SWB:
history and philosopy
major theories
measurment

Adam Okulicz-Kozaryn

## **outline**

why study happiness?

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [will be coming back to it over next weeks!]

bonus/if time: common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

## please read the papers

• please read the papers under discussion on canvass

## today

- we'll properly motivate "why happiness?"
- "prove" it is science
- cover the 5 theories, which we will use over next weeks
- if time, bonus sections:
- o review some of the common and ancient wisdom
- have a snapshot of history and philosophy
- additional findings

# <u>outline</u>

why study happiness?

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [will be coming back to it over next weeks!]

bonus/if time: common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

why study happiness ? 5/5

# why?

- "a prince who will not undergo the difficulty of understanding must undergo the danger of trusting"
- so if you want to be happy,
   better understand what makes people happy

why study happiness?

## why?

- end in itself / the ultimate outcome of interest
- a measure of utility/well-being/quality of life/standard of living
- a better, more comprehensive and precise measure than individual or national income/consumption

why study happiness ? 7/53

## the question

- if the human wellbeing (SWB) is the end goal
- othen the question in this class is:
- $\circ$  extreme weather -> SWB
- when, how, etc

why study happiness ?

## <u>outline</u>

why study happiness

# history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [will be coming back to it over next weeks!]

bonus/if time: common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

## history

- SWB in history: McMahon D "Happiness: A history"
- From beginnings we were interested in happiness:
- essentially two ideas, "good life" v "happy life/pleasure"
- kind of like Apollo v Dionysus:
- Apollo: rational thinking and order, and appeals to logic, prudence and purity.
- Dionysus, the god of wine and dance: irrationality and chaos, and appeals to emotions and instincts.
- obut more currently:
- Aristotelian Eudaimonia (good life, living well)
- Benthamite Greatest Happiness for the Greatest Number

history and philosophy 10/53

### Aristotelian Eudaimonia

- Eudaimonia=good life: virtue, good spirit Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics:
  - Eudaimonia (happiness) = active, complete life inclusive of all that has intrinsic value
- perfection in respect of virtue; resources sufficient for a living creature
- Ohttps://positivepsychologyprogram.com/eudaimonia/
- Ohttps://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eudaimonia

history and philosophy 11/53

## Benthamite Greatest SWB for the Greatest Num

- more pleasure than pain for as many as possible
- hedonic calculus: seek pleasure, avoid pain:
- happiness = pleasure pain
- have political and legal reforms to produce
- Greatest Happiness for the Greatest Number
- this is what we're witnessing today!
- o early political advocates (Stiglitz et al., 2009) and now even Sachs!
- o UK, New Zealand, UAE/Dubai, OECD, Bhutan, etc

history and philosophy 12/53

## **Epicurus**

- all pleasure is good! (Annas, 1987)
- but not unnecessary desires (consumerism!), rather simple and frugal life; desire only the very basics, otherwise setting up yourself for hedonic treadmill (Weijers, 2011)
- overindulgence often leads to pain
- oachieve inner tranquility
- http://www.pursuit-of-happiness.org/history-of-happiness/epicurus/

history and philosophy 13/53

# Dionysus aka Bacchus

- god of the grape-harvest, wine making and wine, of fertility, ritual madness, religious ecstasy and theater
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dionysus
- and on hedonism, pleasure
- o eg see doctoral thesis by Dan Weijers: http:

//researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10063/2370/thesis.pdf?sequence=2

history and philosophy 14/53

### and the winner is...

- which one do you like? Bentham or Aristotle?
- o pleasurable life or good life?

  (a fascinating philosophical debate (Nussbaum, 2005))

history and philosophy 15/53

# <u>outline</u>

why study happiness

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [will be coming back to it over next weeks!]

bonus/if time: common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

### but it is in the clouds

- the first question or criticism i always get
- owhen i say i study happiness
- o is that we cannot really measure it
- specifically:
- o happiness is something different for everyone
- $\circ\,\text{one}$  moment i am happy, another moment i am unhappy
- o happiness doesn't really matter; it's just a silly emotion

### in the clouds?

- seems like intangible concept
- everybody seems to be happy with something else
- not really! (few exceptions, eg diff cultures)
- a new field economics of happiness recently developed
- o (earlier psychology, soc ind res: 50s, 60s; took off in 90s)
- now, we can define and measure SWB

### definition

- self-reported
- subjective
- sometimes surprising
- life satisfaction≈ utility
- max(life satisfaction)  $\approx$  utilitarianism
- life satisfaction≠happiness affect≠cognition
- here, use interchangeably but remember distinction
- SWB (subjective wellbeing) is another popular term

#### measurement

- wvs question: "all things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" (1 to 10)
- gss question: "taken all together, how would you say things are these days would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" (1-3)
- these measures were cross-validated using other measures: suicide, PET scans, other people ratings (Layard, 2005, Di Tella and MacCulloch, 2006)

can we study it scientifically?

## validity (Diener et al., 2013)

- even though self reported and subjective, valid (people know whether they are happy) (Myers, 2000) and some reliability (precision varies)
- closely correlated with similar objective measures such as brain waves (Layard, 2005)
- unhappiness strongly correlates with suicide incidence and mental health problems (Bray and Gunnell, 2006)

### how?

- quantitative data analysis; eg correlation, regression.
- we have quantitative (numerical) data on happiness, so we have data on income, marital status, age, and so forth.
- then we investigate who the happy people are:
- othe rich? educated? females?
- oguess who? ideas?
- and of course we have great data about weather!

## **outline**

why study happiness

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [will be coming back to it over next weeks!]

ponus/if time: common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

## five major theories

- genes/set point (eg Schnittker, 2008)
- adaptation/adjustment; hedonic treadmill (Brickman et al., 1978)
- needs/livability (Veenhoven and Ehrhardt, 1995)
- comparison/discrepancies (Michalos, 1985)
- happiness just a motivator (Carver and Scheier, 1990)

# genes/set point theory

- genes explain about half of everything (eg Schnittker, 2008)
- incl happiness!
- but have bad rep in soc sci bc of Eugenics, Nazi, etc
- some are just happy no matter what and some miserable
- this is also called a set point theory: you win lottery, lose a limb, doesn't matter, your swb comes back to its set point we downplay the genes and some would outright deny they exist (Pinker, 2003, Haidt, 2012)
- one reviewer told me that race is purely socially constructed, no genetic component to it!

- adaptation theory (Brickman et al., 1978)
- [related to genes/set point]
- adjustment to external circumstances
- 'hedonic treadmill'
- the more one has the more one wants, since satisfactions received only stimulate instead of filling needs (Durkheim, [1895]
- human adaptation is astonishing:
- owinning millions in a lottery, losing limbs, etc
- about 1b people live in poverty and they somehow manage and don't commit suicide; people can adapt to just about anything

## needs/livability theory (Veenhoven and Ehrhardt, 1995)

- humans, like other animals have certain needs
- physiological needs like water, food, sleep; and other needs:
- eg contact with other living organisms (biophilia, social capital, nature, etc)
- o and higher (human) needs eg belonging, selfactualization
- if needs are satisfied, then happiness follows

kind of like Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

- then there are attr of places, environment, or ecology (weather!)
- if it is "livable" then happiness follows

# comparisons/discrepancies

- multiple discrepancy theory (Michalos, 1985)
- social comparison, eg co-workers, high school friends, relatives
- comparison to various standards, eg clothes, car expected in a given profession
- over-time: your swb now is determined by how you were doing in the past and what you expect in the future
- $\circ$  eg losing may be more felt than gaining (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979)
- "it is better to be a big frog in a small pond than a small frog in a big pond" (Davis, 1966)

## happiness just a motivator (Carver and Scheier, 1990)

- SWB merely signals that task at hand has been accomplished
- then it dissipates and pain settles in so that the signal is that I can move to another task!
- Earth is not for comfort (or happiness)
- it's for struggle, and pain has its motivating place
- happiness-seeking/pain avoidance is complacence

## happiness equation

happiness =
 achievement or experience — expectations or aspirations

• that's one reason why educ doesn't help with happiness

## **outline**

why study happiness

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [will be coming back to it over next weeks!]

bonus/if time: common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

## carpe diem

• "Happiness, not in another place but this place...not for another hour, but this hour." walt Whitman

### money

- Life is a progress from want to want, not from enjoyment to enjoyment. Samuel Johnson, 1776
- People who claim that money can't buy happiness just don't know where to shop. Anonymous
- A wealthy man is one who earns \$ 100 a year more than his wife's sister's husband. H.L. Mencken
- If thou wilt make a man happy, add not unto his riches but take away from his desires. Epicurus

#### civilization

- "Happiness," said Freud, "is no cultural value."
- (civilization is based on suppressed or delayed gratification/happiness)
- Freud defined happiness as the "subsequent fulfillment of a prehistoric wish. That is why wealth brings so little happiness: money was not a wish in childhood"

#### work

- "Success is not the key to happiness. Happiness is the key to success. If you love what you are doing, you will be successful" Herman Cain
- •"It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied."

## welfare/redistribution

• No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable. It is but equity, besides, that they who feed, clothe, and lodge the whole body of the people, should have such a share of the produce of their own labor as to be themselves tolerably well fed, clothed, and lodged.

Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, Bk. 1, Ch. 8.

## bad capitalism (more on capital later)

- "Greed, envy, sloth, pride and gluttony: these are not vices anymore. No, these are marketing tools. Lust is our way of life. Envy is just a nudge towards another sale. Even in our relationships we consume each other, each of us looking for what we can get out of the other. Our appetites are often satisfied at the expense of those around us. In a dog-eat-dog world we lose part of our humanity." Jon Foreman
- "If you're not a leftist or socialist before you're 25, you have no heart; if you are one after 25 you have no head"

#### **outline**

why study happiness

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [will be coming back to it over next weeks!]

bonus/if time: common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

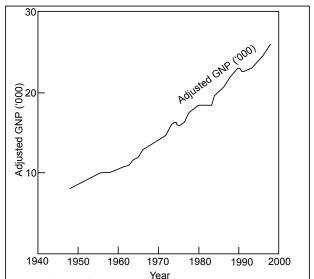
#### what predicts happiness

- biological needs (Diener and Biswas-Diener, 2002)
- personal income (and personal income change) (Diener et al., 1999)
- goals vs. needs (Diener and Seligman, 2004)
- leisure (Diener et al., 1999)
- personal characteristics (Diener et al., 1999)
  - personality
  - education
- social capital ('the need to belong') (Myers, 2000, Diener and Seligman,
  - 2004)
    - religion
    - marriage

## what predicts happiness cont'd

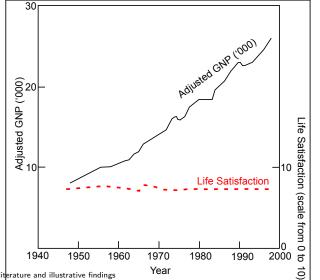
- pcgdp, ppp (Alesina and Ferrara, 2000)
- unemployment and inflation rates (Di Tella et al., 2001)
- life expectancy at birth (Di Tella and MacCulloch, 2005)
- income inequality (?)
- political freedom (Veenhoven, 2000)
- political stability and security (Helliwell, 2006)
- gender equality (ratio of average male and female earnings)
- family life (divorce rate) (Di Tella and MacCulloch, 2005)

# easterlin's paradox income in the us, 1947-98 (Diener and Seligman, 2004)



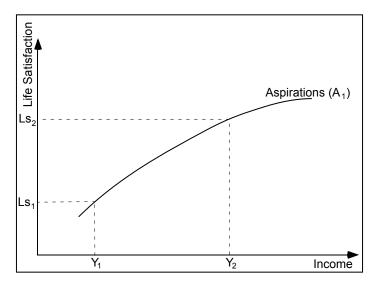
bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

easterlin's paradox happiness in the us, 1947-98 (Diener and Seligman, 2004)

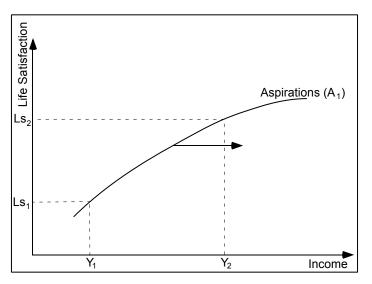


bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

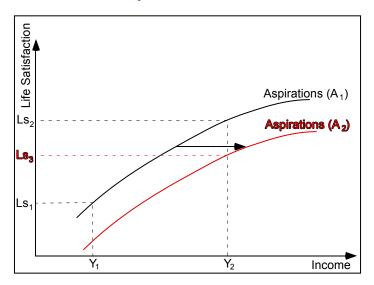
## income increases happiness, but...



## income increases happiness, but...



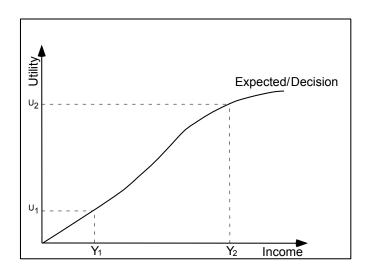
## income increases aspirations, too



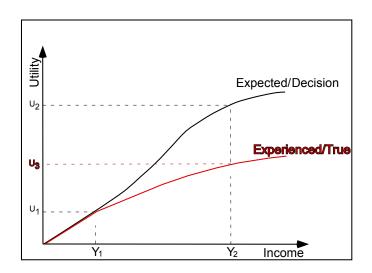
## utility (Kahneman et al., 1997)

- decision utility ≈ expected happiness "weight of an outcome in a decision"
- experienced utility ≈ happiness
   "hedonic quality"
- decision utility  $\neq$  experienced utility

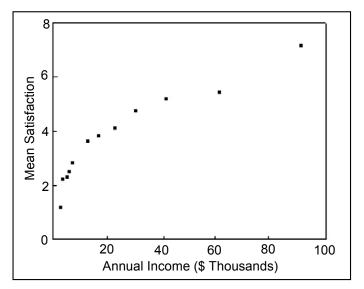
## expected vs. experienced utility



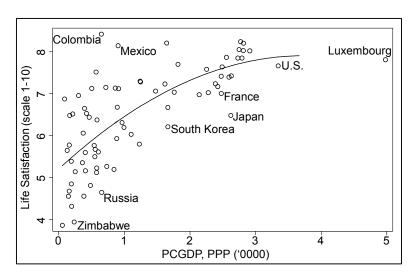
## expected vs. experienced utility



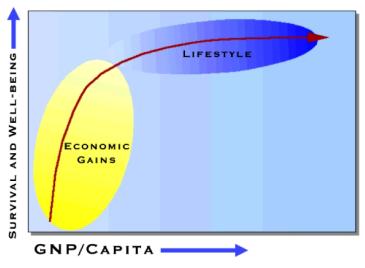
## income v happiness in the us, 1981-4 (Diener et al., 1993)



## income v happiness in the world, (wvs) 1996-2004

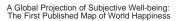


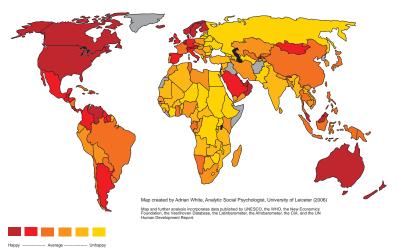
## income v happiness across countries



Source: R Ingelhart, 1997

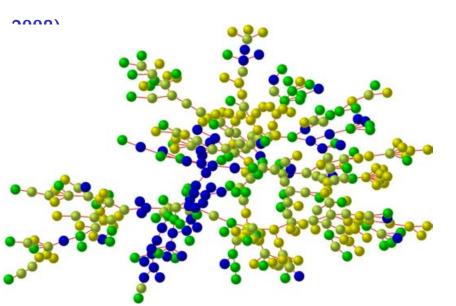
#### world happiness





Cartographic Unit • University of Leicester

## happiness is contagious (Fowler and Christakis,



Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper.

Annas, J. (1987): "Epicurus on pleasure and happiness," Philosophical Topics, 15, 5–21.

Bray, I. and D. Gunnell (2006): "Suicide rates, life satisfaction and happiness as markers for

ALESINA, A. AND E. L. FERRARA (2000): "Participation in Heterogeneous Communities," National

population mental health," <u>Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology</u>, 41, 333–337.

Brickman, P., D. Coates, and R. Janoff-Buman (1978): "Lottery winners and accident

victims: Is happiness relative?" <u>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</u>, 36, 917–927.

CARVER, C. S. AND M. F. SCHEIER (1990): "Origins and functions of positive and negative affect: a control-process view." Psychological review, 97, 19.

Davis, J. A. (1966): "The Campus as a Frog Pond: An Application of the Theory of Relative Deprivation to Career Decisions of College Men," American Journal of Sociology, 72, 17–31.

DI TELLA, R. AND R. MACCULLOCH (2005): "Partisan Social Happiness," Review of Economic Studies, 72, 367–393.

DI TELLA, R. AND R. MACCULLOCH (2006): "Some Uses of Happiness Data in Economics," The

Journal of Economic Perspectives, 20, 25–46.

DI TELLA, R., R. J. MACCULLOCH, AND A. J. OSWALD (2001): "Preferences over inflation and unemployment: Evidence from surveys of happiness," American Economic Review, 91, 335–341.

DIENER, E. AND R. BISWAS-DIENER (2002): "Will money increase subjective well-being? A literature review and guide to needed research," Social Indicators Research, 57, 119–169.

DIENER, E., R. INGLEHART, AND L. TAY (2013): "Theory and validity of life satisfaction scales,"

Social Indicators Research, 112, 497–527.

Social Indicators Research, 112, 497–527.

DIENER, E., E. SANDVIK, L. SEIDLITZ, AND M. DIENER (1993): "The relationship between income and subjective well-being: relative or absolute?" Social Indicators Research, 28, 195–223.

References

DIENER, E., E. M. SUH, AND R. E. LUCAS (1999): "Subjective Well-being: Three Decades of Progress," Psychological Bulletin, 125, 276-302. DURKHEIM, E. ([1895] 1950): The Rules of Sociological Method, The Free Press, New York NY.

DIENER, E. AND M. E. P. SELIGMAN (2004): "Beyond Money: Toward an Economy of

Well-being," Psychological Science, 5, 1–31.

References

Network: Longitudinal Analysis Over 20 Years in the Framingham Heart Study," British Medical Journal, Vol. 3, January 09. HAIDT, J. (2012): The righteous mind: Why good people are divided by politics and religion, Vintage.

HELLIWELL, J. F. (2006): "Well-being, social capital and public policy: what's new?" The

FOWLER, J. H. AND N. A. CHRISTAKIS (2008): "Dynamic Spread of Happiness in a Large Social

Economic Journal, 116, C34-C45. KAHNEMAN, D. AND A. TVERSKY (1979): "Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk," Econometrica, 47, 263-291. KAHNEMAN, D., P. P. WAKKER, AND R. SARIN (1997): "Back to Bentham? Explorations of Experienced Utility," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 112, 375-405.

LAYARD, R. (2005): Happiness. Lessons from a new science., The Penguin Press, New York NY. MICHALOS, A. (1985): "Multiple discrepancies theory (MDT)," Social Indicators Research, 16, 347 - 413. MYERS, D. G. (2000): "The Funds, Friends, and Faith of Happy People," American Psychologist,

55. 56-67.

NUSSBAUM, M. C. (2005): "Mill between Aristotle and Bentham," in Economics and Happiness, ed. by L. Bruni and P. L. Porta, Oxford University Press, New York NY, 170-184.

PINKER, S. (2003): The blank slate: The modern denial of human nature, Penguin, New York NY.

53/53

Socioeconomic Position and Social Support," American Journal of Sociology, 114, S233-S259. STIGLITZ, J., A. SEN, AND J. FITOUSSI (2009): "Report by the Commission on the measurement of economic performance and social progress," Available at www.stiglitz-sen-fitoussi.fr.

SCHNITTKER, J. (2008): "Happiness and Success: Genes, Families, and the Psychological Effects of

VEENHOVEN, R. (2000): "Freedom and Happiness. A comparative study in 46 nations in the early 90's," in Culture and subjective wellbeing, ed. by E. Diener and E. Suh, MIT press, Cambridge MA, 257-288.

VEENHOVEN, R. AND J. EHRHARDT (1995): "The Cross-National Pattern of Happiness: Test of Predictions Implied in Three Theories of Happiness," Social Indicators Research, 34, 33-68.

Weijers, D. (2011): "Hedonism," Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy.