Colombia: Unlivable but Happy. Fool's Paradise?

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This mostly theoretical and review article attempts to resolve the apparent contradiction between happy Colombians despite unlivable Colombia. Colombia is one of the several very happiest countries, and at the same time aparently unlivable—by Western standards—Colombia's poor, corrupt, dangerous, and roads and ports are bad, too. But objective livability of a society measured in terms of money/consumption/physical stuff misses 2 points: 1) only few basic commodities are good enough to satisfy human needs and produce wellbeing; 2) non-commodities such as personal freedom and social connection not only matter, but also are hampered by excessive pursuit of commodities. For instance, impeccable organization and physical infrastructure such as that in Singapore or richest parts of the US not only is unnecessary and insufficient for neither livability nor happiness, but it may actually decrease them by: 1) having to focus on what's unimportant and overwork, and 2) by making environment unhuman, sanitized, hospital/airport-like. The world has much to learn from Colombia how to be happy—it is a real paradise. Yet another possibility that we cannot fully rule out is that ignorance is a bliss—Colombia is a fool's paradise. More research is needed.

LIFE SATISFACTION, HAPPINESS, SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING, QUALITY OF LIFE, LIVABILITY, BEST PLACES TO LIVE, COLOMBIA, ALIENATION, MARX, DEGROWTH

Happy Colombia

Colombia is the happiest country in the World (e.g., Roos 2019), or at least one of a handful of the happiest countries—both World Values Surveys and World DataBase of Happiness rank it top 3 in table 1.¹ Colombia's happiness typically at 8-8.5 on 1-10 scale, a trully outstanding score. Colombia is a trully outstanding case of achieving highest happiness at low development level.

Colombia shines. The happiest countries are either the very most developed, rich and equal, or rather poor and very unequal Latin countries. Still, Colombia is happier than all other Latin countries and about as happy as Mexico, but Colombia is significantly poorer than Mexico, at least 25% poorer either in nominal or PPP terms.²

¹We do not use Gallup data because Gallup data are not meant for research but for commerce–Gallup charges \$30,000 (per year) for data access (authors' inquiry). Clearly happiness industry (Davies 2015), not happiness research. In general, private corporations are often making fortune from tax dollars and students tuition–scholars should resist corporatization of academia (Mills 2012a, Cox 2013, Mills 2012b, Catropa and Andrews 2020, Schmidlin 2015), and corporatization of happiness research (Davies 2015).

²See https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD and https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_(nominal)_per_capita and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_(PPP)_per_capita

Table 1: 10 happiest countries in the world. Data from World Database of Happiness (WDH) 2010-2019 out of 160 countries at worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/rank-reports/satisfaction-with-life and World Values Surveys (WVS) 2005-2022 [waves 5-7] out of 88 countries at worldvaluessurvey.org.

WDH			WVS			
rank	country happiness (1-10)		rank	country	happiness (1-10)	
1	Denmark	8.2	1	Puerto Rico	8.4	
2	Mexico	8.1	2	Mexico	8.3	
3	Colombia	8.1	3	Colombia	8.3	
4	Switzerland	8	4	Qatar	8.0	
5	Finland	8	5	Norway	7.9	
6	Iceland	8	6	Nicaragua	7.9	
7	Costa Rica	7.9	7	Tajikistan	7.9	
8	Norway	7.9	8	Switzerland	7.9	
9	Canada	7.9	9	Uzbekistan	7.9	
10	Qatar	7.8	10	Ecuador	7.8	

Unlivable Colombia

Table 2: Livability/Quality Of Life (QOL): objective indicators.

Indicator	Value	Source
2019 poverty (national benchmark)	42%	https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.NAHC?locations=CO
2011 median daily income/cap PPP USD	\$7	https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/09/23/seven-in-ten-people-globally-live-on-10-or-less-per-day/
2019 percent on $< 5.5/day$	30%	https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.UMIC?locations=CO
2017 R/P 10%	40	https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.DST.10TH.10
2020 unemployment rate	15%	https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?locations=CO
2020 freedom rank	96/210	https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-world/scores
2021 corruption rank	87/180	https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2021/index/col
2020 political stability, no violence/terrorism pctile	20th	https://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/Home/Reports
2020 rule of law pctile	34th	https://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/Home/Reports
2021 working conditions decile	bottom decile	https://www.globalrightsindex.org/en/2021/countries/col
2018 quality of roads rank	110/137	https://reports.weforum.org/pdf/gci-2017-2018-scorecard/WEF_GCI_2017_2018_Scorecard_EOSQ057.pdf

In sharp contrast to superb Colombian happiness, Colombia is not livable or has low quality of life (QOL),³ as measured with objective indicators in table 2, Colombia scores mediocre or low on all of them. In a remarkable contrast to Colombia's superb happiness, some of the objective indicators of quality of life are unthinkably grim: About a third of Colombians live on less than \$5.50 a day (2019). Poverty (national benchmark) is at 42%—the whole nation has a higher poverty rate than one of the poorest cities in the US, Camden NJ, at 36% (also national benchmark, census.gov/quickfacts/camdencitynewjersey). Median daily PPP per capita income in 2011 was at \$7 (the US was at \$56). R/P 10% is the ratio of the average income of the richest 10% to the poorest 10%—Colombia ranks 3rd out of 70 at a whooping 40—top decile of Colombians makes on average 40x the average of the poorest decile—even greater disparity than in the unequal US at 30. Unemployment rate is at 15%, with informal labor at about 50% of the workforce (cited in Hurtado 2016).⁴ All of that—precarious labor, poverty, and inequality should lead to unhappiness. Notably inequality is associated with a multitude of negative outcomes (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010).⁵ Specifically in Latin America, inequality was found to have negative effects on happiness as it seems to be a signal of persistent unfairness (Graham and Felton 2006)—unfairness seems to be more important that inequality (Starmans et al. 2017). Indeed, perhaps inequality is the most stark feature of Colombian life, and its inequality that has sparked recent protests.

³There are many ways to measure QOL. USNEWS, for instance, ranks colombia 68/78 on QOL. World Economic Forum provides indicators, too. See Supplementary Online Material (SOM).

⁴Colombia has a high prevalance of informal work above 50% and workes in informal sector are less happy (Hurtado et al. 2017).

⁵But see criticism by Snowdon (2010).

Colombia is still being haunted by violence and conflict, much of which is rural (hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/colombia). Colombia is less stable and more violent than 80 percent of the countries-metric "political stability and absence of violence and terrorism" is only 20th percentile.

Colombia is only partly free ranked at 96/210, and quite corrupt at 87/180. Voice and accountability and government effectivness and control of corruption are at around median. Colombia scores best at Regulatory Quality better than about 2/3 of countries, and Rule of Law is problematic-below about 2/3 of countries. Colombia is one of the 10 worst countries in the world for working people: murders and impunity, union-busting and dismissals.

In terms of quality of roads colombia ranks 110/137-part of the problem is mountains, yet equally montaneous Ecuador succeeded in road building for example -roads are a basis for travel, commerce, and trade, especially that Colombia has no rail-transport is the blood of the socitey (e.g., De Vos et al. 2013). (Singapore scores 2nd).

Unlivable but Happy—"Fool's Paradise"?

The goal of this study is to explain the massive mismatch or paradox of apparently low or mediocre livability and top life satisfaction. Colombia is a Quality of Life v Happiness puzzle. It scores mediocre or low on most QOL indicators, but tops rankings of happines. In other words, it appears to be unlivable but happy, hence so called "Fool's Paradise," a place where people are subectively happy, despite objective misery (Michalos 2014). An intersection of QOL and SWB can be visualized in a 2x2 matrix in table 3–expected outcomes are lo-lo or hi-hi, but there can also be unexpected lo-hi "fool's paradise" or hi-lo "fool's hell."

	lo livability	hi livability
lo SWB	real hell [deprivation, unhappy poor]	fool's hell [dissonance, unhappy rich]
hi SWB	fool's paradise [adaptation, happy poor]	real paradise [well-being, happy rich]

Table 3: Michalos 2 variable theory: fool's paradise and fool's hell (Michalos 2014). Cummins classification is shown in square brackets (Sirgy 2002, p.61). (Veenhoven's 4 qualities of life (Veenhoven 2000) are somewhat similar, too.) For other examples of fool's paradise and fool's hell see Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente (2019).

In explaining the Colombian mismatch or paradox of low QOL but high SWB aka "fool's paradise," it is useful to start with happiness theories.

Happiness Theories

A major and ideally fitting happiness theory, specifically about the link between livability and SWB, is livability/needs theory (Veenhoven and Ehrhardt 1995, Veenhoven 2014). Humans, like all animals, have needs, as those on the Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow [1954] 1987)—the more the needs are satisfied, the more happiness—places or societies that satisfy human needs well are livable or have high QOL:

Societies are systems for meeting human needs, but not all societies do that job equally well. Consequently, people are not equally happy in all societies.

Improvement of the fit between social institutions and human needs will result in greater happiness.

(p. 3645 Veenhoven 2014)

The Colombian chasm between livability and happiness may point to the limitations of livability theory. But we argue that, counterintuitevely, the livability theory may mostly hold true because: 1) mediocre or even moderately poor development (physical and institutional infrastructure) is already good enough to satisfy basic human needs and make a place livable;⁶ 2) physical and institutional

⁶Human physiological needs are simple and easily satisfied without much economic or institutional development.

infrastructure mostly serves only first two steps of Maslow's pyramid (physiological and safety)—higher needs such as personal freedom and social connection that are critically important for livability are rarely captured by livability metrics 3) given always limited resources, time, and attention (opportunity cost), the more of one, the less of the other one. That is, excessive pursuit of money or consumption at person level or economic growth at community or society level sacrifices non-commodities such as personal freedom and social connection notably through overwork and aliention.

A notable human need overlooked by QOL indices is biophilia (Fromm 1964, Wilson 2021), a need for contact with nature—"Nature is not a place to visit. It is home." (Gary Snyder). There is an obvious tradeoff between economic growth and nature preservation, for instance, the more urbanization, the less natural the human habitat, or next door in Brazil—the less Amazon rainforrest, the more economic growth. Climate change is a major challenge for human needs as it endagers the very habitat of homo sapiens (Pachauri et al. 2014), and again, the more economic growth, the worse the environmental degradation (e.g., Klein 2014), indeed a reasonable course of action is to de-grow the economies (Hickel 2020, Kallis 2011), especially the rich and carbon intensive ones such as the US.⁷

Related to biophilia and climate change is biodiversity, which also improves happines (Adjei and Agyei 2015, Prescott and Logan 2017). Nature is extraordinary in Colombia. Colombia has 2nd largest biodiversity (after Brazil), despite being 7x smaller than Brazil. Colombia has just about any type of natural amenities. Exposure to nature (as opposed to cities) is the key ingredient for happiness Pretty (2012), Tesson (2013), Thoreau (1995 [1854]).

Another human need, and a key to happiness is social capital (Tönnies [1887] 2002, Lane 2000, McMahon 2006, Putnam 2001), and there is plenty of social capital in Colombia. Colombians are extraordinarily social, friendly, outgoing and sponatenous—social gatherings, events and festivals are very frequent.

Freedom has been a great human need-perhaps worth dying for-as Scottish warrior William Wallace put it:

Fight and you may die. Run, and you'll live...at least a while. And dying in your beds, many years from now, would you be willing to trade all the days, from this day to that, for one chance—just one chance—to come back here and tell our enemies that they may take our lives but they'll never take our freedom! (imdb.com/title/tt0112573)

Colombia scores average on freedom listed earlier as a QOL metric in table 2, but that is one kind of freedom: "freedom from" (negative)[objective]: be no slave, live in a free country, have no coercion, free from restrictions/impediments; lack of obstacles. But there is another kind of freedom: "freedom to" (positive)[subjective]: be able to choose, control and direct one's own life; presence of control. On scale 1-10, World's average is about 7; the legendary land of the free, the US, scores higher at 7.7, but Colombia scores higher yet at 8 (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2014, 2015). Surely, the US does have many freedoms, but Colombians (and Mexicans, too) feel more free than people in the US.

Another major theory is adaptation/adjustment/hedonic treadmill (Brickman et al. 1978).

Adaptation can explain the Colombian paradox of high subjective wellbeing despite objective problems such as poverty and crime-humans are able to adapt to just about anything. Perhaps, Colombians have adapted, at least to some degree, to poverty, inequity, and even violence⁸ having suffered through recent civil war and breakdown of the state-now that things are better than they used to be just few decades ago, Colombians are making best out of the conditions. In other words, the sources of Colombian happiness may be resilience, positive outlook, ability to make out most of little, deeply familial/social society's fabric.

Finally, there is folklore theory (Veenhoven and Ehrhardt 1995).

⁷Recommendations about Colombian economic growth and development are beyond the scope of this study, but see some discussion for instance in A (2022).

⁸This is not to say that the objective problems, notably abject poverty and violations of human rights, are not important and don't need to be addressed.

Folklore's Theory: Colombia's "Good Energy"

The folklore theory, a less known theory, defines happiness in terms of the reflection of broadly held perceptions about life which are rooted in traditions and the culture of a society. For example, if a culture has an optimistic outlook in life regardless of their circumstances, future generations will remain positive. Thus, a society may be happy, regardless of the socioeconomic situation, because of cultural influences (Veenhoven and Ehrhardt 1995).

The folklore theory is in terms of national disposition/trait/character—it does appear that Colombians have slow-paced familial/social cheerful/happy disposition, which could be conducive for happiness. Colombian happiness does apper real: rather than cognitive cultural norms, wearing pink glasses.

Proper treatment of the folklore theory is left for the future research as authors' knowledge of Colombian cultural and heritage is limited—but we provide below popular explanations for Colombia's happiness—future research can test them properly and systematically. We start with authors' personal observations, anectodal evidence.

In Colombia there is human factor, good energy. We have lost in the West(Freud et al. 1930).

Colombians' attitude and approach to life is spontaneous unbirdeled joy—as if Marcuse's and Fromm's ideal (Marcuse 2015, Fromm 2013, 2012, 1964, [1941] 1994). Also reminiscent of Nietzsche's ideal of a child—curious, spontaenous, creative, and innocent Nietzsche (1896). It is present time orientation—not living in the past or worrying about future, happy-go-lucky free spirit without shame or guilt—in sharp contrast to the West, where anxiety and calculating behavior prevail. The US way of life is unnaturaly fast and mostly about money, aka "busyness" (Musk 2018). But it is also full of stress and anxiety even outside of work and money pursuit. Another source of stress and anxiety may be the constrant drive to excell in everything, be perfect, and keep up with the Joneses—so well portrayed in "American Beauty" and "Crash" movies (Frank 2012, Manson 2015). 10

Yet another source of stress and anxiety is quantity and quality of social relationships—in the US, a capitalistic society, social relationships are about business, not about actual meaningful social contact (Horowitz 2022).

As compared to calculating and fake Americans, Colombians are more spontauenous, innocent, closer to human nature, and more real. Colombians do not pay much attention to bad news and politics. Life is more about family, friends, and fun.

Next, lets move to popular media/culture explanations. 11

Two popular media articles seem most informative: Bargent (2016), Wallace (2017a).

According to an Englishman living in Medellin these are the things that make it happy in Colombia (Bargent 2016): putting most importance on family, friends, and fun-bravado and blind optimism may help too; having less entitlement and appreciating what one has, having joy in small things, e.g., cheap coffee/alcohol are just fine; not worrying and not expecting much ("tranquilo.")

Bargent (2016) observes: "Colombia violence and cruelty became frighteningly routine"—indeed people can get used to just about anything (Brickman et al. 1978), and again, even though the violence is bad, it used to be worse in 80s and 90s Michalos (1985).

Bargent (2016) wonders further that in Colombia emotions change seamlesly and effortlessly between shame and pride, despair and hope, sorrow and happiness–but shouldn't they? Isn't being natural, simple, and easy-going a good thing? As opposed to the US, where one is supposed to pretend to just be perfect, happy, and busy working as in "American Beauty" movie.¹²

Wallace (2017a) offers many illustrative quotes by Colombians and about Colombians:

¹² "Surface acting" (faking emotions that are deemed appropriate) is emotionally draining (Brooks 2022).

⁹But see Banfield (1967, 1974)— it could be also culture of poverty responsible for poor development. Yet not caring too much can be actually what is needed for much of a socety in the West–see wonderfully refreshing Manson (2015).

¹⁰Excellence is pervasive, e.g., Plano TX, has on its official logo "City Of Excellence." Pursiut of perfection/excellence generates arms race and constantly raises the bar, creating even more stress and anxiety in a vicious cycle, and ultimately by definition creates mass failure—humans by definition are not perfect, and there can only be one or a handful of winners in any race (Frank 2012, Manson 2015). In addition to stress and anxiety, shame and guilt are likely created as well.

¹¹As a sidenote, perhaps start with colombia.co which appears an official governemnt website adverstising Colombia to the world, producing the Colombia brand, it does talk about great positive energy, eg "Boundless Enthusiasm", but then also blends in usual Western business talk about entrepreneurship and so forth, and this is good, colombia does need investments. See https://www.colombia.co/en/colombia-country/what-are-colombian-people-like

"Money is nice but it's not the most important thing," "In general we are a culture that values what you have," and "We love people and music"

"Colombians are innocent. They're curious." "Colombians have become indifferent to situations of war. In other words, if the problem does not touch me directly, I must feel grateful, satisfied, optimistic, lucky." "Colombians have always demonstrated incredible, Herculean and powerful resilience to war, death and to the harsh history of violence and diplomatic failures," "Colombians feed this resilience through human connections and the communal experience."

"We live for parties, holidays, and fill the void with a fanaticism for sporting events and beauty pageants and entertainment" "The dance frees you. It is a way of expression and feeling. Here the music is carried in the blood, in the veins, in our heart. It's a great passion we carry throughout our lives" ¹³

Davies (????) adds few happy Colombian traits: warm and polite, deeply affectionate among friends, and kind to strangers; loves to party, reveres, and adores their family, and is so enthusiastic about life.

Moreno (2013) lists some intriguing hypotheses as to happiness predictors that could be used in the future research: biodiversity, climate diversity, plenty of festivals/holidays, healthy lifestyle and food, dancing.

Marxist Theory of Alienation

"Alienation is the transformation of people's own labour into a power which rules them" (marxists.org/subject/alienation). Alienation means separation of a person from the conditions of meaningful agency—a typical situation is when a person does not own means of production—such a person is only an appendage of a machine (Horowitz 2022). The overall overreaching alienation consists of alienation from: the product of labour, the activity of labour, one's own specific humanity, others/society. For elaboration see Horowitz (2022) and marxists.org/subject/alienation.

For instance, in Colombia, pull over from the road and right there on a roadside you get a friendly personal cup of coffee. In the US, you can go go to Starbucks that feels like hospital or airport–robotic and inhuman. Starbucks workers (not to mention McDonalds and other fastfoods) do seem to be alienated both from the product and the activity–they have no freedom, autonomy or latitude over the product (it is given) and alomost none over labor (there are strict procedures that must be followed).

Same holds for other chains that dominate the US, and could extended to other businesses, delivery for instance. US Amazon drivers have cameras and motion detectors in the truck so to meet the quota sometimes they have to pee in the bottle (Moyer 2022). Similarly in warehouses, wearing bracelet with gps, and to meet the quota sometimes have to restore to painkillers that are freely available from dispensaries (Streitfeld and Kantor 2015, Guendelsberger 2019). What else could be a better example of loss of humanity or de-humanization than a human wearing a bracelet with gps eating painkillers and working alongside robots in a giant warehouse? Of course, not all workers have such dire conditions, but this is arguably the trend, if innovative Amazon does it, others are likely to follow.

In Colombia, on the contrary, much of delivery is informal—often a guy on a motorcycle who has much more autonomy and freedom over execution of his job.

In fact, about half of the Colombian economy is informal–informal labor is at about 50% of the workforce (cited in Hurtado 2016).¹⁴
And then there are two other types of alienation: from oneself and society–if one performs highly specialized task in a repetetive fashion for long hours (such as much of the US economy), one becomes alienated from herself and the society. This can be easily

¹³ "Colombian salsa, as opposed to other forms, is denoted by faster syncopations that match the people's natural energy. It's an egalitarian genre, accessible to everyone, and it seems to make the entire country happy. But is it a different experience than in other countries, like, say, with Brazilians and samba?" "I think there are several differences [...] Our dance is much more sociable. It's necessary to dance salsa as a couple or in a group. There is a more direct connection. For these reasons, it's been gaining importance in the world." "Salsa is a refresher of human dignity. It overshadows inequity and discontent with sharp rhythms and the madness of love. It closes social distances because it requires people to embrace each other in a moment of eye contact, the feel of the skin, bringing them together with movement, helping them to know each other and see the best in each other. It has a long cultural heritage of peace."

¹⁴Colombia has a high prevalance of informal work above 50% and workes in informal sector are less happy (Hurtado et al. 2017). This would contradict alienation hypothesis, but it doesn't take into account confounders such as lower pay, lack of benefits, etc.

observed after working hours—the US workers are like ghosts without much life in them and without much interaction (Putnam 2001, Duany et al. 2001).

Colombians are not alientated—their life is about family, friends, and fun, not about money—less money orientation, less alienation.

As per livability theory (Veenhoven 2014), society is a system to satisfy human needs, but there are multiple serious disconents of the Western society and many human needs are suppressed and not satisfied (Freud et al. 1930). Notably highly cpitalistic societies, such as the US, rather serve to satisfy the capitalists than the working people (Marx [1867] 2010).

Singapore, a Fool's Hell?

An useful counterexample for Colombia could be "fool's hell"—a place that has high objective quality of life or livability, but low subjective wellbeing or life satisfaction.

Singapore, Switzerland of Asia, is impeccably/squeaky clean, extremely stable/predictable/disciplined and safe (de Veyra 2022, Clydesdale 2022). Singapore, by many standards, is one of the best, if not the best place in the World. It has World's third highest (after Qatar and Luxembourg) Gross Domestic Product per Capita Purchasing Power Parity adjusted (IMF 2017). It has also third highest (after Monaco and Japan) life expectancy in the World (Central Intelligence Agency 2017), second highest economic freedom (Heritage 2017). Singaporean children score highest on educational tests (Coughlan 2017), it is making greatest progress in health (Fullman et al. 2017), has the World's fastest internet (McSpadden 2015). It even has world's strongest passport (Chandran 2017). In short, one could say that Singapore is one of most livable places in the World, if not the very most livable in the World. Singapore's life satisfaction rank is 68/160 (WDH), again, Colombia is 3/160.

But being impeccably clean, extremely disciplined and safe can hamper freedom and ultimately happiness. For instance, no smoking in Singapore–but cigars help great deal (Freud). No marijuana, no gum chewing, and a list of prohibitions continues (de Veyra 2022, Clydesdale 2022)¹⁵

US: Fool's Pardise or Fool's Hell?

The US, the world-renown "best country in the world," home to the American dream, notably the very richest country in the world (excluding tiny oil producing countries such as Norway), and yet ranks only 46/160 in WDH—the best country in the world doesn't even make it to the top happiness quartile. This sounds like fool's hell, the opposite of Colombian mismatch of QOL and SWB. Except that, also as in Colombia's case, there is arguably better match between QOL and SWB than expected, becaue there are non-commodity components such as personal freedom and social connection that need to be taken into account. Colombia is actually quite livable and so is happy, and the US actually is not that livable, and hence not that happy. ¹⁶

In the US, pursuit of money and pursuit of happiness are about the same thing (Easterlin 1973). But we know that money does not buy happiness, and if anything, excessive pursuit of it, such as that in the US, may actually decrease happiness (Kasser 2016, Dittmar et al. 2014, Brown and Kasser 2005, Kasser 2003, Schmuck et al. 2000, Kasser and Ryan 1993, Leonard 2010). It is clear from figure 7 that Philly is for business and Cali is for people.¹⁷

miles corak!

^{15 &}quot;Smoking is one of the greatest and cheapest enjoyments in life, and if you decide in advance not to smoke, I can only feel sorry for you," "[Cigars have] served me for precisely fifty years as protection and a weapon in the combat of life ... I owe to the cigar a great intensification of my capacity to work and a facilitation of my self-control" . Per Freud see https://www.freud.org.uk/2020/04/22/freud-and-his-cigars/ and Elkin (1994). Of course, as with everything, moderation should be exercised, for instance, smoking more than 2 cigars a day increases probablility of health problems much more than smoking less than 2 cigars per day, and while some studies find no health effects of smoking less than 2 cigars per day, some studies do find negative effects (e.g., Chang et al. 2015).

¹⁶To be fair, there are many great things about the US: vibrant international melting pot, relative lack of (crude) corruption, working independent courts, uncorrupt law enforcement, aboundance of goods and services (not that need that much for livability), and arguably the biggest advantage: the highest wages in the world arguaby if you do not make a lot of money, the US is not the best place to be—it's not worth alienation for little money

¹⁷It is getting worse in Colombia however–notably the urban landscape is getting littered with commercial centers "centro commercial" (Western-like malls). Villages are still spared.

Figure 1: Getting out of the city's main transportation hub. (Zoom as much as screen allows.)

(a) Philadelphia 30st station

(b) Cali's Terminal de Transporte



the major culprit is consumerism! cp from i wish i hadnt worked so hard; can make a good living, make good salary, the problem is people spend it on stuff they dont need and end up on hamsters wheel

Us fools apradiae American dream false corak

a remarkably important point is that Americans dont even seem to realize they are alientated, indeed travel to a place like Colombia may be necessary to open one's eyes

alternatives to capitalism such as communism did have failed spectacularly say as in soviet union and continue to fail in Venezuela and elsewhere. But what about fully automated luxury communism (Bastani 2019)?

Discussion and Conclusion

This is one of the most striking paradoxes in the social indicators field—given poor or average objective quality of life indicators, Colombia is an extremely happy country. How?

So is Colombia "Unlivable" but "Happy," a so called Fool's Paradise? Arguably not.

Colombia is a genuinely wonderful place to be as many locals, travelers and toursits would attest (e.g., Roos 2019, Wallace 2017b, Davies ????)

Colombians don't seem to be weighted down by civilization and its discontents (Freud et al. 1930), or ghosts of the past Pile (2005b,a), Pile et al. (1999).

The world has much to learn from Colombia how to be happy.¹⁸ This paper argues that Colombia is one of the very best countries to visit, and it may even be one of best places to live.

Colombia is mostly a real paradise, not fool's paradise—the point is that in the West, and especially in the US materialism and consumerism are so extremely rampant and widespread that they are not noticed and equating happiness with money is a nore it is a norm money—happiness, so then not wealthy country such as coolombia cannot be happy; when it turns out it is, the reasoning is that there must be something wrong with happiness measure (cite deaton youtube and glaeser happiness overrated) or with colombians 'fools paradise'—it simply seems wrong that with little money there may be happiness; but we know that money doesnt buy happiness, and indeed excessive puruit of money, such as that prevalent in the US, may kill happiness

¹⁸Note that the arguments and results presented here likely generalize to some degree to other Latin countries, perhaps especially the Caribbean–there may be Caraibean energy. Ecuador's energy, for instance, is more flat.

CONCLUSION: only apprently great happiness is possible in unlivable conditions! BUT what matters for livability is not only gdp, kkz, roads, etc; social capilal–Rt so col is livable!! argue that dont need much to satisfy human needs, so ya livability theory holds!!and Stuff like gdp governance roads not most important, social stuff is the key and stressless spontaneous attitude like from Marcuse

conclusion: why awesome wealth impeccable discipline and physcial infastructure if it is not related to human wellbeing?

conclusion/limitations: much furtger research needed, especially in terms of systematic and deeper approaches; here the goal was to paint a broad picture

Despite all the problems with poverty, roads, corruption, etc as enumerated at the beginning in 2, Colombia actually seems to be quite a livable place.

But 2 points to problems in terms of metrics that are mostly economic, some legal/institutions, and physical infrastructure. But these things are not the only things that matter ¹⁹ there are other things that matter for human flourishing or happiness.

and in fact the more focus on economy, the less human firndly the place is-marx sec on alienation

Colombia is a wonderful place, it has everything: Pacific, Caraibbean, jungle, desert, mountains, you name it, like Lat Am in one country, 2nd greatest biodiversity in the world so it is striking that according to WEF in terms of Prioritization of Travel & Tourism colombia ranks 97th out of 136 countries (World Economic Forum 2017). Given that its air transport infrastracture is good 60th, but Ground and Port Infrastructure bad 116th. And Safety and Security 136th/136—surely Colombia should work to improve safety, but much progress has already been done, and it is important to point out that much of the country is safe, and dangerous colombia is more of a stigma of the past than present reality.

111

!!!as per fool paradise question in the title: no, wonderful place, yes, poor, but not only material things matter for livability

The concept of fool's paradise is related to the concept of 'ignorance is a bliss,' and there may be a grain of truth there. if anything ignorance is a bliss-colombians may not know about good life, especially those in poor and isolated areas

ya a grain of truth in fool's paaradice, it is similar to saying ignorance is the bliss or poeple simply do not know better; like that ecuador airbinb quito old hotel owner said!

inhabitants of poor municipalities in the Choco are happy to know only that environment in which they were born and raised, but when they know and live in other municipalities with greater socio-economic development their demands and expectations increase (Muñoz-Cardona 2018).

many poor may be relatively segregated and isolated into their neighborhoods, not knowing better, and thus being satisfied with little what they have. Similarly, to women in rural China, who only became unhappy once they became exposed to higher standard of living (Rosenthal 1999).

Curiously, Martínez and Short (2020) reports that in Cali residents in the poorest districts were more satisfied with their lives, and speculates that it may be so due to the high resilience of this population being affected by crime, poor health, and insufficient provision of public goods. Here it may be similar, country was ravaged by largest civil conflict in Latin America and drug-trafficing related viloence in 80s and 90s (Martínez and Short 2020), and now while stipp poor and unsafe as compare to West, much better than 230 or 0 years ago; and what it went through might have made it resilient

There is obviously large migration from latin america to the US, and suerely more people want to come to the US than leave it, but this doesn't mean that the US is the best place to live–people mostly come to the US for the money, not necessarily for quality of life.

Indeed recent media reports argue the opposite–people are leaving the US for latin america for better quality of life there, eg californians and others moving to mexico; and anectodal evidence–many westerners fall in love with colombia

¹⁹As long as the problems are not extreme, and in Colombia they sometimes are. For instance, mediocre or relatively poor road condition does not hamper human flourishing much, but extremely bad condition such as falling bridge does create great unhappiness. Same with poverty—one can live happily on very little, indeed be poor by western standards, without hot water, without car, etc, but abject poverty such as malnutrition does create great unhappiness. There is considerable abject poverty in Colombia, and no amout of nature, festivals, or cheerfulness can help with it.

future research can perhaps use MLM to include country level variables, now with only 3 or 4 waves, there is not enough time variability to test these variables statistically

Future Research and Questions that Remain

improve on anectodal evidence who would move where col-¿us or us-¿col

ideally actual moving, not self-reported as it is likely to be biased especially if a person havent experienced life in both counrteis. So while presumably many Colombians would like to move to USA and not many Americans woul like to move to Colombia, it should be noted that indeed many westerners from better objective conditions do move to Colombia FIND SOME CITES

thsi is background information and further elaboration is beyond the scope of this paper focusing in Happiness within Colombia across space

big elephant in the room may be the bias of authors: it may be just money: having Western salary in a poor country buys a lot of happiness arguably authors would be less excited about colombia if they lived on a colombian salary

yes, survey data shows that colombians living in colombia and making colombian salary are happy, but would they still be happy if they knew life, salary, ad opportunities in the US, would they stay in Colombia, so again ignorance is a bliss? it's a paradise but only beacuse people don't know any better?

And sure money helps. But it's locals making pesos being more happy than American

cannot really test or porpoerly exclude fools paradise hypothesis, but anectodal evidence, contrary to popular opinion that if colombians could most would go to united states; indeed this rather seems exception that the rule and many colombians who can live in the US chose to live in Colombia, likewise many westerners go and stay in col

To provoke discussion and spark research, these are only speculations so far

ONLINE APPENDIX

incorporate somewhere Colombia is one of the happiest countries in the world, or indeed the happiest (Roos 2019). Colombia scores in top decile in terms of life satisfaction (Scandinavia often tops the rankings). Yet in terms of emotions and daily life experience: smiling and laughter, respect, enjoyment, worry, sadness and anger: positive daily experiences and emotions, the top countries are: Colombia, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Of the 10 countries that rank highest on positive experiences, 7 are Latin Americam (Roos 2019). Colombians seem to have warm, welcoming, and unshakable spirit; and they appear reslilient—grateful, satisfied, optimistic, lucky, and even innocent (Wallace 2017b).

elaborate on affect, momentary happiness as per that huffpost; and add washington post i think-that col is the very happiest!!!

Brief Definitions

incorporate somehwere or footnote or SOM, different parts can go different places

Overall Subjective WellBeing (SWB) can be broken down into components. Notably, there is affective happiness (feel happy) v cognitive life satisfaction (perceive/evaluate life as satysfying).

The two would overlap/corelate moderately but they are conceptually different—e.g., I am happy at the moment because I see blue sky and eat a tasty burger, but I am dissatisfied with my life because I have no friends, no money, and bad health. Or I can be satisfied with my life as a whole because I have many friends, excellent health, and great job, but I am unhappy now because the weather is bad and my lunch is not tasting good.

Likewise, a typical Scandinavian, say from Iceland, looks grumpy, cold, unfriedly, and rather sad, doesn't talk much, doesn't smile, yet Scandinavians consitently report very high life satisfaction. Latinos report quite high life satisfaction, and are extremely happy: warm, cheerful, friendly.

Another notable distinction is hedonia: more joy and fun than pain and misery (Bentham) v eudamonia: good life, realizing one's potential, becoming who you are (Aristotle, Nietzsche). todo somewhere eg discussion where i say ignorace is a bliss its like be satisfied pig v unhappy socrates, so perhaps Colombia is more about hedonia than eudamonia

For dicussion see Diener (2009), Weijers (2011), Weijers and Jarden (2013), McMahon (2006), Ryff (2014) CITE RYFF guess that youtube vid i

Existing Limited Research

a small subsection where list exisitng research on swb in col-lina-any other?

There is economic research focusing on SWB and inequality in Latin America (Graham and Felton 2006) and Colombia specifically (Burger et al. 2021), but it doesn't address livability-happiness paradox. The top 1% of the income distribution accounts for over 20% of total income in 2010–the rich Colombians are mostly rentiers and capital owners. (Alvaredo and Londoño Vélez 2013) Yet, regardless of the income level, Colombians are optimistic about their mobility (Londoño Vélez 2011).

Adaptation is strong in Latin America, for instance poor people such as peasants can be happy because of adaptation; crime and corruption decrease happiness, but less so when they are more prevelent—again people adapt (Graham 2009).

Then there is a useful volume on happiness in latin america: "Handbook of Happiness Research in Latin America" making two relvant points about SWB in COlombia. In the poorest income quintile life satisfaction was above 8 on a 10-point scale (Hurtado 2016). Family is the most important relational good, main social support–family is the meaning of life—the end that justifies efforts (Velásquez 2016).

In conclusion—there is still very little research on happiness in Colombia, and the exiting research is rather indirect and tangenial only to our topic, and hence, we turn to anectodal evidence to explain high happiness amidst low livability

again see tag col in ebib

A look over time

First we have observed a paradox across space (v other countries) of happiness amongst unlivability. Another paradox is within Colombia and over time: Easterlin's Paradox–PCGDP went up 50% but SWB remained flat.

Other metrics improved, too-Gini dropped from 59 in 2000 to 51 in 2019 https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV. GINI/?locations=CO.

Unemployment rate is at 15%, in 2010, poverty rate was at 34.1%

Colombia was ravaged by largest civil conflict in Latin America and drug-trafficing related viloence in 80s and 90s (Martínez and Short 2020).

armed conflict between government forces, leftist guerrilla groups and right wing paramilitaries. The conflict escalated in the 1990s mainly in remote rural areas.

so we focus on the aftermath-how's colombia doing in the last 20 years 2000-2020

Here we focus on 20 year span.

about a third of Colombians live on less than \$5.50 a day in 2019, but strikingly, that's a progress, it is down from about 2/3 of Colombians in 2000!

We use www.worldvaluessurvey.org

SWB question reads "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using this card on which 1 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole?"

Freedom q and some elab from free from and to

GDP per capita, PPP (constant 2017 international \$) in thousands https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP. PP.KD?locations=CO

Colombian GDP went up by 50% over 1997-2018. Colombians happiness and feeling of freedom are among the highest in the world, but they did not change over 1997-2018. In Colombia, GDP has no relationship with SWB, i.e., the Easterlin Paradox holds.

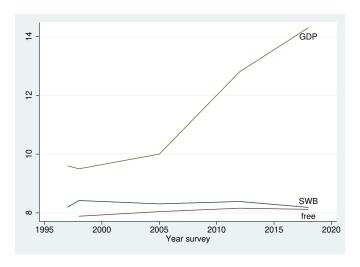


Figure 2: XXX

like 1st caption on swb, wave 5-7: 3 most free ctries, plus usa, germany uk cp some explanation from free from and free to Puerto Rico 8.4 Mexico 8.3 Colombia 8.1 Germany 6.9 UK 7.2 USA 7.7

swb flat-but givem enourmous improvement in QOL these should be increasing-so again, arguably GDP has little to do with QOL, just as in a cross section

The US v Colombia in Pictures

note these are screenshots on full screen of res at 1200 860

The point is that the apparent economic or even livability superiority of the US over Colombia actually is only economic—more expensive physical infrastructure doesnt make it more livable and actually can make it less livable.

It is ofen overlooked point that something less developed economically and cheaper is actually better (happier).

The US infrastructure is great for business or making money, but it is bad for living there. It could be a difficult tradeoff to solve: economic growth v wellbeing, except that a very convincing argument has alrady been made that we do not need any more economic growth KALLIS

Some inspiration comes from Quercia (2014)-the idea is that what matters when travelling is not onnly speed and distance.

US has this strange obsession with excellence/perfection and productivity, also in terms of built environment apprently thinking that the more ordered, organized, and man-made, the better. But the thinking was not always this way. Thoreau, for instance, was an American (Thoreau 1995 [1854], 1993).

The following are one of the authour's own subjective/anectodal opinions. Note when picking images i dropped the Google's yellow man more or less randomly only given rural, urban, suburb, toll, etc and took first useful image. I tried to avoid to cherry pick positive

and negative imagenary. Comments welcomed! Contact the corresponding author.

For best results zoom as much as screen allows.

In fig 3 obvious difference is width or 6 v 2 lanes, and economically 6 beats 2–can move more stuff faster, but assuming the same traffic, it is more interesting and fun or joy to ride on smaller roads.²⁰ The other less obvious difference is vegetation–around I-95 it is pedigreed nicely trimmed man made fake nature; around 25 it is real wild nature–more happiness there too.

I-95 misery v bad colombian road fun!

Keep in mind that 25 is not some small rural road—it's one of the most major ones, the Pan Americana. ²¹

have capitions and or in text: like robotic/alien-like v human

Figure 3: A major road/highway in the middle of nowhere.

(a) US I-95 rural MD, couple miles N of Susquehanna River

(b) Colombian 25 (PanAmericana), between Cali and Popayan

22

fig 4 here we are passing through towns—on 295 through cherry hill, but who would have noticed looks the same as I-95 in previous picture, whether rural or urban, there's the same fake nature on the side.

fig 5 Approaching Del Mem Br toll-looks unwelcoming, like an entrance to minimum security prison. Peaje on 25 looks better, again natural wild vegetation, can pull over and rest a bit, buy an organic orange.

in fig 6 even toll booth looks more human in Colombia, a friendlier more welcoming place, the one in the US looks like entrance to a minimum security prison

Last but not least let's hang out in a city, in fig 7 Say you are a weary traveller arriving at 30th st station in Philly. You get out of the station, and it's a desert–nowhere to hangout, have to keep walking. You arrive to terminal de transporte in Cali, get out of the building and plenty of places to buy food, drinks, and sit down.

fig 3:

https://www.google.com/maps/@39.6003437,-76.0444379,3a,75y,249.22h,83.1t/data=!3m7!1e1!3m5!1s0wpnM0Yc9KK6YD62e0!6shttps:%2F%2Fstreetviewpixels-pa.googleapis.com%2Fv1%2Fthumbnail%3Fpanoid%3D0wpnM0Yc9KK6YD6ZhdgiJQ%26cb_client%3Dmaps_sv.tactile.gps%26w%3D203%26h%3D100%26yaw%3D150.322%26pitch%3D0%26thumbfov%3D100!7i16384!8i8192

²⁰And adding more lanes does not automatically mean less trafic, often on the contrary, people decide to drive more–adding more lanes for traffic is like loosing your belt for obesity (e.g., Duany et al. 2001).

²¹And why not more fun highway, say from rural mountaenous TN? Because the contrast is for the flat, dense, developed and wealthy North East-that's where economic productivity thrives

²²295 not NJ Turnpike, to be conservative, NJ Turnpike is even more fake

Figure 4: Passing through a town.



Figure 5: Approaching toll.



https://www.google.com/maps/@2.7886904,-76.5521276,3a,75y,177.41h,100.48t/data=!3m7!1e1!3m5!1sDBBNlUaixNJLt9
2e0!6shttps:%2F%2Fstreetviewpixels-pa.googleapis.com%2Fv1%2Fthumbnail%3Fpanoid%3DDBBNlUaixNJLt9uUrulT5g%26cb_
client%3Dmaps_sv.tactile.gps%26w%3D203%26h%3D100%26yaw%3D259.4146%26pitch%3D0%26thumbfov%3D100!7i13312!8i6656
fig 4

https://www.google.com/maps/@39.9151715,-74.9812986,3a,75y,355.06h,94.72t/data=!3m7!1e1!3m5!1svjTItcXHUaahWE
2e0!6shttps:%2F%2Fstreetviewpixels-pa.googleapis.com%2Fv1%2Fthumbnail%3Fpanoid%3DvjTItcXHUaahWEkdG9iXbg%26cb_
client%3Dmaps_sv.tactile.gps%26w%3D203%26h%3D100%26yaw%3D108.39489%26pitch%3D0%26thumbfov%3D100!7i16384!8i8192

https://www.google.com/maps/@2.1191142,-76.9827811,3a,75y,29.76h,78.92t/data=!3m7!1e1!3m5!1sLImUajMcEKyf6eLx2e0!6shttps:%2F%2Fstreetviewpixels-pa.googleapis.com%2Fv1%2Fthumbnail%3Fpanoid%3DLImUajMcEKyf6eLxRirjGw%26cb_client%3Dmaps_sv.tactile.gps%26w%3D203%26h%3D100%26yaw%3D155.053%26pitch%3D0%26thumbfov%3D100!7i13312!8i6656

https://www.google.com/maps/@3.1520675,-76.460229,3a,75y,181.56h,83.61t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1s27q_DTIQZ3Tc67jR

Figure 6: Paying toll.

(a) Del Mem Br

(b) Peaje on 25 south of Cali



Figure 7: Getting out of the train station and bus terminal. (Note: no trains in Colombia.)

(a) (b)



2e0!7i13312!8i6656

https://www.google.com/maps/@39.6962957,-75.5445256,3a,75y,284.53h,94.14t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1s6XzK4mx61AETyW2e0!7i16384!8i8192

fig 6

same as above just move ahead

fig 7

https://www.google.com/maps/@39.9556825,-75.1809809,3a,75y,98.3h,91.96t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sx0T6m0Tfk7frupGV 2e0!7i16384!8i8192

https://www.google.com/maps/03.4656412,-76.5213045,3a,75y,89.77h,81.78t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sWYCkArtZNxDNuhKT2e0!7i13312!8i6656

World Economic Forum report 2017

USNEWS measures QOL as: A good job market, Affordable, Economically stable, Family-friendly, Income equality, Politically stable, Safe, Well-developed public education system, Well-developed public health system—see https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/colombia.

World Economic Forum (WEF) indicators are in figure ??.

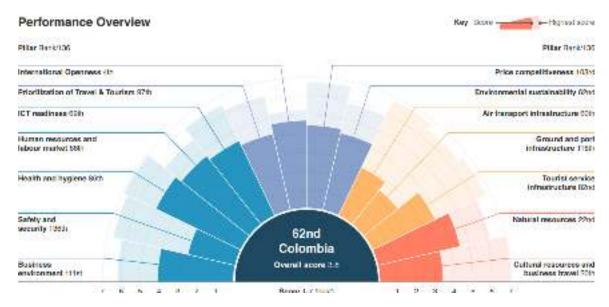


Figure 8: World Economic Forum report 2017 from https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_TTCR_2017_web_0401.pdf.

Additional Information

9

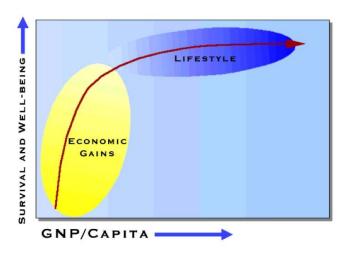


Figure 9: Well-being and income, (Inglehart 1997).

TO n org later can redo with latinobarometer, goes back every year to like 95, but at least since 05 has 8 step urbanicity, but top one is 100k and then there is capital ad

and then can do size with province :)

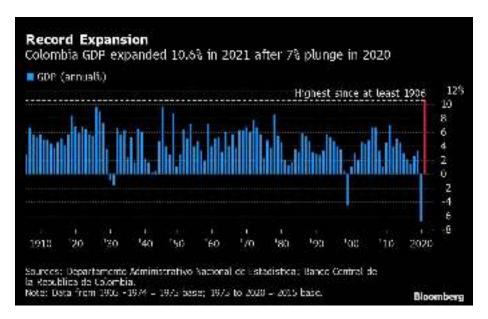


Figure 10: Long term GDP from Colombian government.

	a1	a2	a3	a4	a5	a5A	a5b
-10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
10-50k	-0.04	-0.02	-0.04	-0.07	-0.08	-0.18	-0.18
50-500k	-0.03	-0.01	-0.10	-0.15	-0.14	-0.11	-0.17
500k-	-0.05	-0.02	-0.18	-0.25+	-0.23+	-0.20	-0.31*
1998	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		
2012	-0.03	-0.02	0.01	-0.06	-0.02	0.00	0.00
2018	-0.24***	-0.21**	-0.19**	-0.20**	-0.18*	-0.19*	-0.13+
age		0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03+	0.03
age2		-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
male		0.01	-0.10*	-0.11*	-0.05	-0.13	-0.12
married or living together as married		0.21***	0.22***	0.22***	0.19**	0.16+	0.17+
divorced/separated/widowed		-0.02	-0.00	-0.01	-0.03	-0.11	-0.12
health			0.61***	0.59***	0.58***	0.59***	0.62***
class			0.12***	0.07*	0.06*	0.05	0.06
education			-0.03**	-0.06***	-0.06***	-0.06**	-0.06**
income			0.03	0.08***	0.07***	0.09***	0.10***
Full time				0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Part time					0.00	-0.10	-0.10
Self employed					-0.04	-0.14	-0.16
Retired					0.13	0.19	0.20
Housewife					0.13	0.19	0.20
Students					0.08	0.03	0.03
Unemployed					-0.25**	-0.26+	-0.27+
Other Other					-0.25	-0.20+ -0.18	-0.27+ -0.15
					-0.13 0.02	0.18	-0.15 0.01
religious services					0.02	0.01	0.01
No religious denomination					-0.18	0.00	-0.09
Buddhist					-0.18 0.05	0.04	0.09
Christian							
Evangelical					0.01	-0.14	-0.13 0.52
Jehovah witnesses					0.40+	0.61	0.52
Jew					0.38		
Muslim					0.94***	1.44***	1.19***
Other					0.07	-1.02+	-1.03*
Pentecostal					1.11**	1.16**	1.20**
Protestant					0.38	0.14	0.08
Roman_Catholic					0.06	0.13	0.13
Seven Day Adventist					0.76+	0.76	0.82+
Wicca					1.15***	1.37***	1.36***
AU: Uniting Church					-0.26*	-0.42**	-0.27+
victim of a crime last year						-0.21*	
freq felt unsafe from crime at home						-0.17***	
constant	8.46***	8.25***	5.49***	5.53***	5.46***	5.40***	4.97***
N	6025	6024	5895	5874	5853	2885	2885

Table 4: OLS regressions of satisfaccionvida. See coef on 2018-they're becoming less happy!!

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