

Urban-Rural Happiness Gradient Theory: What Happiness Theories Tell Us About Urban Way Of Life?

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Urbanization, arguably most dramatic disruption of human habitat, has received surprisingly little theoretical attention from happiness studies in terms of theory. We know that urbanites are less happy, yet we miss theory: we do not know why? what can be the mechanism? This article aims to start filling this gap. An apparently surprising finding that people are less happy in cities in the developed world should not be surprising given that each of the 4 happiness theories indicates at least substantial or usually complete happiness disadvantage of cities. This theory article is comprehensive in that it applies all happiness theories to urbanicity.

CITIES, URBAN LIVING, URBANICITY, HAPPINESS THEORIES, XXX TODO ADD TO EBIB AS KEYWORD PAPER-CODE-NAME AND TAG WITH EBIB KEYWORDS

Cities are not just buildings, it is a way of life (Wirth 1938). In 1800 a mere 1.7% of the world population lived in cities larger than 100k (Davis 1955). Urban population will explode from 30% in 1950 to 70% in 2050, or from .75b to 6.75b <https://population.un.org/wup>—that's addition of 6 billion of people to cities over just one hundred years. Arguably, this is the most dramatic change of human habitat in our species history.

Why cities exist in the first place? Economics tells us that humans need cities because humans are not self sufficient (e.g., O'Sullivan 2009), that is labor specialization works best at high population and density, and cities through agglomeration economies increase productivity and ultimately Gross Domestic Product (GDP), as an end-in-itself osullivan galeser.

but we dont need more GDP, in fact a reasonable argument can be made, we need less (Skidelsky and Skidelsky 2012, Joutsenvirta 2016, Kallis et al. 2012, Kallis 2011, Kasser 2003, Roberts 2011, Roberts and Clement 2007, Klein 2014), and arguably the metric to be maximized now is qol and swb Stiglitz et al. (2009), Diener (2009). For a collection of finding see Ruut Veenhoven's World Database of Happiness (Veenhoven 1995) at <https://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl>.

There is an apparent "urban unhappiness paradox". People flock to cities and yet people in cities are less happy: across the developed world, largest cities are least happy places: nyc, london, tornoto boilerplate etc. It is especially a puzzle for economists, who then try to cherry-pick data to argue that people are happier in cities glaeser burger. economic theory clearly does not explain the phenomenon as it predicts higher SWB in cities as there is more money, utility, and syupposedly rational people urbanize.

But a simple point is missed—people do not vote with their feet in favor of urbanism—substantial portion of city growth is not due to people preference, but actually against it (Molotch 1976) People move o places for jobs (Campbell 1981).CITE THAT economist from one of the 2 recent ones. Companies locate most jobs in metropolitan areas and so people are forced to move there.

just like with industrial revolution—much of population is forced¹ into urban (and suburban) areas in order to produce more for capitalists harvey city book and (Molotch 1976) and engels depiction of the city. Many others think chose city consciously, but are driven by suconscious size fetish CITE my pap.

it is of paramount importance to figure out what cities do to human condition; the question is long standing and many have studied it, notably classical US urban sociolohists such as wirth and park, but also simmel and toennies

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¹they are not block slaves but wage slaves CITE

I thank XXX. All mistakes are mine.

there is a paramount need for study of urbanism-wellbeing, some even suggest a new field eg 'neurourbanism' (Adli et al. 2017). This study is a continuation of <<<BLIND FOR PEER REVIEW>>>

And there is a critical gap: there is no dedicated and focused study of happiness theories of urbanicity.

As this article argues, an apparently surprising finding that people are less happy in cities in the developed world should not be surprising given that each of the 5 happiness theories indicates at least substantial or usually complete happiness disadvantage of cities.

1 Urbanicity and the 5 happiness theories

The four happiness theories are:

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

In what follows each of them is briefly described and applied to urbanicity. The first 2 are related and discussed together.²

1.1 genes, evolution, set point, adaptation, adjustment, happiness as motivator, hedonic treadmill

Genes/set point theories are typically overlooked or even negated, Schnittker (2008) is one of few exceptions. Humans' behavior, as of any animal, is dictated by genes (Dawkins 2006, e.g.,).

It is notable that humans share with a chimp more than 95% of genes³ Neither homo sapiens nor chimps evolved to live at high population size nor density, i.e., a city. As hunters-gatherers, when our natural evolutionary habitat has formed for tens of thousands of years, humans have lived in bands of 50-80 people Maryanski and Turner (1992).⁴ A modern city of hundreds of thousands of people is a very recent invention in human evolutionary history—there was no such even single place in the world before around 1,000 BC. And again, even by 1850 AD only about 2.3% of world population lived in cities larger than 100,000 (Davis 1955).

Some argue that many species, e.g., ants and bees, thrive at high densities, but humans are unlike ants or bees. By one estimate—we're 90% chimp and only 10% bee (Haidt 2012). Nature, not city, is our home, not just a place to visit Pretty (2012). Humans evolved to live in natural environment, not in a mixture of asphalt, concrete, steel, and glass, i.e., in a city.

To summarize, the critical point is that it is not in human nature to live in a city.⁵

Genes also are the foundation of so called set-point or adaptation theory: life events happen, even dramatic ones such as losing a limb or winning a lottery, but humans have an extraordinary ability to adapt to just about anything, and so their happiness over time comes back to status quo, a set-point (Brickman et al. 1978).⁶ A useful another term is "hedonic treadmill"—we chase some goals, some greater happiness, but like on treadmill, we never get anywhere, being stuck always at the same place despite running. Durkheim ([1895] 1950) put it well: "the more one has the more one wants, since satisfactions received only stimulate instead of filling needs"

²To some degree all are related and all, as everything else, is based on genes/evolution, but the first 2 are more directly related.

³<https://www.genome.gov/15515096/2005-release-new-genome-comparison-finds-chimps-humans-very-similar-at-dna-level>.

⁴not in cities that are measured in hundreds thousands of people, and not in densities of 25,846/sq km (Manhattan), which is 105 people per acre. Imagine a larger soccer field (2.7 acre) and 22 people on it (2 teams of 11 players)—pretty livable density; Manhattan has 281 people on it. Of course it is only manageable thanks to towers and underground (subway) facilities.

⁵Another side point in terms of genes is about heritability of happiness. Genes also matter more than anything else for one's happiness. About 50 percent of happiness, intelligence, personality, etc is determined by genes (Dawkins 2006, ?, ?, ?, ?). Hence of all the influence on our happiness level, genes have the greatest effect, as what is left for all the other influences is only the other %50.

⁶a see homeostasis, eg ch4 by cummins in "wealth(s) and swb" swb, like any physiological system requires homeostasis, a stable narrow range to function properly about 70-90 on 0-100 scale; still some people are chronically low say due to arthritis or caring for an elderly; and some over time change is still possible not that set point is set in stone; and see an interesting piece on brickman: like the one in ebib on his suicide in ann arbor

Human adaptation is astonishing indeed: winning millions in a lottery, losing limbs, etc about half of world population live on less than 5\$ per day cite and they somehow manage and don't commit suicide; people can adapt to just about anything.⁷

we know that adaptation is not full, for instance people do not adapt fully to unemployment or a British guy, unexpected death of a child (cited in ?) etc

But people do adapt to some degree. Then the city allure is overrated. People often seem to be attracted to cities not just by jobs THAT ECONOMIST I THINK PIECE THAT PEOPLE MOVE FOR JOBS (Campbell 1981), but also by amenities—opera houses, museums, etc (Campbell 1981),

—then probably expected happiness is higher than experienced happiness CITE Kahneman, and it may help to explain the apparent paradox or massive rampant urbanization and urban unhappiness at the same time. Surely, by the same mechanism, people would adapt to smaller places too, but then why pay more for city life.

People would probably stay rural if they could, but they were forced to cities by jobs (Campbell 1981), Today Americans prefer rural setting but close to city so that they have access to jobs and urban amenities FUGUIT x2 +that recent YouGov poll from city book.

Happiness is just a motivator (Carver and Scheier 1990): it is a critical and largely overlooked theory. Like set-point/adaptation, it also closely derives from genes/evolution. SWB merely signals that task at hand has been accomplished, then it dissipates, so that the signal is that I should move to another task.

If a person was perfectly happy all the time, she would not accomplish much, like a heroin addict. Happiness as reward for accomplishing a task. Happiness is necessary to motivate a person to accomplish the task, and then the happiness must dissipate, so that a person is motivated to move to another task.⁸ A problem with that is that it's all too easy to find oneself on a hamster wheel accomplishing tasks until one lies on a deathbed and wishes one didn't work so hard—one of the top regrets of the dying is "CITE PROPERLY"

And a critical problem with the city is that for a person it is better to be a big fish in a small pond than a small fish in a big pond—reference line is higher in city; also cite Luttmer and Firebaugh and see MDT in next section

and we tend to make upwards comparisons—people look upwards when making comparisons: wealthier people impose negative external effect on poorer people but not vice versa (Frey and Stutzer 2002)

there are many more tasks in the city and one cannot ever accomplish all of them, because there are always more and more.

Furthermore, ever increasing complexity and abundance of choices, exemplified in cities, may lead to paralysis as opposed to liberation. For instance, it has been shown that people offered many choices became overloaded and confused as opposed to thrilled (Schwartz 2004). On the other hand, it is not so that people in smaller areas are disengaged or withdrawn, rather they appear to be more "at peace" Thoreau Nietzsche Zarathustra

People in big cities indeed do appear cognitively overloaded. They are not at peace, they are always chasing something, their gaze is disconnected from present and focused on some future task or goal, or they appear distracted, sometimes disoriented as observed long time ago by Simmel and recently confirmed by Lederborg

Cities stimulate and overstimulate human nervous system SIMMEL LEDERBORG—one feels energetic, possibly hectic in the city—urban environment gives one a quick short lived excitement boosts from its towers, neons, shopping windows and then comes down and then off to another one Steve Pile and my fetish book —city gives you a boost just like consumption, and then go back, but it doesn't last. The urbanite has more of just about everything than a rural person, but also seem to want even more, again— "the more

⁷And yet the distributions do differ—these slides from Diener just goog Diener happiness distribution—almost non-overlapping! see next section per livability theory

⁸also like the earlier equation (Carver 2003): swb=achievement/experience—expectations/aspirations if rate of progress below the reference rate: negative affect if above: positive affect also if doing well: become satisfied, comfortable, possibly complacent (Carver 2003) until you fall below the reference line and it goes over again we're not designed to be happy but to survive and reproduce! (Euba 2019)

various models (Carver 2003) cruise control: going over the hill gets tough, increase velocity and fuel use reach plateau and going down the hill: decrease fuel coasting: positive affect leads to coasting opportunistic shifting: positive feelings promote play also see Marcuse

one has the more one wants, since satisfactions received only stimulate instead of filling needs" (Durkheim [1895] 1950) page number?

indeed an urbanite has a fuller, more experiential and more challenging life, more utility (money or consumption), the urban challenge can potentially build a better fuller human being. And yet such an opportunity seems to be open for few, an upper class; majority won't realize their potential toiling to just survive. And again this is more of satisfying higher needs on the Maslow pyramid. Lower needs come first.

experience/achievement: surely more in cities, indeed so much that one has cognitive overload SIMMEL LEDERBORGEN; so definitely greater quantity, but arguably lower quality at least in many respects. for instance one definitely achieves greater monetary achievement, but also cost of living is higher; one achieves higher position in society, but also hierarchies are taller, etc

Humans are unwilling and unable to make absolute judgements, rather they constantly draw comparisons from their environment (Frey et al. 2008) Higher aspirations reduce wellbeing (Frey et al. 2008) And cities induce higher aspirations MY CITY BOOK AND CHAPTER FOR ILAN They key finding is that people look upward not downward when making comparisons (Frey et al. 2008) Hence cities induce positional concerns as income ladders are tallest in cities—and it is better to be a big fish in small pond (town) than small fish in a big pond (city)

MAYBE MV SOMEWHERE A very important distinctive feature of city life is that of specialization—as opposed to rural area, one has to deeply specialize in the city—the only way to support high density CITY FROM recent paper and specialization alienates us from other humans and our nature CITE Marx; yes

Genes and evolution have bad rep in soc sci bc of Eugenics social darwinism and so forth,⁹, but the pendulum seem to have swung too far in the other direction (Pinker 2003, Haidt 2012) , we downplay the genes, and some would outright deny they exist, eg one reviewer told me that race is purely socially constructed, no genetic component to it.

1.2 comparison/discrepancies MDT

Multiple discrepancy theory (Michalos 1985) states that happiness is function of:

1. social comparison, eg co-workers, high school friends, relatives
2. comparison to various standards, eg clothes, car expected in a given profession
3. over-time: your swb now is determined by how you were doing in the past and what you expect in the future eg losing may be more felt than gaining (Kahneman and Tversky 1979)

Per this theory, clearly city is a negative influence on happiness—visual recognition and social media—CP rephrase boilerplate from a recent one, etiquette/urban finish; this is also arguably why thinkers such as Nietzsche and Thoreau felt better in the wilderness, away from crowds that are not only dull energy sucking and uncreative, but also mired in endless comparisons

A notable comparison that people make is against neighbors, Do I keep up with Joneses? We tend to compare to people in our geographic or social proximity—and there are more such people by definition in a city.

Karl Marx has observed long time ago that "A house may be large or small; as long as the neighboring houses are likewise small, it satisfies all social requirements for a residence. But let there arise next to the little house a palace, and the little house shrinks to a hut."¹⁰ There are many mansions in urban areas, and many very wealthy people, so that a typical urbanite, by comparison, is poor and insignificant.

Notably, all these comparisons—against others, standards, and our own past, result in consumption arms race—people want to outcompete others—we want to demonstrate that we are better than others BOB FRANK

⁹Not everywhere, eg Russian sociology has incorporated evolution CITE THAT REV

¹⁰Marx and Engels 1849, quoted in Dittmann and Goebel (2010).

One reason we move to a metropolis such as London, Shanghai, or New York is simply because we want to demonstrate we are better than others my city fetish paper

urban way of life increases chances, but not necessarily improves outcomes. Furthermore, it always increases relative deprivation CITE MICHALOS MDT: more people means more comparisons, and for happiness it is better to be a big fish in small pond (rural area). City stimulates but instead of fulfilment it increases desires and needs (CITE HEDONIC TREADMILL)—see my disst slides guess BRICKMAN.

again, and we tend to make upwards comparisons—people look upwards when making comparisons: wealthier people impose negative external effect on poorer people but not vice versa (Frey and Stutzer 2002)

Relative deprivation: similar to older findings by Dale (1980) (cited in Sirgy 2002, p. 103): found indicators of objective well-being are especially high in urban areas, whereas subjective well-being seems larger in less-populated areas. The author explains that people compare themselves with others who are much richer and, therefore, feel much poorer, while those living in less urban areas do not compare themselves with others as much.

Neighbors act as negatives—rich neighbors make us unhappy—the denser the area, everything else equal, the more neighbors and more negatives; also quote from Marx about house and mansion next to it from quotes.org and AJS recent paper by Firebaugh I guess per comparisons—like Luttmer; and add to Firebaugh in Eib: see Madsen book ch10—also by Firebaugh on the same thing!

The most conspicuous consumption or waste¹¹ tends to take place in metropolitan areas (cities and their extension, suburbs)—for some examples of urban conspicuousness see Frank (2012). Google on conspicuous consumption and urbanicity [it's in one of the 2 recent papers] Small town, villages and open country is less wasteful—there are fewer people to impress there (though some wealthy people may prefer wasting money there, too).

1.3 livability theory

livability theory (Veenhoven 2014, 2000) is a major shift in thinking from the previous theories, and yet also is based on genes. Humans as all animals have innate needs, if those needs are satisfied, happiness follows. Humans' needs include those on Maslow's hierarchy of needs in figure 1: physiological needs like water, food, sleep; and other needs: e.g. contact with other living organisms (biophilia, social capital, nature, etc) and higher (human) needs e.g. belonging, self-actualization.

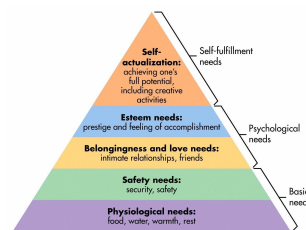


Figure 1: Maslow Pyramid, (?).

then there are attributes of places, environment, or ecology if it is “livable” then happiness follows. Florida conceptualized this as place pyramid in figure 2.

¹¹VEBLEN 2 books used these terms interchangeably: the key feature of conspicuousness is waste—wasting something so that it can be shown that one is rich enough to do so

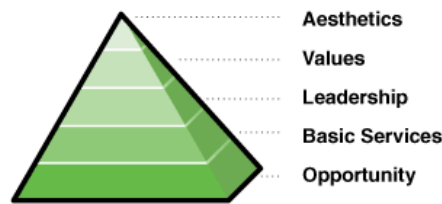


Figure 2: Place Pyramid, (Florida 2008, p 294).

Modern city does not help to satisfy human needs in developed countries; human needs are already satisfied; if anything it was industrial revolution that produced city that helped to satisfy human needs such as clothing etc

humans do have needs for freedom from air, noise, and light pollutions exemplified in cities; in general cities are more stressful SIMMEL, and unhealthy for human brain LEDERBORG

Many cities are not livable because of typical city problems such as poverty and crime; but even successful cities are not livable in many ways—cities by definition are most congested and (noise and air) polluted areas where humans live.

(Molotch 1976) states that it is necessary to increase city disamenities to have a sufficient population size as per central place theory CITE, to produce city amenities such as opera houses and speculates that it may be perhaps worth it to some degree¹² ; however as per pyramid of needs city endangers more basic human needs to help to satisfy, amenities such as opera houses if anything help with very highest needs such as self-actualization and esthetics, but more basic needs are endangered such as survival—by one estimate car pollution kills more people than car accidents; likewise social relations, an important human need, are endangered, in turmoil, of lower quality, more distrustful in a city (with Amin Simmel and Thrift? and that guy in science in 70s on trust I guess Milgram)

Human flourishing does not require urban amenities, such as opera houses, large airports, large museums, etc. They are neither necessary nor sufficient for human flourishing. And quality of life can be defined as “necessary conditions for happiness” (McCall cited in Veenhoven 2000, p. 2).

High density such as that in New York City or Hong Kong often implies crowding, which is not livable: New York offers some 250 sq feet apartments—given that a couple lives there with one child—it is less than 100 sq feet per person. Even more stunningly, some New Yorkers already live in 100 sq feet apartments. Some apartments or “cubbyholes” are even smaller at striking 40 square feet CITE properly put into local bib

Importantly, there are needs and wants (desires)—and much of urban glitz and attraction is about desires CITE MY FETISH (Campbell 1981),

Inglehart (1997) has recognized an important relationship across countries: the more money the less it matters for swb in figure 3. But the same can be applied to places within a country—the more money in a place, the less it matters for swb.

¹²Freud provides a wonderful discussion on civilization and its discontents

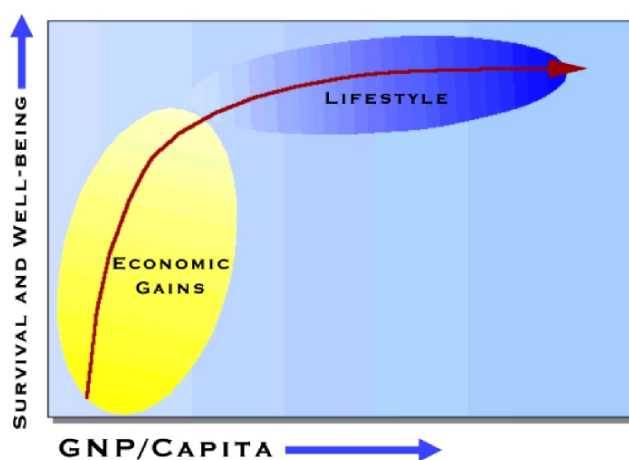


Figure 3: Well-being and income, (Inglehart 1997).

Income buys happiness up to a point (Frank 2004, 2005, 2012), and experience buys more happiness than things (e.g., Kumar et al. 2014).

Veenhoven (2000) distinguishes between opportunities for good life “life chances” or means and good life itself “life results” or ends: it may appear that if not life results are better in cities, surely life chances are, after all there is much freedom and opportunities in cities. There are. but again, there is also more competition, taller hierarchies, more relative deprivation, more aspirations, and so forth, and they potentially cancel out and outweigh city benefits. Like with salaries and housing costs-you may make couple dozen percents more but housing costs couple hundred percents more.

(Campbell et al. 1976) aspirations do adjust to reality, and there is no other place on earth with more opportunity, inequality and hierarchy than city (Tönnies [1887] 2002, Milgram 1970, Fischer 1995, Glaeser 2011, O’Sullivan 2009, Campbell 1981).

Freedom: surely cities bestow great deal of freedom on a person TOENNIES, “city air if free” etc; but is it perhaps forgotten that cities also enslave: urban finish and manners, and visual recognition, etc FROM CITY BOOK

AGAIN PER MECHANISM DON’T FORGET from of the 2 recent papers on nature as per JOYE the mechanism is that cities do not seem to kill positive affect but increase negative affect: eg restless bored upset lonely depressed (Campbell 1981) also a finding recently confirmed in MY CITIES 2016 paper when metropolis is too big. especially there is ahrp urban-rural divide in evaluation of neighborhood and community (Campbell 1981)

an interesting finding is that urbanities find life frustrating and they think they weren’t able to achieve their full share of happiness (Campbell 1981) this suggests that they either have higher aspirations or lower achievement or both; but given extreme opportunity found in cities (Tönnies [1887] 2002, Milgram 1970, Fischer 1995, Glaeser 2011, O’Sullivan 2009), it is rather aspirations; glaser in Glaeser et al. (2016) also suggests that citing the fable of the bees:

To be happy is to be pleas’d, and the less Notion a Man has of a better way of Living, the more content he’ll be with his own ... the greater a Man’s Knowledge and Experience is in the World, the more exquisite the Delicacy of his Taste, and the more consummate Judge he is of things in general, certainly the more difficult it will be to please him. ... But when a Man enjoys himself, Laughs and Sings, and in his Gesture and Behaviour shews me all the tokens of Content and Satisfaction, I pronounce him happy, and have nothing to do with his Wit or Capacity.[.]

ask’d where I thought it was most probable that Men might enjoy true Happiness, I would prefer a small peaceable Society, in which Men, neither envy’d nor esteem’d by Neighbours, should be contented to live upon the Natural Product of the Spot they inhabit, to a vast Multitude abounding in Wealth and Power,

2 Conclusion And Discussion

American intellectuals have been hostile and ambivalent towards urbanism for a reason white and white

it is often overlooked that governance per capita costs increase with population size (Molotch 1976)

AND other cool points from Molotch

in particular urban economists view cities as desirable development—they grow hence they must be good, economists tell us. Glaeser etc; cities are growth machine (Molotch 1976)

to economists utility is about income and consumption or power, dominance and status, not happiness, and accordingly economists advise people to maximize income and consumption, not happiness (Becker and Rayo 2008). status increase utility (Hefetz and Frank 2008)? i guess check if that's what they say, and cities increase status MY CITY BOOK and ILAN FETISH, and so they should increase utility too

Benjamin and Hefetz (p 2107 2012) "in settings where one alternative involves higher income or more money, our survey respondents are systematically more likely to choose the money alternative than they are likely to predict it will yield higher SWB," which in English means that people are greedy and prefer money to happiness.

Peck (2016) is good critique of Glaeser's urban triumphalism, aka celebrity-urbanology or guru-urbanism. Indeed, as Peck argues, Glaeser is colonizing the city with economic rationality/utility maximization. And urbanization in general is alike to colonization, where most large cities win, and smaller places lose (?).

Peck (2016, p. 2) describes well Glaeser's celebrity-urbanology:

He makes it his business to adopt controversial and attention-grabbing positions, combining uplifting celebrations of urban life, as the pinnacle of human achievement, with the dispensation of sober(ing) advice on the economically conditioned—not preordained—policy options available to cities today.

To unpack it, there are 3 parts: 1) grab attention celebrating city triumph as the pinnacle of human achievement, 2) credit economic principles of productivity and utility maximization for the city's triumph, 3) apply more of ideological (rather than scientific) libertarian neoliberal free market laissez-faire economic axioms if there is any problem with the city.

discussion about optimal city size from city book and some econs bashing here too

if anything cities do help with commute, the worst thing that person can do for her happiness (in everyday life, aside from war, torture, etc) (Stutzer and Frey 2003, Kahneman et al. 2004)

we have learned yet again with covid19 that spread of infectious disease (bettencourt) is worse in cities

Clearly, a big elephant in the room is what can be done? If cities are harmful for human wellbeing, what is the right course of action. It must be noted that cities are the most environmentally friendly way to house humans—cities are most polluted, but pollute least per capita, a point made by Meyer (2013). So the culprit is overpopulation, measures to curb population could be entertained such as promotion of contraception and abortion, but proper discussion is beyond the scope of this theory article

TODO: have separate som-r.tex as opposed to having it below; and in paper say see supplementary material as opposed to see appendix!

ONLINE APPENDIX

[note: this section will NOT be a part of the final version of the manuscript, but will be available online instead]

3 Intrinsic v Extrinsic Motivations

We know that intrinsic motives increase wellbeing more than extrinsic MY TRANSFORMING GOVT PUB POL paper and (Frey et al. 2008); and there are several speciifc intrinsic aspects (Frey et al. 2008, p. 129):

- the need for relatedness: individuals desire to feel connected to others by love and affection, in particular by having family and freinds and by being in a social setting: we know that city isolates MY city book but also frees TOENNIES and may connect within subgroups FISHER SUBCULTURAL THEORY
- need for competence: individuals want to control the environment and want to experience theselves as capable and effective : more difficult to control in city and more comparisons again better be small pond; on the other jand easier to find maycthing sibgroup THEIRY SUBCULTURSL THEORY
- the desire for autonomy: individuals value the experience of being in charge of their actions and being causal: again perhaps easier to be in chage in subrgoup that maches FISHER SUBCULTURAL THEIRY and citi si more free TOENNIES, but more difficult to bein chage in bigger environemnt and taller hioerarchy; and city is in many wasy less cuasal URBAN FINISH ETIQUITEER CITE FROM MY BOOK, and othe other hand city bettwe accepts nonconformists TOENNIES

4 4 qualities of life

TODO: mover short relevant pieces to swbLivability

have 4 qualities from (Veenhoven 2000) table and inside say urban or rural!

	outer qualities	inner qualities
life chances	livability of environment [Mercer index, population size]	life-ability of the person [N/A]
life results	utility of life [NA]	appreciation of life [place satisfaction, life satisfaction]

Table 1: Veenhoven's four qualities of life. Measures used in present study in brackets

and that another table from recent one

life chances: are greater in cities! but not necessarily life results! livability of environment: urban if consumerism; rural if good life;

mercer inner appreciation of life: deinety rural; swb

life abuilt f persnL can be urban per subsultural urb they:everyone can fins sth, urba air is free; yet life ability is

exteranl utility of life: urban r rural depending how one understands it

livability can be also called (objective) quality of life, welfare 'level f living' or habitality

utility of life or good life or meaning of life; again do not need opera houses or large intl airports

personal caoapcities or life-ability, capability or life potential: can be in some ways enhanced, say motivating effect of urban cometition or housing prices or diminished: they can also depress a person as opposed to motivate. and city is unhealthy for human brian LEDERBORGEN; Veenhoven (2000) considers absence of mental defects and 'normal' level of functioning as key for life-ability; on the other hand two other ingredients, autonomy and self actualization are likely to be better in cities.

brock p18 cited in Veenhoven (2000): considers important for best life: degree to which life fits the individual preferences, which should be greatest cities

Veenhoven (2000) enumerated some items under livability umbrella:moderate climate (South European cities should be livable), clean air (smaller cities should be livable), freedom (the larger the city, the more freedom TOENNIE), equality and brother (the larger the city, the more inequality) , wealth, arts and education (Western cities are richer, and larger cities have more arts and education) (Veenhoven 2000). Yet, fragmented city, can be quite cohesive with its neighborhoods as per subclutural urban theory (FISHER).

Cities are heterogeneous by definition (WIRTH), especially large multicultural cities like London and Paris are clearly fragmented, and social fragmentation is for Veenhoven the reverse of livability; diversity or heterogeneity should result in fragmentation per homophily theory (CITE FROM BRFSS SEG)

appreciation of life is subjective: asw, lsts, happiness

livability is environmental chances (Veenhoven 2000)

consumerism leads to misery: that Kasser book!

(Veenhoven 2000) says most inclusive is swb+lexp; swb lower in urb; lexp if anything also lower in urb: pollutions, stress, and unhealthy to brain (Lederbogen et al. 2011).

urban way of life increases chances, but not necessarily improves outcomes. Furthermore, it always increases relative deprivation CITE MICHALOS MDT: more people means more comparisons, and for happiness it is better to be a big fish in small pond (rural area). City stimulates but instead of fulfillment it increases desires and needs (CITE HEDONIC TREADMILL)—see my disst slides guess BRICKMAN.

in fact urbanicity decreases likelihood of achieving top, however defined: top, by definition is farther away, income, power, and other hierarchy ladders are taller and there is more competition. and livability can be conceptualized as one's position in society (Veenhoven 2000). and indeed there is much deprivation and exclusion across various cities, and deprivation and exclusion are livability antonyms for Veenhoven (Veenhoven 2000).

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