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Dissatisfaction with city life? Latin America revisited

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ABSTRACT

Data from the World Values Survey and AmericasBarometer are used in ordinal logistic models to evaluate life satisfaction in rural and urban areas in Latin America. Our findings indicate that, unlike the United States, in Latin America there is no evidence of rural–urban happiness differences. In Latin America familism is the key driving force, aspatial and transcending location.

1. Introduction

In an earlier study Berry and Okulicz-Kozaryn (2009) explored global differences in dissatisfaction with urban life. Controlling for well-documented sources of individual happiness/unhappiness that transcend place of residence (age, gender, marriage, employment, income, education, health and leisure) they concluded that there was no evidence that either rural or big-city residence raised or reduced unhappiness at the global level. However, in countries at higher levels of development rural residence increased happiness at double the rate that big-city residence boosted malaise, a pattern most pronounced in societies with an Anglo-Saxon heritage, as hypothesized earlier by Choay (1965). Another exception was detected in rapidly-urbanizing Asia, where life dissatisfaction decreased with big-city residence. In the subsequent study by Easterlin, Angelescu, and Zweig (2011) on the impact of economic growth on life satisfaction showed that the excess of urban happiness tended to vanish and even reverse as occupations, incomes and education in urban and rural areas converged.[1]

In the 2009 analysis, which was conducted using data collected in the early waves of the World Values Survey, Latin America was poorly represented. The purpose of this follow-up study is to fill that gap using the more comprehensive data sets produced by the World Values Survey (WVS) for the period of 2010–2014[2] and the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) AmericasBarometer for 2012–2014.[3] These sources provide information for a broader set of countries (Appendix A) and enable models to be run both for the entire set of countries and for individual nations. We thus address Easterlin's call for further investigation of the variety of urban–rural differences that his analysis found among the LDC's (Easterlin et al., 2011, p. 2195).

Our principal finding is that despite demonstrating remarkably similar determinants of happiness at the individual level,[4] Latin and North Americans respond differently to urban and rural life. In North America the preference for rural living and lower-density life is

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[1] According to Easterlin et al. (2011) at low levels of economic development there are substantial gaps favoring urban over rural areas in income, education, and occupational structure, resulting in a large excess of urban over rural life satisfaction. However, at more advanced development levels, these economic differentials tend to disappear, and rural areas approach or exceed urban in life satisfaction.

[2] The World Values Survey data was designed to enable cross-national comparison of values and norms on a wide variety of topics and to monitor changes in values and attitudes across the globe. Surveys have been completed for 1981–1984, 1990–1993, 1995–1997, 1999-2004, 2005–2009, and 2010–2014. We chose to analyze the most recent wave because it contains the largest number of Latin American countries. Of particular interest is the question: *All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?*

[3] The AmericasBarometer surveys 26 nations across North, Central, and South America and the Caribbean every two years. The survey has a variable called "tamano" which is used to indicate the town sizes where respondents lived. This variable varies by country. For the years of 2012 and 2014, a variable for municipal size was added that was consistent across countries, however, enabling continent-wide analysis. The happiness question in this survey asks: *In general how satisfied are you with your life? Would you say that you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?*

[4] First demonstrated by Graham and Pettinato (2001) and supported by all existent Latin American studies (Ateca-Amestoy et al., 2014, Graham & Felton, 2006, Lora, 2008, Rojas, 2006, Valente & Berry, 2015b). In both Latin America and the United States marriage, high levels of education, religion, friendship, and employment are all positively related to happiness.

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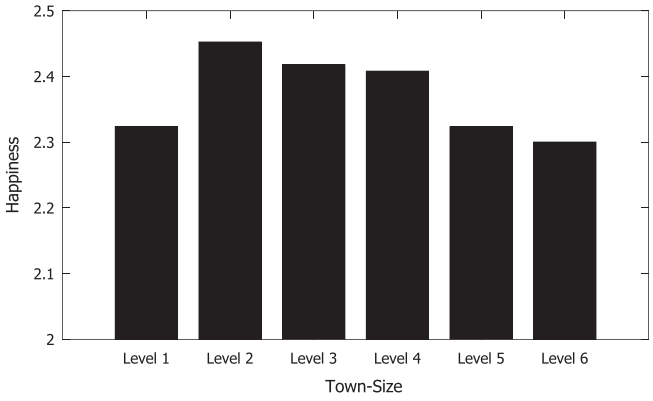

Fig. 1. Happiness by town size in Latin America not corrected for variations among individuals.
Source: WVS.

apparent but in Latin America there are no statistically significant differences in the happiness/unhappiness of urban and rural residents.

As in the Berry and Okulicz-Kozaryn (2009) study, this conclusion runs counter to that of Veenhoven (1994), who had argued that in developed countries rural people tend to be equally satisfied with life as city-people but in underdeveloped countries rural dwellers are markedly less happy than city-dwellers. Seeking explanations for our finding, we are drawn to classical social development theory as enriched by social psychologists who have studied cultural variations along "the most well-researched dimension of culture to date … individualism and collectivism" (Triandis & Gelfand, 2011). This axis is central to classical theories of social development, from Tönnies' (1887) account of the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* through Durkheim (1893) and Simmel (1903) to Weber (1922). It took its modern form following the publication of Hofstede (1984, 2001), and has been codified as the theory of individualism and collectivism by Triandis and Gelfand (2011).

The individualism–collectivism contrast also appears in the work of Emmanuel Todd (1985), who postulates that it is different family types that shape culture, values, beliefs and behavior. The family, he says, shapes the worldview of its children, reproducing people who share the same beliefs and values. Each generation absorbs parental values and bases its own child rearing on those values: the system is self-perpetuating. In turn, the values shape the individual's expectations about larger social, economic, and political relationships beyond the family at the level of region, nation–state, and civilization. The resulting ideologies are no more than family relations writ large. There are, Todd says, only eight basic family types across the globe.[5] Of these, two are of interest here. The absolute nuclear family of the Anglo-Saxon world socializes children to individualized values: They must strive to succeed to be able to support their own independent nuclear family units. One result has been a preference for utilitarian concepts of individual rights and liberties: Individuals must be the ones to act to maximize their own welfare; the best society is one in which each individual has maximized his or her happiness and in the eyes of Choay (1965) some of this happiness resides in the lower-density residential settings preferred by nuclear families, as exemplified by Frank Lloyd Wright's prairie style housing and Broadacre City. Standing in contrast to this is the egalitarianism brought from Latin Europe to Latin America in which the family[6] is an extended one including grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, second cousins, and even people who are not biologically related but are close friends, and in which the relationships are characterized by loyalty, interdependence, cooperation and the importance of face-to-face interactions that are equally-likely within urban or rural households (Ateca-Amestoy, Aguilar, & Moro-Egido, 2014). We believe that the individualism–egalitarianism contrast lies at the base of the urban–rural happiness differences between North and Latin America.

In what follows, we present our models and methods, provide the results, and draw together our main conclusion.

Table 1
Ordered logistic regressions of happiness — WVS (odds ratios).

Variable	W1	W2
Level 1	1.227*	1.173
Level 2	1.176*	1.159
Level 3	1.110	1.080
Level 4	1.067	1.026
Level 5	0.990	0.946
Income	1.043***	1.043***
Married	1.452***	1.432***
Age	0.966***	0.966***
Age2	1.000***	1.000***
Female	1.088*	1.044
White	0.991	0.985
Education		
Hs	1.024	1.003
Techs	0.916	0.901
College	1.143	1.104
University	1.081	1.027
Unemployed	0.796**	0.813**
Crime	0.987	0.989
Health	2.099***	2.061***
Importance of		
God		1.052***
Friends		1.190***
Family		1.550***
Country dummies	Yes	Yes
Year dummies	Yes	Yes
N	10,411	10,411

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

Table 2
Ordered logistic regressions of happiness — LAPOP (odds ratios).

Variable	L1	L2
Level 1 Pequena	1.018*	1.006
Level 2 Mediana	1.028*	1.011
Income	1.126***	1.131***
Married	1.033	1.013
Age	0.953***	0.952***
Age2	1.000***	1.000***
Female	1.017	0.967
White	1.107***	1.097**
Education		
Hs	1.127***	1.139***
College	1.269***	1.305***
University	1.268***	1.302***
Graduate	1.795***	1.802***
Unemployed	0.955	0.952*
Crime		0.856***
Religion		1.234***
Country dummies	Yes	Yes
Year dummies	Yes	Yes
N	32,754	32,367

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

[5] Todd lists them as the absolute nuclear family, exogamous community family, authoritarian family, egalitarian nuclear family, endogamous community family, asymmetrical community family, anomic family, and African family systems.

[6] Recent social change in Latin America has resulted in the rise of non-traditional families due to the legalization of same-sex marriage and laws allowing same-sex couples to adopt children. Unfortunately, LAPOP and WVS do not ask respondents for their sexual orientation, rendering impossible to include these non-traditional families in our study. Future research would be imperative to analyze whether there's a difference in type of residence happiness for these families.

Table 3
Ordered logistic regressions of happiness — WVS (odds ratios).

Variable	Argentina	Brazil	Chile	Colombia	Ecuador	Mexico	Peru	Uruguay
Level 1	2.191**	1.927	3.139*		0.979	0.854	1.457	1.293
Level 2	1.787	0.902	5.856***	1.196	1.602	0.848	1.607	1.133
Level 3	1.178	0.896	2.282	0.988	1.200	0.911	1.630	0.980
Level 4	1.347	1.010	1.341	0.922	0.879	0.833	1.854	0.890
Level 5	1.260	0.744*	0.810	1.058	0.953	0.770	1.356	0.473**
Income	1.024	1.045	1.053	1.040	0.987	1.038	1.074*	1.095**
Married	1.620***	1.617***	1.362*	1.439**	1.507**	1.533***	1.169	1.587**
Age	0.950*	0.951**	0.920***	0.991	1.005	0.973	0.957*	0.946**
Age2	1.001**	1.001**	1.001**	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000*	1.001**
Female	1.093	0.989	0.803	1.108	1.009	1.128	1.157	0.923
White	.	0.870	0.966	1.061	0.357**	0.977	1.134	1.389
Education								
Hs	0.939	0.888	1.273	0.934	0.498	0.935	1.528*	1.084
Techs	1.211	0.879	1.160	0.664*	1.044	0.858	0.995	0.964
College	1.064	1.431	1.108	0.992	1.427	1.289	1.096	0.898
University	0.829	0.944	1.927*	0.824	1.306	0.943	1.403	0.854
Unemployed	.	0.859	0.725	0.814	0.601*	0.868	0.953	0.848
Crime	0.879	0.861	0.810	0.930	1.172	1.015	0.910	1.237
Health	2.939***	2.104***	2.564***	1.674***	2.418***	1.799***	1.972***	1.898***
Importance of								
God	1.023	1.080*	1.078**	1.013	0.969	1.083**	1.082**	1.073***
Friends	1.159	1.279**	1.102	1.168*	1.201*	1.292***	1.076	1.323**
Family	1.172	1.531*	2.093***	1.569**	1.499	2.645***	1.637***	1.229
N	1019	1485	997	1511	1202	2000	1202	995

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

2. Models and methods

As in the previous paper by Berry and Okulicz-Kozaryn (2009) we begin by postulating the null hypothesis:

> *There is no difference in happiness levels among urban and rural residents in Latin America, ceteris paribus.*

In both the WVS and LAPOP data sets the dependent variable *happiness* is measured on a scale of 1 to 3, and since the observations are derived from a succession of sample surveys from different years rather than a panel, we estimate the models using ordered logit (Scott, 1997).[7] Possible responses to the dependent variable are 1 = not happy, 2 = happy, and 3 = very happy. In the alternative to the null hypothesis happiness is hypothesized to be a function of size of place controlling for the many well-documented influences on happiness at the individual level (i.e. the "ceteris *paribus*.").

Separate WVS and LAPOP models are run because the city size variable differs between the two cases. The WVS provides six size levels that yield five dummy variables:

Level 1	Population of less than 2000
Level 2	Population of more than 2000 and less than 10,000
Level 3	Population between 10,000 and 50,000
Level 4	Population between 50,000 and 100,000
Level 5	Population between 100,000 and 500,000
Level 6	Population of more than 500,000 — (base case)

In the LAPOP case the size information is for municipios [8] and is more limited:

Level 1 (pequena)	1 if population in municipality is <25,000; 0 otherwise
Level 2 (mediana)	1 if population in municipality is >25,000 and <100,000; 0 otherwise
Level 3 (grande)	1 if population in municipality is >100,000; 0 otherwise — (base case)

The set of variables used to control for variations in individual happiness among the sampled are broadly similar in WVS and LAPOP and were selected to reflect the current state of Latin American happiness research, as referenced in footnote 4 above.[9] The variables are:

Age	Age of respondent
Age^2	Age square to account for non-linearity
Ethnicity	White 1 (yes); 0 (otherwise)
Gender	1 (female); 0 (male)
Income	All wages and other incomes by monthly minimum wage: 1 (low) to 10 (high) — WVS. Income in quintiles — LAPOP
Education	Education levels
Lesshs	Less than high school 1 (yes); 0 (otherwise) (base case)
Hs	High school 1 (yes); 0 (otherwise)
Techs	Technical high school 1 (yes); 0 (otherwise) — WVS only
College	Some college 1 (yes); 0 (otherwise)
University	University degree 1 (yes); 0 (otherwise)
Graduate	Graduate school 1 (yes); 0 (otherwise) — LAPOP only
Married	1 (married or living together as married); 0 (otherwise)
Unemployment	1 (unemployed); 0 (working)
Crime	1 (victim of crime in the past year); 0 (otherwise)
Family	Importance of family: 1 (not at all important); 4 (very important)
Friends	Importance of friends: 1 (not at all important); 4 (very important)
Religion	Importance of God: 0 (not at all important); 10 (very important) — WVS. Importance of religion: 1 (not important); 4 (very important) — LAPOP
Health	How would you describe your state of health these days? Poor (1) to very good (4) — WVS only

The resulting ordinal logistic equation tested has the following form:

$$P_{hi}=\Lambda\left(\frac{1}{1+e^{-(C_h-\mathbf{X}_i\beta)}}\right)-\Lambda\left(\frac{1}{1+e^{-(C_{h-1}-\mathbf{X}_i\beta)}}\right)$$

where P_{hi} is the probability of outcome h for observation i, Λ is cumulative logistic density, C_h is a cutoff point for outcome h (1 = not happy, 2 = happy, and 3 = very happy), β is a vector of coefficients and $\mathbf{X}_i$ is a vector which contains a set of exogenous independent variables controlling the model for individual differences. We also control for country

[7] For a detailed overview of the ordinal regression model using a latent variable, see Long and Freese (2006). Several recent studies have shown ordered logit and OLS to be comparable (Ferrer-i Carbonell & Frijters, 2004, Van Praag & Ferrer-i Carbonell, 2004).

[8] Municipios or municipalities in Latin America may encompass only one populated city or town, but can also encompass several cities.

[9] Also see D'Acci (2014); Blanchflower and Oswald (2004); Diener, Suh, Lucas, and Smith (1999); Diener (2009); Diener et al. (2010); Frey and Stutzer (2010); Helliwell and Putnam (2004); Myers (2000); Putnam (2000, 2001) and Schimmack (2009).

Table 4
Ordered logistic regressions of happiness — LAPOP (odds ratios).

Variable	Argentina	Brazil	Costa Rica	Guyana	Nicaragua	Uruguay	Venezuela
Level 1 Pequena	1.145	1.065	0.989	1.210	1.188	1.188	1.226
Level 2 Mediana	1.119	0.927	0.876	0.929	1.120	1.254*	1.036
Income	1.155***	1.097	1.110*	0.982	1.123***	1.254***	1.045
Married	1.226*	1.249	1.098	1.431***	1.265**	1.446***	0.919
Age	0.944***	0.969	0.968	0.948***	0.962**	0.949***	0.974
Age2	1.001**	1.000	1.000	1.000**	1.000*	1.000**	1.000
Female	0.979	0.730**	0.959	0.886	1.068	1.012	0.889
White	0.928	1.380*	1.163		0.921	1.155	1.003
Education							
Hs	1.152	1.039	1.456**	0.808*	0.863	1.165	1.073
College	1.693**	1.187	1.010	1.243	1.088	1.660***	1.387*
University	1.769**	1.018	2.584	2.179	1.131	1.863***	1.728**
Graduate	1.917*	0.789	1.285	3.080		1.841*	1.533
Unemployed	0.826	0.983	1.204	1.091	0.944	0.922	0.952
Crime	0.695**	0.699*	0.954	0.976	0.809*	0.740**	0.798*
Religion	1.042	1.121*	1.206**	1.251***	1.226***	1.074	1.458***
N	1843	1389	1095	2429	2829	2652	2112

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

differences and for sample year. Such a specification simply tests whether there are contextual effects unaccounted for due to country and yearly differences.

3. Results

Prior to fitting this model to the WVS and LAPOP data a simple comparison of average WVS happiness levels by size of place was graphed for Latin America as a whole, as shown in Fig. 1, and suggested that residents of level 2 settlements (2000 to 10,000 population) are the happiest, with a steady decline thereafter to the unhappiest of level 6 (500,000 or more).

However, Table 1, which contains estimates for two versions of the ordinal logistic equation fitted with WVS data for a combined set of eight Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay), tells us otherwise once controls are introduced for variations in happiness at the individual level (the ceteris paribus in $\mathbf{X}_i$). While model version W1 might lead us to reject the null hypothesis and agree that Latin America's rural residents are happier, model version W2 does not. The difference between W1 and W2 is that additional individual controls are introduced relating to God, friends and family i.e. to Latin American familism. Taking into account these factors, urban–rural differences go away. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected.

Table 2 repeats the process using the LAPOP data, which span a larger set of Latin nations: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay and Peru. Model L1 shows that small town and rural residents are happier, but when a control for religion is introduced in Model L2 the significance goes away. Once again the null hypothesis holds, and Latin familism appears to be the overriding variable.

The ordinal logistic equation also was fitted at the individual country level using the WVS data (Table 3) and the LAPOP data (Table 4). In the latter table the specification of the municipal size variable differs by country (Appendix C). Some country-level differences are to be seen in Table 3. Rural and small town residents in Argentina and Chile appear to be happier than their large-city compatriots. We hypothesize this to be a consequence of the greater northwest European share of their population, bringing values from those cultures. It also is consistent with the Easterlin et al. (2011) conclusion regarding the effects of rising levels of development. However, these differences are not apparent in Table 4, a contrast that may have arisen because of different town size specifications in WVS and LAPOP.

3.1. Discussion

Why should familism be so important in the Latin case? In his work on values and behavior Dutch psychologist Geert Hofstede (1984) places countries on a scale of 0 to 100 based on the extent to which their dominant values are individualistic or collective (Table 5). Scoring close to 100 are the world's most individualistic nations, principally those with Anglo-Saxon roots. Close to the bottom are Latins with collectivist values. As noted earlier, such individualism–collectivism differences are argued by Triandis and his associates to be the most important axis of cross-cultural variation in values and behavior (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988, Triandis, 2001, Triandis & Gelfand, 2011).

When individualistic values outshine familism stress is put on personal achievements — in particular of males — in environments that emphasize self-reliance and competition. In contrast, when familism is a

Table 5
Scores on Hofstede's individualism dimension.

Countries	Index
United States	91
Australia	90
United Kingdom	89
Italy	76
France	71
Germany	67
Argentina	46
Brazil	38
Uruguay	36
Mexico	30
Dominican Republic	30
Chile	23
Honduras	20
El Salvador	19
Peru	16
Costa Rica	15
Colombia	13
Venezuela	12
Panama	11
Ecuador	8
Guatemala	6
Nicaragua	NA
Bolivia	NA
Paraguay	NA
Guyana	NA

Source: Hofstede (Centre, 2015).

dominant theme, as in Latino culture, what is important is the time spent with family and close friends or dedicated to religious services in a culture where religion is highly valued (Falicov, 2000, Santiago-Rivera, Arrendondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2001, Valente & Berry, 2015b, Triandis, 2001, Triandis & Gelfand, 2011, Galanti, 2003). Thus, family rather than place of residence is what counts in Latin Americans' happiness or unhappiness, whereas in the Anglo-Saxon case place of residence is an all-important determinant, in particular low-density living close to nature. [10]

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Appendix A. Latin American countries in the World Values Survey and AmericasBarometer

Country	WVS		LAPOP	
	Year	Sample size	Year	Sample size
Argentina	2013	1030	2012–2014	3024
Bolivia	–	–	2012–2014	6097
Brazil	2014	1486	2012 only	3000
Chile	2011	1000	2012–2014	3142
Colombia	2012	1512	2012–2014	3011
Costa Rica	–	–	2014 only	3039
Dominican Republic	–	–	2012–2014	3032
Ecuador	2013	1202	2012–2014	3012
El Salvador	–	–	2012–2014	3009
Guatemala	–	–	2012–2014	3015
Guyana	–	–	2012–2014	3087
Honduras	–	–	2012–2014	3289
Mexico	2012	2000	2012–2014	3138
Nicaragua	–	–	2012–2014	3233
Panama	–	–	2012–2014	3128
Paraguay	–	–	2012–2014	3025
Peru	2012	1210	2012–2014	3000
Uruguay	2011	1000	2012–2014	3024
Venezuela	–	–	2012–2014	3000
Total		10,440		61,305

Appendix B

Table B1
Descriptive statistics — World Value Survey Data Wave 6.

Variable	Obs	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Happy	10,411	2.349	.668	1	3
Level 1	10,440	.072	.259	0	1
Level 2	10,440	.111	.314	0	1
Level 3	10,440	.158	.365	0	1
Level 4	10,440	.090	.287	0	1
Level 5	10,440	.224	.417	0	1
Level 6	10,440	.301	.459	0	1
Income	10,440	4.377	2.304	−2	10
Married	10,440	.586	.498	−2	1
Age	10,440	41.031	16.540	18	97
Female	10,440	.512	.500	0	1
White	10,440	.312	.463	0	1
Lesshs	10,440	.279	.448	0	1
Hs	10,440	.247	.431	0	1
Techs	10,440	.270	.444	0	1
College	10,440	.090	.286	0	1
University	10,440	.112	.315	0	1
Unemployed	10,440	.086	.280	0	1
Health	10,440	2.923	.791	−2	4
God	10,440	8.675	2.495	−2	10
Friends	10,440	3.086	.868	−2	4
Family	10,440	3.900	.362	−2	4

Table B2
Descriptive statistics — LAPOP 2012–2014.

Variable	Obs	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Happy	61,005	2.342	.671	1	3
Level 1 Pequena	61,305	.870	1.361	0	3
Level 2 Mediana	61,305	.516	.875	0	2
Level 3 Grande	61,305	.407	.491	0	1
New income	51,626	2.823	1.403	1	5
Married	61,131	.591	.492	0	1
Age	61,023	40.268	16.050	16	89
Age2	61,023	1879.09	1468.998	256	7921
Female	61,304	.512	.500	0	1
White	59,563	.276	.447	0	1
Hs	61,305	.357	.479	0	1
College	61,305	.073	.259	0	1
University	61,305	.066	.248	0	1
Graduate	61,305	.025	.156	0	1
Unemployed	61,157	.479	.500	0	1
Crime	61,128	.189	.392	0	1
Religion	60,680	3.124	1.075	1	4

Appendix C

Size specifications in Table 4.

Country	Variable	Definition
Argentina	Level 1	1 if population in municipality is <99.999; 0 otherwise
	Level 2	1 if population in municipality is between 100.000 and 999.999; 0 otherwise
	Level 3	1 if population in municipality is >1.000.000; 0 otherwise;
Brazil[a]	Level 1	1 if population in municipality is <25.000; 0 otherwise
	Level 2	1 if population in municipality is between 25.000 and 100,000; 0 otherwise
	Level 3	1 if population in municipality is >100.000; 0 otherwise
Costa Rica[a]	Level 1	1 if population in municipality is <25,000; 0 otherwise
	Level 2	1 if population in municipality is between 25,000 and 100,000; 0 otherwise
	Level 3	1 if population in municipality is >100,000; 0 otherwise
Guyana	Level 1	1 if rural with less than 5000; 0 otherwise
	Level 2	1 if rural with more than 5000; 0 otherwise
	Level 3	1 if urban areas; 0 otherwise
Nicaragua	Level 1	1 if population in municipality is <25,000; 0 otherwise
	Level 2	1 if population in municipality is between 25,000 and 75,000; 0 otherwise
	Level 3	1 if population in municipality is >75,000; 0 otherwise
Uruguay	Level 1	1 if population in municipality is <40,000; 0 otherwise
	Level 2	1 if population in municipality is between 40,000 and 100,000; 0 otherwise
	Level 3	1 if population in municipality is >100,000; 0 otherwise
Venezuela	Level 1	1 if population in municipality is <50,000; 0 otherwise
	Level 2	1 if population in municipality is between 50,000 and 300,000; 0 otherwise
	Level 3	1 if population in municipality is >300,000; 0 otherwise

[a]For Costa Rica data was only available for the year 2014. For Brazil we examined the year of 2012.

[10] Future studies should examine the role that social movements exert in life satisfaction both in rural and urban areas in Latin America. In Brazil, for example, the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra* (MST), the largest social movement in Latin America, has been instrumental in providing its members with better quality of life. MST members have better residential environments, more material possessions, and better access to education in rural areas than non-members, which can affect their life satisfaction (Valente & Berry, 2015a). The impact of similar movements in urban areas should be explored as well. Unfortunately, LAPOP and WVS do not ask respondents for their involvement in social movements such as the MST, thus we could not analyze this relationship in our model.

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