

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

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Urbanization, arguably the most dramatic disruption of human habitat, has received surprisingly little attention from happiness studies in terms of theory. We know that in the developed world urbanites are less happy, yet we miss theory: what can be the mechanism? This article aims to start filling this gap. An apparently surprising finding that people are less happy in cities in the developed world should not be surprising given that each of the 3 happiness theories indicates at least substantial or usually complete happiness disadvantage of cities.

CITIES, URBAN LIVING, URBANICITY, HAPPINESS THEORIES,

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

Why cities exist in the first place? Economics tells us that cities are necessary because humans are not self sufficient (e.g., O'Sullivan 2009), that is labor specialization works best at high population and density, and cities through agglomeration economies increase productivity and ultimately Gross Domestic Product (GDP), as an end-in-itself (O'Sullivan 2009, Glaeser 2011b).

But we don't need more GDP, in fact a reasonable argument can be made that we need less (Skidelsky and Skidelsky 2012, Joutsenvirta 2016, Kallis et al. 2012, Kallis 2011, Kasser 2003, Roberts 2011, Roberts and Clement 2007, Klein 2014), and arguably the metric to be maximized now is QOL and SWB (Stiglitz et al. (2009), Diener (2009), Okulicz-Kozaryn (2016).

There is an apparent "urban unhappiness paradox." People flock to cities and yet people in cities are less happy: across the developed world, in each country the least happy place is largest cities: New York City (Okulicz-Kozaryn and Mazelis 2016, Senior 2006), London (Office for National Statistics 2011, Chatterji 2013) Helsinki (Morrison 2015), Bucharest (Lenzi and Perucca 2016), Sydney (cited in Morrison 2011), and so forth.

It is especially a puzzle for economists, who then try to cherry-pick data to argue that people are happier in cities (Glaeser (2014, 2011b,a, 2007)). Economic theory clearly does not explain the urban malaise phenomenon as it predicts higher SWB in cities. To economists, money=utility, there is more money in cities, and so cities must be happier. And since also to economists, people are perfectly rational and fully informed, they rationally flock to the happiest places of all, cities (Glaeser (2011b)).

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

Just like with industrial revolution—much of population is forced¹ into urban (and suburban) areas in order to produce more for

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I thank XXX. All mistakes are mine.

¹Wage slaves are "hired slaves instead of block slaves. You have to dread the idea of being unemployed and of being compelled to support your masters" (p. 283 Goldman et al. 2003).

capitalists (Engels [1845] 1987, Harvey 2012, Molotch 1976). Many others think they chose city consciously, but are actually driven by subconscious size fetish (Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2017).

It is of paramount importance to figure out what cities do to human condition; the question is long standing and many have studied it, notably classical US urban sociologists such as Wirth and Park, but also Simmel and Tönnies.

There is a paramount need to study urbanism-wellbeing relationship, some even suggest a new field e.g., 'neourbanism' (Adli et al. 2017). This study is a continuation of <<<BLIND FOR PEER REVIEW>>>

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

As this article argues, an apparently surprising finding that people are less happy in cities in the developed world should not be surprising given that each of the 3 happiness theories indicates at least substantial or usually complete happiness disadvantage of cities.

This article doesn't concern itself with philosophical or measurement issues—for that see for instance Bru (????), and we agree that a hybrid version of happiness theory seems most plausible, and accordingly most studies use such a measure. Subjective Wellbeing (SWB) is an umbrella term for various subjective measures of wellbeing, notably positive and negative affects, happiness, and life satisfaction. Most of the urban SWB research uses life satisfaction measure, which is a global self evaluation of one's life as a whole. This measure is mostly cognitive and not affective—respondent evaluates her life as whole globally (everything, including professional, personal, family, community, etc)—for discussion see Campbell et al. (1976), Diener (2009).

Following usual practice, for simplicity, we use these terms interchangeably: SWB, happiness, and life satisfaction, but specifically we mostly mean life satisfaction as defined above.

SWB measure is also at least adequately reliable and valid and considered good enough for public policy making and public administration (Diener 2009, Stiglitz et al. 2009). And it has been used multiple times in urban research (e.g., Moeinaddini et al. 2020, Mouratidis 2019, Wang et al. 2019, Mouratidis 2017, Ma et al. 2017, Wkeziak-Bialowolska 2016, Valente and Berry 2016, Chen et al. 2015).

1 Urbanicity and the 3 happiness theories

The three major happiness theories are:

- genes/evolution: set point/adaptation (adjustment, "hedonic treadmill") (Brickman et al. 1978); happiness as a motivator (Carver and Scheier 1990)
- comparisons/discrepancies (Michalos 1985)
- needs/livability (Veenhoven and Ehrhardt 1995)

The first two theories predict a major urban disadvantage of cities in terms of happiness. The livability theory is ambivalent, but arguably predicts some urban disadvantage.

In what follows each of them is briefly described and applied to urbanicity.

1.1 Genes/Evolution

Genes and evolution have bad reputation in social science due to eugenics, social darwinism, and so forth,, but the pendulum seem to have swung too far in the other direction (Pinker 2003, Haidt 2012).

Humans' behavior, as of any animal, is dictated by genes (e.g., Dawkins 2006). It is notable that humans share with a chimp more than 95% of genes² Neither homo sapiens nor chimps evolved to live at high population size or density, i.e., a city. As hunters-gatherers,

²<https://www.genome.gov/15515096/2005-release-new-genome-comparison-finds-chimps-humans-very-similar-at-dna-level>.

when our natural evolutionary habitat has formed for tens of thousands of years, humans have lived in bands of 50-80 people (Maryanski and Turner (1992)).³ A modern city of hundreds of thousands of people is a very recent invention in human evolutionary history—there was no such even single place in the world before around 1,000 BC. And even by 1850 AD only about 2.3% of world population lived in cities larger than 100,000 (Davis 1955).

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

To summarize, the critical point is that it is not in human nature to live in a city.⁴

Genes/evolution are also a foundation of related happiness theories: set point/adaptation (adjustment, “hedonic treadmill”) (Brickman et al. 1978), and happiness just a motivator (Carver and Scheier 1990).

Set point/adaptation theory states that life events happen, even dramatic ones such as losing a limb or winning a lottery, but humans have an extraordinary ability to adapt to just about anything, and so their happiness over time comes back to status quo, a set-point (Brickman et al. 1978).⁵ A useful another term is “hedonic treadmill”—we chase some goals, some greater happiness, but like on treadmill, we never get anywhere, being stuck always at the same place despite running. Durkheim ([1895] 1950) put it well: “the more one has the more one wants, since satisfactions received only stimulate instead of filling needs” Human adaptation is astonishing indeed: winning millions in a lottery, losing limbs, etc about half of world population live on less than 5\$ per day and they somehow manage and don't commit suicide; people can adapt to just about anything.⁶

we know that adaptation is not full, for instance people do not adapt fully to unemployment or death of a child (cited in Headey 2008) etc, but people do adapt to some degree. Then the city allure is overrated. People often seem to be attracted to cities not just by jobs (Campbell 1981), but also by amenities—opera houses, museums, etc (Campbell 1981)—then probably expected happiness is higher than experienced happiness (Kahneman et al. 1997, Schkade and Kahneman 1998, Kahneman 2000, ?), and it may help to explain the apparent paradox of massive rampant urbanization and urban unhappiness at the same time. Surely, by the same mechanism, people would adapt to smaller places too, but then why pay more for city life.

People would probably prefer rural if they could, but they were forced to cities by jobs (Campbell 1981). Today Americans prefer suburban settings, close to city so that they have access to jobs and urban amenities, and yet outside of central city (Fuguitt and Zuiches (1975), Fuguitt and Brown (1990)).⁷

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

If a person was perfectly happy all the time, she would not accomplish much. Happiness is simply a reward for accomplishing a task. Happiness is necessary to motivate a person to accomplish the task, and then the happiness must dissipate, so that a person is motivated to move to another task.⁸ A problem with that is that it's all too easy to find oneself on a hamster wheel accomplishing

³not in cities that are measured in hundreds thousands of people, and not in densities of 25,846/sq km (Manhattan), which is 105 people per acre. Imagine a larger soccer field (2.7 acre) and 22 people on it (2 teams of 11 players)—pretty livable density; Manhattan has 281 people on it. Of course it is only manageable thanks to towers and underground (subway) facilities.

⁴Another side point in terms of genes is about heritability of happiness. Genes also matter more than anything else for one's happiness. About 50 percent of happiness, intelligence, personality, etc is determined by genes (Dawkins 2006, Krueger et al. 2008, Stangor and Walinga 2010, Stoolmiller 1999, Plomin et al. 1994, Bartels 2015). Hence of all the influence on our happiness level, genes have the greatest effect, as what is left for all the other influences is only the other 50%.

⁵a see homeostasis, e.g., ch4 by Cummins in “wealth(s) and swb” swb, like any physiological system requires homeostasis, a stable narrow range to function properly about 70-90 on 0-100 scale; still some people are chronically low say due to arthritis or caring for an elderly; and some over time change is still possible not that set point is set in stone; and see an interesting piece on Brickman: like the one in Eibon on his suicide in Ann Arbor

⁶And yet the distributions do differ—these slides from Diener just goog Diener happiness distribution—almost non-overlapping! see next section per livability theory

⁷More recent data are at <http://today.yougov.com/news/2012/07/05/suburban-dream-suburbs-are-most-popular-place-live/>.

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

tasks until one lies on a deathbed and wishes one didn't work so hard—one of the top regrets of the dying is “I wish I hadn't worked so hard” (Ware 2012).

And a critical problem with the city is that for a person it is better to be a big fish in a small pond than a small fish in a big pond—reference line is higher in city Luttmer (2005), Firebaugh and Schroeder (2009) and see MDT in next section. And we tend to make upwards comparisons—people look upwards when making comparisons: wealthier people impose negative external effect on poorer people but not vice versa (Frey and Stutzer 2002).

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

Furthermore, ever increasing complexity and abundance of choices, exemplified in cities, may lead to paralysis as opposed to liberation. For instance, it has been shown that people offered many choices became overloaded and confused as opposed to thrilled (Schwartz 2004). On the other hand, it is not so that people in smaller areas are disengaged or withdrawn, rather they appear to be more “at peace” (Thoreau 1995 [1854], Nietzsche 1896).

People in big cities indeed do appear cognitively overloaded. They are not at peace, they are always chasing something, their gaze is disconnected from present and focused on some future task or goal, or they appear distracted, sometimes disoriented as observed long time ago by Simmel (1903) and recently confirmed by Lederbogen et al. (2011). Urbanism has a negative effect on human mental health in general (Adli et al. 2017). Cities stimulate and overstimulate human nervous system (Simmel 1903, Lederbogen et al. 2011)—one feels energetic, possibly hectic in the city—urban environment gives one a quick short lived excitement boosts from its towers, neons, shopping windows and then comes down and then off to another one (Pile et al. 1999, Pile 2005b,a, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2017). An urbanite has more of just about everything than a rural person, but also seem to want even more, again— “the more one has the more one wants, since satisfactions received only stimulate instead of filling needs” (Durkheim [1895] 1950).

Indeed an urbanite has a fuller, more experiential and more challenging life and more utility (money or consumption). The urban challenging environment can potentially build a better fuller human being. And yet such an opportunity seems to be open for few, an upper class, e.g., one defiantly achieves greater monetary achievement, but also cost of living is higher; one achieves higher position in society, but also hierarchies are taller, etc. And again this is more of satisfying higher needs on the Maslow pyramid. Lower needs come first.

Surely there is more experience/achievement in cities, indeed so much that one has cognitive overload (Simmel 1903, Lederbogen et al. 2011).

1.2 Comparison/Discrepancies: Multiple Discrepancies Theory (MDT)

Multiple Discrepancy Theory (MDT) (Michalos 1985) states that happiness is function of:

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

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

Humans are unwilling and unable to make absolute judgements, rather they constantly draw comparisons from their environment (Frey et al. 2008) Higher aspirations reduce wellbeing (Frey et al. 2008) And cities induce higher aspirations (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015,

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

Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2017). The key finding is that people look upward not downward when making comparisons (Frey et al. 2008). Hence cities induce positional concerns as income ladders are tallest in cities—and it is better to be a big fish in small pond (town) than small fish in a big pond (city).

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

Karl Marx has observed long time ago that “A house may be large or small; as long as the neighboring houses are likewise small, it satisfies all social requirements for a residence. But let there arise next to the little house a palace, and the little house shrinks to a hut.” (Marx and Engels 1849, quoted in Dittmann and Goebel 2010). There are many mansions in urban areas, and many very wealthy people, so that a typical urbanite, by comparison, is poor and insignificant.

Notably, all these comparisons—against others, standards, and our own past, result in consumption arms race—people want to outcompete others—we want to demonstrate that we are better than others (Frank 2004, 2005, 2012).

One reason we move to a metropolis such as London, Shanghai, or New York is simply because we want to demonstrate we are better than others (Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2017)—dwellers of big cities feel consistently more proud than dwellers of smaller locations (Balducci and Checchi 2009, Morrison 2016).

Urban way of life increases chances, but not necessarily improves outcomes. Furthermore, it increases relative deprivation—more people means more comparisons, and for happiness it is better to be a big fish in small pond (rural area). City stimulates but instead of fulfillment it increases desires and needs (“hedonic treadmill”)—many had to leave the city to attain peace Nietzsche and Parkes (2005), Tesson (2013), Thoreau (1995 [1854]).

Indicators of objective well-being are high in urban areas, but subjective well-being is higher in less-populated areas—people compare themselves with others who are much richer and, therefore, feel much poorer, while those living in less urban areas do not compare themselves with others as much (Dale (1980) cited in Sirgy 2002, p. 103).

Neighbors act as negatives Luttmer (2005), Firebaugh and Schroeder (2009)—rich neighbors make us unhappy—the denser the area, everything else equal, the more neighbors and more negatives—again, and we tend to make upwards comparisons—people look upwards when making comparisons: wealthier people impose negative external effect on poorer people but not vice versa (Frey and Stutzer 2002) Marx about house and mansion next to it from quotes.org and AJS recent paper by Firebaugh I guess per comparisons—like Luttmer; and add to Firebaugh in EBIB: see Madsen book ch10—also by Firebaugh on the same thing!

The most conspicuous consumption or waste⁹ tends to take place in metropolitan areas (cities and their extension, suburbs)—for some examples of urban conspicuousness see Frank (2012).

1.3 Livability Theory

Livability theory (Veenhoven 2014, 2000) is a major shift in thinking from the previous theories, and yet also it is also based on evolution/genes. Humans as all animals have innate needs—if those needs are satisfied, happiness follows. Humans needs include those on Maslow hierarchy of needs in figure 1: physiological needs like water, food, sleep; and other needs: e.g., contact with other living organisms (biophilia, social capital, nature, etc) and higher (human) needs e.g., belonging, self-actualization. Then there are attributes of places, environment, or ecology if it is “livable” then happiness follows. Florida conceptualized this as place pyramid in figure 2.

⁹VEBLEN 2 books used these terms interchangeably: the key feature of conspicuousness is waste—wasting something so that it can be shown that one is rich enough to do so

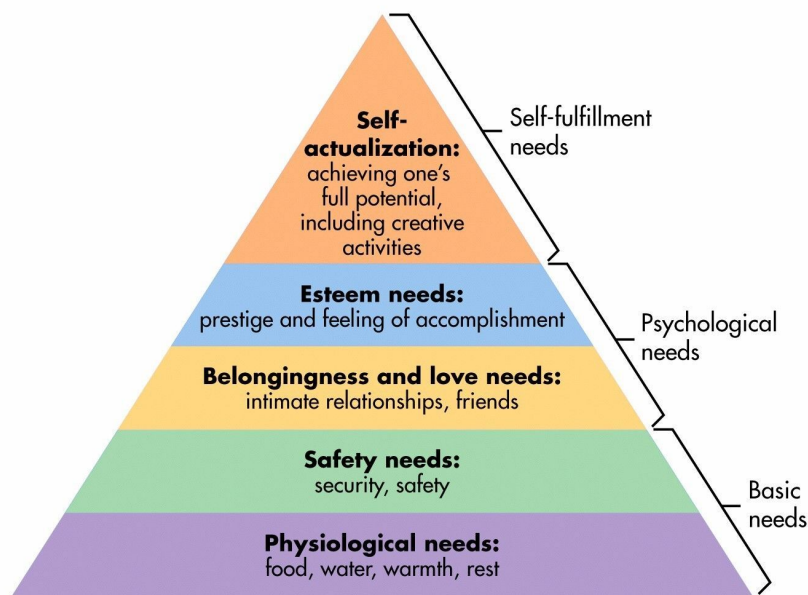


Figure 1: Maslow Pyramid, (?).

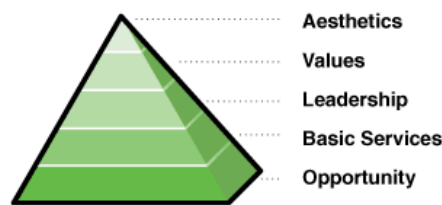


Figure 2: Place Pyramid, (Florida 2008, p 294).

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

But humans do have needs for freedom from air, noise, and light pollutions exemplified in cities; in general cities are more stressful (Simmel 1903), and unhealthy for human brain (Lederbogen et al. 2011).

Many cities are not livable because of typical city problems such as poverty and crime; but even successful cities are not livable in many ways—cities by definition are most congested and polluted areas where humans live. Mental health is worse in cities as well (Adli et al. 2017).

(Molotch 1976) states that it is necessary to increase city amenities to have a sufficient population size as per central place theory (e.g., O'Sullivan 2009, p. 86), to produce city amenities such as opera houses and speculates that it may be perhaps worth it to some degree.¹⁰ however as per pyramid of needs city endangers more basic human needs than helps to satisfy (again, at least in developed world). Amenities such as opera houses if anything help with very highest needs such as self-actualization and aesthetics, but more basic needs are endangered such as survival—by one estimate car pollution kills more people than car accidents; likewise social relations, an important human need, are endangered, in turmoil, of lower quality, more distrustful in a city (Wirth 1938, Thrift 2005, Amin 2006, Simmel 1903, Milgram 1970) (Wirth, Amin, Simmel, and Thrift? and that guy in science in 70s on trust I guess Milgram)

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

¹⁰Freud provides a wonderful discussion on civilization and its discontents

High density such as that in New York City or Hong Kong usually implies some degree of crowding for most people, which is not livable. For instance, New York offers 250 sq ft apartments—given that a couple lives there with one child—it is less than 100 sq feet per person. Even more stunningly, some New Yorkers already live in 100 sq feet apartments. There are even so called “cubbyholes” at striking 40 square feet (Charlesworth 2014, Yoneda 2012, Weichselbaum 2013, Velsey 2016, Stevenson and Wu 2019).

Importantly, there are needs and wants (desires)—and much of urban glitz and attraction is about desires (Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2017, Campbell 1981). And so in a way one’s happiness in a city is delusional as in Nozick’s experience machine (discussed in Bru 2017).

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

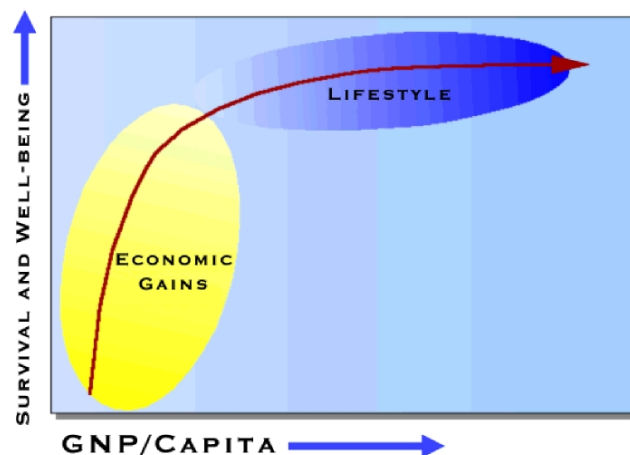


Figure 3: Well-being and income, (Inglehart 1997).

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

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

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

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

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

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

A very important distinctive feature of city life is that of specialization—as opposed to rural area, one has to deeply specialize in

the city.

Human density forces differentiation and specialization as already observed by Darwin and Durkheim (Wirth 1938, p. 15). City not only enables, but what is often missed, forces differentiation and specialization, because it's the only way high density can be supported (e.g., Burgess 1926). And humans, as most other animals, have not evolved to spend abbot half of their wake time performing a repetitive task—it is against human nature: specialization alienates us from other humans and our nature (Marx 1844, [1867] 2010)—indeed one ideally should be able to “to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner” (Marx and Engels [1845] 1965)

2 Conclusion And Discussion

American intellextuals have been hostile and ambivalent towards urbanism for a reason (White and White 1977).

it is often overlooked that governance percapita costs increse with population size (Molotch 1976)

Urban economists view cities as desirable development—they grow hence they must be good, economists thell us. glaeser etc; cities are growth machine (Molotch 1976)

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

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

Peck (2016) is good critique of Glaeser's urban triumphalism, aka celebrity-urbanology or guru-urbanism. Indeed, as Peck argues, Glaeser is colonizing the city with economic rationality/utility maximization. And urbanization in general is alike to colonization, where most large cities win, and smaller places lose (Rossi 2020).

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

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

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

disussuion about optimal city cise from city book and some econs bashing here too

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

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

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

For a collection of finding see Ruut Veenhoven's World Database of Happiness (Veenhoven 1995) at <https://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl>.

Do keep in mind that the above discussion refers to the developed world; in poorest countries, cities actually do help satisfy human needs, and accordingly may increase SWB. In poorest countries, life is often unbearable outside of cities lacking basic necessities such as healthcare and clean water.

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ONLINE APPENDIX

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

3 Intrinsic v Extrinsic Motivations

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

- the need for relatedness: individuals desire to feel connected to others by love and affection, in particular by having family and freinds and by being in a social setting: we know that city isolates MY city book but also frees TOENNIES and may connect within subgroups FISHER SUBCULTURAL THEORY

- need for competence: individuals want to control the environment and want to experience themselves as capable and effective : more difficult to control in city and more comparisons again better be small pond; on the other jand easier to find maycthing sibgroup THEIRY SUBCULTURSL THEORY
- the desire for autonomy: individuals value the experience of being in charge of their actions and being causal: again perhaps easier to be in chage in subrgoup that matches FISHER SUBCULTURAL THEIRY and citi si more free TOENNIES, but more difficult to bein chage in bigger environemnt and taller hioerarchy; and city is in many wasy less cuasal URBAN FINISH ETIQUITEER CITE FROM MY BOOK, and othe other hand city bettwe accepts nonconformists TOENNIES

4 4 qualities of life

TODO: mover short relevant pieces to swbLivability

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

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

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

and that another table from recent one

Nowhere else there is so much variety and opportunity as in the city (Tönnies [1887] 2002, Milgram 1970, Fischer 1995, Glaeser 2011b, O'Sullivan 2009, Campbell 1981). While life chances are definitely greater in cities, not necessarily life results are greater as well. livability of environment: urban if consumerism; rural if good life; mercer inner appreciation of life: deinetly rural; swb

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

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

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

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

personal caoapcities or life-ability, capability or life potential: can be in some ways enhanced, say motivating effect of urban cometition or housing prices or diminished: they can also depress a person as opposed to motivate. and city is unhealthy for human brian (Lederbogen et al. 2011); Veenhoven (2000) considers absence of mental defects and 'normal' level of functioning as key for life-ability; on the other hand two other ingredients, autonomy and self actualization are likely to be better in cities.

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

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

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

appreciation of life is subjective: asw, lsts, happiness

livability is environmneat chances (Veenhoven 2000)

consumerism leads t misery: that kasser book!

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

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

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