

**AGE AND LIFE SATISFACTION:
GETTING CONTROL VARIABLES
UNDER CONTROL**

● Age/life satisfaction “U-shape”?

JONATHAN RAUCH

'a genuinely helpful guidebook to life'
Scott Stossel, editor of *The Atlantic*

The Happiness Curve



Why Life Gets Better
After Midlife

'essential reading'

George F. Vaillant M.D., Professor of Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School

GREEN TREE

- ⦿ Age/life satisfaction “U-shape”?
- ⦿ But: models must exclude individual-level controls
 - (Glenn 2009, Hellevik 2017)

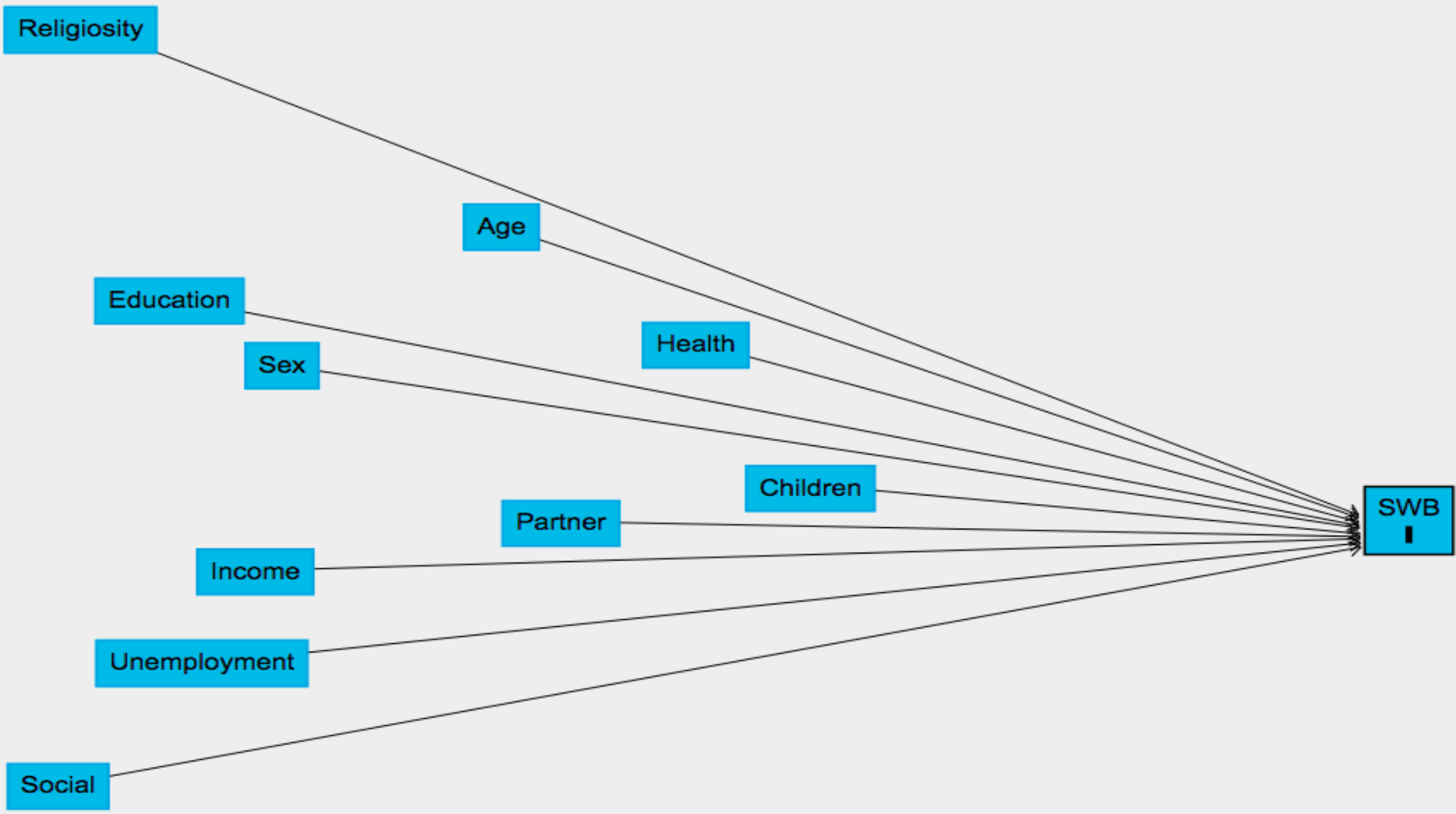
	b	p
Age	-0.07	0.000
Age ² /100	0.07	0.000
Female	0.13	0.000
Religiosity	0.07	0.000
Partner	0.52	0.000
Unemployed	-0.57	0.000
Friends	0.60	0.000
Health	-0.69	0.000
Income	0.09	0.000
Education:		
Lower secondary	0.14	0.123
Upper secondary	0.28	0.002
Vocational	0.27	0.007
Tertiary	0.41	0.000
ESS Round 5	0.10	0.001
Constant	6.34	0.000

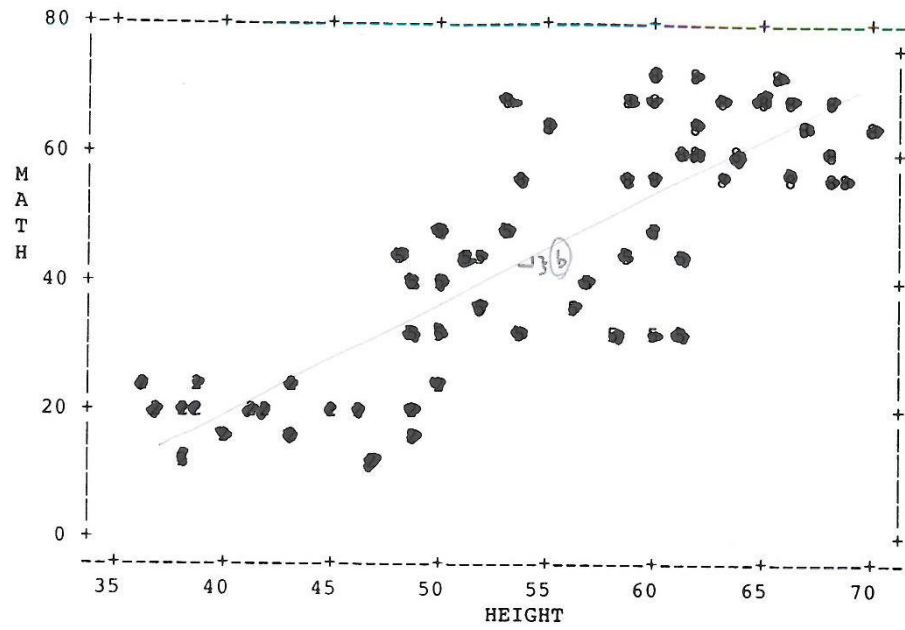
N 28,634

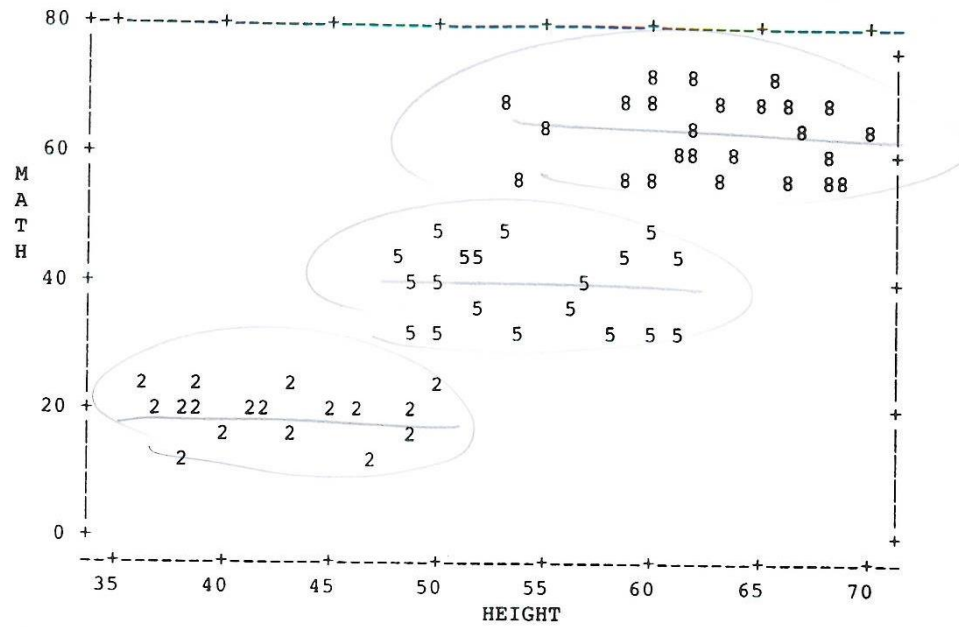
Prob > F 0.000

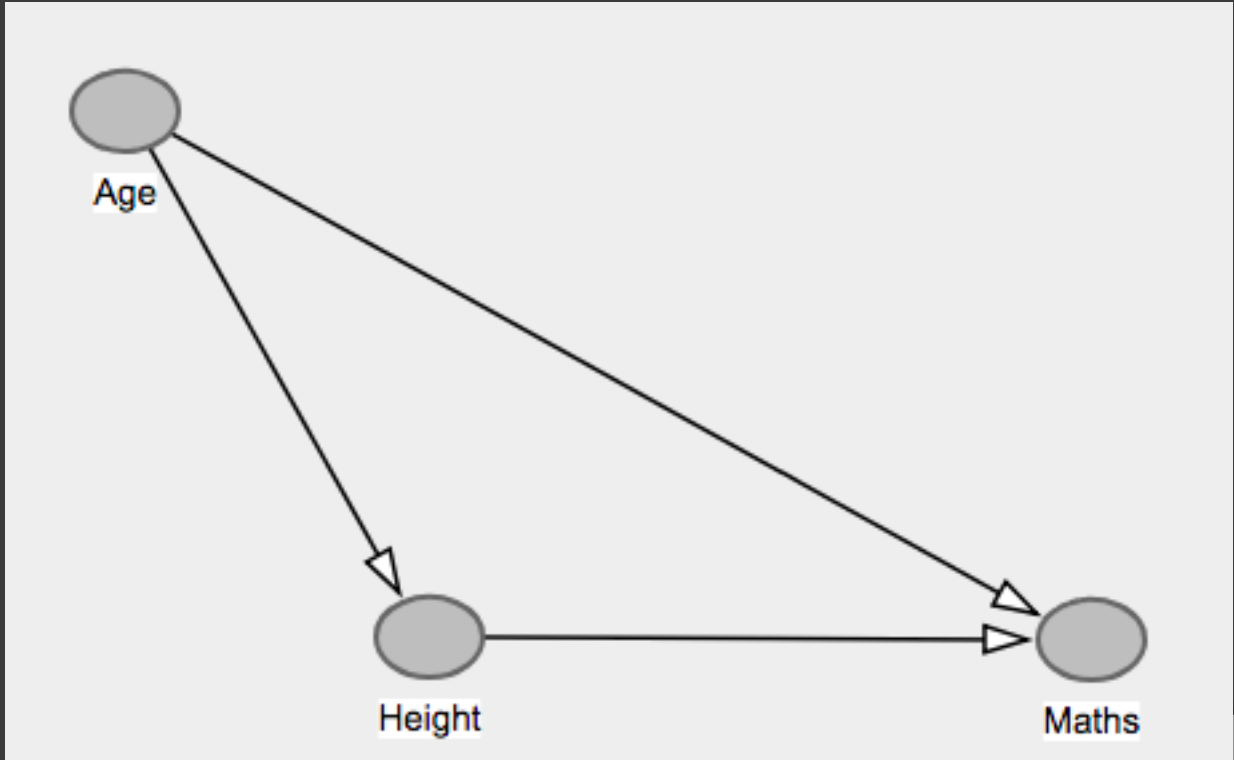
Adjusted R² 0.226

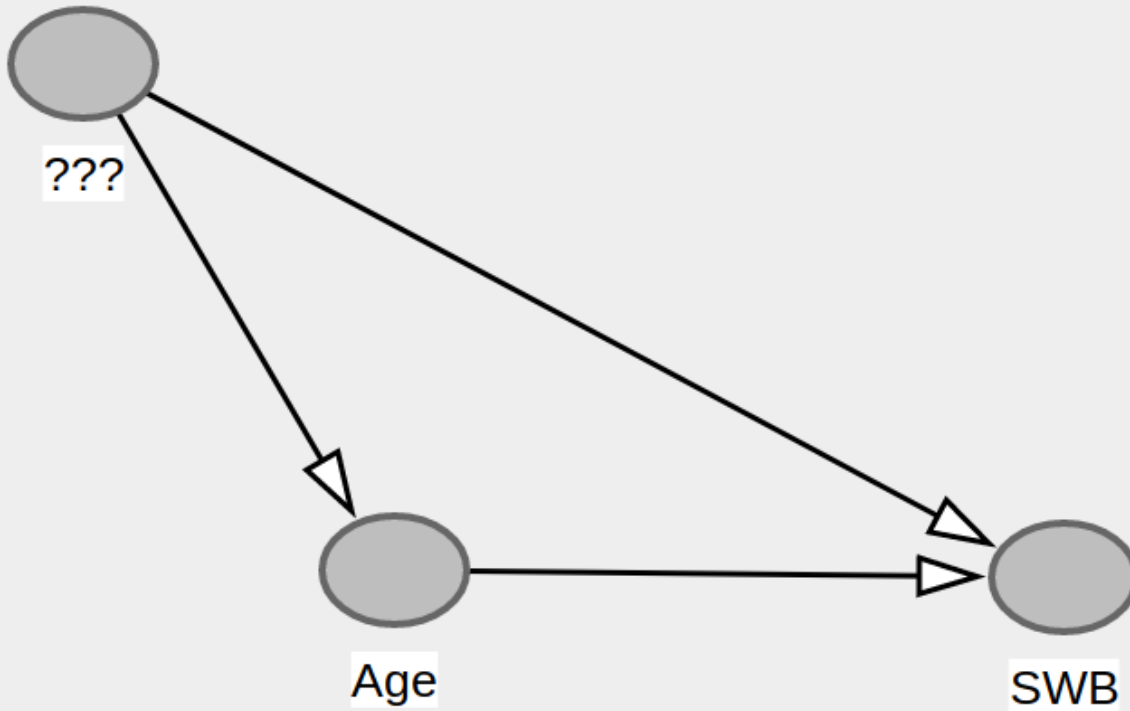
“Other determinants”:









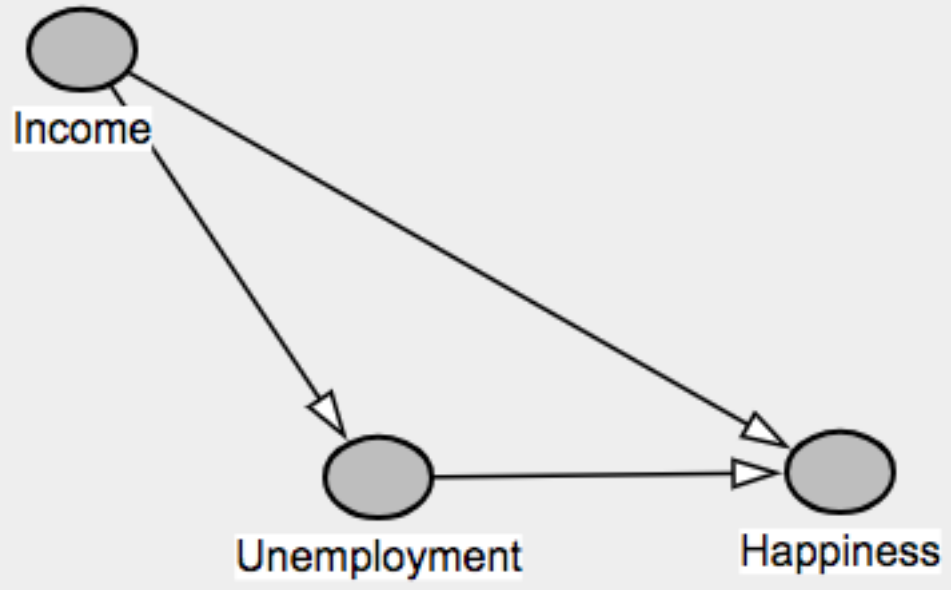


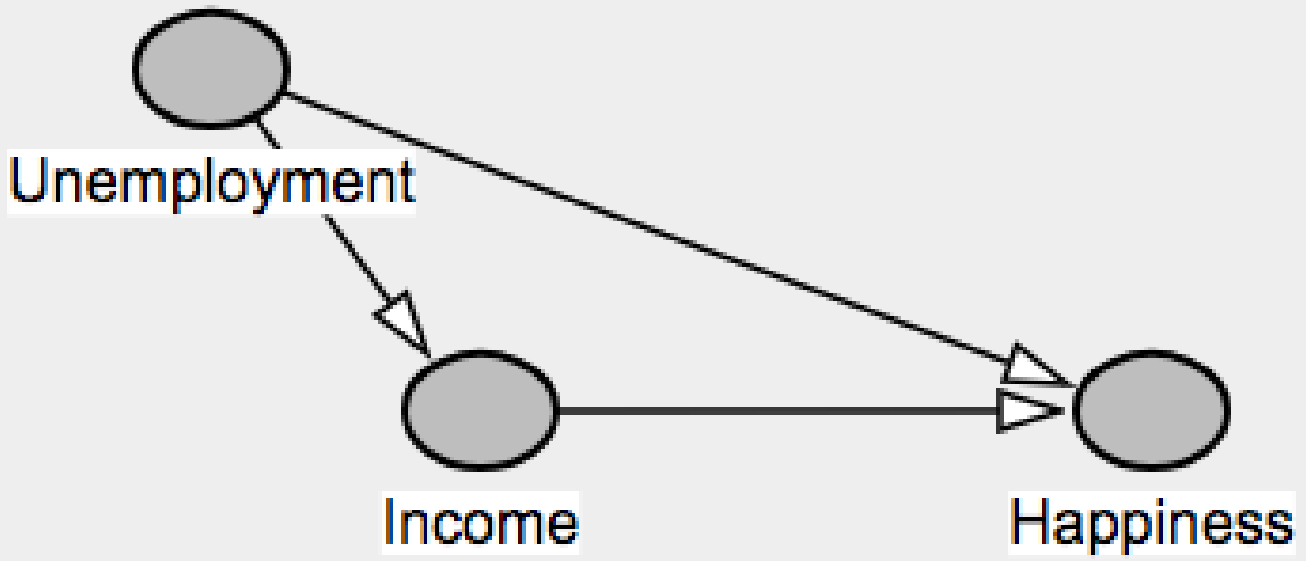


Unemployment

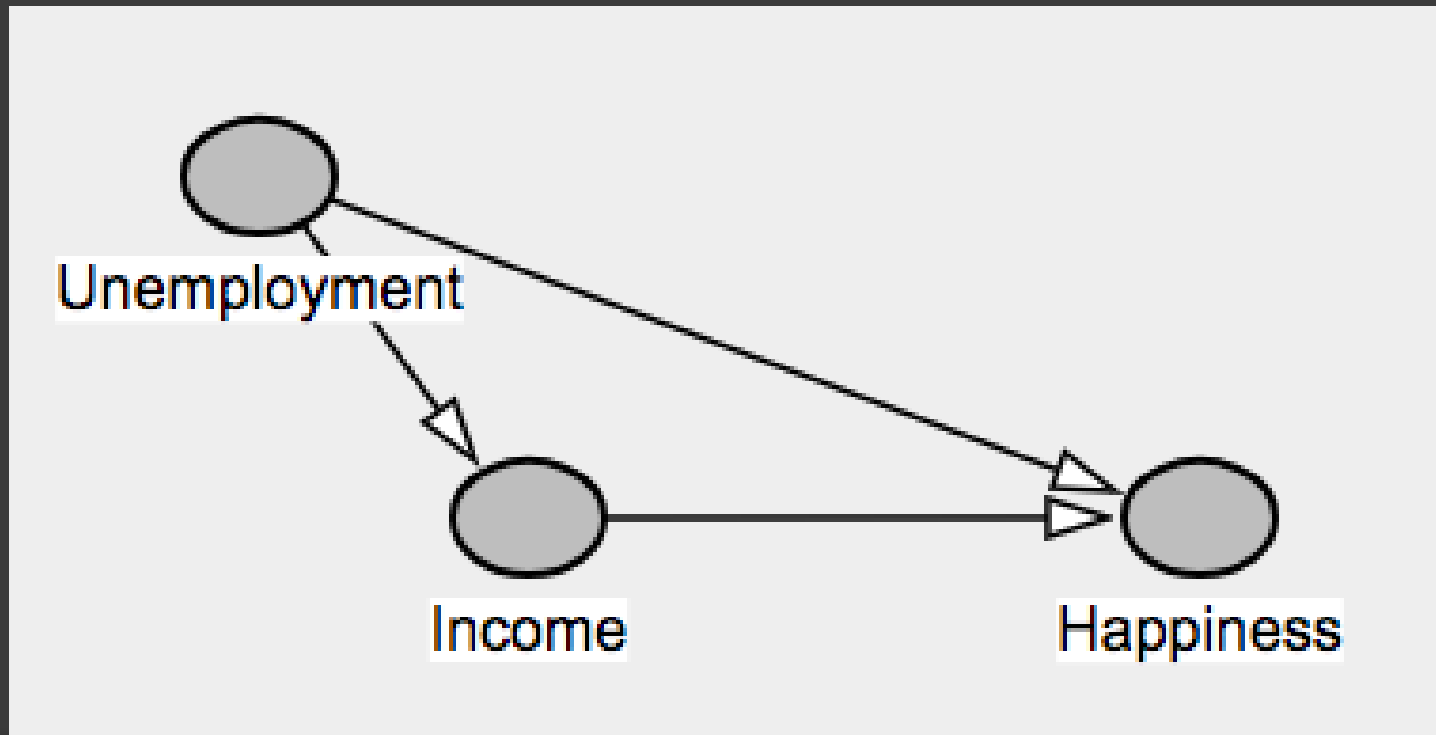


Happiness





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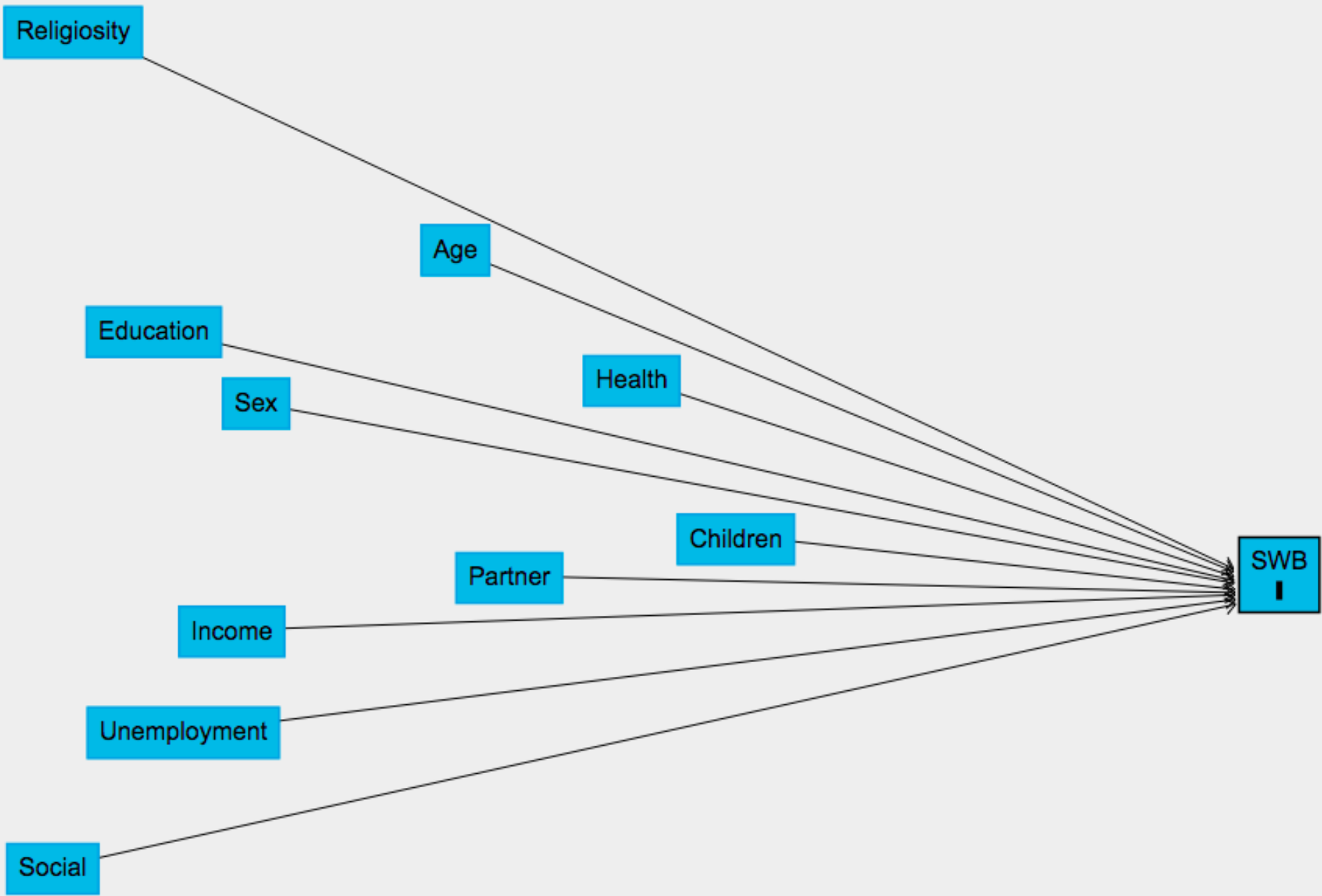
- ⦿ “Net effect”? Net of what??

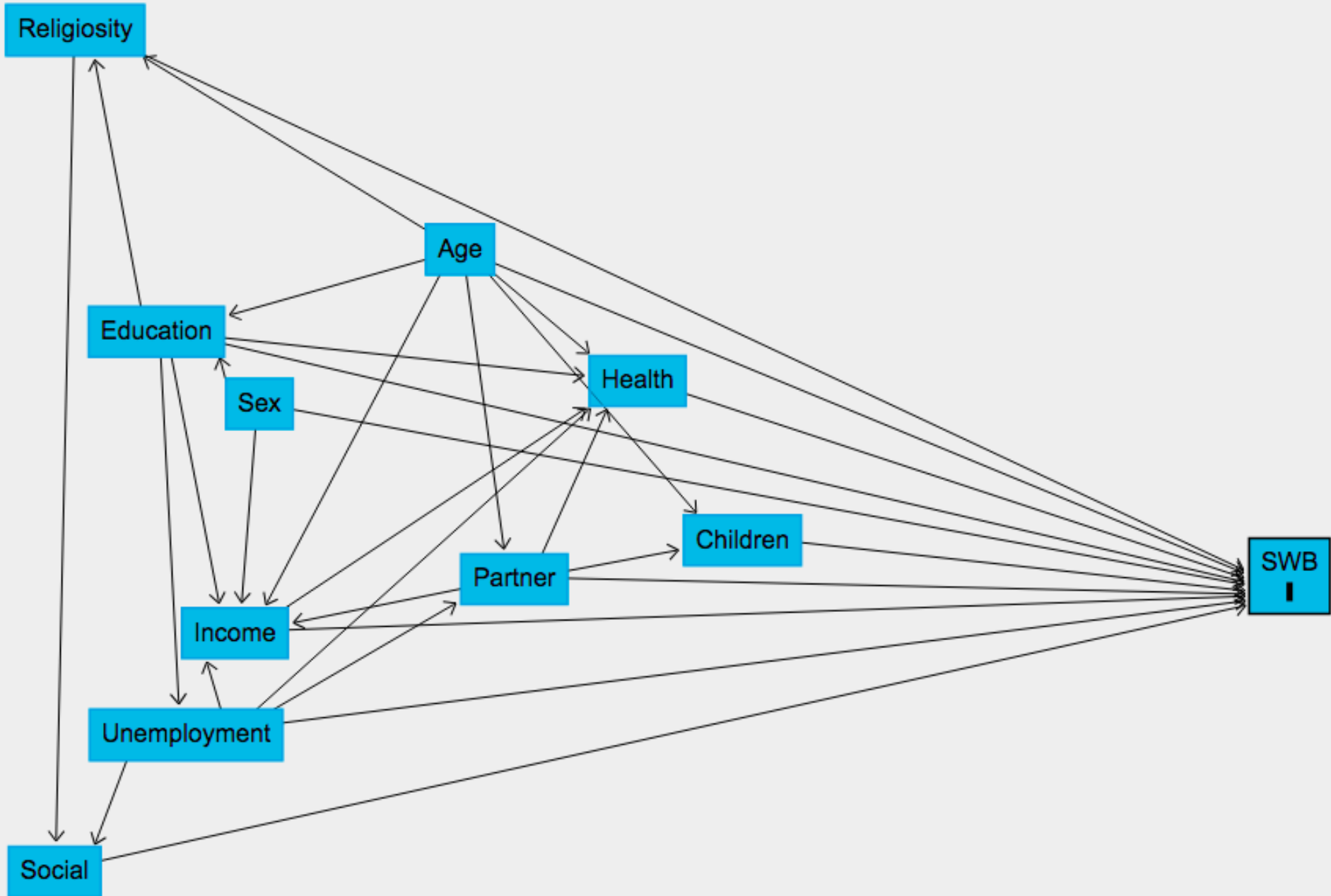
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Unemployment coefficient (with income controlled): a “direct effect”

- ⊙ “Net effect”? Net of what??
 - “Net of the effects of ~~other~~ variables”
 - Net of the *indirect effect of unemployment itself*
 - Unemployment reduces income, and the lower income reduces life-satisfaction





Core distinction

- ◎ Confounders

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- Variables that determine the outcome (Y) but *are determined by* the main IV of interest (X)

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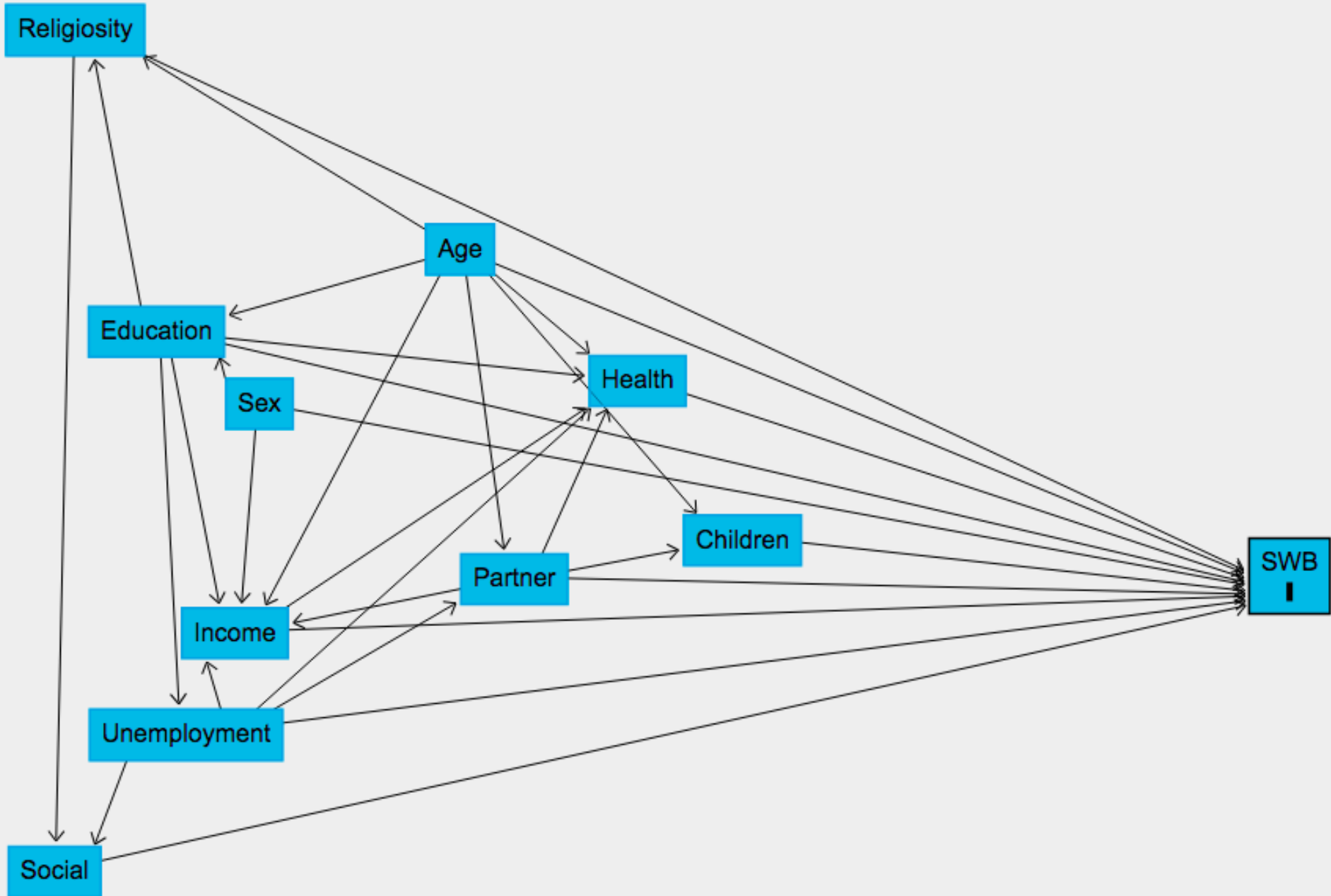
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- Variables that determine the outcome (Y) but *are determined by* the main IV of interest (X)

⦿ Control variables:

- Include confounders
- Exclude intervening variables



Model of age → life satisfaction

- ⦿ Control variables:
 - None?

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Model of age → life satisfaction

- ⊙ Control variables:
 - None?
 - Cohort & period
 - If multi-country study:
 - Country
 - Sex

Model of age \rightarrow life satisfaction

- ① Function

- Quadratic? (age and age-squared)

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 - Does LS decrease towards middle age, and then rise after?

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- Quadratic? (age and age-squared)
 - Coefficients difficult to interpret
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- Better: split the sample (cut-off: 45)
 - Does LS decrease towards middle age, and then rise after?
 - If so, how much?

Model of age → life satisfaction

⦿ Data:

- World Values Survey

- Waves 1-6

- All countries with participation in at least 2 waves (so: 69 total)

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- World Values Survey
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 - N=304,131
- Y: life satisfaction on 1 to 10 scale
- Mixed effects model (cross-classified, Yang 2008)

Model of age → life satisfaction

	Under 45		
	b	s.e.	
Age	-0.012	0.001	***
Female	0.092	0.010	***
Constant	6.914	0.127	***
σ^2 Cohort	0.003	0.002	
σ^2 Survey year (period)	0.096	0.028	
σ^2 Country	0.720	0.123	
σ^2 Residual	4.912	0.016	
Likelihood ratio test Chi^2	27330.18		***
N	182,744		

p<0.05 ** p<0.01 *p<0.001*

Model of age → life satisfaction

	Under 45			45 and older		
	b	s.e.		b	s.e.	
Age	-0.012	0.001	***	0.0023	0.0008	**
Female	0.092	0.010	***	-0.0513	0.0135	***
Constant	6.914	0.127	***	6.4372	0.149	***
σ^2 Cohort	0.003	0.002		0.0003	0.0004	
σ^2 Survey year (period)	0.096	0.028		0.0710	0.0218	
σ^2 Country	0.720	0.123		1.1480	0.1963	
σ^2 Residual	4.912	0.016		5.0321	0.0210	
Likelihood ratio test Chi^2	27330.18		***	24767.17		***
N	182,744			114,774		

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

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Cohen's d (40-year change): $d = (0.0023 * 40) / 2.5 = 0.037$

Model of age → life satisfaction

- ⦿ Results at country level
 - U-shape: Czech Republic, Mexico, Turkey

Model of age → life satisfaction

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 - U-shape: Czech Republic, Mexico, Turkey
 - Continuous increase: Australia

Model of age → life satisfaction

⊙ Results at country level

- U-shape: Czech Republic, Mexico, Turkey
- Continuous increase: Australia
- Continuous decrease: Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Pakistan, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Ukraine

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Conclusion

- ⦿ No U-shape of life satisfaction
 - Instead, only a small decline before middle age
 - No *substantial* increase after middle age
- Analytical angles:
 - No individual-level control variables
 - Consider effect size, not just “significance”

