language used in this discourse and the proposals mirror a strong class bias and the morality of a self-appointed meritocracy. Furthermore, there are no recipes to address the frustration of all those who, while pursuing happiness, fail to achieve it or are who are shut out of the charmed circle (Bericat, 2018).

Our paper makes several proposals for advancing research in this field. On the one hand, we face a multi-dimensional discourse with a great variety and richness of meanings, starting with the polysemy of the concept of happiness itself. One approach would be to look at how the recipes work in practice, analysing the uptake of the happiness industry's output from the standpoint of would-be consumers, and the fault lines in the discourse. Since we are dealing with a worldwide product, we cannot ignore the fact that the recipes for happiness we examined were all framed in English and their cultural reference was that of The United States. However, the product is also found in other languages, so it would worth comparing the language versions (for example, between English and Spanish) or even in different areas of the world (The United States, South America, Europe) in order to give the analysis an international dimension.

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