Received: 25 August 2023 | Revised: 6 June 2024 | Accepted: 8 June 2024

DOI: 10.1111/jopy.12959

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

WILEY

Differing worldviews: The politics of happiness, meaning, and psychological richness

Shigehiro Oishi[1] | **Hyewon Choi**[2] | **Youngjae Cha**[1] | **Samantha Heintzelman**[3] | **Nicholas R Buttrick**[4] | **Erin C Westgate**[5]

[1]Department of Psychology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, USA

[2]Department of Sociology, Kyung Hee University, Yongin, South Korea

[3]Department of Psychology, Rutgers University, Newark, New Jersey, USA

[4]Department of Psychology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, USA

[5]Department of Psychology, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, USA

Correspondence
Shigehiro Oishi, Department of Psychology, University of Chicago, 5848 S. University Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637, USA.
Email: soishi@uchicago.edu

Funding information
Templeton World Charity Foundation

Abstract

Objective/Background: Conservative ideology, broadly speaking, has been widely linked to greater happiness and meaning in life. Is that true of all forms of a good life? We examined whether a psychologically rich life is associated with political orientation, system justification, and Protestant work ethic, independent of two other traditional forms of a good life: a happy life and a meaningful life.

Method: Participants completed a questionnaire that assessed conservative worldviews and three aspects of well-being ($N = 583$ in Study 1; $N = 348$ in Study 2; $N = 436$ in Study 3; $N = 1{,}217$ in Study 4; $N = 2{,}176$ in Study 5; $N = 516$ in Study 6).

Results: Happiness was associated with political conservatism and system justification, and meaning in life was associated with Protestant work ethic. In contrast, zero-order correlations showed that psychological richness was not associated with conservative worldviews. However, when happiness and meaning in life were included in multiple regression models, the nature of the association shifted: Psychological richness was consistently inversely associated with system justification and on average less political conservatism, suggesting that happiness and meaning in life were suppressor variables.

Conclusions: These findings suggest that happiness and meaning in life are associated with conservative ideology, whereas psychological richness is not.

KEYWORDS

conservatism, happiness, meaning in life, psychological richness

1 | INTRODUCTION

Is a good life a conservative one? In six studies, we examined the relationship between conservative worldviews and three aspects of a good life: happiness/life satisfaction, meaning in life, and psychological richness.

1.1 | What is a good life?

We define a good life as a life deemed good by the person who is living it. There have been many concepts associated with a good life. One common distinction is that of hedonic versus eudaimonic. Hedonic well-being is focused

on pleasant experiences and is often measured by the frequency of positive emotions (Diener et al., 2010), happiness (Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999), and life satisfaction (Diener et al., 1985). Eudaimonic well-being is focused on an individual's achievement of conditions deemed core to human nature or human fulfillment and is often measured by meaning in life (Steger et al., 2006); psychological well-being such as purpose in life, autonomy, and environmental mastery (Ryff, 1989); self-expressiveness (Waterman, 2008); self-determination such as autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2001); generativity (McAdams & Guo, 2015); and authenticity (Schlegel et al., 2009) among many others (see Vittersø, 2016 for a review).

Despite this conceptual diversity, various measures of eudaimonic well-being are highly correlated with one another (Gallagher et al., 2009). For example, autonomy, competence, and relatedness all correlate strongly with meaning in life ($rs = 0.55$ to 0.71 in Martela et al., 2018, Study 1). Likewise, purpose in life correlates strongly with Ryff's overall psychological well-being ($r = 0.75$, Garcia-Alandete, 2015) and with Waterman et al.'s (2010) eudaimonic well-being ($r = 0.63$). From this, it can be said that people who engage in activities that foster authenticity and satisfy intrinsic motivations for autonomy and competence, practice self-acceptance, pursue positive relationships, and personal growth, and are generative also tend to lead meaningful lives, according to their own self-reports. In our studies, we focused on meaning in life as an indicator of eudaimonic well-being.

In addition to hedonic and eudaimonic well-being, psychological richness is another aspect of a good life. A psychologically rich life is defined as a life filled with diverse, interesting experiences that result in perspective changes (Oishi & Westgate, 2022), and it is distinct from hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. For instance, whereas extraversion and neuroticism are the strongest Big Five predictors of happiness, life satisfaction, and meaning in life (Anglim et al., 2020), openness to experience is the strongest predictor of a psychologically rich life (Oishi et al., 2019). Unlike happiness, life satisfaction, and meaning, the association between psychological richness and political conservatism has not been examined before.

1.2 | What is conservatism?

We define conservatism as the preference for hierarchy and for preserving what has been already established (i.e., traditionalism, fear of change, Jost et al., 2003). Duckitt and Sibley (2009) separated conservatism into two motivational categories: motivation for maintaining stability, order, and security—as represented by Right-wing Authoritarianism—and motivation for power and dominance as represented by Social Dominance Orientation (see also Duckitt, 2001). According to Duckitt and Sibley, Protestant work ethic (i.e., the belief that hard work will result in success in life) is a part of traditionalism, whereas system justification (i.e., the motivation to rationalize the status quo and perceive broader systems as fair; Jost & Banaji, 1994) is a part of hierarchical beliefs. We assessed political conservatism, system justification, and Protestant work ethic to capture diverse conceptualizations of conservative worldviews.

A large body of work on subjective well-being and political attitudes finds that people who endorse a conservative ideology are slightly happier than those who do a liberal one (Okulicz-Kozaryn et al., 2014; Onraet et al., 2013). The link between conservatism and happiness appears driven, in part, by conservatives' system justification beliefs (Napier & Jost, 2008), self-enhancing tendencies (Wojcik et al., 2015), religiosity (Van der Toorn et al., 2017), and optimism (Butz et al., 2017). In sum, conservative individuals tend to have positive outlooks, believe the world is fair, and value stability and security in life (Schlenker et al., 2012). This felt sense of stability and security, in turn, appears to be associated with higher levels of happiness and life satisfaction.

Political conservatives may feel they lead not only happier, but more meaningful lives as well. In diverse samples, measures, and methods, Newman et al. (2019) found conservatism and meaning in life to be consistently and positively associated—and political conservatism was even more strongly associated with meaning in life than with life satisfaction or positive affect. Moreover, these associations between conservatism and meaning in life persisted even after statistically controlling for religiosity.

Does this mean "a good life" is inherently a conservative one? While conservative ideology may be linked to happiness and meaning, we argue this correlation may not emerge for psychological richness—individuals who pursue a psychologically rich life might actually be less conservative for a few reasons. First, the strongest Big Five correlate of psychological richness is openness to experience (Oishi et al., 2019), which is in turn generally associated with less political conservatism (Gerber et al., 2010). Second, recent research has shown that open people are more likely to study abroad than less open people (Zimmermann & Neyer, 2013), and unusual experiences such as studying abroad enhance psychological richness (Oishi et al., 2021). Related research has also found that multicultural experiences are associated with less conservative worldviews (Sparkman et al., 2016). Third, a recent study found that individuals who read more fiction growing up reported higher levels of a psychologically rich life than those who did not (Buttrick et al., 2023). Given that those who read more fiction are known to endorse less conservatism (Fong et al., 2015), psychological richness might also be associated with less conservatism.

1.3 | The correlation between richness and conservatism: suppressor variables

In personality psychology, the existence of a third variable that could suppress the association between two main variables of interest has been recognized for decades (e.g., Horst et al., 1941; Meehl & Hathaway, 1946; see Martinez Gutierrez & Cribbie, 2021 for a review). As an example with content unrelated to the current study, zero-order correlations show that both self-esteem and narcissism are positively associated with antisocial behavior (Paulhus et al., 2004). Noticing that self-reported self-esteem included aspects of narcissism, the authors went on to run a multiple regression analysis, predicting antisocial behaviors from self-esteem and narcissism simultaneously. Once the shared variance with narcissism was taken out, self-esteem was negatively associated with antisocial behavior. Paulhus et al. (2004) observed that "self-esteem in its uncontaminated form is negatively associated with antisocial behaviors" (p. 317).

We suspect that a similar situation might exist in the association between psychological richness and political conservatism. It is already well-known that self-reported happiness and meaning in life are associated with political conservatism (e.g., Butz et al., 2017; Newman et al., 2019). Just as self-esteem and narcissism are positively correlated, psychological richness is positively correlated with happiness and meaning in life (Oishi et al., 2019). Since psychological richness, happiness, and meaning in life are three different indicators of a good life, they share common variance of positivity. Thus, once this shared variance is taken out, it is possible that an "uncontaminated" association between psychological richness and conservative worldviews would appear. More precisely, even if zero-order correlations show a null or even positive association between psychological richness and conservative worldviews, the "uncontaminated" association might be negative. We tested the potential suppressor situation, using multiple regression with structural equation modeling (SEM), which corrects for differential measurement errors.

1.4 | The current research

We examined these predictions—that a happy life and a meaningful life are associated with conservatism, whereas a psychologically rich life is not—across six correlational studies, including a pre-registered replication of the key effects from Studies 1–5. In Study 1, we examined the unique associations between the three types of a good life and conservative worldview beliefs: system justification and Protestant work ethic. We then replicated and extended this work to political orientation in a convenience sample of American college students (Studies 2 and 3) and in a large nationally representative sample in the United States (Study 4). Next, we tested whether these findings on political orientation and system justification generalized to Korea (Study 5). Finally, in Study 6, we pre-registered and partially replicated our key findings from Studies 1 through 5. All studies (1–6) were approved by the host university's IRB (Good Life Study, Protocol #: 3950). Data, R codes, outputs, and Supplemental Materials for all studies are deposited on the Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/7r85b/).

2 | METHOD

2.1 | Participants and power considerations

2.1.1 | Study 1

We used a convenience sample of 583 students (266 men, 312 women) enrolled in introductory level psychology courses at a large public university in Virginia (339 European American, 117 Asian, 38 African American, 22 Hispanic, 61 "other" race/ethnicity). The mean age was 18.91 ($SD = 1.22$). According to G*Power 3.1.9.2 ($\alpha = 0.05$, two-tailed), this sample size yields 76% power to detect $r = 0.11$ (for conservatism and a happy life), 88% power to detect $r = 0.13$ (for conservatism and a meaningful life). Previous studies on conservatism and well-being yield weighted effect sizes of r of 0.11 with life satisfaction/happiness (Butz et al., 2017; Schlenker et al., 2012), and r of 0.13 with meaning in life (Newman et al., 2019).

2.1.2 | Study 2

Participants were 348 students (147 men and 201 women) enrolled in introductory level psychology courses at a large public university in Virginia (230 European American, 61 Asian, 28 African American, 11 Hispanic, and 17 another identity). They received partial research credit in exchange for their participation. According to G*Power 3.1.9.2 ($\alpha = 0.05$, two-tailed), our sample size yields 54% power to detect $r = 0.11$ (for conservatism and a happy life) and 69% power to detect $r = 0.13$ (for conservatism and a meaningful life).

2.1.3 | Study 3

Participants were 436 students (154 men, 240 women, 2 prefer to self-identify, others did not provide this information; 264 White, 76 Hispanic/Latinx, 46 Asian, 32 Black, 2 Pacific

Islander, 9 "other" identity) at a large public university in Florida. The mean age was 19.51 ($SD = 2.83$). According to G*Power 3.1.9.2 ($\alpha = 0.05$, two-tailed), our sample size yields 63% power to detect $r = 0.11$ and 78% to detect $r = 0.13$.

2.1.4 | Study 4

Participants were recruited by a sampling firm as a part of a larger project, with the overall sample intended to be nationally representative in terms of age, race, education, household income, and US Census region. Our sample consisted of 1217 respondents (839 women) who passed two attention check items (831 European American, 157 African American, 136 Hispanic, 41 Asian, 48 "other" identity). The mean age was 38.21 ($SD = 11.46$) and ranged from 18 to 71. According to G*Power 3.1.9.2 ($\alpha = 0.05$, two-tailed), our sample size had over 97% power to detect even a small effect size $r = 0.11$.

2.1.5 | Study 5

Participants were 2176 Koreans (1011 men, 1159 women, and 6 preferred not to answer; mean age = 28.71, $SD = 4.62$) recruited via Micromill Embrain, which holds 1.3 million online individual panels in Korea. Participants volunteered in exchange for 3800 Korean Won ($3 approximately). According to G*Power 3.1.9.2 ($\alpha = 0.05$, two-tailed), our sample size provides over 99% statistical power to detect a small effect size $r = 0.11$.

2.1.6 | Study 6

Participants were 617 students at a public university in Florida. Participants completed an online survey in exchange for partial research credit. Out of 617 participants, 38 did not answer the attention check item. Among 579 participants who answered the attention check item, 516 picked the correct answer (i.e., 83.6% of 617 participants). The results reported below are based on 516 participants who passed the attention check item (194 men, 317 women; 346 White, 114 Latinx, 67 Asians, 39 Black, and 14 Others[1]; mean age = 19.17, $SD = 1.55$). According to G*Power 3.1.9.2 ($\alpha = 0.05$, two-tailed), this yields 71% power to detect an effect size of $r = 0.11$, and 84% to detect $r = 0.13$.

2.2 | Procedures

Participants completed a short online survey that included measures of a good life and of conservative worldviews. In Study 1, the three forms of a good life were measured by the 15-item Good Life Scale (GLS: Oishi & Westgate, 2022). Participants responded to 15 statements that start with "My life has been..." on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. A happy life was measured by "happy," "enjoyable," "comfortable," "unstable"(*r*), and "sad"(*r*): $\alpha = 0.82$. A meaningful life was measured by "meaningful," "fulfilling," "purposeful," "meaningless"(*r*), and "disorganized"(*r*): $\alpha = 0.84$. A psychologically rich life was measured by "interesting," "dramatic," "psychologically rich," "uneventful"(*r*), and "monotonous"(*r*): $\alpha = 0.71$. Participants also completed two scales of conservative worldview beliefs. We measured Protestant work ethic (Mirels & Garrett, 1971) with 19 items, such as "anyone who is able and willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding," rated from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), $\alpha = 0.76$. Furthermore, we assessed system justification beliefs (Kay & Jost, 2003) with eight items including "In general, you find society to be fair" rated from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*): $\alpha = 0.79$.

In Study 2, the three types of a good life were measured by the same 15-item Good Life Scale used in Study 1: A happy life ($\alpha = 0.84$), a meaningful life ($\alpha = 0.87$), and a psychologically rich life ($\alpha = 0.70$). Political orientation was assessed with one item: "Politically, I consider myself..." (1 = very liberal, 7 = very conservative). The survey also included a 25-item scale of the Big Five personality traits (Brody & Ehrlichman, 1997): openness to experience ($\alpha = 0.76$), conscientiousness ($\alpha = 0.77$), extraversion ($\alpha = 0.79$), agreeableness ($\alpha = 0.86$), and neuroticism ($\alpha = 0.85$). Participants rated the degree to which each trait describes "who you are in general" on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all true to 5 = very true).

In Study 3, a happy life was assessed with two measures: the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985: $\alpha = 0.87$) and the happy life subscale of the 15-item Good Life scale (used in Studies 1 and 2; $\alpha = 0.88$). A meaningful life was assessed by two measures: the presence subscale of the Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Steger et al., 2006: $\alpha = 0.89$) and the meaningful life subscale of the Good Life Scale ($\alpha = 0.83$). Finally, a psychologically rich life was assessed by two measures: the 17-item Psychologically Rich Life Questionnaire (Oishi et al., 2019; $\alpha = 0.93$) and the psychologically rich life subscale of the Good Life Scale ($\alpha = 0.75$). We measured both Big Five personality traits and political orientation, using a 10-item personality scale (Gosling et al., 2003) and a single item "What is your political orientation? 1 = very conservative; 7 = very liberal", respectively.

In Study 4, we assessed a happy life with the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985: $\alpha = 0.92$) and the positive affect subset of the Scale of Positive and Negative

Experiences (SPANE; Diener et al., 2010: $\alpha = 0.92$); a meaningful life with the presence subscale of the Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ-P; Steger et al., 2006: $\alpha = 0.76$); and a psychologically rich life with the Psychologically Rich Life Questionnaire (PRLQ; Oishi et al., 2019: $\alpha = 0.89$). We used three items to assess political orientation: (1) "Generally how politically conservative or liberal are you?", (2) "When it comes to social issues (e.g., LGBTQ rights, gun ownership rights), how conservative or liberal are you?", and (3) "When it comes to economic issues (e.g., taxation, business regulation), how conservative or liberal are you?" (1 = very conservative to 7 = very liberal). We created a political conservatism variable by reversing the scores first and taking the mean of the three items ($\alpha = 0.92$). The survey also included the same 25-item scale of Big Five personality traits (Brody & Ehrlichman, 1997) used in Study 2: openness to experience ($\alpha = 0.77$), conscientiousness ($\alpha = 0.83$), extraversion ($\alpha = 0.82$), agreeableness ($\alpha = 0.87$), and neuroticism ($\alpha = 0.87$). We also measured religiosity ("How religious are you?", 1 = not at all religious, and 5 = extremely religious).

In Study 5, a good life was measured using Korean translations of the same scales used in Studies 3 and 4: a happy life (Satisfaction with Life Scale; SWLS: $\alpha = 0.91$; Korean-translated and validated version from Lim et al., 2010; the positive affect subset in the Scale of Positive and Negative Experiences; SPANE: $\alpha = 0.91$; Korean-translated and validated version from Koo, 2018), a meaningful life (presence subscale of the Meaning in Life Questionnaire; MLQ-P: $\alpha = 0.84$; Korean-translated and validated version from Lim et al., 2010), and a psychologically rich life (17-item Psychologically Rich Life Questionnaire; PRLQ: $\alpha = 0.85$). For PRLQ items, translation and back-translation procedures were conducted independently by two bilingual research assistants. The back-translated version was checked by the third author of this paper. Political conservatism was measured by two items developed using the same back-translation method. Furthermore, we replaced the example social and economic issues (i.e., guns and LGBTQ) with ones more relevant to the Korean context. These issues were selected and modified from the translated version of the Social and Economic Conservatism Scale (Kerry et al., 2022: "When it comes to social issues [e.g., preserving traditions, maintaining social order, security], how conservative or liberal are you?") and the other economic issues ("When it comes to economic issues [e.g., small, pro-business government and taxation], how conservative or liberal are you?" 1 = very conservative to 7 = very liberal; Spearman-Brown coefficient = 0.69). Big Five personality traits were assessed with the Korean version of the Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI) measures (Gosling et al., 2003): openness to experience (Spearman-Brown coefficient = 0.55), conscientiousness (Spearman-Brown coefficient = 0.45), extraversion (Spearman-Brown coefficient = 0.80), agreeableness (Spearman-Brown coefficient = 0.14), and neuroticism (Spearman-Brown coefficient = 0.50). The Korean translation version of TIPI was downloaded from the following Web site (https://gosling.psy.utexas.edu/scales-weve-developed/ten-item-personality-measure-tipi/). Finally, we again measured system justification beliefs using the 8-item system justification scale (Kay & Jost, 2003), which was translated and back-translated by the same two bilingual research assistants and checked by the third author ($\alpha = 0.84$).

In Study 6, participants completed the Good Life Scale (Oishi & Westgate, 2022: richness [$\alpha = 0.77$], happiness [$\alpha = 0.83$], meaning [$\alpha = 0.84$]), SWLS (Diener et al., 1985: $\alpha = 0.88$), SPANE-PA (Diener et al., 2010: $\alpha = 0.91$), MLQ-P (Steger et al., 2006: $\alpha = 0.87$), PRLQ (Oishi et al., 2019: $\alpha = 0.93$), Protestant work ethic (Mirels & Garrett, 1971: $\alpha = 0.78$), system justification beliefs (Kay & Jost, 2003: $\alpha = 0.82$), 3-item political orientation used in Study 4 ($\alpha = 0.92$), and the same 25-item scale of Big Five personality traits used in Study 6 (openness: $\alpha = 0.78$; conscientiousness: $\alpha = 0.76$; extraversion: $\alpha = 0.79$; agreeableness: $\alpha = 0.86$; neuroticism: $\alpha = 0.84$). Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 6.

TABLE 1 Descriptive statistics and correlations (*p*-values) among key variables in Study 1.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Richness					
2. Happiness	0.19*** (0.000)				
3. Meaning	0.44*** (0.000)	0.60*** (0.000)			
4. System justification	0.02 (0.594)	0.21*** (0.000)	0.25*** (0.000)		
5. Protestant work ethic	0.11** (0.006)	0.07 (0.112)	0.20*** (0.000)	0.25*** (0.000)	
M	5.1	5.35	5.13	3.72	4.28
SD	0.94	1.02	1.09	0.96	0.62

Note: Values in parentheses indicate *p*-value for each correlation. Richness = the 5-item psychologically rich life subscale of the GLS. Happiness = the 5-item happy life subscale of the GLS. Meaning = the 5-item meaning in life subscale of the GLS.

**$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

2.3 | Analytic approaches

Following Paulhus et al. (2004), we used a multiple regression to predict a conservative worldview (e.g., system justification) from all three types of a good life, simultaneously. In order to correct the differential reliability of the three subscales of a good life, we ran multiple regression using structural equation modeling (SEM), employing the *lavaan* package version 0.6.17 for R (version 4.3.2).

Across Studies 1–6, latent factors were formed with two parcels (when the number of items was less than 8) and three parcels (when the number of items was 8 or more). To form parcels, we utilized the *parcelAllocation* function within the *semTools* package (version 0.5.6 for R) to randomly allocate items to parcels 100 different times (Sterba & MacCallum, 2010). In our report below, we provide estimations and model fits that are averaged across the 100 fitted models, for example, the Mean and *SD* of the Comparative Fit Index (CFI). When each latent factor was assessed with two or three scales (e.g., in Study 6: happiness was assessed with SPANE-PA, SWLS, and GLS-Happy), we used each scale's aggregated score as an indicator (i.e., no parceling). When a model consists of nonparceled latent factors, we report normal estimations and model fits. In Study 6, although it was not specified in the pre-registration, we allowed for residual correlations between happiness and meaning subsets of the Good Life Scale for two reasons. First, these two were subscales of the same scale that used the same word stem ("My life has been..."). Second, the residual correlations reduced the latent factor correlation between happiness and meaning from 0.92 to 0.87.

3 | RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tables 1–6 show zero-order correlations among key variables in Studies 1 to 6.

Table 7 shows model fit and standardized coefficients for all the SEM multiple regression analyses.

3.1 | Study 1 (System Justification and Protestant Work Ethic)

As seen in Table 7, a SEM multiple regression analysis showed that meaning in life was positively associated with system justification, whereas psychological richness was negatively associated. Happiness was unrelated to system justification. A SEM analysis also showed that meaning was associated with Protestant work ethic, whereas happiness tended to be negatively associated. Richness was unrelated to Protestant work ethic. We ran two SEM analyses in which participants' gender, age, and race were

TABLE 2 Descriptive statistics and correlations (*p*-values) among key variables in Study 2.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Richness									
2. Happiness	0.33*** (0.000)								
3. Meaning	0.52*** (0.000)	0.67*** (0.000)							
4. Conservatism	−0.05 (0.308)	0.22*** (0.000)	0.12* (0.028)						
5. Openness	0.45*** (0.000)	0.26*** (0.000)	0.38*** (0.000)	−0.00 (0.975)					
6. Conscientiousness	0.29*** (0.000)	0.41*** (0.000)	0.54*** (0.000)	0.12* (0.031)	0.40*** (0.000)				
7. Extraversion	0.44*** (0.000)	0.38*** (0.000)	0.44*** (0.000)	0.13* (0.016)	0.34*** (0.000)	0.37*** (0.000)			
8. Agreeableness	0.38*** (0.000)	0.27*** (0.000)	0.41*** (0.000)	−0.07 (0.186)	0.41*** (0.000)	0.31*** (0.000)	0.33*** (0.000)		
9. Neuroticism	−0.06 (0.284)	−0.36*** (0.000)	−0.29*** (0.000)	−0.03 (0.595)	−0.06 (0.245)	−0.12* (0.029)	−0.17** (0.002)	0.09 (0.106)	
M	5.07	5.34	5.23	3.32	3.79	3.83	3.66	4.11	3.19
SD	0.88	0.98	1.11	1.58	0.61	0.66	0.75	0.67	0.89

Note: Values in parentheses indicate *p*-value for each correlation. Richness = the 5-item psychologically rich life subscale of the GLS. Happiness = the 5-item happy life subscale of the GLS. Meaning = the 5-item meaning in life subscale of the GLS.

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

TABLE 3 Descriptive statistics and correlations (*p*-values) among key variables in Study 3.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Rich1												
2. Rich2	0.83*** (0.000)											
3. Happy1	0.19*** (0.000)	0.31*** (0.000)										
4. Happy2	0.31*** (0.000)	0.46*** (0.000)	0.58*** (0.000)									
5. Meaning1	0.51*** (0.000)	0.60*** (0.000)	0.62*** (0.000)	0.61*** (0.000)								
6. Meaning2	0.35*** (0.000)	0.41*** (0.000)	0.38*** (0.000)	0.57*** (0.000)	0.64*** (0.000)							
7. Conservatism	0.10 (0.061)	0.07 (0.181)	0.06 (0.266)	0.10* (0.039)	0.09 (0.079)	0.11* (0.029)						
8. Openness	0.47*** (0.000)	0.48*** (0.000)	0.22*** (0.000)	0.17*** (0.001)	0.31*** (0.000)	0.16** (0.001)	−0.10* (0.050)					
9. Conscientiousness	0.26*** (0.000)	0.28*** (0.000)	0.33*** (0.000)	0.28*** (0.000)	0.49*** (0.000)	0.32*** (0.000)	0.09 (0.073)	0.20*** (0.000)				
10. Extraversion	0.37*** (0.000)	0.38*** (0.000)	0.16** (0.001)	0.19*** (0.000)	0.30*** (0.000)	0.20*** (0.000)	−0.02 (0.687)	0.30*** (0.000)	0.05 (0.351)			
11. Agreeableness	0.11* (0.027)	0.12* (0.013)	0.12* (0.015)	0.09 (0.059)	0.15** (0.003)	0.10* (0.043)	−0.08 (0.095)	0.23*** (0.000)	0.16** (0.002)	−0.02 (0.705)		
12. Neuroticism	−0.06 (0.240)	−0.13** (0.009)	−0.36*** (0.000)	−0.29*** (0.000)	−0.32*** (0.000)	−0.27*** (0.000)	−0.15** (0.004)	−0.05 (0.321)	−0.24*** (0.000)	−0.03 (0.495)	−0.27*** (0.000)	
M	5.04	5.01	5.26	23.06	5.22	4.6	3.75	5.3	5.35	4.27	4.74	3.61
SD	0.98	1	1.13	6.59	1.11	1.33	1.64	1.13	1.23	1.67	1.17	1.46

Note: Values in parentheses indicate *p*-value for each correlation. Rich1 = the 5-item psychologically rich life subscale of the GLS. Rich2 = PRLQ. Happy1 = the 5-item happy life subscale of the GLS. Happy2 = SWLS. Meaning1 = the 5-item meaning in life subscale of the GLS. Meaning2 = MLQ-P. Political orientation measures were reversed to indicate that larger scores are conservative, and smaller scores are liberal.

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

TABLE 4 Descriptive statistics and correlations (*p*-values) among key variables in Study 4.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Richness										
2. Happiness	0.52*** (0.000)									
3. SPANE-PA	0.53*** (0.000)	0.61*** (0.000)								
4. Meaning	0.56*** (0.000)	0.62*** (0.000)	0.52** (0.000)							
5. Conservatism	0.06* (0.030)	0.21*** (0.000)	0.15** (0.000)	0.23*** (0.000)						
6. Openness	0.47*** (0.000)	0.24*** (0.000)	0.34** (0.000)	0.32*** (0.000)	0.01 (0.796)					
7. Conscientiousness	0.33*** (0.000)	0.29*** (0.000)	0.36** (0.000)	0.31*** (0.000)	0.10*** (0.000)	0.50*** (0.000)				
8. Extraversion	0.51*** (0.000)	0.50*** (0.000)	0.50** (0.000)	0.45*** (0.000)	0.17*** (0.000)	0.52*** (0.000)	0.42*** (0.000)			
9. Agreeableness	0.37*** (0.000)	0.22*** (0.000)	0.37** (0.000)	0.29*** (0.000)	0.00 (0.903)	0.54*** (0.000)	0.45*** (0.000)	0.43*** (0.000)		
10. Neuroticism	−0.15*** (0.000)	−0.12*** (0.000)	−0.22** (0.000)	−0.21*** (0.000)	−0.03 (0.326)	0.10*** (0.000)	−0.09** (0.003)	−0.01 (0.655)	0.11*** (0.000)	
M	4.58	20.81	3.5	4.49	4.12	3.77	3.99	3.36	3.93	3.1
SD	0.97	7.7	0.82	1.33	1.74	0.68	0.7	0.88	0.77	1

Note: Values in parentheses indicate *p*-value for each correlation. Richness = PRLQ, Happiness = SWLS, SPANE-PA = the 5-item positive affect subscale of the SPANE. Meaning = MLQ-P. Political orientation measures were reversed to indicate that larger scores are conservative, and smaller scores are liberal.

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

TABLE 5 Descriptive statistics and correlations (*p*-values) among key variables in Study 5.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Richness											
2. Happiness	0.62*** (0.000)										
3. SPANE-PA	0.51*** (0.000)	0.59*** (0.000)									
4. Meaning	0.63*** (0.000)	0.58*** (0.000)	0.49*** (0.000)								
5. Justification	0.22*** (0.000)	0.40*** (0.000)	0.23*** (0.000)	0.22*** (0.000)							
6. Conservatism	0.05* (0.024)	0.10*** (0.000)	0.03 (0.195)	0.04 (0.083)	0.00 (0.845)						
7. Openness	0.47*** (0.000)	0.21*** (0.000)	0.25*** (0.000)	0.35*** (0.000)	0.09*** (0.000)	−0.04 (0.056)					
8. Conscientiousness	0.12*** (0.000)	0.18*** (0.000)	0.08*** (0.000)	0.14*** (0.000)	0.06** (0.005)	0.04* (0.049)	0.08*** (0.000)				
9. Extraversion	0.21*** (0.000)	0.20*** (0.000)	0.16*** (0.000)	0.17*** (0.000)	0.16*** (0.000)	0.10*** (0.000)	0.10*** (0.000)	0.01 (0.743)			
10. Agreeableness	−0.05* (0.030)	−0.02 (0.345)	0.07*** (0.000)	−0.01 (0.815)	−0.01 (0.752)	−0.07** (0.001)	−0.11*** (0.000)	−0.52*** (0.000)	0.02 (0.421)		
11. Neuroticism	−0.21*** (0.000)	−0.32*** (0.000)	−0.22*** (0.000)	−0.27*** (0.000)	−0.19*** (0.000)	−0.03 (0.105)	−0.06** (0.008)	−0.26*** (0.000)	−0.09*** (0.000)	−0.00 (0.996)	
M	3.93	3.6	3.21	4.17	3.11	2.98	2.98	2.95	3.05	3.4	3.21
SD	1.13	1.31	0.79	1.28	0.96	0.77	0.87	0.62	0.46	0.77	0.87

Note: Values in parentheses indicate *p*-value for each correlation. Richness = PRLQ, Happiness = SWLS, SPANE-PA = the 5-item positive affect subscale of the SPANE. Meaning = MLQ-P.
*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

additionally entered. The key effects reported above were robust to controlling for gender, age, and race, for predicting system justification,[2] and for predicting Protestant work ethic.[3]

3.2 | Study 2 (Conservatism)

A SEM regression analysis showed that happiness was positively associated with political conservatism, whereas psychological richness tended to be associated with less political conservatism. Meaning in life was unrelated to political conservatism. The results were similar when demographic variables and Big Five personality traits were additionally controlled.[4]

3.3 | Study 3 (Conservatism)

Unlike Study 2, none of the three aspects of a good life were associated with political conservatism. We ran another SEM in which we added participants' age, gender, race, and Big Five personality traits. This model did not fit the data.[5]

3.4 | Study 4 (Conservatism)

Unlike Studies 1 to 3, Study 4 utilized a large nationally representative sample. A SEM analysis showed that both happiness and meaning were positively associated with political conservatism, whereas richness was negatively associated with political conservatism. The results for psychological richness and meaning were robust even after partialing out Big Five personality traits and demographic factors (age, gender, race).[6] In Study 4, we also assessed religiosity. Thus, we next statistically controlled for religiosity. The results were essentially the same for psychological richness and happiness, whereas the positive association between meaning and political conservatism disappeared once religiosity was statistically controlled.[7]

3.5 | Study 5 (System Justification and Conservatism)

This study was a replication attempt in a large sample of Korean adults. A SEM analysis showed that happiness was positively associated with system justification, whereas meaning and richness were negatively associated with it. A SEM analysis also showed that happiness was positively associated with political conservatism, whereas meaning and richness were unrelated. We ran two more

TABLE 6 The descriptive statistics and correlations (*p*-values) among key variables in Study 6.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Rich1															
2. Rich2	0.85*** (0.000)														
3. Happy1	0.26*** (0.000)	0.34*** (0.000)													
4. Happy2	0.40*** (0.000)	0.53*** (0.000)	0.59*** (0.000)												
5. SPANE-PA	0.39** (0.000)	0.46** (0.000)	0.49** (0.000)	0.58** (0.000)											
6. Mean1	0.58*** (0.000)	0.62*** (0.000)	0.65*** (0.000)	0.65*** (0.000)	0.55** (0.000)										
7. Mean2	0.46*** (0.000)	0.56*** (0.000)	0.45*** (0.000)	0.63*** (0.000)	0.50** (0.000)	0.69*** (0.000)									
8. PWE	0.20*** (0.000)	0.26*** (0.000)	0.17*** (0.000)	0.28*** (0.000)	0.19** (0.000)	0.28*** (0.000)	0.28*** (0.000)								
9. SysJus	0.09* (0.037)	0.17*** (0.000)	0.26*** (0.000)	0.36*** (0.000)	0.25** (0.000)	0.30*** (0.000)	0.30*** (0.000)	0.46*** (0.000)							
10. Conser	0.10* (0.026)	0.14** (0.002)	0.21*** (0.000)	0.20*** (0.000)	0.15** (0.000)	0.24*** (0.000)	0.26*** (0.000)	0.44*** (0.000)	0.60*** (0.000)						
11. Open	0.44*** (0.000)	0.47*** (0.000)	0.21*** (0.000)	0.20*** (0.000)	0.28** (0.000)	0.31*** (0.000)	0.27*** (0.000)	0.14** (0.002)	0.04 (0.344)	0.01 (0.881)					
12. Cons	0.22*** (0.000)	0.26*** (0.000)	0.31*** (0.000)	0.31*** (0.000)	0.28** (0.000)	0.42*** (0.000)	0.27*** (0.000)	0.16*** (0.000)	0.16*** (0.000)	0.13** (0.003)	0.47*** (0.000)				
13. Extra	0.43*** (0.000)	0.50*** (0.000)	0.30*** (0.000)	0.38*** (0.000)	0.45** (0.000)	0.41*** (0.000)	0.41*** (0.000)	0.25*** (0.000)	0.19*** (0.000)	0.16*** (0.000)	0.46*** (0.000)	0.29*** (0.000)			
14. Agree	0.34*** (0.000)	0.36*** (0.000)	0.27*** (0.000)	0.29*** (0.000)	0.24** (0.000)	0.38*** (0.000)	0.28*** (0.000)	0.03 (0.450)	−0.01 (0.890)	−0.03 (0.554)	0.45*** (0.000)	0.35*** (0.000)	0.33*** (0.000)		
15. Neuro	−0.19*** (0.000)	−0.22*** (0.000)	−0.43*** (0.000)	−0.36*** (0.000)	−0.41** (0.000)	−0.35*** (0.000)	−0.33*** (0.000)	−0.10* (0.030)	−0.24*** (0.000)	−0.19*** (0.000)	−0.10* (0.022)	−0.05 (0.238)	−0.24*** (0.000)	−0.03 (0.446)	
M	5.06	5.1	5.27	23.89	3.68	5.16	4.61	4.17	3.35	4.47	3.87	3.8	3.51	4.06	3.18
SD	1.02	0.99	1.03	6.35	0.69	1.15	1.31	0.65	1.07	1.49	0.61	0.66	0.81	0.69	0.91

Note: Values in parentheses indicate *p*-value for each correlation. Rich1 = the 5-item psychologically rich life subscale of the GLS. Happy1 = the 5-item happy life subscale of the GLS. Mean1 = the 5-item meaning in life subscale of the GLS. Rich2 = PRLQ. Happy2 = SWLS. SPANE-PA = the 5-item positive affect subscale of the SPANE. Mean2 = MLQ-P. SysJus = system justification beliefs. PWE = Protestant work ethics. Conser = the 3-item political conservatism (reversed to indicate that larger scores are conservative, and smaller scores are liberal). Open = the 5-item openness subscale of the Big Five personality traits. Cons = the 5-item conscientiousness subscale of the Big Five personality traits. Extra = the 5-item extraversion subscale of the Big Five personality trait. Agree = the 5-item agreeableness subscale of the Big Five personality traits. Neuro = the 5-item neuroticism subscale of the Big Five personality traits.

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

TABLE 7 Standardized coefficients in SEM multiple regression and model fit indices.

	Happiness		Meaning		Richness					
	β_{Mean}	% sig	β_{Mean}	% sig	β_{Mean}	% sig	χ^2_{Mean}	(*df*)	CFI_{Mean}	$SRMR_{Mean}$
DV: System Justification										
Study										
1	0.01	1	0.38	100	−0.14	61	152.23	(21)	0.941	0.052
5	0.80	100	−0.13	82	−0.20	100	471.62	(29)	0.971	0.036
6	0.42	100	0.23	0	−0.23	100	84.04	(28)	0.981	0.028
DV: Protestant Work Ethic										
Study										
1	−0.17	46	0.39	100	−0.02	3	141.71	(21)	0.941	0.048
6	0.06	0	0.35	20	0.02	0	88.17	(28)	0.978	0.034
DV: Political Conservatism										
Study										
2	0.35	97	−0.03	0	−0.17	33	48.97	(9)	0.963	0.041
3[a]	0.09	$p=0.767$	0.12	$p=.725$	−0.01	$p=.951$	76.12	(9)	0.950	0.037
4	0.25	100	0.18	99	−0.21	100	305.62	(29)	0.966	0.035
5	0.21	100	−0.07	0	−0.05	0	299.42	(21)	0.978	0.020
6[a]	0.00	$p=0.999$	0.33	$p=.051$	−0.11	$p=.172$	99.31	(28)	0.980	0.030

Note: In Studies 3, 4, and 6, political orientation measures were reverse-coded, such that larger scores indicate conservatism and smaller scores indicate liberalism. [a]. For these models, which consist of nonparceled latent factors, we report normal estimations and model fits.

SEM analyses in which participants' age, gender, race, and Big Five personality traits were additionally included. The results were similar to the original analysis, for system justification,[8] and for conservatism.[9]

3.6 | Study 6 (System Justification, Conservatism, and Protestant Work Ethic)

This study was a pre-registered replication study. A SEM analysis again showed that happiness was positively associated with sysmtem justification, whereas richness was negatively associated with it. A SEM analysis also showed that meaning tended to be associated with political conservatism and Protestant work ethic, whereas happiness and richness were not. We then ran three SEM analyses, in which participants' age, gender, race, and Big Five personality traits were included, for system justification,[10] conservatism,[11] and Protestant work ethic.[12] Overall, the results were similar to the original ones.

4 | INTERNAL META-ANALYSIS

Although we did not pre-register, we conducted three separate internal meta-analyses (6 studies, $N=5{,}138$) to estimate the overall effect size on each worldview more precisely across all the studies.

4.1 | Method

We derived partial correlation coefficients from the SEM regression coefficients using the *escalc* function in the *metafor* package for *R* (Aloe & Thompson, 2013). First, we calculated a *t*-value for each SEM regression result based on its regression coefficient (β) and *SE*. Then, we determined a Fisher-*z*-transformed partial correlation coefficient and its sampling variance based on the *t*-value, sample size, and the number of predictors in each regression analysis. Based on these calculations, we conducted three separate meta-analyses for each measure of the conservative worldviews, using the random-effect models with the Hartung–Knapp method to adjust the standard errors (Goh et al., 2016; Viechtbauer, 2010). To enhance interpretability, all the meta-analytic correlation coefficients reported in the text and figures below were converted from Fisher's z-transform to a normal scale.

4.2 | Results and discussion

4.2.1 | System justification

The meta-analytic partial correlation between psychological richness and system justification across 3 studies was reliably negative, $r=-0.09$ (95% CI = −0.13; −0.06). In contrast, the meta-analytic partial correlation

between happiness and system justification was 0.12 (95% CI = −0.01; 0.26). Finally, the meta-analytic partial correlation between meaning and system justification was 0.04 (95% CI = −0.08; 0.16; see Figure 1).

4.2.2 | Political conservatism

As seen in Figure 2, the meta-analytic partial correlation between psychological richness and political conservatism across 5 studies was negative: −0.06 (95% CI = −0.11; −0.01). The meta-analytic partial correlation between happiness and political conservatism was positive: 0.07 (95% CI = 0.04; 0.10). Finally, the meta-analytic partial correlation between meaning in life and political conservatism was 0.03 (95% CI = −0.02; 0.08). All three effect sizes were small.

4.2.3 | Protestant work ethic

As seen in Figure 3, the meta-analytic partial correlation between psychological richness and Protestant work ethic across 2 studies was virtually zero: −0.001 (95% CI = −0.06; 0.06). Similarly, the meta-analytic partial correlation between happiness and Protestant work ethic was virtually zero: −0.03 (95% CI = −0.13; 0.06). In contrast, the meta-analytic partial correlation between meaning in life and Protestant work ethic was clearly positive, $r = 0.12$ (95% C. I = 0.05; 0.18).

5 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

According to previous research, a life of system-defiant, political liberalism is unlikely to be a "good" one, as research shows that happiness and meaning are more closely linked to political conservatism and system justification (e.g., Butz et al., 2017; Napier & Jost, 2008; Newman et al., 2019). In the current work, we examined whether this conventional premise is due, in part, to an overly narrow theory of a good life in terms of happiness or meaning. We, instead, approached this question from the perspective of the Triad Model of well-being (Oishi & Westgate, 2022), which considers psychological richness to offer a third form of a good life, to ask whether certain elements of liberalism (vs. conservatism) might be associated with these aspects of a good life instead. In particular, we proposed that while happiness and meaning may indeed be linked to more conservative worldview beliefs, psychological richness, in contrast, may be linked to more liberal worldview beliefs instead.

Across six studies, we largely replicate earlier findings that happiness was associated with slightly more political

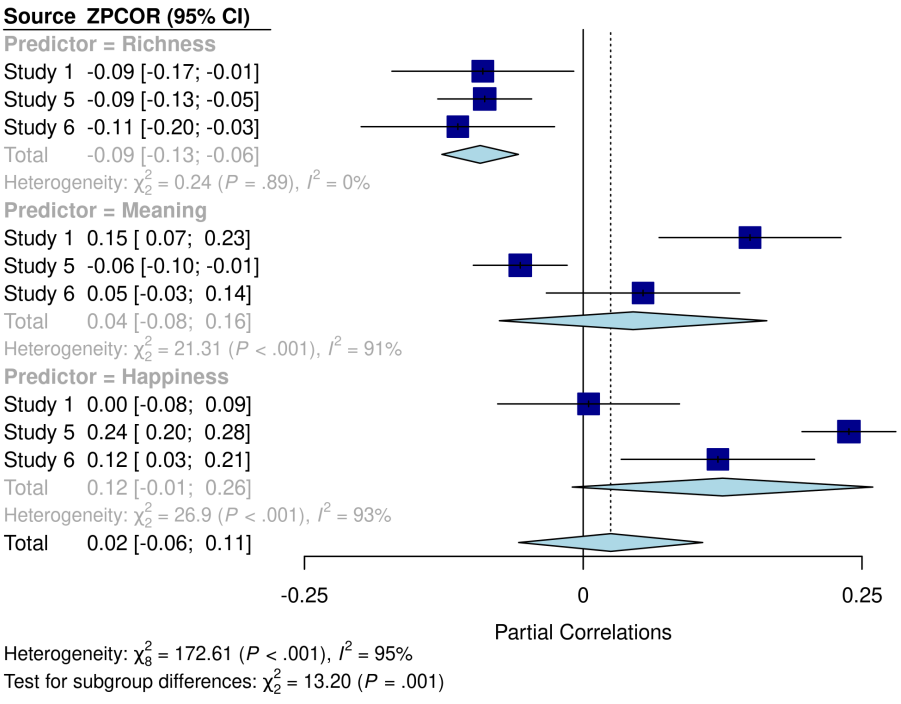

FIGURE 1 Forest plot of partial correlations between three aspects of well-being and system justification (Studies 1, 5, and 6). Squares depict partial correlations between the three types of a good life and system justification. Error bars show 95% CI. The diamonds indicate the point estimate and 95% CI averaged in a subgroup-total or a total across all studies. Correlation coefficients were converted from Fisher's z-transform to a normal scale.

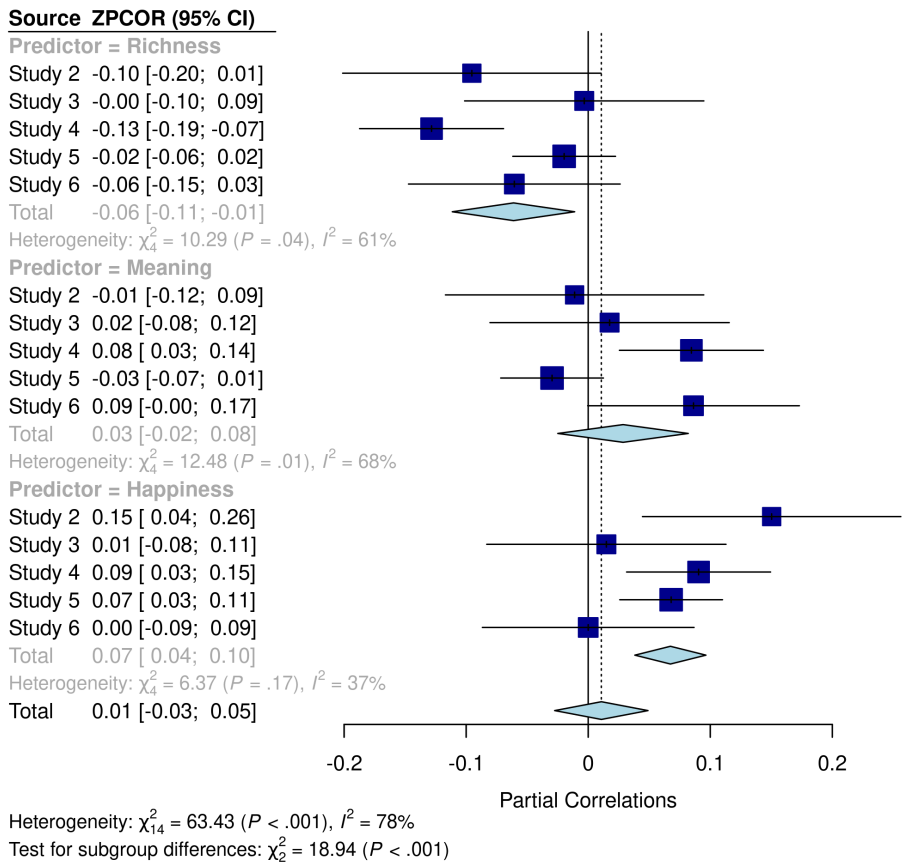

FIGURE 2 Forest plot of partial correlations between three aspects of well-being and political conservatism (Studies 2–6). Squares depict partial correlations between the three types of a good life and political conservatism. Error bars show 95% CI. The diamonds indicate the point estimate and 95% CI averaged in a subgroup-total or a total across all studies. Correlation coefficients were converted from Fisher's z-transform to a normal scale.

conservatism (e.g., Newman et al., 2019). Happiness was also associated with system justification, or the tendency to see the current political, economic, and societal systems to be fair and defendable. Meanwhile, meaning in life was consistently associated with Protestant work ethic, or the view that hard work will lead to success in life.

Zero-order correlations between psychological richness and conservative worldviews were in general null or slightly positive. SEM multiple regression analyses showed that psychological richness was negatively associated with system justification and political conservatism, once happiness and meaning were included in the model, indicating that happiness and meaning were suppressors. In contrast, psychological richness was unrelated to Protestant work ethic.

The present findings add to the emerging literature on psychological richness, providing empirical support and construct validity for the basic postulate that a psychologically rich life is related but distinct from a happy life or a meaningful life.

Before concluding, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the current research. First, although the negative relationship between system justification and psychological richness was highly consistent across both American and Korean samples (Studies 1, 5, and 6), the link between a psychologically rich life and political liberalism was inconsistent: present in Studies 2 (students at a wealthy elite public university in the American South) and 4 (a nationally representative sample of US adults), but absent in Studies 5 (Korean adults), 3 and 6 (a more diverse student body from a public university in Florida). One possibility is that the meaning of political conservatism and liberalism may differ across cultures. For instance, Korean conservatism is best predicted by authority (but not purity), whereas American conservatism is best predicted by purity (Kim et al., 2012). Whereas religious conservatism is closely tied with political conservatism among Christians and Jews, it is not associated with political conservatism among Latinx Catholics, Black Protestants, and Muslims (O'Brien & Abdelhad, 2020). Thus, the association between a psychologically rich life and political attitudes might likewise vary across cultures, depending on the nature of political orientation.[13]

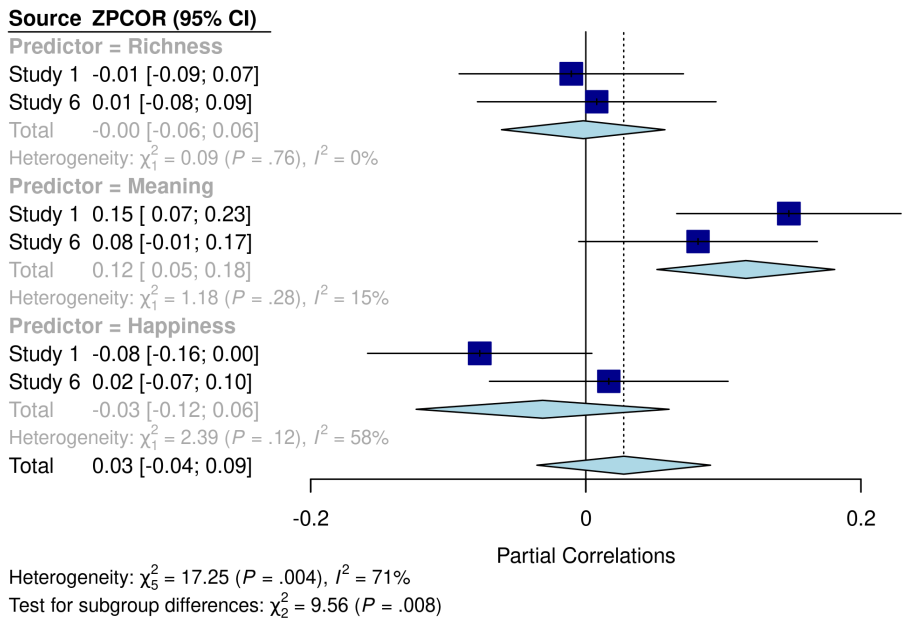

FIGURE 3 Forest plot of partial correlations between three aspects of well-being and Protestant work ethics (Studies 1 and 6). Squares depict partial correlations between the three types of a good life and Protestant work ethics. Error bars show 95% CI. The diamonds indicate the point estimate and 95% CI averaged in a subgroup-total or a total across all studies. Correlation coefficients were converted from Fisher's z-transform to a normal scale.

Second, we should note that, in all studies, the three forms of a good life were positively correlated. Latent happiness and latent meaning in life were extremely highly correlated to each other. Thus, these regression coefficients are unlikely to be stable. It is important to keep in mind that the three types of a good life *are* positively correlated with one another, and the degree to which they are may alter the unique predictive value of each.

Third, we did not explore why happiness and meaning appeared to suppress the negative association between psychological richness and system justification. One possible explanation is a positivity bias in self-reports. Some individuals evaluate all aspects of their lives more positively than others. This tendency is exacerbated when such a positivity bias is also associated with political ideology. Indeed, Wojcik et al. (2015) found that politically conservative individuals show a greater degree of self-enhancement than liberals. It is possible then that the current suppressor findings are due to ideological individual differences in positive self-evaluations. It is crucial to use non-self-reports and measures of self-enhancement to directly test this idea.

Fourth, meaning in life is just one indicator of eudaimonic well-being. Likewise, system justification, Protestant work ethic, and political conservatism are not representative of all conservative worldviews. In the future, it is important to examine the relationship between various measures of eudaimonic well-being (e.g., autonomy, purpose in life, authenticity, generativity) and various measures of conservative worldviews (e.g., Rightwing Authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, collectivism, and tradition).

Likewise, we caution that our interpretation of the current findings is necessarily correlational, not causal. All studies used a cross-sectional design. Long-term longitudinal studies are needed to clarify causal direction and temporal sequences regarding the links among psychological richness, system justification, and political liberalism.

Finally, our data were collected in the United States and Korea (both relatively wealthy countries). It is critical to expand the database to the context of developing countries in the future; for instance, Oishi et al. (2020) collected data from nine countries and found that the psychologically rich life was construed similarly across all nine nations (e.g., 9.3% of Angolans and 16.1% of Indians chose a psychologically rich life as the ideal life in lieu of a happy life or a meaningful life). Thus, the concept of a psychologically rich life seems to generalize to non-WEIRD samples (Henrich et al., 2010), as well. However, it is still unknown whether individuals leading a psychologically rich life in a non-WEIRD context share the same characteristics—that is, whether they are also less system justifying.

6 | CONCLUSIONS

Despite limitations, the six studies yield a clear picture: a psychologically rich life is distinct from a happy life and a

meaningful life, with unique predictive value for important worldviews, including system justification. As discussed in detail elsewhere (Oishi & Westgate, 2022), we are *not* claiming that a psychologically rich life is by any means *better* than a happy life or a meaningful life. Indeed, it is clear that a happy life and a meaningful life are desirable lives, associated with stable social relationships, prosocial behaviors, and health (e.g., Aknin et al., 2013; Czekierda et al., 2017; Lyubomirsky et al., 2005; Stavrova & Luhmann, 2016). Our work merely illustrates that a good life should not be narrowly construed as only either a happy life or a meaningful life, and that this restricted view can obscure other important aspects of a good life—such as low levels of system justification and desire for societal changes. By broadening our understanding of what the "good" in a good life includes, the concept of psychological richness opens up new conceptual space within the science of well-being.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research was in part supported by the Templeton World Charity Foundation. We would like to thank Sae Kim and Spencer Lee for their assistance.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Shigehiro Oishi: conceptualization, data analysis, writing. Hyewon Choi: data collection, data analysis. Youngjae Cha: data collection, data analysis, Tables, Figures, supplementary materials and OSF. Samantha Heintzelman and Nicholas R Buttrick: data collection. Erin C Westgate: data collecting, editing.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

There is no conflict of interest to declare.

ETHICS STATEMENT

We conducted all studies in accordance with the Ethical Standards of the American Psychological Association. As per local ethics committee regulations, none of the studies required ethical review.

ORCID

Shigehiro Oishi https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4185-960X

ENDNOTES

[1] The sum is greater than 516 because they were allowed to check multiple race categories.

[2] The SEM regression model, in which system justification was predicted by three latent well-being factors and participants' age, gender, and race dummies (Black, Hispanic, Asian, Other), had a good model fit: $\chi^2_{Mean}(69, N=583)=236.506$ ($SD=56.930$), $CFI_{Mean}=0.927$ ($SD=0.030$), $RMSEA_{Mean}=0.064$ ($SD=0.011$), $SRMR_{Mean}=0.046$ ($SD=0.005$). The standardized regression coefficients for the three predictors were as follows: Rich $\beta_{Mean}=-0.145$ ($SD=0.095$, Min $=-0.406$, Max $=-0.001$), 61% of estimates were statistically significant; Happy $\beta_{Mean}=-0.013$ ($SD=0.076$, Min $=-0.324$, Max $=0.130$), 0% of estimates were statistically significant; Meaning $\beta_{Mean}=0.424$ ($SD=0.107$, Min $=0.246$, Max $=0.881$), 100% of estimates were statistically significant.

[3] The SEM regression model, in which Protestant work ethic was predicted by three latent well-being factors and participants' age, gender, and race dummies (Black, Hispanic, Asian, Other), had a good model fit: $\chi^2_{Mean}(df=69)=220.915$ ($SD=53.309$), $CFI_{Mean}=0.928$ ($SD=0.03$), $RMSEA_{Mean}=0.061$ ($SD=0.011$), $SRMR_{Mean}=0.045$ ($SD=0.004$). The standardized regression coefficients for the three predictors were as follows: Rich $\beta_{Mean}=-0.003$ ($SD=0.054$, Min $=-0.226$, Max $=0.168$), 2% of estimates were statistically significant; Happy $\beta_{Mean}=-0.188$ ($SD=0.084$, Min $=-0.592$, Max $=-0.036$), 58% of estimates were statistically significant; Meaning $\beta_{Mean}=0.425$ ($SD=0.105$, Min $=0.22$, Max $=0.972$), 100% of estimates were statistically significant.

[4] The SEM regression model, in which political conservatism was predicted by three latent well-being factors and participants' age, gender, race dummies (Black, Hispanic, Asian, Other), and Big Five personality traits had a marginal model fit: $\chi^2_{Mean}(df=180)=484.816$ ($SD=41.469$), $CFI_{Mean}=0.90$ ($SD=0.015$), $RMSEA_{Mean}=0.07$ ($SD=0.005$), $SRMR_{Mean}=0.065$ ($SD=0.003$). The standardized regression coefficients for the three predictors were as follows: Rich $\beta_{Mean}=-0.396$ ($SD=0.15$, Min $=-1.066$, Max $=-0.188$), 76% of estimates were statistically significant; Happy $\beta_{Mean}=0.199$ ($SD=0.063$, Min $=-0.088$, Max $=0.353$), 20% of estimates were statistically significant; Meaning $\beta_{Mean}=0.20$ ($SD=0.151$, Min $=-0.054$, Max $=1.024$), 0% of estimates were statistically significant.

[5] The model in which latent political conservatism was predicted by three latent well-being factors, participants' age, gender, race, and Big Five personality traits did not fit the data well: $\chi^2(75, N=449)=491.904$, $p<0.001$, CFI $=0.760$, RMSEA $=0.111$ [0.102, 0.121], SRMR $=0.116$. The standardized coefficients for the three predictors are as follows: Rich $\beta=0.013$, $SE=0.139$, $z=0.093$, $p=0.926$. Happy $\beta=0.247$, $SE=0.315$, $z=0.782$, $p=0.434$. Meaning $\beta=-0.459$, $SE=0.353$, $z=-1.301$, $p=0.193$.

[6] The model in which latent political conservatism was predicted by three latent well-being factors, participants' age, gender, race, and Big Five personality traits did not fit the data well: $\chi^2_{Mean}(df=128)=1594.347$ ($SD=159.797$), $CFI_{Mean}=0.847$ ($SD=0.019$), $RMSEA_{Mean}=0.097$ ($SD=0.005$), $SRMR_{Mean}=0.129$ ($SD=0.001$). The standardized coefficients for the three predictors were as follows: Rich $\beta_{Mean}=-0.183$ ($SD=0.021$, Min $=-0.245$, Max $=-0.107$), 99% of estimates were statistically significant; Happy $\beta_{Mean}=0.154$ ($SD=0.026$, Min $=0.08$, Max $=0.223$), 25% of estimates were statistically significant; Meaning $\beta_{Mean}=0.232$ ($SD=0.027$, Min $=0.172$, Max $=0.285$), 100% of estimates were statistically significant.

[7] The model, in which latent political conservatism was predicted by three latent well-being factors and religiosity, fitted the data acceptably well: $\chi^2_{Mean}(df=38)=468.184$ ($SD=105.51$), $CFI_{Mean}=0.95$ ($SD=0.013$), $RMSEA_{Mean}=0.096$ ($SD=0.012$), $SRMR_{Mean}=0.084$ ($SD=0.002$). Rich $\beta_{Mean}=-0.238$ ($SD=0.017$, Min $=-0.292$, Max $=-0.181$), 100% of estimates were statistically significant; Happy $\beta_{Mean}=0.298$ ($SD=0.026$, Min $=0.206$, Max $=0.378$), 100% of estimates were statistically significant; Meaning $\beta_{Mean}=0.049$ (SD $=0.027$, Min $=0.001$, Max $=0.11$), 0% of estimates were

statistically significant; Religiosity $\beta_{Mean}=0.268$ ($SD=0.004$, Min = 0.259, Max = 0.275), 100% of estimates were statistically significant.

[8] The model in which latent system justification was predicted by three latent well-being factors, participants' age, gender, race, and Big Five personality traits did not fit the data well: χ^2_{Mean} ($df=101$) = 2185.009 ($SD=151.899$), $CFI_{Mean}=0.877$ ($SD=0.012$), $RMSEA_{Mean}=0.097$ ($SD=0.004$), $SRMR_{Mean}=0.125$ ($SD=0.001$). The standardized regression coefficients were as follows: Rich $\beta_{Mean}=-0.211$ ($SD=0.027$, Min = −0.291, Max = −0.132), 100% of estimates were statistically significant; Happy $\beta_{Mean}=0.668$ ($SD=0.028$, Min = 0.605, Max = 0.73), 100% of estimates were statistically significant; Meaning $\beta_{Mean}=-0.144$ ($SD=0.03$, Min = −0.199, Max = −0.076), 95% of estimates were statistically significant.

[9] The model in which latent political conservatism was predicted by three latent well-being factors, participants' age, gender, race, and Big Five personality traits did not fit the data well: χ^2_{Mean} ($df=85$) = 1956.337 ($SD=163.087$), $CFI_{Mean}=0.871$ ($SD=0.014$), $RMSEA_{Mean}=0.1$ ($SD=0.004$), $SRMR_{Mean}=0.126$ ($SD=0.001$). The standardized regression coefficients were as follows: Rich $\beta_{Mean}=0.013$ ($SD=0.01$, Min = −0.015, Max = 0.052), 0% of estimates were statistically significant; Happy $\beta_{Mean}=0.142$ ($SD=0.007$, Min = 0.116, Max = 0.158), 85% of estimates were statistically significant; Meaning $\beta_{Mean}=-0.076$ ($SD=0.011$, Min = −0.094, Max = −0.054), 0% of estimates were statistically significant.

[10] The model in which latent system justification was predicted by three latent well-being factors, participants' age, gender, race, and Big Five personality traits fitted the data acceptably well: χ^2_{Mean} ($df=247$) = 606.995 ($SD=32.377$), $CFI_{Mean}=0.937$ ($SD=0.006$), $RMSEA_{Mean}=0.053$ ($SD=0.002$), $SRMR_{Mean}=0.049$ ($SD=0.001$). Standardized regression coefficients were as follows: Rich $\beta_{Mean}=-0.249$ ($SD=0.028$, Min = −0.314, Max = −0.144), 37% of estimates were statistically significant; Happy $\beta_{Mean}=0.354$ ($SD=0.031$, Min = 0.247, Max = 0.418), 26% of estimates were statistically significant; Meaning $\beta_{Mean}=0.323$ ($SD=0.047$, Min = 0.152, Max = 0.438), 1% of estimates were statistically significant.

[11] The model in which latent political conservatism was predicted by three latent well-being factors, participants' age, gender, race, and Big Five personality traits fitted the data acceptably well: χ^2_{Mean} ($df=247$) = 633.858 ($SD=28.251$), $CFI_{Mean}=0.939$ ($SD=0.005$), $RMSEA_{Mean}=0.055$ ($SD=0.002$), $SRMR_{Mean}=0.049$ ($SD=0.001$). The standardized regression coefficients were as follows: Rich $\beta_{Mean}=-0.077$ ($SD=0.029$, Min = −0.133, Max = 0.024), 0% of estimates were statistically significant; Happy $\beta_{Mean}=-0.212$ ($SD=0.029$, Min = −0.287, Max = −0.152), 0% of estimates were statistically significant; Meaning $\beta_{Mean}=0.406$ ($SD=0.026$, Min = 0.314, Max = 0.448), 39% of estimates were statistically significant.

[12] The model in which latent protestant work ethic was predicted by three latent well-being factors, participants' age, gender, race, and Big Five personality traits fitted the data acceptably well: χ^2_{Mean} ($df=247$) = 619.411 ($SD=35.82$), $CFI_{Mean}=0.933$ ($SD=0.007$), $RMSEA_{Mean}=0.054$ ($SD=0.003$), $SRMR_{Mean}=0.050$ ($SD=0.002$). Standardized regression coefficients were as follows: Rich $\beta_{Mean}=-0.080$ ($SD=0.027$, Min = −0.165, Max = −0.013), 0% of estimates were statistically significant; Happy $\beta_{Mean}=-0.010$ ($SD=0.046$, Min = −0.140, Max = 0.116), 0% of estimates were statistically significant; Meaning $\beta_{Mean}=0.486$ ($SD=0.044$, Min = 0.351, Max = 0.589), 75% of estimates were statistically significant.

[13] To check the difference between the US and Korea, we also ran an exploratory version of the meta-analysis leaving out the Korean sample, which is reported in the Supplemental Material.

REFERENCES

Aknin, L. B., Barrington-Leigh, C. P., Dunn, E. W., Helliwell, J. F., Burns, J., Biswas-Diener, R., Kemeza, I., Nyende, P., Ashton-James, C. E., & Norton, M. I. (2013). Prosocial spending and well-being: Cross-cultural evidence for a psychological universal. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *104*, 635–652.

Aloe, A. M., & Thompson, C. G. (2013). The synthesis of partial effect sizes. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, *4*(4), 390–405.

Anglim, J., Horwood, S., Smillie, L. D., Marrero, R. J., & Wood, J. K. (2020). Predicting psychological and subjective well-being from personality: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *146*(4), 279–323. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000226

Brody, N., & Ehrlichman, H. (1997). *Personality psychology: The science of individuality*. Prentice Hall.

Buttrick, N. R., Westgate, E. C., & Oishi, S. (2023). Reading literary fiction is associated with a more complex worldview. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *49*(9), 1408–1420. https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672221106059

Butz, S., Kieslich, P. J., & Bless, H. (2017). Why are conservatives happier than liberals? Comparing different explanations based on system justification, multiple group membership, and positive adjustment. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *47*, 362–372.

Czekierda, K., Banik, A., Park, C. L., & Luszczynska, A. (2017). Meaning in life and physical health: Systematic review and meta-analysis. *Health Psychology Review*, *11*(4), 387–418.

Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. L., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *49*, 71–75.

Diener, E., Wirtz, D., Tov, W., Kim-Prieto, C., Choi, D., Oishi, S., & Biswas-Diener, R. (2010). New well-being measures: Short scales to assess flourishing and positive and negative feelings. *Social Indicators Research*, *97*, 143–156. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-009-9493

Duckitt, J. (2001). A dual-process cognitive-motivational theory of ideology and prejudice. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *33*, 41–113.

Duckitt, J., & Sibley, C. G. (2009). A dual process motivational model of ideological attitudes and system justification. In J. T. Jost, A. C. Kay, & H. Thorisdottir (Eds.), *Social and psychological bases of ideology and system justification* (pp. 292–313). Oxford Academic.

Fong, K., Mullin, J. B., & Mar, R. A. (2015). How exposure to literary genres relates to attitudes toward gender roles and sexual behavior. *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts*, *9*(3), 274–285. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038864

Gallagher, M. W., Lopez, S. J., & Preacher, K. J. (2009). The hierarchical structure of well-being. *Journal of Personality*, *77*(4), 1025–1050.

Garcia-Alandete, J. (2015). Does meaning in life predict psychological well-being?: An analysis using the Spanish versions of the purpose-in-life test and the Ryff's scales. *European Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *3*, 89–98.

Gerber, A. S., Huber, G. A., Doherty, D., Dowling, C. M., & Ha, S. E. (2010). Personality and political attitudes: Relationships across issue domains and political contexts. *American Political Science Review*, *104*(1), 111–133.

Goh, J. X., Hall, J. A., & Rosenthal, R. (2016). Mini meta-analysis of your own studies: Some arguments on why and a primer on how. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *10*(10), 535–549.

Gosling, S. D., Rentfrow, P. J., & Swann, W. B., Jr. (2003). A very brief measure of the big five personality domains. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *37*, 504–528.

Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? (target article, commentaries, and response). *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *33*(61–83), 111–135.

Horst, P., Wallin, P., Guttman, L., Wallin, F. B., Clausen, J. A., Reed, R., & Rosenthal, E. (1941). *The prediction of personal adjustment*. Social Science Research Council.

Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *33*, 1–27.

Jost, J. T., Glaser, J., Kruglanski, A. W., & Sulloway, F. (2003). Political conservatism as motivated social cognition. *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*, 339–375.

Kay, A. C., & Jost, J. T. (2003). Complementary justice: Effects of" poor but happy" and" poor but honest" stereotype exemplars on system justification and implicit activation of the justice motive. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*, 823–837.

Kerry, N., Al-Shawaf, L., Barbato, M., Batres, C., Blake, K. R., Cha, Y., Chauvin, G. V., Clifton, J. D. W., Fernandez, A. M., Galbarczyk, A., Ghossainy, M. E., Jang, D., Jasienska, G., Karasawa, M., Laustsen, L., Loria, R., Luberti, F., Moran, J., Pavlović, Z., … Murray, D. R. (2022). Experimental and cross-cultural evidence that parenthood and parental care motives increase social conservatism. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, *289*(1982), 20220978. https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2022.0978

Kim, K. R., Kang, J., & Yun, S. (2012). Moral intuitions and political orientation: Similarities and differences between South Korea and the United States. *Psychological Reports*, *111*(1), 173–185.

Koo, J. (2018). Scale of positive and negative experience (SPANE): Factor structure and measurement invariance across gender in Korea. *Science of Emotion and Sensibility*, *21*(3), 103–114.

Lim, N., Lee, H., & Suh, E. K. (2010). Review of the satisfaction with life scale (SWLS) findings in Korea. *Korean Journal of Psychology: General*, *29*(1), 21–47.

Lyubomirsky, S., King, L., & Diener, E. (2005). The benefits of frequent positive affect: Does happiness lead to success? *Psychological Bulletin*, *131*, 803–855.

Lyubomirsky, S., & Lepper, H. (1999). A measure of subjective happiness: Preliminary reliability and construct validation. *Social Indicators Research*, *46*, 137–155.

Martela, F., Ryan, R. M., & Steger, M. F. (2018). Meaningfulness as satisfaction of autonomy, competence, relatedness, and beneficence: Comparing the four satisfactions and positive affect as predictors of meaning in life. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *19*, 1261–1282.

Martinez Gutierrez, N., & Cribbie, R. (2021). Incidence and interpretation of statistical suppression in psychological research. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue Canadienne Des Sciences du Comportement*, *53*(4), 480–488. https://doi.org/10.1037/cbs0000267

McAdams, D. P., & Guo, J. (2015). Narrating the generative life. *Psychological Science*, *26*(4), 475–483.

Meehl, P. E., & Hathaway, S. R. (1946). The K factor as a suppressor variable in the Minnesota multiphasic personality inventory. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *30*(5), 525–564. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0053634

Mirels, H. L., & Garrett, J. B. (1971). The Protestant ethic as a personality variable. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *36*, 40–44.

Napier, J. L., & Jost, J. T. (2008). Why are conservatives happier than liberals? *Psychological Science*, *19*, 565–572.

Newman, D. B., Schwarz, N., Graham, J., & Stone, A. A. (2019). Conservatives report greater meaning in life than liberals. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *10*, 494–503.

O'Brien, J., & Abdelhad, E. (2020). Re-examining restructuring: Racialization, religious conservatism, and political leanings in contemporary American life. *Social Forces*, *99*(2), 474–503.

Oishi, S., Choi, H., Buttrick, N., Heintzelman, S. J., Kushlev, K., Westgate, E. C., Tucker, J., Ebersole, C. R., Axt, J., Gilbert, E., Ng, B. W., & Besser, L. L. (2019). The psychologically rich life questionnaire. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *81*, 257–270.

Oishi, S., Choi, H., Koo, M., Galinha, I., Ishii, K., Komiya, A., Luhmann, M., Scollon, C., Shin, J. E., Lee, H., Suh, E. M., Vittersø, J., Heintzelman, S. J., Kushlev, K., Westgate, E. C., Buttrick, N., Tucker, J., Ebersole, C. R., Axt, J., … Besser, L. L. (2020). Happiness, meaning, and psychological richness. *Affective Science*, *1*, 107–115.

Oishi, S., Choi, H., Liu, A., & Kurtz, J. (2021). Experiences associated with psychological richness. *European Journal of Personality*, *35*(5), 754–770.

Oishi, S., & Westgate, E. C. (2022). The psychologically rich life: Beyond happiness and meaning. *Psychological Review*, *129*, 790–811.

Okulicz-Kozaryn, A., Holmes, O., IV, & Avery, D. R. (2014). The subjective well-being political paradox: Happy welfare states and unhappy liberals. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *99*(6), 1300–1308.

Onraet, E., Van Hiel, A., & Dhont, K. (2013). The relationship between right-wing ideological attitudes and psychological well-being. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *39*, 509–522.

Paulhus, D. L., Robins, R. W., Trzesniewski, K. H., & Tracy, J. L. (2004). Two replicable suppressor situations in personality research. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, *39*(2), 303–328.

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2001). On happiness and human potentials: A review of research on hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *52*, 141–166.

Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Exploration on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *57*, 1069–1081.

Schlegel, R. J., Hicks, J. A., Arndt, J., & King, L. A. (2009). Thine own self: True self-concept accessibility and meaning in life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *96*, 473–490.

Schlenker, B. R., Chambers, J. R., & Le, B. M. (2012). Conservatives are happier than liberals, but why? Political ideology, personality, and life satisfaction. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *46*, 127–146.

Sparkman, D. J., Eidelman, S., & Blanchar, J. C. (2016). Multicultural experiences reduce prejudice through personality shifts in

openness to experience. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *46*, 840–853. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2189

Stavrova, O., & Luhmann, M. (2016). Social connectedness as a source and consequence of meaning in life. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *11*, 470–479.

Steger, M. F., Frazier, P., Oishi, S., & Kaler, M. (2006). The meaning in life questionnaire: Assessing the presence of and search for meaning in life. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *53*, 80–93.

Sterba, S. K., & MacCallum, R. C. (2010). Variability in parameter estimates and model fit across random allocations of items to parcels. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, *45*, 322–358.

Van der Toorn, J., Jost, J. T., Packer, D. J., Noorbaloochi, S., & Van Bavel, J. J. (2017). In defense of tradition: Religiosity, conservatism, and opposition to same-sex marriage in North America. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *43*, 1455–1468.

Viechtbauer, W. (2010). Conducting meta-analyses in R with the metafor package. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *36*, 1–48.

Vittersø, J. (2016). *Handbook of eudaimonic well-being*. Springer International Publishing/Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-42445-3

Waterman, A. S. (2008). Reconsidering happiness: A eudaimonist's perspective. *Journal of Positive Psychology*, *3*, 243–252.

Waterman, A. S., Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., Ravert, R. D., Williams, M. K., Agocha, V. B., Kim, S. Y., & Donnellan, M. B. (2010). The questionnaire for eudaimonic well-being: Psychometric properties, demographic comparisons, and evidence of validity. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *5*(1), 41–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760903435208

Wojcik, S. P., Hovasapian, A., Graham, J., Motyl, M., & Ditto, P. H. (2015). Conservatives report, but liberals display, greater happiness. *Science*, *347*(6227), 1243–1246.

Zimmermann, J., & Neyer, F. J. (2013). Do we become a different person when hitting the road? Personality development of sojourners. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *105*(3), 515–530. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033019

SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

How to cite this article: Oishi, S., Choi, H., Cha, Y., Heintzelman, S., Buttrick, N. R., & Westgate, E. C. (2024). Differing worldviews: The politics of happiness, meaning, and psychological richness. *Journal of Personality*, *00*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1111/jopy.12959