Working Hours and Life Satisfaction: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Latin America and the United States
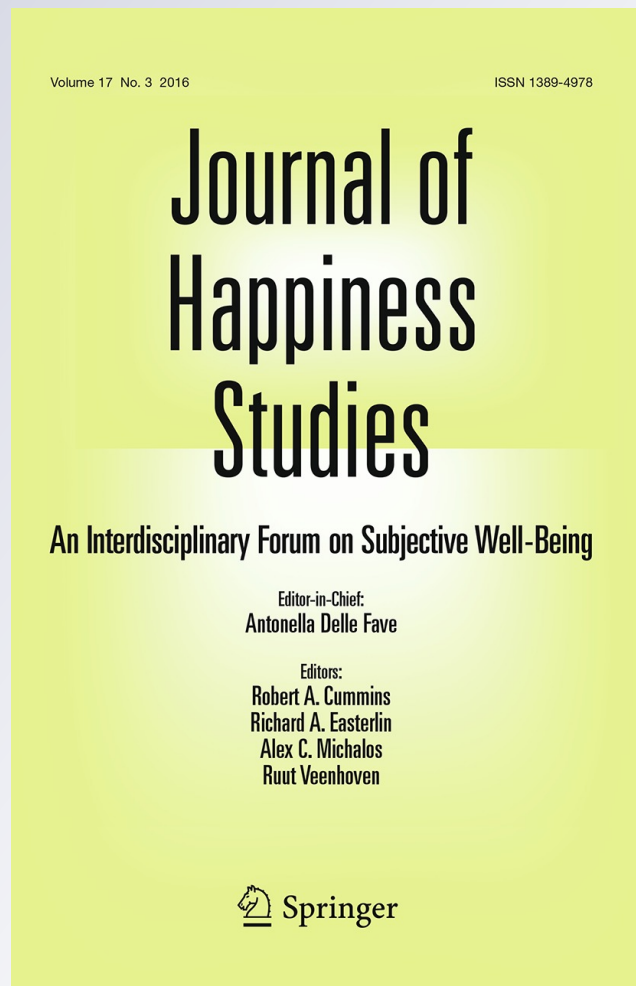
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Working Hours and Life Satisfaction: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Latin America and the United States

Rubia R. Valente[1] · Brian J. L. Berry[1]

Abstract This paper compares the life satisfaction and working hours of Latin Americans and U.S. Americans using the AmericasBarometer and General Social Survey. While there are many common determinants of happiness, hours worked is not among them. Differences in cultural values, especially the distinction between collectivism (familism) and individualism that has long been a foundation of social development theory, may be why married Latin American males are less happy than married U.S. American males when working longer hours. The distinction is not apparent among females or the unmarried.

Keywords Life satisfaction · Working hours · Latin America · U.S

1 Introduction

Empirical research on the determinants of life satisfaction has increased in recent years[1] and can be divided into two main types: analysis of general well-being, or overall happiness[2] (Clark and Oswald 1994; Diener et al. 1999; Dolan et al. 2008; Frey and Stutzer 2010; Oswald 1997; Van Praag and Ferrer-i Carbonell 2004; Veenhoven 1991), and the

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[1] Most studies use the term "happiness" interchangeably with the term "subjective well-being." For a detailed review of these definitions see Easterlin (2003).

[2] Research was initiated in economics in the mid-1970's by Easterlin, c.f. Easterlin (1974, 1995, 2003).

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analysis of well-being at work, or job satisfaction (Blanchflower and Oswald 1999; Clark 1996, 1997; Clark and Oswald 1996; Robertson and Cooper 2011). There are both individual variations that transcend culture and an increasing awareness of cross-cultural differences. The goal of this paper is to further cross-cultural understanding by comparing the relationship between working hours and happiness in the United States and Latin America, to complement the earlier comparison of Europe and the United States undertaken by Okulicz-Kozaryn (2011).

By happiness we mean general life satisfaction, not satisfaction with job. At the individual level, the job–happiness relationship has been the focus of a considerable body of investigation. Having a regular job has a significant and positive association with life satisfaction in both Latin America and the United States (Menezes-Filho et al. 2009). Employment provides a mechanism for social participation and engagement, which are significant to individual happiness, whereas unemployment has a substantial negative impact on life satisfaction (Clark and Oswald 1994; Clark et al. 2008; Diener 2012; Pouwels et al. 2008; Rudolf 2013; Winkelmann and Winkelmann 1998). Job insecurity is inversely related to life satisfaction in Latin America and the United States (Graham and Behrman 2010), but little is known about the interaction between hours worked and happiness, an interaction that appears to vary across cultures. It is on this variation and possible explanations for it that we focus. U.S. Americans work on average 49.3 h per week, whereas Latin Americans work 50.4 h per week (Spector et al. 2004). Working comparable hours, are they equally happy? We conclude that they are not. Seeking explanations, 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 and Gelfand 2011, pg. 498). 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's *Culture's Consequences* (1984; 2001), and has been codified as the theory of individualism and collectivism by Triandis and Gelfand (2011).

In the U.S.–Latin case, the axis is to be seen in the contrasting sources of work-related happiness, individualism and familism (the close relationships that exist among Latino family members, which include loyalty, interdependence, and cooperation). In the United States families are nuclear (Strong and Cohen 2013), whereas in Latin America the family is an extended one including grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, second cousins, and even people who are not biologically related but are close friends. Familism is a dominant theme in Latino culture (Falicov 2000; Galanti 2003; Santiago-Rivera et al. 2001). Increases in working hours deprive Latin American males of time to spend with their families and close friends, and reduce the time that would otherwise be dedicated to religious services in a culture where religion is highly valued (Falicov 2000; Santiago-Rivera et al. 2001; Triandis and Gelfand 2011; Triandis 2001). In the United States, individualistic values outshine familism and stress is put on personal achievements—in particular of males—in an environment that emphasizes self reliance and competition (Triandis et al. 1988). Americans perceive working long hours as key to individual success, as indicated by the job satisfaction that accompanies hard work (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011), reinforced by a Protestant work ethic (Weber 1930). Opportunities for social mobility are higher in the United States, and working longer hours appears to pay off (Alesina et al. 2004). Social status is achieved via education, occupation and income, rather than ascribed via family of birth or prescribed by tradition.

In what follows, by drawing on data from the AmericasBarometer of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) and the General Social Survey (GSS), we document the contrasting happiness–working hours relationship of U.S. and Latin Americans. We begin with a brief excursus into the evolving literature on the dimensions of cross-cultural variation, then present our model, documenting how we use the received literature to control for sources of individual variation that transcend culture, discuss results, and conclude by placing them within the Triandis–Gelfand individualism–collectivism theory, reinforced by the finding that the contrasting relationship is found among men but not among women, and among marrieds but not singles.

2 Dimensions of Culture

Happiness comes from achieving what the culture deems important. Understanding culture, the "collective programming of the mind" that differentiates the motivations and behavior of members of one society from those of other societies thus is critical if we are to understand the varying sources of happiness (Hofstede 1984). It is through culture that societies give meaning to their environments, organizing their life around particular symbols and myths. Culture shapes perceptions and behavior by directing that selective attention be paid to some details of reality, permitting some actions and forbidding others, rewarding those who achieve what is thought to be desirable (Berry et al. 1997).

Central to this programming of the mind is the transmission of *values*, broad preferences for one state of affairs over others. People face moral dilemmas, ambiguous circumstances where several choices of proper behavior are possible. Values are priorities for sorting out and implementing one code of behavior rather than others. The act of prioritizing involves emotional commitment. The commitment arises because values are learned during the process of childhood socialization, when individuals come to accept that a particular form of life is meaningful.

What people are socialized to is a particular paradigm, a dominant set of beliefs that organizes the way they and other members of their group perceive and interpret the world around them: A social paradigm contains the survival information needed for the maintenance of a culture. It results from generations of learning whereby dysfunctional beliefs and values are discarded in favor of those most suited to survival. An individual element of a social paradigm is difficult to dislodge once it becomes entrenched because shared definitions of reality are anchored in it. The values, norms, beliefs and institutions of paradigms are not only beliefs about what the world is like. They are guides to action and they serve the function of legitimating, justifying and rewarding courses of action. They also are the sources of happiness: people are happier when they succeed in the ways that are consistent with the values to which they have been socialized.

Is each culture idiosyncratic, or are there systematic variations? Looking beyond the unidimensional European base of classical social theory this was the question asked by Hofstede (1984, 2001). He concluded that differences among cultures were far greater than differences within them, lending strong support to the idea that most countries were characterized by a dominant cultural mainstream (social paradigm). He also concluded that different mainstream cultures varied along four separate dimensions. He called the first three *individualism–collectivism*[3], *power-distance*, and *uncertainty avoidance*, and the

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[3] Appendix 1 contains the Hofstede individualism ratings for the United States, Australia, United Kingdom, and Latin American countries.

fourth, *masculinity*. To these, later investigators have added *long-term orientation* (also called "Confucian dynamism") and *indulgence versus restraint* (Minkov 2007).

The first and arguably the most important dimension is between cultures in which the individual is the locus of responsibility and action, and cultures in which it is the collectivity that matters. In individualist cultures such as the United States, individuals are expected to look after their own interests and are happiest when achieving by doing so. In collectivist cultures people, through birth and later events, belong to one or more cohesive collectives ("in-groups"), from which they cannot detach themselves and are unhappiest when they are detached. The Latin American in-group (the extended family with grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins) is expected to protect the interests of its members but in exchange can expect their permanent loyalty. This contrast between individual and collective orientation— and hence of differing sources of happiness—has been the central axis of evolving theories of social development (Berry 1973; Oyserman et al. 2002) and appears to be the principal source of differing working hours/happiness relationships between U.S. and Latin Americans.

A thorough account of the modern theory of individualism/collectivism is provided by Triandis (2001), Triandis and Gelfand (2011), and Triandis et al. (1988). Differences in family structure are described as an antecedent of cognition, emotion, motivation, self-definition and values. While certain predictors of subjective well-being such as personality, feelings of social support, trust, mastery, and the fulfillment of basic needs are generalized across cultures (Diener 2012), there are other predictors that vary substantially among cultures (Diener and Diener 1995; Myers 2000; Oishi et al. 1999).[4] Self-esteem and freedom are better predictors of life satisfaction in individualistic cultures than in collectivist ones (Diener and Diener 1995), as are people's emotions and moods, whereas social life is more predictive in communal societies (Suh et al. 2008). In individualistic societies happiness comes from personal effort and achievement—and hence from the consequences of longer working hours; in collectivist societies longer working hours imply less time to devote to family obligations– hence unhappiness. It is to this contrast that we now turn.

3 Model and Data

To document this contrasting U.S.–Latin happiness–working hours relationship we begin by postulating the null hypothesis:

> There is no difference in the relationship between working hours and happiness in the United States and Latin America, *ceteris paribus*.

The dependent variable *happiness* is measured on a scale of 1–3, thus the proper model is ordered logit (Scott 1997). Possible responses are $1 =$ not happy, $2 =$ happy, and $3 =$ very happy. Hence, the main structural model tested has the following form:

$$y_i* = \beta_0 + \beta_1 work_i * latin_i + \beta_2 work_i + \beta_3 latin_i + \beta_i \mathbf{X}_i + \varepsilon_i$$

where:

$$y_i = \begin{cases} 1 \Rightarrow not\, happy & \text{if } \tau_0 = -\infty \leq y_i * < \tau_1 \\ 2 \Rightarrow happy & \text{if } \tau_1 \leq y_i * < \tau_2 \\ 3 \Rightarrow very\, happy & \text{if } \tau_2 \leq y_i * < \tau_3 = \infty \end{cases}$$

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[4] For a detailed study of culture and well-being see the collected works of Diener (2009, (2012)

and i is the observation, $work_i * latin_i$ is the interaction of a measurement of working hours ($work_i$)[5] and being Latin American ($latin_i$), vector $\mathbf{X_i}$ contains a set of exogenous independent variables controlling the model for individual differences that transcend culture, and ε_i is a random error.[6] We also control for country differences in Latin America and for regional differences in the U.S. by including country and regional dummies in all models.[7] The U.S. data come from different years, thus all models also include time fixed effects. Such a specification simply tests whether there are contextual effects unaccounted for due to country or regional and yearly differences.

The Latin American data that are used come from the AmericasBarometer provided by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), which surveys 26 nations across North, Central, and South America and the Caribbean every 2 years. Data on working hours is available only for the year of 2008. 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?*

The U.S. data come from the General Social Survey (GSS) for the years 2006, 2008, and 2010.[8] Respondents were asked the following question: *Taken all together, how would you say things are these days—would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?*

Variables were re-coded to similar categories and the data for the U.S. and Latin America were pooled. See Table 1. Appendix 1 provides sample details.

3.1 Working Hours ($work_i$)

The variable $work_i$ appears in the equation because variations in working hours have been documented to have a variety of effects that transcend culture. An extensive literature explores many aspects of the linkages between worker experiences, behavior or attitudes, performance, job satisfaction, work–family conflict and work–life balance (Beckers et al. 2008; Berg et al. 2003; Golden and Wiens-Tuers 2006; Grönlund and Öun 2010; Kattenbach et al. 2010; Reynolds 2003; Virtanen et al. 2012). Workers who work long hours often experience reduced mental and physical well-being, feel overworked, make mistakes, feel anger towards their employers, resent their coworkers and consider looking for a new job (Galinsky et al. 2001; Reynolds 2003) due to work stress, fatigue, depression, or time conflicts (Beckers et al. 2008; Golden and Wiens-Tuers 2006; Kattenbach et al. 2010; Virtanen et al. 2012), often leading to illness, burnout or negative work-to-family spillovers (Berg et al. 2003; Galinsky et al. 2001; Kattenbach et al. 2010; Reynolds 2003). Greater work–life imbalance appears to be the most serious adverse effect of overtime work (Golden and Wiens-Tuers 2006). One of the clearest negative effects on well-being of excessive or unscheduled additional work is on the workers' ability to balance their competing work and family responsibilities (Berg et al. 2003; Fenwick and Rausig 2003;

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[5] Working hours is a choice variable. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that it might be affected by unobservable factors such as personality traits that also are important determinants of subjective well-being.

[6] For a detailed overview of the ordinal regression model using a latent variable see Long and Freese (2006). OLS results are included in Appendix 4 for comparison, as several recent studies have shown ordered logit and OLS to be comparable (Ferrer-i Carbonell and Frijters 2004; Van Praag and Ferrer-i Carbonell 2004).

[7] For a list of Latin American countries and U.S. regions refer to Appendices 2 and 3.

[8] The LAPOP Survey for the United States lacked the working hours question, thus the use of the GSS instead. Also, these years were selected so that Latin Americans and U.S. Americans were surveyed at approximately the same time.

Table 1 Variables across datasets

Variable	Survey question
Happiness	
GSS	Taken all together, how would you say things are these days—would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?
LAPOP	In general how satisfied are you with your life? Would you say that you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?
Working hours	
GSS	How many hours a week do you usually work, at all jobs?
LAPOP[a]	How many hours do you work per week in your primary job?
Income	
GSS	In which of these groups did your total family income, from all sources, fall last year before taxes?
LAPOP	In which of the following income ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit, including remittances from abroad and the income of all working adults and children?
Marital status	
GSS	Are you currently—married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have never been married?
LAPOP	What is your marital status? (single, married, common law, divorced, separated, widowed)
Religion	
GSS	How often do you attend religious services?
LAPOP	How often do you go to mass or religious services?
Age	
GSS	In what year were you born?
LAPOP	How old are you?
Gender	
GSS	Select gender of chosen respondent (male; female)
LAPOP	Sex (male; female)
Race	
GSS	What is your race?
LAPOP	Do you consider yourself white, mixed, amerindian, black, yellow or other?
Education	
GSS	Highest year of school completed
LAPOP	Total number of years of school completed

[a] The working hours variable for LAPOP was truncated at 112 h and as a result we dropped 15 respondents from the raw dataset who claimed to work up to 126 h. All variables were recoded so that the higher value means more, or in the case of dummy variables, one means "yes" and 0 means "no"

Ganster and Bates 2003; Geurts et al. 2009; Golden and Wiens-Tuers 2006; Institute 1999; White et al. 2003). For these reasons, working longer hours may offset or even eliminate the impact of additional income on a worker's welfare (Pouwels et al. 2008).

There is, however, a dearth of research on the relationship of working hours and happiness. The few contributions include Gray et al. (2004) who analyze the well-being of fathers and their families using cross-sectional Australian data and suggest that fathers' satisfaction with work hours decreases as the number of hours worked increases. Golden

and Wiens-Tuers (2006) found that the extra money that working overtime brings does not buy additional happiness. Booth and Ours (2008, (2009) find that men have the highest hours-of-work satisfaction if they work full-time without overtime hours. Women on the other hand, have greater job satisfaction and work-hour satisfaction if they work part-time jobs. Golden et al. (2013) found that having work schedule flexibility is associated with greater happiness. Clark and Senik (2006) found that workers in certain sectors are significantly more satisfied and enjoy higher wage rents than those in others in France. This also applies to full-time public sector jobs in Great Britain. Rudolf (2013) found that reductions in working hours did not have the expected positive effects on worker's well-being. Finally, Lora (2008), in the only study that examines job satisfaction in Latin American, found that the majority (82 %) of Latin Americans are satisfied with their jobs, despite a very high level of informality and a high percentage of workers who are not covered by the social security system or who receive wages below the minimum. While these studies have contributed to our understanding of working hours and happiness, it was Okulicz-Kozaryn (2011) who provided the first attempt of test happiness and working hours directly. Drawing on data from the GSS, the World Values Survey, and the Eurobarometer series, he found that working more makes Americans happier than Europeans. We follow Okulicz-Kozaryn's lead by extending the comparison to Latin America.

In the model that is estimated we operalize $work_i$ as usual working hours in all jobs (GSS) and actual working hours in a primary job (LAPOP). That the two surveys are sufficiently comparable for this contribution to be made is evidenced by the successful comparisons of cross national data sets by several researchers including Okulicz-Kozaryn (2011), Stevenson and Wolfers (2009), Alesina et al. (2004) and Graham and Pettinato (2001).[9] Of course, robustness of results can always be improved if the wording of survey questions is the same for all respondents.

3.2 Control Variables (X$_i$)

The question of which other variables to include in **X$_i$** to control for individual variations is a difficult one. Myers (2000) suggests age, race, gender, income and education since they are all sources of interpersonal variations in happiness, while other investigators add marital status and religiosity.[10,11] Details of our choices are provided in Table 1 and Appendix 1.[12] The problem is that most literature on subjective well-being has dealt with developed countries and it is possible that other control variables more relevant to developing countries have been omitted (Blanchflower and Oswald 2004; Diener et al. 1999,

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[9] Due to inherent limitations of the survey wording, we also use life satisfaction and happiness interchangeably as they are highly correlated.

[10] Marriage and religious affiliation are important sources of social capital. Social capital refers to the social networks within a community, including bonding among individuals through social ties and relationships. It provides individuals with a "sense of belonging." C.f. Fukuyama (1999), Putnam (2001).

[11] Myers (2000) also argues that four inner traits mark happy people: high self-esteem, a sense of personal control, optimism, and extroversion. These trait-happiness correlations are not yet fully understood and findings inherently suffer from causality problems. Some traits may predispose to happiness, while happiness might also be a contributing cause, but they point to a rationale for culture-specific sources of happiness. Each is greatest when achievements are consistent with the social paradigm.

[12] Some studies also include *friendship* given that close relationships with friends contribute to life satisfaction, providing people with a supportive network (Myers 2000). Unfortunately, the LAPOP dataset did not contain questions on friendship.

2010; Frey and Stutzer 2010; Helliwell and Putnam 2004; Myers 2000; Putnam 2001, 2000; Schimmack 2009).

With respect to personal characteristics that transcend culture and that need to be controlled in cross-cultural comparisons, much remains ambiguous. We discuss what has been found with respect to each in turn:

Income does not seem to contribute much to an individual's happiness in the United States or Europe (Diener et al. 1993; Inglehart 1990; Myers 2000), being only one component of welfare (Ateca-Amestoy et al. 2014; Helliwell and Putnam 2004; Pigou 1924), but in poor countries personal income and material values are more important (Delhey 2010; Okulicz-Kozaryn 2012; Sanfey and Teksoz 2007). More money does not necessarily buy more happiness but less money is associated with emotional pain: when people have difficulties ensuring that their basic needs are met, subjective well-being declines (Delhey 2003; Fahey and Smyth 2004); an income of $75,000 may be a threshold beyond which further increases in income no longer improve individuals' ability to do what matters most to their emotional well-being (Kahneman and Deaton 2010).

Race Blacks and other non-white races are less happy than whites in the United States (Blanchflower and Oswald 2004).

Marriage Married people are happier than those who are single, divorced, or who are separated[13] (Myers 2000).

Religion and Religiosity Religious affiliation is an important contributor of subjective well-being: happiness rises with the strength of religious affiliation and frequency of attendance at religious ceremonies (Inglehart 1990; Myers 2000). Religion seems to provide people with a sense of purpose and hope and is most important as a predictor of subjective well being in more religious societies (Diener 2012; Diener et al. 2011; Okulicz-Kozaryn 2010). Sixty percent of U.S. Americans consider religion to be "very important" to them compared to 80 % of Latin Americans (Holifield 2014; PewResearch 2012). Thus, in both the United States and Latin America religion is still an important indicator of happiness, although the mechanism may differ. In the U.S. the Protestantism–capitalism–individualism link may be dominant (Weber 1930); in Latin America, Catholicism reinforces strong family ties (Cluster and Nieto 2009; Santiago-Rivera et al. 2001).[14] Religiosity, associated with adolescents' family orientation, predicts greater life satisfaction (Sabatier et al. 2011). Protestants of varying degrees of religiosity are more pro-market (Hayward and Kemmelmeier 2011).[15] Thus, religion and religiosity are important factors in shaping cultural norms and values in both Protestant and Catholic societies.

Age does not have a strong correlation with life satisfaction (Myers 2000), although some studies have found a U-shaped correlation between age and happiness, with happiness minimising around the age of 30 (Oswald 1997) or 45 (Sanfey and Teksoz 2007).

Gender Men have lower happiness scores than women, the difference being small (Blanchflower and Oswald 2004).

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[13] Marriage seems to provide protection against depression and mental ill-health which can impact life satisfaction (Cochrane 1996).

[14] An interesting question is whether the determinants of happiness in Latin America will change as Catholicism weakens its influence (Paulson 2014).

[15] One study, examining Weber's theory of Protestantism and capitalism, suggests that Protestantism was associated with economic affluence not because of any difference in work ethic, but rather because it furthered the creation of social capital by ensuing literacy (Becker and Woessmann 2007). Rather than relying on injunctions set by the Catholic Church, Luther favored universal schooling and believed people needed to be literate to be able to read the Bible for themselves, in their own language. Thus, Protestants acquired more schooling than Catholics and as a side effect schooling transformed into economic prosperity.

Employment Unemployment has a negative lasting effect on life satisfaction, particularly among men (Blanchflower and Oswald 2004; Clark and Oswald 1994; Clark et al. 2008; Diener 2012; Pouwels et al. 2008; Rudolf 2013; Winkelmann and Winkelmann 1998), with only one panel data study disagreeing by finding a negative effect of unemployment on subjective well-being (Bockerman and Ilmakunnas 2009).

4 Test of the Main Hypothesis

To account for any nonlinear effects of working hours on happiness several models were run using different measurements of working hours. In Model W1 working hours are divided into seven categories, in Model W2 working hours is a raw number ranging from 0 to 112 h, in Model W3 a dummy variable was used for a person working 40 h or more, and in Model W4 a dummy variable for a person working less than 40 h was used. The coefficients in these models are odds ratios, where a value greater than one indicates a positive relationship and a value less than one points to a negative relationship. In Table 2,

Table 2 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness (odds ratios and percent change in odds)

Variable	W1	%	W2	%	W3	%	W4	%
Working hours cat * Latin	0.938**	−6.2						
Working hours category	1.048**	4.8						
Latin	3.686***	268.6	3.598***	259.8	3.100***	210.0	2.720***	172.0
Income	1.133***	13.3	1.133***	13.3	1.133***	13.3	1.133***	13.3
Nonwhite	0.923*	−7.7	0.922*	−7.8	0.925*	−7.5	0.921*	−7.9
Married	1.462***	46.2	1.462***	46.2	1.460***	46.0	1.459***	45.9
Age	0.961***	−3.9	0.961***	−3.9	0.961***	−3.9	0.961***	−3.9
Age2	1.000***	0.0	1.000***	0.0	1.000***	0.0	1.000***	0.0
Female	1.011	1.1	1.010	1.0	1.013	1.3	1.007	0.7
Education	1.032***	3.2	1.032***	3.2	1.032***	3.2	1.032***	3.2
Attend religious service	1.129***	12.9	1.129***	12.9	1.129***	12.9	1.130***	13.0
Working hours * Latin			0.994*	−0.6				
Working hours			1.005*	0.5				
More 40 h * Latin					0.801***	−19.9		
More 40 h					1.190**	19.0		
Less 40 h * Latin							1.146	14.6
Less 40 h							0.902	−9.8
u.s. regions dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
l.a. countries dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	15,891		15,891		15,891		15,891	

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

which presents the results, the percentage changes in odds are signed accordingly. Appendix 5 contains a variety of robustness checks that reinforce our conclusions.[16]

The coefficients for the control variables in $\mathbf{X_i}$ are all significant and in the expected directions, except for gender, discussed in Sect. 5 below. This confirms the Graham and Pettinato (2001)[17] finding that at the individual level the determinants of happiness are remarkably similar in the U.S. and Latin America. All existent Latin American studies support the Graham and Pettinato finding (Ateca-Amestoy et al. 2014; Graham and Felton 2006; Lora 2008; Rojas 2006). In both Latin America and the United States marriage, high levels of education, religion, friendship, and employment are all positively related to happiness.

Likewise, in the model results shown in Table 2 all working hours/happiness interactions are significant save for Model W4, revealing that Latin Americans are less happy to work more hours than U.S. Americans. Accordingly, *we reject the null hypothesis for the U.S. and Latin populations as a whole*. The odds ratios for a unit increase of each covariate of the response variable in Model W3 indicate that the odds of being happier are 19.9 % less for Latin Americans who work more than 40 h per week than for U.S. Americans working more than 40 h, *ceteris paribus*. Figure 1 depicts the on-average relationships without controls and Fig. 2 the modeled probability of being happy against working hours categories (Model W1) and working hours raw numbers (Model W2) for U.S. Americans and Latin Americans, *ceteris paribus* (i.e. subject to controls). The contrasting relationships vary monotonically across working hours.

We conclude that although U.S. Americans and Latin Americans share common sources of happiness, working hours is not one of them. Longer work hours are associated with happier U.S. Americans but unhappier Latin Americans. The relationship is not necessarily causal (Dolan et al. 2008)[18] but there is other evidence that bears on causality. A 2013 Gallup study finds that countries in Latin America are the world's happiest (Clifton 2014)[19]. The top 10 ranked countries were Paraguay, Panamá, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Colombia, Honduras and Venezuela. El Salvador ranked 11th, Chile 19th, and Argentina 20th while the United States ranked 24th. Explanations have focused on family, friends, and religion (Clifton 2014; Fukuyama 1999; Galanti 2003; Lora 2008), which boost life satisfaction because they provide social capital (Putnam 2001). Such capital is one of the strongest correlates of an individual's life satisfaction in Latin America (Ateca-Amestoy et al. 2014) and a major source of identity and protection against life's hardships (Santiago-Rivera et al. 2001). Consistent with this, the raw graph of hours worked and happiness (Fig. 1) shows Latin Americans to be happier than U.S. Americans

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[16] Given that the dataset is a cross-sectional survey based on subjective assessments, selection bias and unobserved variable bias can be potential limitations to the analysis. Different controls were used in separate models and the relationship is robust: in all models Latin Americans are less happy than U.S. Americans when working longer hours.

[17] Research involving Latin American countries is scarce and still a fairly new endeavor. Graham and Pettinato (2001) were the first to analyze happiness in that region. None of the few other Latin American studies considers the working hours-happiness relationship (Ateca-Amestoy et al. 2014; Graham and Felton 2006; Lora 2008; Rojas 2006)

[18] The relationship is not necessarily causal for two main reasons: data is cross-sectional, and it is not entirely clear what the direction of causality is. In this case, however, it seems more reasonable to conclude that working less makes Latin Americans happier than U.S. Americans, as opposed to the alternative explanation that happier Latin Americans work less than U.S. Americans.

[19] When taking into account several dimensions of happiness combined, typically studies have found that Scandinavian countries are the happiest (Helliwell et al. 2012)
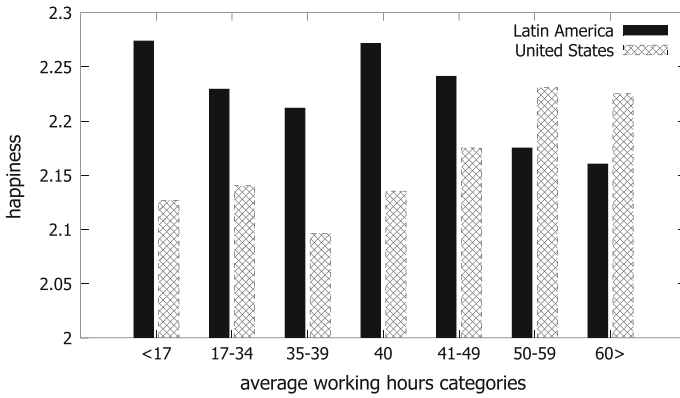
Fig. 1 Happiness by average working hour in the U.S. and Europe. *Source*: GSS and LAPOP

Fig. 2 Predicted Probability of being 'happy' for Models W1 and W2. **a** W1 Working hours categories, **b** W2 Working hours raw numbers
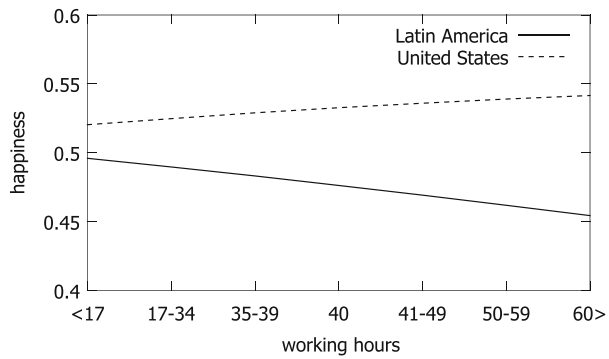
(a)
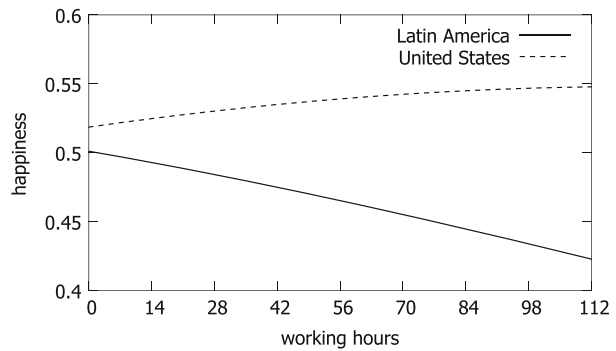
(b)

at all working hours less than 50, with greater unhappiness setting in only beyond that point, i.e. when work beyond normal hours reduces time spent with family. Once individual sources of happiness derived from familism are controlled, as in Fig. 2, U.S. individualists are happier than Latins at all levels of time commitment to work.

5 Men Versus Women, Married Versus Singles

The combined GSS-LAPOP dataset permits additional questions to be addressed, in particular whether there are differences by gender or marital status. From the larger dataset several smaller matrices were created containing the observations for men, women, married and singles, and Model W1 was computed for each. Tables 3 and 4 contain the results for men and women and Tables 5 and 6 for married and singles. We find that the working hours–happiness relationship is significant for men but not for women, and for marrieds but

Table 3 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness: men (odds ratio reported)

Variable	Model W1	Model W1
Working hours cat * latin	0.887***	
Working hours cat	1.110***	
Latin	4.957***	
Working hours * usa		1.128***
Working hours cat		0.984
USA		0.202***
Income	1.127***	1.127***
Nonwhite	0.946	0.946
Married	1.384***	1.384***
Age	0.963***	0.963***
Age2	1.000***	1.000***
Education	1.030***	1.030***
Attend religious service	1.120***	1.120***
Country/region/year dummies	Yes	Yes
N	9864	9864

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

Table 4 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness: women (odds ratio reported)

Variable	Model W1	Model W1
Working hours cat * latin	0.987	
Working hours cat	0.993	
Latin	2.713***	
Working hours * usa		1.013
Working hours cat		0.980
USA		0.369***
Income	1.139***	1.139***
Nonwhite	0.901	0.901
Married	1.549***	1.549***
Age	0.960***	0.960***
Age2	1.000**	1.000**
Education	1.037***	1.037***
Attend religious service	1.148***	1.148***
Country/region/year dummies	Yes	Yes
N	6027	6027

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

Variable	Model W1	Model W1
Working hours cat * latin	0.938*	
Working hours cat	1.044	
Latin	2.832***	
Working hours * usa		1.066*
Working hours cat		0.979
USA		0.353***
Income	1.157***	1.157***
Female	1.020	1.020
Nonwhite	0.939	0.939
Age	0.959***	0.959***
Age2	1.000***	1.000***
Education	1.019***	1.019***
Attend religious service	1.140***	1.140***
Country/region/year dummies	Yes	Yes
N	9732	9732

Table 5 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness: married (odds ratio reported)

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

Variable	Model W1	Model W1
Working hours cat * latin	0.956	
Working hours cat	1.046	
Latin	4.313***	
Working hours * usa		1.046
Working hours cat		0.981
USA		0.232***
Iincome	1.098***	1.098***
Female	0.970	0.970
Nonwhite	0.959	0.959
Age	0.972**	0.972**
Age2	1.000**	1.000**
Education	1.051***	1.051***
Attend religious service	1.101***	1.101***
Country/region/year dummies	Yes	Yes
N	6279	6279

Table 6 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness: single (odds ratio reported)

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

not for singles. Figures 3 and 4 graph the probabilities. *Ceteris paribus*, marrieds in the U.S. are happier than Latins at all levels of work, but Latin males are happier than those in the U.S. when they work less than 40 h weekly. U.S. males are happier working more than 40 h.

These results are consistent with one interpretation of the individualism–collectivism (familism) thesis: men in the U.S. are happier than Latins the more they work, particularly if they are married, because more work means improved welfare and higher status. Latin

Fig. 3 Predicted probability of being 'happy' for subgroup men—Model W1
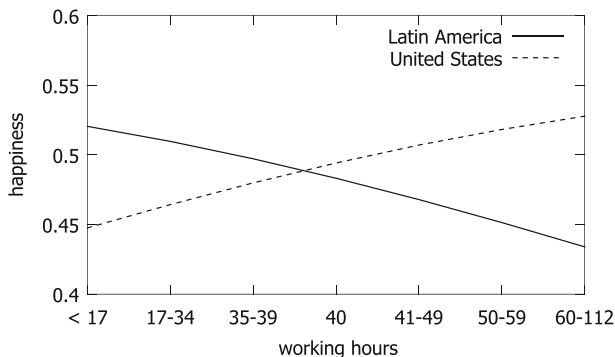
Fig. 4 Predicted probability of being 'happy' for subgroup married—Model W1
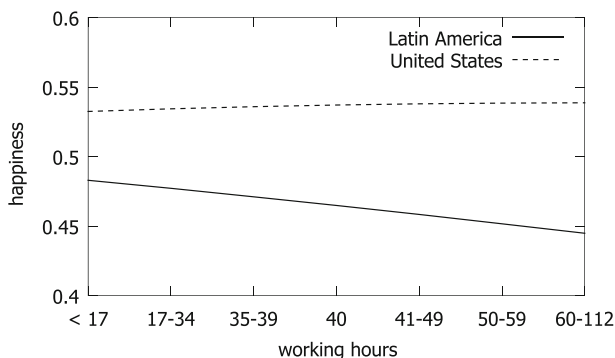
men are happier working less because this provides more time to discharge family responsibilities and enjoy family relationships.

However, this difference does not apply to women in the two surveys, many of whom work long hours both inside and outside the home in both cultures, and for whom there is no marker such as the 40-h work week. Whether there are job-happiness differences between women who work outside the home and those who do not must be a subject of future investigation with richer data sources.

6 Overview

While we reject the original null hypothesis, the subgroup analyses reveal that this finding only applies to U.S. and Latin males who are married. The null hypothesis stands for women and singles. Thus, while our analyses are consistent with classic social theory (people are happier when they behave in ways that are consistent with the values of their culture), the consistency only exists for married men: U.S. and Latin American males are positioned at different points on the individualism–collectivism dimension, and Latin males are happier working less because they are able to spend more time with their families whereas U.S. males are happier working more because work is the path to individual achievement and social status.

But many new questions arise. Because the contrasting work–happiness relationships apply to men and to marrieds but not to women and singles, is classical social theory thus merely a male-focused theory, as feminists allege? Did Hofstede's global survey of IBM employees principally reach men, biasing his conclusions by gender? Clearly, more research is needed to find out why working more makes U.S. males happier than Latin males but that the relationship does not carry over to females.

We also ask whether the social development narrative of theorists from Tönnies to Weber is a historical account or a description of an ongoing process. If the latter, will the sources of Latin males' happiness change with economic development? Is the greater happiness of U.S. males who work longer hours sustainable? Recent discussions on overworked U.S. Americans suggest that they might be forced to work longer hours because of increasing income inequality and lack of access to health care and education (Greenhouse 2009; Krugman 2014; Okulicz-Kozaryn 2014). This scenario is also true in Latin America where workers are faced with even greater economic inequality and most are forced to work longer hours to afford basic needs, and some would argue that this is why longer hours are associated with greater unhappiness in the Latin case. Research on different satisfaction domains such as job satisfaction, school satisfaction, and family satisfaction is scant and much is needed to improve the Latin American happiness literature.

Other promising avenues of research include investigating the differences between specific Latin American countries and the United States to determine whether the level-of-development idea that is embedded in classical theory is revealed by cross-country variations in the associations between happiness and hours worked. Similarly, future work could investigate whether Latinos in the United States are happier when working less hours than whites, and whether there are differences between new migrants and the nation's longstanding Hispanic population. And overarching all is the conclusion that the relationships differ by gender: classical male-centered theories are not enough.

Appendix 1: Sample Details

See Tables 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 and Fig. 5.

Table 7 Data sets

	Freq.	Per.	Val. Per	Cum. Per.
GSS	8577	23.19	23.19	23.19
LAPOP	28,416	76.81	76.81	100.00
Total	36,993	100.00	100.00	

Table 8 Descriptive statistics—U.S. and Latin American combined

Variable	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age	36,886	40.959	16.674	16	89
Nonwhite	36,074	.590	.492	0	1
Female	36,993	.525	.499	0	1
Married	36,687	.567	.495	0	1
Education	36,781	10.017	4.696	0	21
Income	32,492	5.103	1.797	1	7
Attend	35,872	2.981	1.380	1	5
Happiness	35,199	2.192	.702	1	3
Working hours	19,477	42.618	16.856	0	112

Table 9 Descriptive statistics—U.S. Americans

Variable	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age	8546	47.472	17.194	18	89
Nonwhite	8577	.255	.436	0	1
Female	8577	.554	.497	0	1
Married	8565	.471	.499	0	1
Education	8556	13.366	3.176	0	20
Income	7452	6.133	1.554	1	7
Attend	8541	2.552	1.322	1	5
Happiness	7040	2.147	.645	1	3
Working hours	5114	41.687	14.522	1	89

Table 10 Descriptive statistics—Latin Americans

Variable	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age	28,340	38.994	16.002	16	89
Nonwhite	27,497	.695	.461	0	1
Female	28,416	.516	.500	0	1
Married	28,122	.596	.491	0	1
Education	28,225	9.002	4.610	0	21
Income	25,040	4.797	1.750	1	7
Attend	27,331	3.115	1.371	1	5
Happiness	28,159	2.204	.715	1	3
Working hours	14,363	42.950	17.600	0	112

Table 11 Scores on Hofstede's individualism dimension

Countries	Index
The United States	91
Australia	90
United Kingdom	89
Argentina	46
Brazil	38
Uruguay	36
Mexico	30
Dominic Republic	30
Chile	23
Honduras	20
El Salvador	19
Peru	16
Costa Rica	15
Venezuela	12
Panama	11
Ecuador	8
Guatemala	6
Nicaragua	NA
Bolivia	NA
Paraguay	NA

Table 12 Working hours categories

Hours	Freq.	Per.	Val. Per	Cum. Per.
Valid				
<17	1766	4.78	9.07	9.07
17−34	2720	7.35	13.97	23.03
35−39	1073	2.90	5.51	28.54
40	3837	10.37	19.80	48.34
41−49	4411	11.92	22.65	70.99
50−59	2496	6.75	12.82	83.81
60−112	3154	8.53	16.19	100.00
Total	19,477	52.65	100.00	
Missing	17,516	47.35		
Total	36,993	100.00		

(a)

(b)
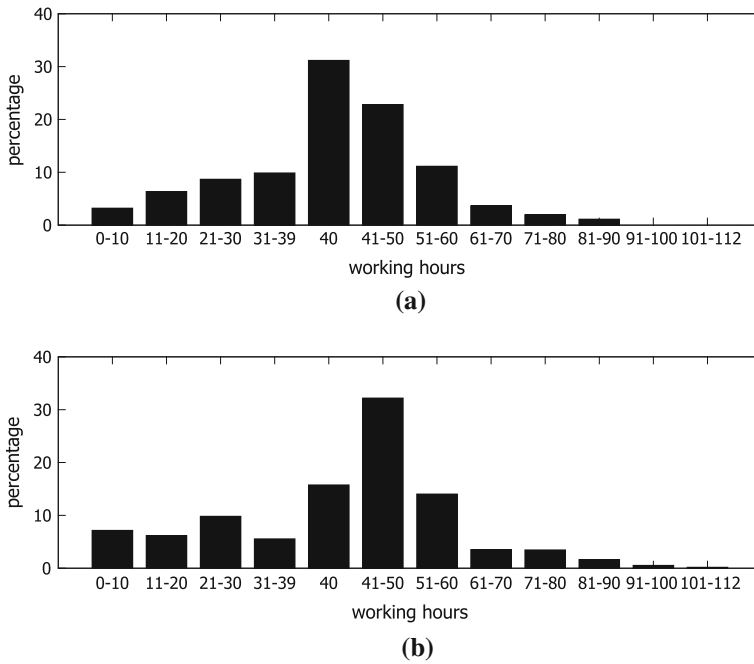
Fig. 5 Working hours in the United States and Latin America. **a** U.S. Americans, **b** Latin Americans

Appendix 2: Latin American Countries

Country	Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per.
Mexico	1559	4.21	5.49	5.49
Guatemala	1538	4.16	5.41	10.90
El Salvador	1549	4.19	5.45	16.35
Honduras	1522	4.11	5.36	21.71
Nicaragua	1540	4.16	5.42	27.13
Costa Rica	1500	4.05	5.28	32.40
Panama	1536	4.15	5.41	37.81
Ecuador	3000	8.11	10.56	48.37
Bolivia	2990	8.08	10.52	58.89
Peru	1500	4.05	5.28	64.17
Paraguay	1166	3.15	4.10	68.27
Chile	1527	4.13	5.37	73.65

Country	Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per.
Uruguay	1500	4.05	5.28	78.92
Brazil	1496	4.04	5.26	84.19
Venezuela	1500	4.05	5.28	89.47
Argentina	1486	4.02	5.23	94.70
Dominic Republic	1507	4.07	5.30	100.00
Total	28,416	76.81	100.00	
Missing	8577	23.19		
Total	36,993	100.00		

Americabarometer: 2008

Appendix 3: American Regions

Region	Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per.
New England	320	0.86	3.73	3.73
Middle Atlantic	1084	2.93	12.64	16.37
E. Nor. Central	1468	3.97	17.12	33.48
W. Nor. central	513	1.39	5.98	39.47
South Atlantic	1892	5.11	22.06	61.53
E. Sou. Central	482	1.30	5.62	67.14
W. Sou. Central	908	2.45	10.59	77.73
Mountain	662	1.79	7.72	85.45
Pacific	1248	3.37	14.55	100.00
Total	8577	23.19	100.00	
Missing .	28,416	76.81		
Total	36,993	100.00		

GSS: 2006, 2008, 2010

Appendix 4: OLS Regressions of Happiness

Variable	W1	W2	W3	W4
Working hours cat * Latin	−0.024***			
	(0.007)			
Working hours cat	0.018**			
	(0.006)			
Latin	0.434***	0.423***	0.370***	0.319***
	(0.050)	(0.053)	(0.042)	(0.042)

Variable	W1	W2	W3	W4
Income	0.043***	0.043***	0.043***	0.043***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Nonwhite	−0.027*	−0.028*	−0.026*	−0.028*
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Married	0.129***	0.128***	0.128***	0.128***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Age	−0.014***	−0.014***	−0.014***	−0.014***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age2	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Female	0.001	0.001	0.002	−0.000
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Education	0.010***	0.010***	0.010***	0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Attend religious service	0.040***	0.040***	0.040***	0.040***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Working hours * Latin		−0.002**		
		(0.001)		
Working hours		0.002*		
		(0.001)		
More than 40 h * Latin			−0.082***	
			(0.024)	
More than 40 h			0.065**	
			(0.020)	
Less than 40 h * Latin				0.056*
				(0.027)
Less than 40 h				−0.043
				(0.023)
_cons	1.813***	1.817***	1.858***	1.896***
	(0.062)	(0.064)	(0.059)	(0.060)
N	15,891	15,891	15,891	15,891
R-sq	0.083	0.082	0.083	0.082

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

Appendix 5: Robustness Tests—Additional OLR of Happiness

Table 13 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness: W1—odds ratio reported

Variable	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9
Workcatlatin	0.933***	0.940**	0.940**	0.938**	0.940**	0.934***	0.931***	0.935***	0.938***
workcat	1.055***	1.036*	1.035*	1.032	1.030	1.038*	1.043*	1.044*	1.048**
Latin	3.289***	3.462***	3.609***	3.558***	3.525***	3.596***	3.654***	4.189***	3.686***
Income		1.188***	1.184***	1.172***	1.171***	1.177***	1.177***	1.130***	1.133***
Nonwhite			0.919*	0.917*	0.912*	0.914*	0.916*	0.927*	0.923*
Married				1.361***	1.409***	1.460***	1.468***	1.493***	1.462***
Age					0.995***	0.965***	0.964***	0.963***	0.961***
Age2						1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
Female							1.072*	1.052	1.011
Educ								1.034***	1.032***
Attend									1.129***
N	18,397	16,795	16,503	16,436	16,403	16,403	16,403	16,333	15,891

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

Table 14 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness: W2—odds ratio reported

Variable	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9
Worklatin	0.994**	0.995*	0.995*	0.994*	0.995*	0.994**	0.993**	0.994**	0.994*
Work	1.005*	1.003	1.003	1.003	1.002	1.003	1.004	1.004	1.005*
Latin	3.159***	3.317***	3.473***	3.447***	3.411***	3.495***	3.558***	4.094***	3.598***
Income		1.188***	1.184***	1.173***	1.172***	1.177***	1.177***	1.130***	1.133***
Nonwhite			0.918*	0.917*	0.911*	0.913*	0.916*	0.926*	0.922*
Married				1.361***	1.409***	1.459***	1.468***	1.493***	1.462***
Age					0.995***	0.965***	0.964***	0.963***	0.961***
Age2						1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
Female							1.071*	1.051	1.010
Educ								1.035***	1.032***
Attend									1.129***
N	18,397	16,795	16,503	16,436	16,403	16,403	16,403	16,333	15,891

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

Table 15 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness: W3—odds ratio reported

Variable	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9
Work40+ latin	0.770***	0.780***	0.785***	0.782***	0.784***	0.775***	0.767***	0.787***	0.801**
Work40+	1.230***	1.171*	1.165*	1.151*	1.144*	1.163*	1.184***	1.181**	1.190**
Latin	2.751***	2.984***	3.105***	3.048***	3.042***	3.031***	3.049***	3.510***	3.100***
Income		1.187***	1.183***	1.172***	1.170***	1.176***	1.177***	1.130***	1.133***
Nonwhite			0.921*	0.920*	0.914*	0.916*	0.919*	0.929	0.925*
Married				1.359***	1.407***	1.457***	1.467***	1.491***	1.460***
Age					0.995***	0.965***	0.964***	0.963***	0.961***
Age2						1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
Female							1.075*	1.054	1.013
Educ								1.034***	1.032***
Attend									1.129***
N	18,397	16,795	16,503	16,436	16,403	16,403	16,403	16,333	15,891

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

Table 16 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness: W4—odds ratio reported

Variable	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9
Work40–latin	1.139	1.132	1.130	1.136	1.133	1.162	1.169*	1.166	1.146
Work40–	0.887	0.938	0.937	0.951	0.960	0.930	0.917	0.907	0.901
Latin	2.375***	2.569***	2.688***	2.622***	2.619***	2.583***	2.587***	3.030***	2.720***
Income		1.188***	1.184***	1.173***	1.172***	1.177***	1.178***	1.130***	1.133***
Nonwhite			0.917*	0.916*	0.910*	0.912*	0.914*	0.925*	0.921*
Married				1.358***	1.406***	1.456***	1.464***	1.490***	1.459***
Age					0.995***	0.965***	0.964***	0.963***	0.961***
Age2						1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
Female							1.069*	1.049	1.007
Educ								1.035***	1.032***
Attend									1.130***
N	18,397	16,795	16,503	16,436	16,403	16,403	16,403	16,333	15,891

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

Table 17 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness by survey: odds ratio reported

Variable	GSS2006	GSS2008	GSS2010	LAPOP
Working hours category	1.047	1.032	1.112**	0.985
Household income	1.103	1.057	1.061	1.141***
Nonwhite	1.006	0.609***	0.809	0.980
Married	3.007***	2.456***	2.712***	1.218***
Age of respondent	0.948*	0.963	0.928**	0.969***
Age squared	1.001	1.000	1.001*	1.000***
Female	1.014	0.966	1.289*	0.993
Education	1.075***	1.079***	1.077***	1.023***
Attend religious service	1.171***	1.187***	1.176**	1.115***
Country/region dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1584	1090	1079	12,138

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

Table 18 Additional controls of variables not comparable across datasets: survey questions

Variable	Survey question
Health	
GSS	Would you say your own health, in general, is excellent, good, fair, or poor?
LAPOP	No question about health.
Employment	
GSS	Last week were you working full time, part time, going to school, keeping house or what?
LAPOP	How do you mainly spend your time? Are you currently…
Occupation	See frequency tables below

All variables were recoded so that the higher value means more, or in the case of dummy variables, one means "yes" and 0 means "no." The absence of a measurement for health for the LAPOP survey is unfortunately a limitation that we cannot overcome. Better datasets are needed since health is a key predictor of happiness

Table 19 GSS: health

	Freq.	Per.	Val. Per	Cum. Per.
Valid				
1 (poor)	341	3.98	5.55	5.55
2 (fair)	1278	14.90	20.80	26.35
3 (good)	2883	33.61	46.92	73.26
4 (excellent)	1645	19.16	26.74	100.00
Total	6145	71.64	100.00	
Missing	2432	28.36		
Total	8577	100.00		

Table 20 GSS: employed

	Freq.	Per.	Val. Per	Cum. Per.
Valid				
Working fulltime	4242	49.46	49.51	49.51
Working parttime	885	10.32	10.33	59.84
Temp not working	176	2.05	2.05	61.89
Unempl, laid off	367	4.28	4.28	66.18
Retired	1370	15.97	15.99	82.17
School	290	3.38	3.38	85.55
Keeping house	958	11.17	11.18	96.73
Other	280	3.26	3.27	100.00
Total	8568	99.90	100.00	
Missing	9	0.10		
Total	8577	100.00		

Table 21 LAPOP: employed

	Freq.	Per.	Val. Per	Cum. Per.
Valid				
Working	14,193	50.09	50.09	50.09
Not working, but have job	881	3.11	3.11	53.20
Actively looking for job	1489	5.25	5.25	58.45
Student	2406	8.49	8.49	66.94
Taking care of the home	6810	24.03	24.03	90.97
Retired	1788	6.31	6.31	97.28
Not working not looking for job	770	2.72	2.72	100.00
Total	28,337	100.00	100.00	
Missing	0	0		
Total	28,337	100.00		

Table 22 GSS: occupation

	Freq.	Per.	Val. Per	Cum. Per.
Valid				
Professional	1049	12.23	12.98	12.98
Administrative	1477	17.22	18.28	31.26
Clerical	979	11.41	12.11	43.37
Sales	1068	12.45	13.22	56.59
Service	1147	13.37	14.19	70.78
Agriculture	72	0.84	0.89	71.67
Production, transport	840	9.79	10.39	82.07
Craft, technical	1449	16.89	17.93	100.00
Total	8081	94.22	100.00	
Missing	496	5.78		
Total	8577	100.00		

Table 23 LAPOP: occupation

	Freq.	Per.	Val. Per	Cum. Per.
Valid				
Professional, intellectual or scientist	1108	7.44	7.44	7.44
Manager	218	1.46	1.46	8.90
Technical or mid-level professional	1225	8.22	8.22	17.13
Skilled worker	1764	11.84	11.84	28.97
Government official	458	3.08	3.08	32.05
Office worker	959	6.44	6.44	38.49
Businessperson (entrepreneurs, salespeople)	2458	16.50	16.50	54.99
Food vendor	603	4.05	4.05	59.04
Employee in the service sector	1217	8.17	8.17	67.21
Farmer	1828	12.27	12.27	79.48
Farm worker (does not own land)	430	2.89	2.89	82.37
Artisan	371	2.49	2.49	84.86
Domestic servant	700	4.70	4.70	89.56
Servant	1359	9.12	9.12	98.68
Member of the armed forces or civil services	196	1.32	1.32	100.00
Total	14,894	100.00	100.00	
Missing	0	0		
Total	14,894	100.00		

Table 24 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness by survey: health (odds ratio reported)

Variable	GSS2006	GSS2008	GSS2010
Working hours category	1.040	1.078	1.108*
Household income	1.028	1.062	0.995
Nonwhite	1.130	0.547**	0.713
Married	2.760***	3.165***	2.980***
Age of respondent	0.979	0.970	0.924*
Age squared	1.000	1.000	1.001*
Female	1.097	1.049	1.191
Education	1.050*	1.050	1.060*
Attend religious service	1.148**	1.210**	1.211**
Health	2.028***		
Health		2.001***	
Health			1.721***
Regional dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1069	719	705

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

Table 25 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness by survey: employed (odds ratio reported)

Variable	GSS2006	GSS2008	GSS2010	GSS(all)	LAPOP
Working hours category	1.047	1.032	1.072	1.050*	0.983
household income	1.103	1.057	1.065	1.074*	1.140***
Nonwhite	1.006	0.609***	0.826	0.819*	0.982
Married	3.007***	2.456***	2.683***	2.725***	1.216***
Age of respondent	0.948*	0.963	0.934*	0.950***	0.969***
Age squared	1.001	1.000	1.001*	1.001**	1.000***
Female	1.014	0.966	1.260	1.062	0.993
Education	1.075***	1.079***	1.081***	1.077***	1.023***
Attend religious service	1.171***	1.187***	1.182***	1.177***	1.115***
Employed					
Employed					
Employed			3.445***		
Employed				3.600***	
Employed					1.151
Year dummies				Yes	
Country/regional dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1584	1090	1079	3753	12,130

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

Table 26 Ordered logistic regressions of happiness by survey: occupation (odds ratio reported)

Variable	GSS2006	GSS2008	GSS2010	LAPOP
Working hours category	1.037	1.016	1.121**	0.987
Household income	1.104*	1.063	1.066	1.125***
Nonwhite	1.003	0.616**	0.797	0.991
Married	3.009***	2.401***	2.714***	1.219***
Age of respondent	0.950*	0.962	0.923**	0.969***
Age squared	1.000	1.000	1.001*	1.000***
Female	0.974	0.958	1.390*	0.970
Education	1.067**	1.076**	1.072**	1.010
Attend religious service	1.165***	1.187***	1.176**	1.115***
Occupation dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country/region dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1584	1090	1079	12,138

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

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