

CAN EASTERLIN'S PARADOX BE APPLIED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SATISFACTION WITH LIFE OR DOES THE EXPLANATION LIE IN CULTURAL GEOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS?

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Can Easterlin's paradox be applied to the development of satisfaction with life or does the explanation lie in cultural geographical characteristics?

This paper is focused on the development of satisfaction with life, as declared by the inhabitants of the Czech Republic in a long-term (2003 – 2015) and continuous questionnaire survey. In order to explain this development, we made correlations between the development of satisfaction with life with the development of relevant economic variables such as wages and gross domestic product. Our objective is to refute or confirm Easterlin's paradox through correlations with wages and GDP development. The analysis of the development of satisfaction with life has revealed surprising findings; their possible explanation lies in Easterlin's paradox and geographical differentiations of cultural characteristics.

Key words: satisfaction of life, quality of life, Easterlin's paradox, wages, regions of the Czech Republic, cultural geography

INTRODUCTION

Scientists from the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which were initially referred to as transitory and later as post-transitive countries, have examined the quality of life (Matutinović 1996, Ira and Andráško 2007, Kačmárová 2007, Jakubcová et al. 2016 and Murgaš and Klobučník 2016). Their advantage as insiders is a thorough knowledge of the situation. On the other hand, scientists from the West write about the quality of life in these countries too (Graham and Werman 2017). Alber et al. (2008), editors of the Handbook of Quality of Life in the Enlarged European Union, dealt with the quality of life in these former socialist countries. The benefits of a viewpoint from the other side of the former Iron Curtain include distance and perspective. Our paper is focused on the development of satisfaction with life in one of the most developed and richest countries in Central and Eastern Europe – the Czech Republic.

An important part of the concept of quality of life is satisfaction with life, related to one of two dimensions, is well-being. When we evaluate the quality of our lives, we evaluate satisfaction with it. In this context, Gatrell and Elliot (2015, p. 167) state 'life is not just what is, it's also what we think it is.' Satisfaction with life is understood 'as a whole' (van der Lippe 2014). In this paper we analyse the long-term development of satisfaction with life on a regional level in the Czech Republic, i.e. in a certain space, between 2003 – 2015, and thus over time. The findings raise the question: how is this development explainable?

In recent years, a part of the quality of life research has taken the form of a debate concerning the validity or invalidity of Easterlin's paradox. The American economist's statement (Easterlin 1974) is one of the most frequently cited findings

related to the quality of life. Pacione (2003) has a similar opinion, that satisfaction with life is not a function of material wealth – he calls it the “paradox of affluence.” Some authors (e.g. Deaton 2007, Stevenson and Wolfers 2008 and Sacks et al. 2010) refute Easterlin’s statements with correlations. Veenhoven and Vergunst (2013, p. 19) called Easterlin’s paradox “Easterlin’s illusion.” Easterlin is still convinced that there is an absence of a ‘long-term correlation between economic growth and happiness’ and this belief is also based on correlations (Easterlin and Angelescu 2012 and Easterlin 2016). According to Oishi and Kesebir (2015), Easterlin’s paradox can be partly explained by income inequality. Easterlin’s findings are confirmed by other authors (e.g. Graham 2010 and Smith 2014) who consider Easterlin’s paradox to be significant. How could this situation have happened? Veenhoven and Vergunst (2013) suggest the answer – Easterlin speaks about financial satisfaction, they speak about satisfaction with life. It means that everyone is talking about something else, so comparison is not meaningful.

Our paper is focused on satisfaction with life, declared by the inhabitants of the Czech Republic in a long-term and continuous (2003 – 2015) questionnaire survey. Wages in this country are the most important source of prosperity for the population, and in terms of their impact on satisfaction with life they are considered to be the primary variable in the public arena.

In terms of the impact on satisfaction with life, the GDP produced is a secondary variable that is reflected in wage growth over the long term. The regions are administrative units on a NUTS 3 level, from a geographic point of view they represent the basic unit in the assessment of regional differences in the Czech Republic (Blažek and Csank 2007). In this paper, we focused on them because satisfaction with life data is obtained on this hierarchical level. This data comes from the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology at the Czech Academy of Sciences (2016) – (Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění, hereafter known as the CVVM).

Since 2003, the CVVM has been organizing the regional research of satisfaction with life ten times a year, with a sample group of more than one thousand respondents.

The answer to the question: ‘How satisfied are you with your life?’ has been considered for satisfaction with life. This question is based on the understanding of satisfaction ‘as a whole’, thus becoming the dimension of the quality of life. Research has been ongoing since 2003, the selection of respondents aged over 15 is a quota sample. Quotas: Region (oblast NUTS 3), size of place of residence, sex, age education.

We set two goals in the paper. The first one is the analysis of the long-term development of satisfaction with life on a regional level in the Czech Republic from 2003 to 2015. During this period, the development was not continuous but interrupted by the emergence of the US mortgage crisis, which quickly turned into an economic crisis and hit virtually the entire West. For this reason, although we are focusing on the development of a period between the years 2003 and 2015 on the one hand; on the other hand, we also feel that it is made up of two different periods. The second goal is to refute or confirm Easterlin’s paradox through correlation between the development of satisfaction with life with wage and GDP developments.

In connection with this objective, we have produced the hypothesis: in long-term development, the satisfaction with life of the Czech Republic's inhabitants on a regional level will grow directly in line with the growth of wages, which will mean the refutation of Easterlin's paradox.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As we have already mentioned, satisfaction with life is a part of the concept of quality of life, and therefore its description needs to begin with a sketch of the conceptualisation of quality of life. In its formulation, we base it on the key findings as follows:

- Quality of life is holistic, it consists of two dimensions: subjective (well-being) and objective (quality of place, Murgaš and Klobučník 2016). It has two levels – individual and societal.

- A reference point to which the concept of quality of life relates, is the concept of the good life (Michalos and Robinson 2012 and Veenhoven 2013) which is lived in a good place (Murgaš 2016).

- When satisfaction with life is good, it is well-being, while when it is not the case, it is ill-being. Even if well-being is the more important of the two dimensions, it is not a quality of life itself. The meaning of quality of life concerns well-being and quality of place and these are its dimensions.

- Satisfaction with life is what one assesses when answering the question of how to evaluate your life as a whole. Well-being or ill-being is an expression of satisfaction with life. Satisfaction with life is the content of quality of life and its scale is long-term.

- Happiness is a short-lived emotional state in which a person can enjoy the greatest possible fulfilment of their expectations. When we measure satisfaction with life on the Cantril scale from 0 to 10, happiness refers to number 10; or 9 and 10 – ‘very satisfied’ on the Likert scale. As the feeling of happiness fades away, it then becomes satisfaction with life.

There is not a general consensus about what satisfaction with life is, as there is no general agreement about anything that is related to the concept of quality of life or related concepts. Diener and Lucas (1999) understand satisfaction with life as one of three parts of well-being, along with a pleasant and unpleasant affect. Von Humboldt et al. (2014, p. 631) state that ‘Satisfaction with life refers to the overall cognitive appraisal of one’s subjective well-being, a comparison reflecting the perceived discrepancy between one’s aspirations and achievement.’

Satisfaction with life is a cognitive construct, unlike happiness which is an affective construct (Sirgy 2012 and Hall 2014). These two constructs only overlap by forty to fifty percent. According to some authors it is an even lower number, or they do not overlap at all. The definition of satisfaction with life (Sirgy 2012, pp. 36-37) is based on three components: Subjective well-being is an enduring (long-term) affective state that is made of a composite of three components: (a) actual experience of happiness or cumulative positive affect (joy, affection, pride, etc.) in salient life domains, (b) actual experience of depression or cumulative negative affect (sadness, anger, guilt, shame, anxiety, etc.) in salient life domains, and (c) evaluations of one’s overall life or evaluations of salient life domains.

Table 1 contains the substance of three components of subjective well-being. It shows three distinctions: (1) positive – negative, (2) affective – cognitive, and (3) short term – long term. Diener and Lucas (1999) understand satisfaction with life as one of three parts of well-being, along with a pleasant and unpleasant affect.

Tab. 1. The underlying construct of the various components of subjective well-being

	Affective	Cognitive
Positive	Cumulative pleasant emotions (short term) and feelings of happiness (long term)	Positive evaluation of life events (short term) and life domains (long term)
Negative	Cumulative unpleasant emotions (short term) and feelings of depression (long term)	Negative evaluation of life events (short term) and life domains (long term)

Source: Sirgy (2012).

DATA AND RESULTS

We know the measurement of satisfaction with life – Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) – on the 7-point scale (1 – strongly disagree to 7 – strongly agree) whose authors are Diener et al. (1985). In the paper, we undertook a quantification of satisfaction with life on the 5-point Likert scale (1 – strongly dissatisfied to 5 – strongly satisfied) which was used in the Czech Republic by CVVM (2016).

Table 2 shows changes in the development of satisfaction with life in 2003, 2009 and 2015 for each category of the Likert scale for all regions of the Czech Republic. It follows that satisfaction with life slightly increased in this 13 year period: in the category ‘very satisfied’ by 4%, ‘satisfied’ by 1% and there was a 1% decrease in the category satisfied/dissatisfied. There were no changes in the categories ‘dissatisfied’ and ‘very dissatisfied’.

During the period 2003 – 2015, satisfaction with life in the Czech Republic in some cases increased, in others decreased, but always slightly in percentage. During the period under review, satisfaction with life stagnated. Tab. 3 shows a quantification of wage and GDP development over the same period 2003-2015. As expected, in the Czech Republic, itself a successful post-transitory country, both variables grew by about 60%, with wage growth ranging from 52% (Moravian-Silesian Region) to 107% (Prague) and GDP growth in the range of 30% (Karlovy Vary Region) to 71% (Zlín Region).

It is possible to state other important finding. In 2015 compared with 2003, the average monthly wage and GDP in the Czech Republic regions significantly increased. Because satisfaction with life during the period under review stagnated, there is the hypothesis: in long-term development, satisfaction with life of Czech inhabitants on a regional level will grow directly proportional to wage growth, which will mean the refutation of Easterlin’s paradox – it wasn’t confirmed.

Tab. 2. Satisfaction with life 2003, 2009 and 2015 in per cent

Region	very satisfied			satisfied			satisfied/dissatisfied			dissatisfied			very dissatisfied		
	2003	2009	2015	2003	2009	2015	2003	2009	2015	2003	2009	2015	2003	2009	2015
Prague	10	11	17	47	47	47	25	26	21	14	12	11	4	3	4
Central Bohemian	8	12	11	54	52	52	26	22	19	11	11	14	2	3	5
South Bohemian	12	11	12	52	51	47	21	24	24	12	11	15	2	3	1
Plzeň	7	10	8	47	54	59	29	25	25	15	11	7	3	1	2
Karlovy Vary	13	10	18	50	44	53	17	32	21	14	8	7	5	5	2
Ústí nad Labem	6	9	12	50	45	49	27	26	25	13	16	10	4	5	4
Liberec	8	13	18	58	45	44	22	29	22	10	11	13	2	2	2
→ Hradec Králové	8	8	12	49	54	54	26	22	21	12	12	10	4	3	3
Pardubice	8	11	8	49	43	45	26	26	30	13	13	14	4	6	2
Vysočina	12	11	16	47	49	49	27	24	22	10	12	11	4	4	3
South Moravian	7	8	11	51	50	51	28	25	22	13	14	13	2	4	2
Olomouc	8	10	9	49	50	47	28	23	29	13	13	13	2	3	2
Zlín	9	12	15	55	50	53	24	25	22	11	10	9	0	3	1
Moravian Silesian	10	13	12	44	47	47	26	22	24	16	14	14	4	4	3
average	9	11	13	50	49	50	25	25	23	13	12	11	3	3	3

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of data derived from the CVVM (2016).

Tab. 3. Average monthly wage and GDP per capita in Czech regions in 2003, 2009 and 2015

Region	Average monthly wage in CZK				GDP per capita in thousands CZK			
	2003	2009	2015	2015 2003=100	2003	2009	2015	2015 2003=100
Prague	21 114	30 028	35 385	207	579	806	887	152
Central Bohemian	17 069	21 972	28 135	165	264	338	40	151
South Bohemian	16 206	20 319	25 816	159	247	319	362	146
Plzeň	16 781	21 864	24 327	163	259	338	404	156
Karlovy Vary	15 541	19 450	24 565	158	225	274	291	130
Ústí nad Labem	16 420	20 850	25 519	155	228	307	324	146
Liberec	15 826	20 426	26 379	167	224	281	335	149
Hradec Králové	15 944	20 527	23 644	161	241	323	378	157
Pardubice	15 933	19 887	25 489	160	232	303	349	150
Vysočina	15 650	20 037	25 616	164	227	302	354	155
South Moravian	15 626	21 703	27 506	176	252	350	425	169
Olomouc	15 589	19 926	25 215	162	214	279	340	159
Zlín	15 543	19 478	24 979	161	222	316	381	171
Moravian-Silesian	17 018	21 136	25 956	152	210	303	358	170
Czech Republic	17 516	22 663	28 152	161	275	374	432	157

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of data from the Czech statistical office (2016a and 2016b).

DISCUSSION

Satisfaction with life between 2003 – 2015 on a regional level, surveyed ten times a year on a sample of more than a thousand respondents stagnated with the current increase in average wage and GDP. Therefore, the question arises: Why does the satisfaction with life of Czechs stagnate when prosperity increases? Does that mean that the Easterlin paradox is true? Yes, but this may not be the only explanation for the development of satisfaction with life. Czech sociologist Hamplová (2015), in her monograph *Why We Need Family, Work and Friends* (in Czech), states that behind the lower values of declared Czechs' satisfaction with life, there is a preference of the middle values on a chosen scale and the uniqueness of the declared highest level of satisfaction. The CVVM (2016) surveyed satisfaction with life on a 5-point scale, very satisfied – very dissatisfied.

Many years have passed since the formulation of Easterlin's paradox, which has brought, amongst other things, the knowledge of increasing complexity and the interconnection of the concept of quality of life. In addition, what's useful as the "problem" of the validity or invalidity of Easterlin's paradox, is the question - what does affect the quality of life? According to the World Happiness Report 2016, Danes are the happiest people in the world (Helliwell et al. 2016). Are they happy because of their "hygge"¹? Will Bulgarians who are – according to the same report – the least happy nation in present Europe, be as happy as Danes when they also start living hygge? I think neither Bulgarians nor any other nation will live hygge, because lifestyle is non-transferable as a result of a long-term development. It can be imitated but not fully achieved. In examining the quality of life, there is a general agreement with the fact that there are individualistic and collectivistic nations. Those are cultural characteristics. The way of life (Kubátová 2010) identifies it with lifestyle) is a part of culture (this is how we get to the relationship of culture and quality of life, Diener and Suh 2000, Rice and Steele 2004). Rodriguez de la Vega (2015) in his analysis states that the quality of life is 'culturally rooted', or 'culturally constructed.'

Hofstede et al. (2010) deal with culture and its relation to quality of life and Hofstede (2011), defines it as 'Culture is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others' (Hofstede 2011, p. 3). According to him, individual cultures are specific, which makes it possible to compare the general tendencies of the behaviour of people who belong to them. Hofstede et al. (2010) identified six dimensions of culture and they were used to create a 6D culture model. This allowed them to evaluate dozens of countries in the world. The rating of the Czech Republic (Hofstede Insights 2018a) and Denmark (Hofstede Insights 2018b) is in tab. 4. By transposition of the cultural dimension of quality of life into physical space, we reach the sphere of cultural geography.

The definitions of cultural geography are different. According to maximalist understanding, the whole of human geography is cultural geography, because everything that man does is culture. It is not easy to define cultural geography, because it is not easy to define what culture is. In our opinion, cultural geography studies the spatial differentiation of a wide range of cultural expressions. In relation to the quality of life from this scale, lifestyle comes to the foreground.

Denmark and Czech Republic are comparable in size, have a relative location in the proximity of a large country – Germany, but not by history, geographical location, language and lifestyle. The answer to the question – which one out of the six cultural dimensions has what kind of impact on the quality of life? – is difficult. Hofstede (2011) states the dimension of masculinity – femininity as one that is related to the quality of life. According to him, Denmark is a feminist society, the balance between life and work is important for its citizens. The determining values in society are caring for others and quality of life, while a (good) quality of life is the sign of success. The Czech Republic is a masculine society that is competitive and success oriented. People live there in order to work.

¹ Hygge – is a way of life in Denmark, based on enjoying little things like sitting with your family or with friends in a cosy environment. Hygge is considered to be the main reason for the fact that Danes are the happiest people in the world (Wiking 2017).

Tab. 4. Cultural dimensions, values obtained by the Czech Republic and evaluation of the situation in the Czech Republic

Cultural Dimensions	Value	Czechia (CR)	Value	Denmark (DK)
Power Distance	57	The CR has a relatively high score on this dimension. This means it is a hierarchical society. People accept a hierarchical order in which everybody has a place and which needs no further justification	18	With a score of 18 points, this matches perfectly with what many foreigners in DK express: Danes not lead, they coach and employee autonomy is required.
Uncertainty Avoidance	74	Countries exhibiting high uncertainty Avoidance maintain Rigid codes of belief and behaviour and are intolerant of un orthodox behaviour and ideas. In these cultures there is an emotional need	23	This means that that Danes do not need a lot of structure and predic-tability in their work life. Plans can change overnight, new things pop up and the Danes are fine with it It is a natural part of their work life.
Individualism vs. Collectivism	58	In CR with a score of 58 is an individualistic society. This means there is a high preference for a loosely-kit social framework in which individuals are expected to take care of themselves.	74	DK is an individualistic society. This means there is a high preference for a loosely-kit social framework in which individuals are expected to take care of themselves.
Masculinity vs Femininity	57	CR is a Masculine society. In masculine countries people "live in order to work". The society will be driven by competition, achievement and success, with success being defined by the winner / best in field. Managers are expected to be decisive and assertive.	16	DK is a feminine society. A low score (Feminine) on the dimen-sion means that the dominant values in society are caring for others and quality of life. A femi-nine society is one where quality of life is the sign of success and standing out frame the crowd is not admirable
Long term vs. Short term orientation	70	With a high score of 70, Czech culture is shown to be pragmatic. In this society people believe that truth depends very much on situation, context and time.	35	A low score of 35 indicated that Danish culture is normative. People in such societies have a strong concern with establishing the absolute Truth, they are normative in their thinking.
Indulgence vs. Restraint	29	The low score of 29 means that Czechs are generally not indulgent. Societies with a low score in this dimension have tendency to cynicism and pessimism.	70	DK is an indulgent country. People in societies classified by a high score of indulgence generally exhibit a willingness to realise their impulses and desires with regard to enjoying life and having fun.

Source: adapted from Hofstede Insights (2018a a 2018b).

On the one hand, we can agree with it, on the other hand, there is a real assumption that other dimensions of cultural geographical characteristics for example individualism/collectivism influence the level of happiness/quality of life/satisfaction with life. We assume a strong relationship between the quality of life and social capital and Hofstede does not deal with this.

The paper is focused on satisfaction with life in the Czech Republic regions. In this country, there are few works about lifestyle (Kubátová et al. 2015) or cultural geography on a regional level (Heřmanová and Chromý 2009). Therefore, it is difficult to compare lifestyle and culture with satisfaction with life.

CONCLUSION

In the paper we analysed the development of satisfaction with life from 2003 to 2015 in the regions of the Czech Republic. We set two objectives and one hypothesis – in long-term development, the satisfaction with life of the Czech Republic's

inhabitants on a regional level will grow directly in line with the growth of wages, which will mean the refutation of Easterlin's paradox. This hypothesis was not confirmed.

According to all known findings up until now, satisfaction should have increased, and after reaching a certain level, should have started to stagnate or even decline in some regions. This is not the case in Czech regions. More appropriate spatial units for quality of life analysis would be districts, but only data for regions are available. Even with the indicative nature of the data, it can be stated that during the 13 years surveyed, satisfaction with life stagnated. We tried to answer why it is so, even when wages and GDP had been growing.

To a question put in the title of the article is the answer – in the development of satisfaction with life in the Czech Republic in the years 2003 – 2015 Easterlin's paradox applies, at the same time, however, reflected the impact of the characteristics of the cultural geographical situation in the Czech society.

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MÔŽE BYŤ EASTERLINOV PARADOX APLIKOVANÝ NA VÝVOJ SPOKOJNOSTI SO ŽIVOTOM ALEBO JE VYSVETLENIE V KULTÚRNO GEOGRAFICKÝCH CHARAKTERISTIKÁCH?

Významnou súčasťou konceptu kvality života je spokojnosť so životom. Keď hodnotíme kvalitu svojho života, hodnotíme spokojnosť s ním. Pozitívnym hodnotením kvality života je pohoda. Spokojnosť so životom je kognitívny konštrukt, na rozdiel od šťastia,

ktoré je afektívny konštrukt (Sirgy 2012 a Hall 2014). Jedným z najznámejších konštatovaní súvisiacich s kvalitou života je, že po dosiahnutí určitej úrovne príjmov spokojnosť so životom nestúpa, v niektorých prípadoch dokonca klesá. Toto tvrdenie, známe ako Easterlinov paradox, v súčasnosti viacerí autori vyvracajú (napr. Deaton 2007, Sacks et al. 2010 a Veenhoven a Vergunst 2013).

Príspevok je zameraný na vývoj spokojnosti so životom deklarovanej obyvateľmi krajov ČR v dlhodobom (roky 2003 – 2015) a kontinuálnom (desaťkrát ročne) dotazníkovom prieskume. V snahe vysvetliť tento vývoj sme analyzovali korelácie vývoja spokojnosti so životom s vývojom relevantných ekonomických premenných, ktorými sú mzda a hrubý domáci produkt. Cieľom príspevku bolo na základe porovnania vývoja spokojnosti so životom na úrovni krajov ČR v rokoch 2003 – 2015 s vývojom miezd a HDP na osobu vyvrátiť alebo potvrdiť Easterlinov paradox.

Vývoj spokojnosti so životom sme analyzovali na základe dát Centra pre výskum verejnej mienky pri Sociologickom ústave Akadémie vied ČR. Zmeny vo vývoji spokojnosti so životom za roky 2003, 2009 a 2015 v jednotlivých kategóriách 5-stupňovej Likertovej škály vyjadruje tab. 2. Vyplýva z nej, že spokojnosť so životom za trinásť sledovaných rokov stagnovala. V tab. 3 je kvantifikácia vývoja miezd a HDP na osobu v rovnakom období rokov 2003 – 2015. Ako sa dalo očakávať, v ČR obidve premenné vzrástli asi o 60 %, pričom rast miezd sa pohyboval v rozpätí 52 – 71 %. Pretože spokojnosť so životom v sledovanom období stagnovala, hypotéza, že v dlhodobom vývoji bude spokojnosť so životom obyvateľov ČR na krajskej úrovni rásť priamo úmerne s rastom miezd, čo bude znamenať vyvrátenie Easterlinovho paradoxu, sa nepotvrdila. Znamená to, že Easterlinov paradox platí? Áno, ale domnievame sa, že odpoveď je zložitejšia.

Česká sociologička Dana Hamplová vo svojej monografii *Proč potřebujeme rodinu, práci a přátele* konštatuje, že za nižšími hodnotami deklarovanej spokojnosti Čechov so životom je preferencia stredových hodnôt na zvolenej škále a ojedinelosť deklarovanej najvyššej miery spokojnosti (Hamplová 2015). Toto tvrdenie je kultúrna charakteristika, tým sa dostávame ku vzťahu kultúry a kvality života. Rodriguez de la Vega (2015) vo svojej analýze uvádza, že kvalita života je „zakorenená v kultúre“, resp. „kultúrne konštruovaná“. Kultúrou a jej vzťahom ku kvalite života sa zaoberajú Hofstede et al. (2010) a Hofstede (2011), podľa nich jednotlivé kultúry sú špecifické, čo umožňuje porovnávanie všeobecných tendencií správania ľudí, ktorí k nim patria. Premietnutím kultúry do fyzického priestoru sa dostávame do sféry kultúrnej geografie. Podľa maximalistického chápania celá humánna geografia je kultúrnou geografiou, pretože všetko, čo človek robí, je „kultúra“. Podľa nášho názoru kultúrna geografia je štúdiom priestorovej diferenciácie širokej škály prejavov kultúry. V tab. 4 uvádzame porovnanie ČR a Dánska. Krajiny sú porovnateľné svojou veľkosťou, relatívnou polohou v susedstve veľkej krajiny – Nemecka, ale už nie dejinami, geografickou polohou, jazykom a spôsobom života. Odpovedať na otázku, ktorá z dimenzií kultúrnej geografie má aký vplyv na kvalitu života, je zložité. Podľa Hofstedeho je pre kvalitu života dôležitý rozmer maskulinita – femininita, domnievame sa že je ním aj individualizmus – kolektívizmus. Silný vzťah predpokladáme aj medzi kvalitou života a sociálnym kapitálom, ktorým sa Hofstede nezaoberá. Na otázku položenú v názve článku odpovedáme: Vo vývoji spokojnosti so životom v ČR v rokoch 2003 – 2015 platí Easterlinov paradox, zároveň sa však prejavuje aj vplyv charakteristík kultúrnej geografie českej spoločnosti.