Dive Into SWB: history and philosopy major theories measurment some illustrative findings

Adam Okulicz-Kozaryn

## <u>outline</u>

why study happiness ?

common and ancient wisdom (related to the five theories)

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

bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

history and philosophy

can we study it scientifically?

the classics, the pioneers: Campbell, etc

the classics, the pioneers. Campbell, etc

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 study happiness ?

## 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?

why study happiness ? 5/71

can money buy happiness?



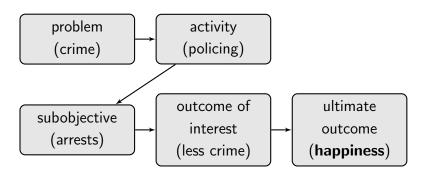
"Researchers say I'm not happier for being richer, but do you know how much researchers make?"

## 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>

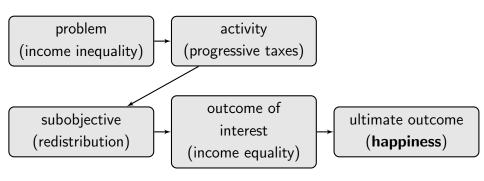
why study happiness?

## the outcome line (easy)



why study happiness ?

## the outcome line (not easy!)



why study happiness ? 9/71

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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 and philosophy

### 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.
- o Dionysus, the god of wine and dance: irrationality and chaos, and appeals to emotions and instincts.
- obut more precisely:
- Aristotelian Eudaimonia (good life, living well)
- Benthamite Greatest Happiness for the Greatest Number

history and philosophy 18/71

#### Aristotelian Eudaimonia

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

history and philosophy 19/71

### Benthamite Greatest SWB for the Greatest Num

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

history and philosophy 20/71

### **Epicurus**

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

history and philosophy 21/71

## Dionysus aka Bacchus

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

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

history and philosophy 22/71

#### and the winner is...

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

history and philosophy 23/71

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can we study it scientifically?

#### but it is in the clouds

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

#### in the clouds?

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

#### definition

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

#### measurement

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

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:
- othe rich? educated? females?
- oguess 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

five constructed, pno genetic component to it!

## genes/set point theory

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

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https:
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//amp.businessinsider.com/your-personality-could-affect-your-happiness-2018-9

- adaptation theory (Brickman et al., 1978)
- [related to genes/set point]

'hedonic treadmill'

1950)

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

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

- humans, like other animals have certain needs
- physiological needs like water, food, sleep; and other needs:
  eg contact with other living organisms (biophilia, social
  - capital, nature, etc)
- 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 followsthis 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
- o eg losing may be more felt than gaining (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979)
- "it is better to be a big frog in a small pond than a small frog in a big pond" (Davis, 1966)

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

- SWB merely signals that task at hand has been accomplished
- then it dissipates and pain settles in so that the signal is that I can move to another task!
- Earth is not for comfort (or happiness)
- it's for struggle, and pain has its motivating place
- happiness-seeking/pain avoidance is complacence
- no pain, no gain!

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

- also like the earlier equation (Carver, 2003):
   swb=achieverment/experience-expectations/aspirations
- $\circ\operatorname{if}$  rate of progress below the reference rate: negative affect
- oif above: positive affect
- also if doing well: become satisfied, comfortable, possibly complacent (Carver, 2003)
- $\circ\,\mbox{untill}$  you fall below the reference line and it goes over again
- note: winner-take-all capitalism raises the reference line

  (Frank, 2012)

#### various models (Carver, 2003)

- cruise control: going over the hill
- ogets tough, incrase velocity and fuel use
- o reach plateau and going down the hill: decrease fuel
- coasting: positive affect leads to coasting
- opportunistic shifting: positive feelings promote play
- o also see Marcuse

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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
- 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:
- ohttps://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/
- o if that's something that you're into, have a good look
- o 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
- oit 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
- o (like Fromm, Marcuse, and me)
- really great books:
- Toward a Psychology of Being

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https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=jcKbDAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT15&dq=maslow&ots=eTsqFrXdED&sig=UlvB9X_
8k3NCfVa-Nc08Zvw0zeo#v=onepage&q=maslow&f=false
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o and Peak Experience (kind of like flow) https:

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//en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religions,_Values,_and_Peak_Experiences
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#### Freud

- eg see his "Civilization and its discontents"
- Ohttps://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
- o note, i am doing some psychoanalysis, too!
- Ohttps://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/52123/PDF/1/play/

#### Fromm and Marcuse

- they have political economy and psychoanalytic/Freudian and Marxist leanings
- o(like me)
- $\circ\,\mbox{and}$  have created some of the greatest writings in the field
- o 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:

o "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

• "One dimensional man" https://books.google.com/books?id=

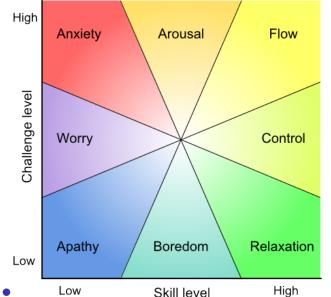
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+Studies+in+the+ideology+of+advanced+industrial+society&hl=en&sa=

X&ved=OahUKEwiImdSzn83dAhVNGt8KHShSBI8Q6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=
One-dimensional%20man%3A%20Studies%20in%20the%20ideology%20of%

20advanced%20industrial%20society&f=false

Que'Erose and civilization" https://books.google.com/books?id= 49/71

#### 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) o describe in few sentences

- Civilization and its discontents (Freud et al., 1930)
- (the need to belong) (Baumeister and Leary, 1995, Maslow, [1954] 1987)
- evolution/genes:
- $\circ$  Birds of a feather: <u>Homophily</u> in social networks (McPherson

et al., 2001)

 The social cage: Human nature and the evolution of society (Maryanski and Turner, 1992)

the Learning and Gambling Feel So Good (Linden, 2011)

 The Compass of Pleasure: How Our Brains Make Fatty Foods, Orgasm, Exercise, Marijuana, Generosity, Vodka,

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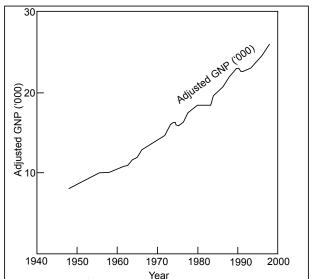
#### what predicts happiness

- 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

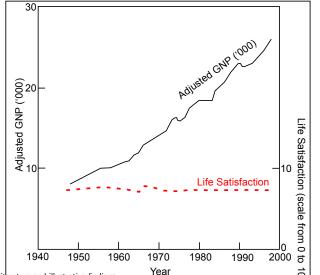
- pcgdp, ppp (Alesina and Ferrara, 2000)
- unemployment and inflation rates (Di Tella et al., 2001)
- life expectancy at birth (Di Tella and MacCulloch, 2005)
- income inequality (?)
- political freedom (Veenhoven, 2000)
- political stability and security (Helliwell, 2006)
- gender equality (ratio of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



bonus: the scientific literature and illustrative findings

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

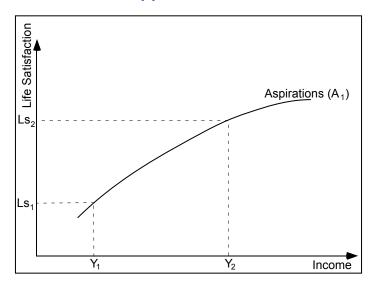


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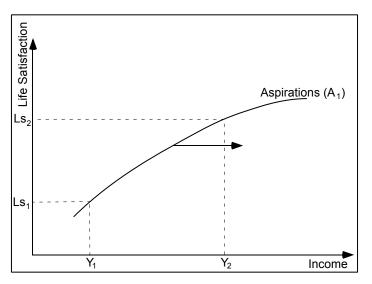
Year

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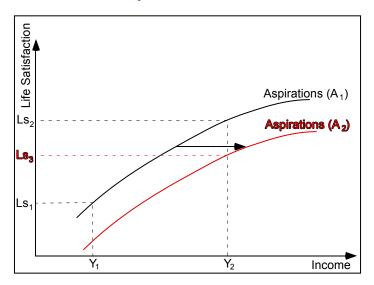
#### income increases happiness, but...



#### income increases happiness, but...



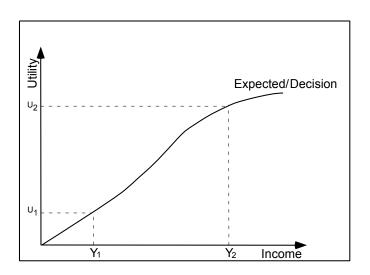
#### income increases aspirations, too



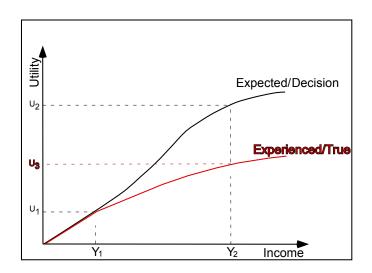
## utility (Kahneman et al., 1997)

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

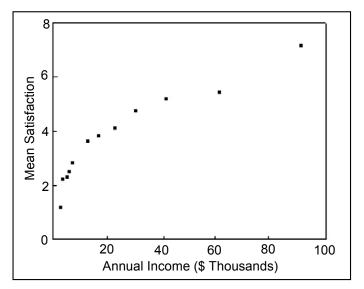
## expected vs. experienced utility



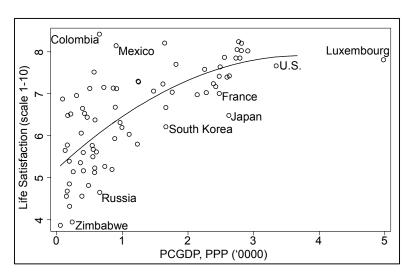
## expected vs. experienced utility



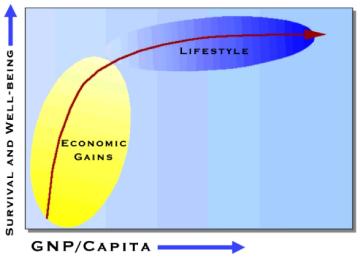
#### income v happiness in the us, 1981-4 (Diener et al., 1993)



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

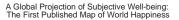


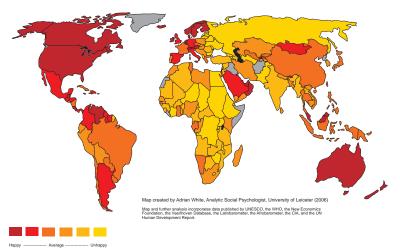
## income v happiness across countries



Source: R Ingelhart, 1997

#### world happiness





Cartographic Unit • University of Leicester

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

ullet  $H_0$ : 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.

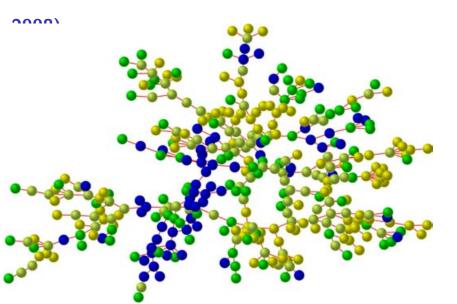
Paul Krugman cited in Di Tella and MacCulloch (2006)

 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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