

Dive Into SWB:  
history and philosophy  
major theories  
measurement  
some illustrative findings

Adam Okulicz-Kozaryn

## outline

why study happiness ?

common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

five major theories [just quick, properly next week!]

the classics, the pioneers: Campbell, etc

bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

bonus: use of happiness to evaluate policy

## today

- we'll properly motivate “why happiness?”
- review some of the common and ancient wisdom
- have a snapshot of history and philosophy
- “prove” it is science
- and start with five theories, which we will dig deep into next week
- if we have time, we'll do the bonus sections

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## 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
- 
- a number of fascinating research questions to answer  
eg: can money buy happiness?

can money buy happiness ?

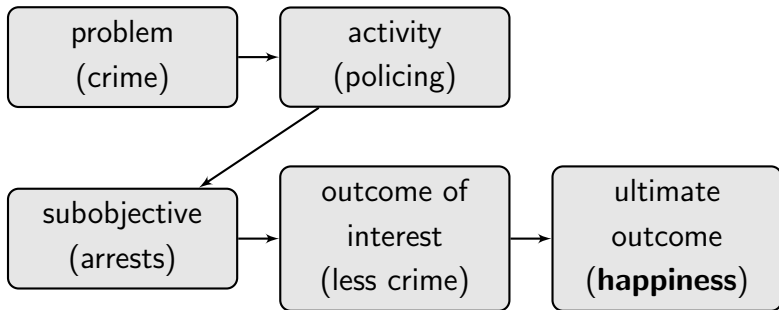


**“ Researchers say I’m not happier for being richer,  
but do you know how much researchers make?”**

## why?

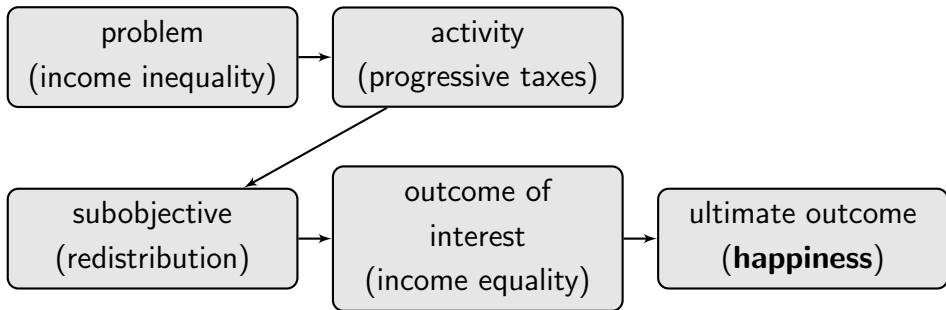
- end in itself
- a measure of utility/well-being/quality of life/standard of living
- a better, more comprehensive and precise measure than individual or national income/consumption
- the ultimate outcome in public policy/adm process>

## the outcome line (easy)





## the outcome line (not easy!)



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## 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” (Apocryphal)



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## 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.
  - but more precisely:
- Aristotelian Eudaimonia (good life, living well)
- Benthamite Greatest Happiness for the Greatest Number

## 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
- <https://positivepsychologyprogram.com/eudaimonia/>
- <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eudaimonia>

# Benthamite Greatest SWB for the Greatest Num

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

# 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
- achieve inner tranquility
- <http://www.pursuit-of-happiness.org/history-of-happiness/epicurus/>
- (?)

# 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

- eg see doctoral thesis by Dan Weijers: [http:](http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10063/2370/thesis.pdf?sequence=2)

[//researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10063/2370/thesis.pdf?sequence=2](http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10063/2370/thesis.pdf?sequence=2)

and the winner is...

- which one do you like? Bentham or Aristotle?  
(a fascinating philosophical debate ([Nussbaum, 2005](#)))

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## but it is in the clouds

- the first question or criticism i always get
  - when i say i study happiness
  - is that we cannot really measure it
- specifically:
  - happiness is something different for everyone
  - one moment i am happy, another moment i am unhappy
  - 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
  - (earlier psychology, soc ind res: 50s, 60s; took off in 90s)
- now, we can define, measure and study life satisfaction
- let's define it first

## definition

- self-reported
- subjective
- sometimes surprising
- life satisfaction  $\approx$  utility
- $\max(\text{life satisfaction}) \approx \text{utilitarianism}$
- life satisfaction  $\neq$  happiness  
affect  $\neq$  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)

## **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)
- not only correlates highly with other non-self reported measures, but also does not correlate with measures that are not theoretically related to it: happiness has discriminant validity (Sandvik et al., 1993)

## 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:
  - the rich? educated? females?
  - guess who? ideas?

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## 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 people 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
- 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!
- one reviewer told me that race is purely socially

## genes/set point theory

- Personality matters, ala Cuddy's fake it till you become
- fake yourself into an extrovert

<https://amp.businessinsider.com/>

[your-personality-could-affect-your-happiness-2018-9](#)

## genes/set point theory

- a 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

## 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] 1950)
- human adaptation is astonishing:
  - winning 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)
  - and higher (human) needs eg belonging, selfactualization
- kind of like Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs
- if needs are satisfied, then happiness follows
- then there are attr of places, environment, or ecology
- if it is "livable" then happiness follows
- this is optimistic for public policy—we can change needs

and livability provision

## 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
- 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)

- “Happiness is the feeling that power increases—that resistance is being overcome.” Nietzsche
- 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 complacency
- “The word 'happiness' would lose its meaning if it were not balanced by sadness” Jung

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

- no pain, no gain!
- one must struggle to succeed
- one must even struggle to discover oneself!
- see Nietzsche, eg: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/10/nietzsches-guide-to-better-living/568375/>
- people who are very emotionally stable may be too happy to feel the need to create
- “One must have chaos in oneself to be able to give birth to a dancing star.” Nietzsche cited in ?



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

- also like the earlier equation (Carver, 2003):

$$\text{swb} = \text{achievement/experience} - \text{expectations/aspirations}$$

- 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
- note: winner-take-all capitalism raises the reference line

(Frank, 2012)

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

- we're not designed to be happy but to survive and reproduce!
- (?)

## 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

## dark side of happiness

- it follows from happiness just a motivator
- that too much of happiness is not a good thing
- or perhaps even that there's a dark side to happiness
- ? and <https://positivepsychology.com/dark-side-of-happiness/>

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## a note

- this is somewhat subjective
- “the classics/pioneers” could be approached in many ways
- here, i just subjectively list those that i consider the most important ones
- most of these writings, especially by Fromm, Marcuse, and Freud are available online for free
- also, one purpose of this section is to briefly summarize and introduce you to each of them
- and you should pick at least one and use him in your project!

## Veenhoven

- aka the Godfather of Happiness

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruut\\_Veenhoven](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruut_Veenhoven)

- i am lucky to know Ruut well :)
- he is a sociologist and main person in social indicators strand of the literature (there is also positive psychology and economics)
- and he is a creator of the World Database of Happiness:
  - <https://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/>
  - if that's something that you're into, have a good look
  - and if you'd like to contribute, i can introduce you

## other key people by the field

- Diener (and Seligman) are main in psychology
- Easterlin (and Oswald) are main in economics
- Radcliff is main in political science
- Cantril came up with the famous ladder
- it is important because it is self-anchoring:

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK189562>



# Campbell

- he is probably the leading pioneer, and hence we use his book as the textbook
- not just an early scholar, a pioneer
- but also comprehensive and indepth
- indeed, his book is not only relevant
- but many of the findings remain cutting-edge!
- also, his research is on the US

# Maslow

- a humanist, and into spirituality
  - (like Fromm, Marcuse, and me)
- really great books:
  - Toward a Psychology of Being

[https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=jcKbDAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT15&dq=maslow&ots=eTsqrXEd&sig=UlvB9X\\_8k3NCfVa-Nc08Zvw0zeo#v=onepage&q=maslow&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=jcKbDAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT15&dq=maslow&ots=eTsqrXEd&sig=UlvB9X_8k3NCfVa-Nc08Zvw0zeo#v=onepage&q=maslow&f=false)

- and Peak Experience (kind of like flow) [https://en.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religions,_Values,_and_Peak_Experiences)

[wikipedia.org/wiki/Religions,\\_Values,\\_and\\_Peak\\_Experiences](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religions,_Values,_and_Peak_Experiences)

# Freud

- eg see his “Civilization and its discontents”

- [https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=AW3z38T3u7YC&oi=fnd&pg=PP13&dq=freud+civilization+and+its+discontents&ots=6emidLE-nd&sig=6sA07tnq7Rk8\\_i1R2G4hLg4sq9o#v=onepage&q=freud%20civilization%20and%20its%20discontents&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=AW3z38T3u7YC&oi=fnd&pg=PP13&dq=freud+civilization+and+its+discontents&ots=6emidLE-nd&sig=6sA07tnq7Rk8_i1R2G4hLg4sq9o#v=onepage&q=freud%20civilization%20and%20its%20discontents&f=false)

- note, i am doing some psychoanalysis, too!

- <https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/52123/PDF/1/play/>

## Fromm and Marcuse

- they have political economy and psychoanalytic/Freudian and Marxist leanings
  - (like me)
  - and have created some of the greatest writings in the field
  - in general and short: joy, fun, spontaneity, no harm, positive attitude, kindness, equality, freedom, etc

## Fromm and Marcuse

- just see google scholar for their writings, eg:

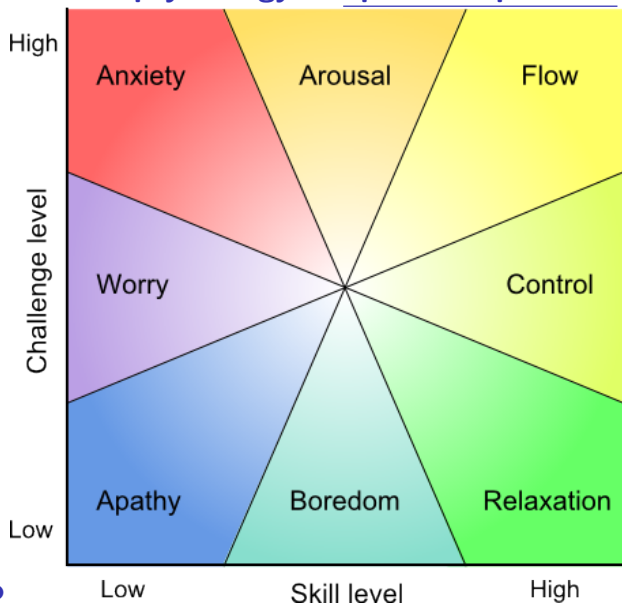
- “Escape from freedom”

[https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=d2g8L1sLykwC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=info:WPqc-LXi3BUJ:scholar.google.com&ots=JnDgRDoiLn&sig=dX7ipJr\\_fK8R6sxnrytdUYkIkMg#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=d2g8L1sLykwC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=info:WPqc-LXi3BUJ:scholar.google.com&ots=JnDgRDoiLn&sig=dX7ipJr_fK8R6sxnrytdUYkIkMg#v=onepage&q&f=false)

- “One dimensional man” <https://books.google.com/books?id=eXlTAQAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=One-dimensional+man:+Studies+in+the+ideology+of+advanced+industrial+society&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiImdSzn83dAhVNGt8KHSbSBI8Q6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=One-dimensional%20man%3A%20Studies%20in%20the%20ideology%20of%20advanced%20industrial%20society&f=false>

- “Eros and civilization” <https://books.google.com/books?id=>  
the classics, the pioneers: Campbell, etc

## Flow: the psychology of optimal experience (Csikszentmihalyi, 1991)



## happiness equation

- happiness =  
achievement or experience — expectations or aspirations
- 
- that's one reason why educ doesn't help with happiness

## more key studies (in addition to the above)

- describe in few sentences
- (the need to belong) (Baumeister and Leary, 1995, Maslow, [1954] 1987)
- 
- evolution/genes:
  - Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks (McPherson et al., 2001)
  - The social cage: Human nature and the evolution of society (Maryanski and Turner, 1992)
  - The Compass of Pleasure: How Our Brains Make Fatty Foods, Orgasm, Exercise, Marijuana, Generosity, Vodka, Learning, and Gambling Feel So Good (Linden, 2011)



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## what predicts happiness

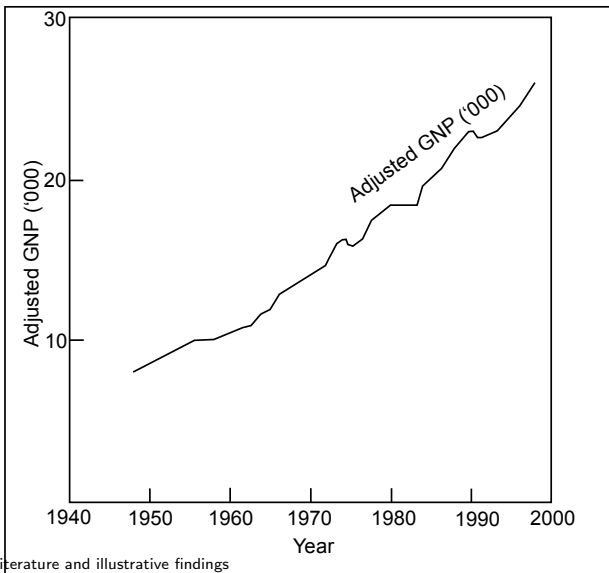
- biological needs (Diener and Biswas-Diener, 2002)
- personal income (and personal income change) (Diener et al., 1999)
- goals vs. needs (Diener and Seligman, 2004)
- leisure (Diener et al., 1999)
- personal characteristics (Diener et al., 1999)
  - personality
  - education
- social capital ('the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

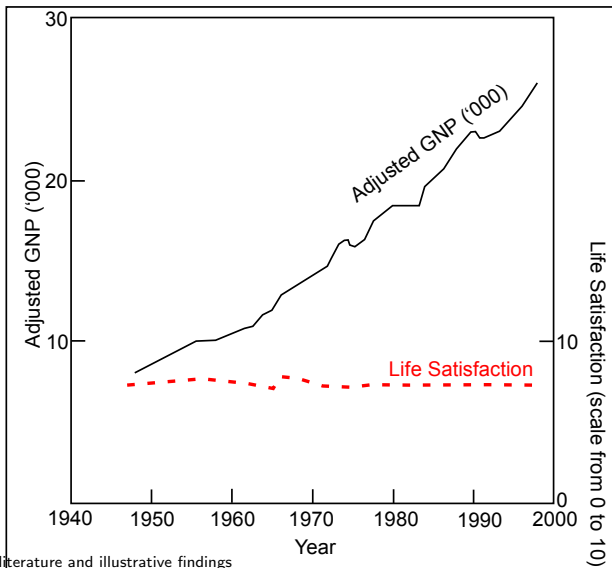
## easterlin's paradox

income in the us, 1947-98 (Diener and Seligman, 2004)

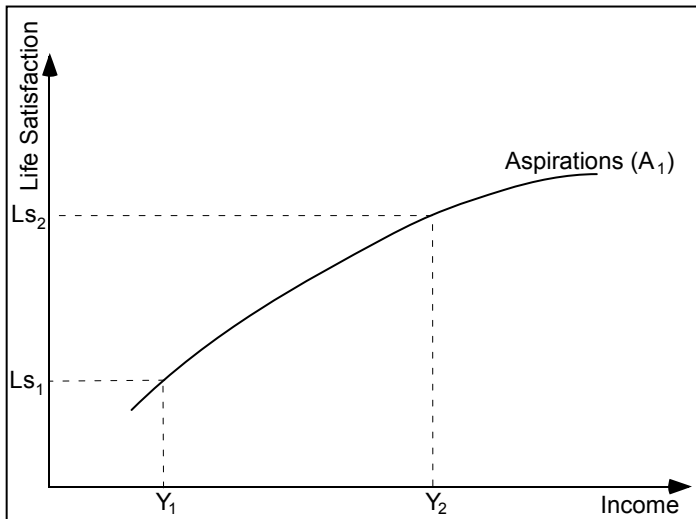


## easterlin's paradox

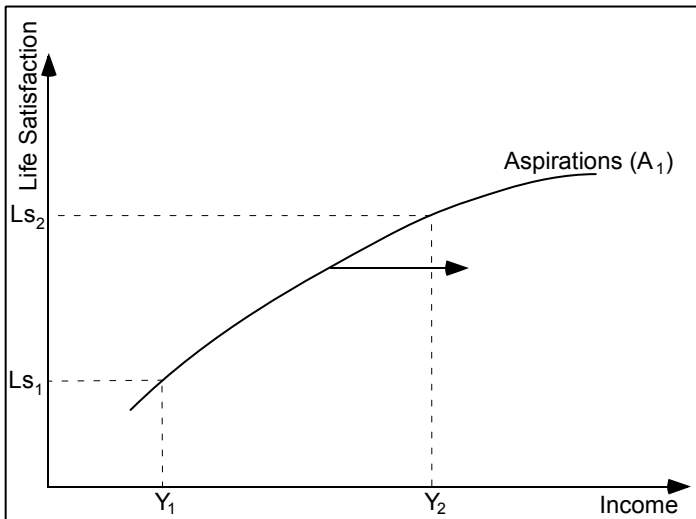
happiness in the us, 1947-98 (Diener and Seligman, 2004)



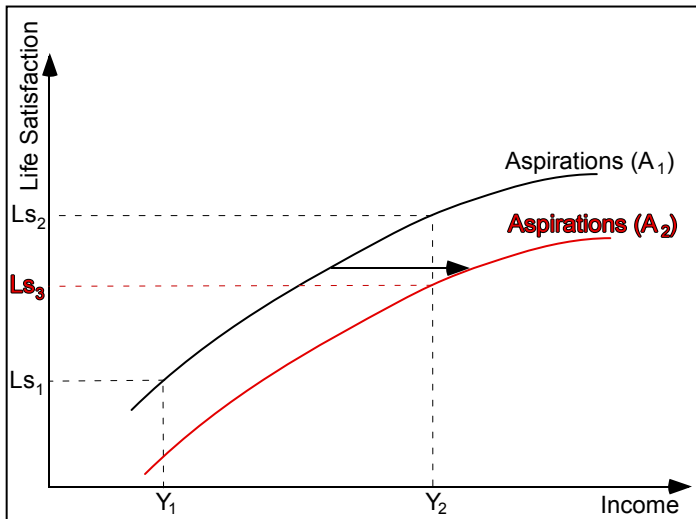
## income increases happiness, but...



## income increases happiness, but...



## income increases aspirations, too

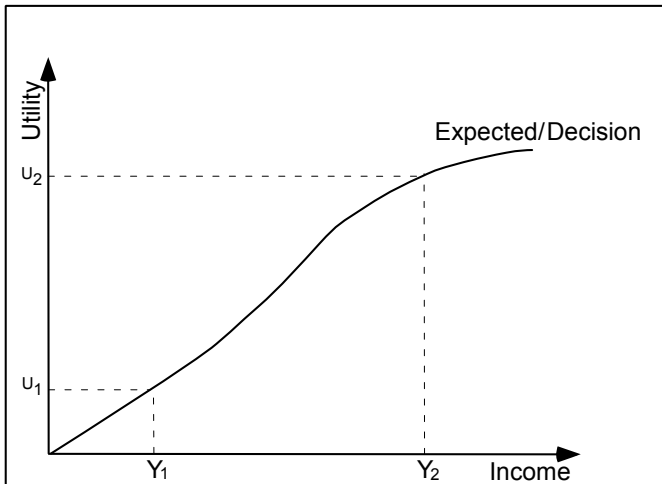




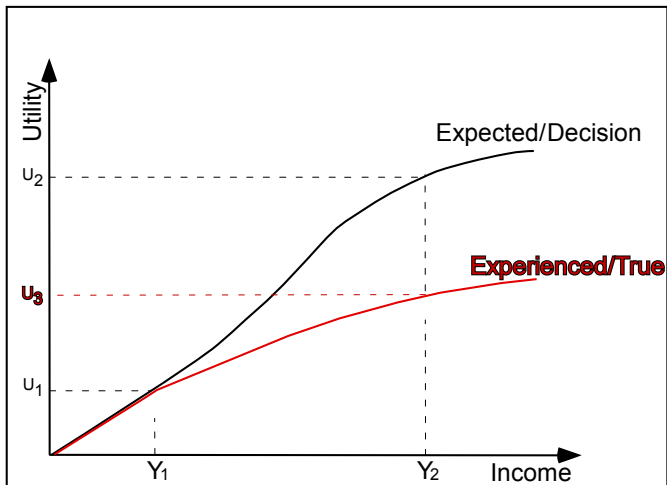
## utility (Kahneman et al., 1997)

- decision utility  $\approx$  expected happiness  
“weight of an outcome in a decision”
- experienced utility  $\approx$  happiness  
“hedonic quality”
- decision utility  $\neq$  experienced utility

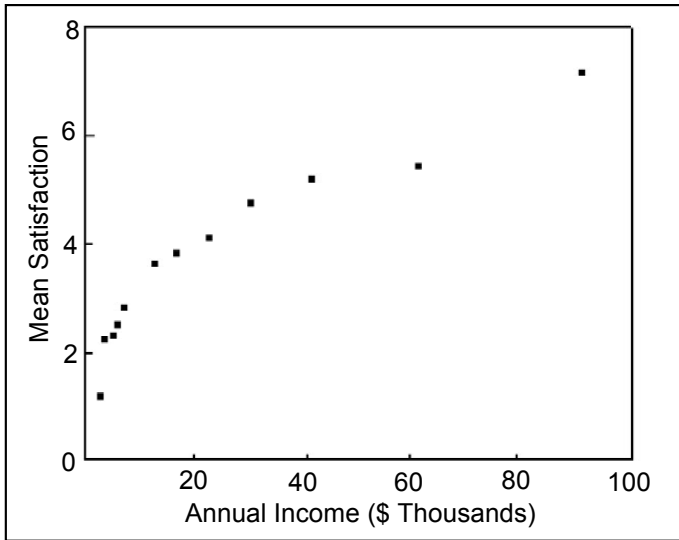
## expected vs. experienced utility



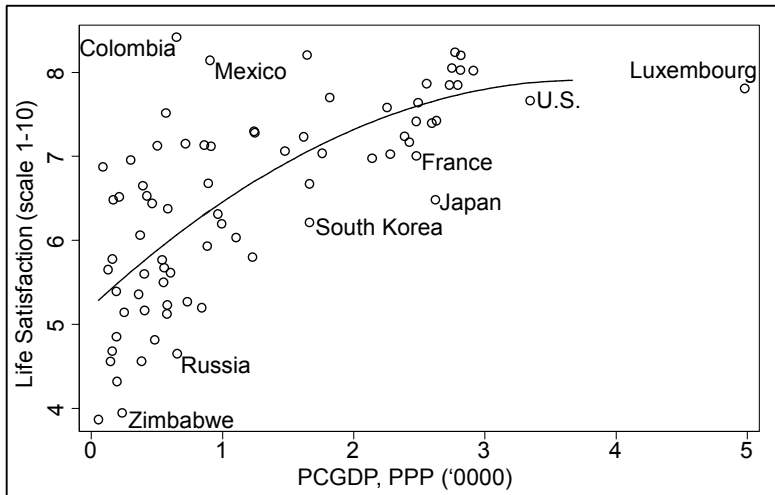
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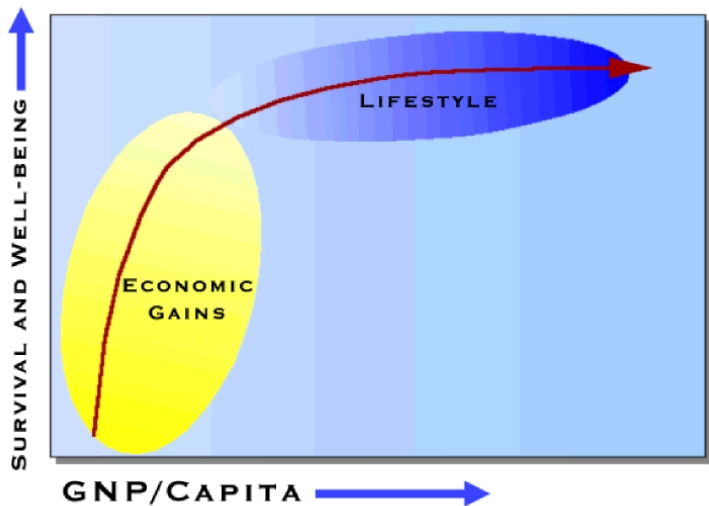
## income v happiness in the us, 1981-4 (Diener et al., 1993)



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



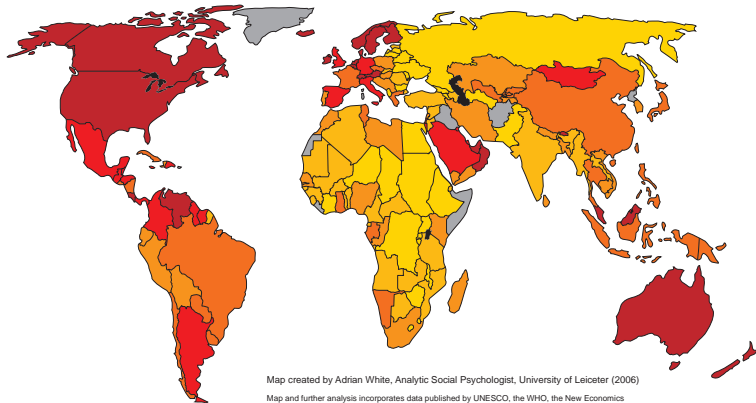
## income v happiness across countries



Source: R. Inglehart, 1997

# world happiness

A Global Projection of Subjective Well-being:  
The First Published Map of World Happiness



Map created by Adrian White, Analytic Social Psychologist, University of Leicester (2006)

Map and further analysis incorporates data published by UNESCO, the WHO, the New Economics Foundation, the Veenhoven Database, the Latinobarometer, the Afrobarometer, the CIA, and the UN Human Development Report.



Cartographic Unit • University of Leicester

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## unemployment and welfare (Di Tella and MacCulloch, 2006)

- $H_0$  : decrease unemployment benefits to decrease unemployment rate  
*[in Europe] the relatively generous level of unemployment benefits has made workers unwilling to accept the kinds of low-wage jobs that help keep unemployment comparatively low in the united states.*

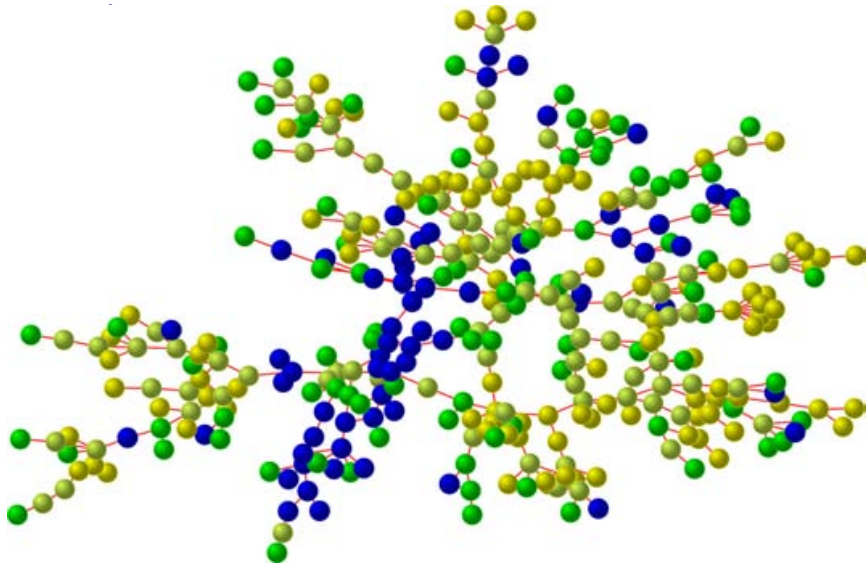
Paul Krugman cited in Di Tella and MacCulloch (2006)

- happiness gap between employed and unemployed, however, did not narrow with increases in benefits in Europe from 1975 to 1992.

## direct democracy (Frey and Stutzer, 2000)

- happiness and direct democracy (referenda) are positively related, but...
- direct democracy makes citizens happier than non-citizens
- it is not the policy outcome that matters (foreigners cannot be excluded) but the process of participating in decision-making itself

# happiness is contagious (Fowler and Christakis,



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