

Not so different, not so distant: A territorial approach of well-being using subjectivity criteria

Recibido: 26/08/2024

Aceptado: 12/11/2024

Daniel Flores

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5749-1996>
Correo: danielflorescaceres@gmail.com
Filiación: Investigador independiente

Marcel Théza:

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7556-1927>
Correo: marcel.theza@ulagos.cl
Filiación: Universidad de Los Lagos

Daniella Gac

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4220-6253>
Correo: daniella.gac@uchile.cl
Filiación: Universidad de Chile

Roberto Salas

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9607-3930>
Correo: robsalascortez@gmail.com
Filiación: Investigador Independiente

Sebastian Ascui

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8894-4839>
Correo: seba.ascui.gac@gmail.com
Filiación: Investigador Independiente

Summary

This paper describes the subjectivities within Chilean society using territorial distinctions and characteristics dealing with life satisfaction, mental health, and ethical variables, all of them related to well-being and solidarity. Particular attention is paid to two opposing pairs of values – whether it is better for people to live in an individualistic society or in a different one based on solidarity, and if they prefer to make sense of their lives through duty or well-being. In this analysis, logistic regression models are applied to each variable, with frequency descriptions across different territorial types, i.e. urban and rural areas.

Key words: Territory - Subjectivity – Human Development – Well-Being

1. Introduction

Human well-being as a phenomenon has been studied across disciplines since the mid-twentieth century. Social scientists have tried to figure out the set of variables that can predict as well as prescribe what constitutes well-being amongst peoples and societies. Although the debates that came with the development of the theory of well-being are far from over, much of these can be synthesized into what some authors call objective and subjective indicators for well-being. Objective indicators are often defined as those that can give a description of the social, economic and physical environments granting a person's access to resources and economic opportunities. Subjective indicators, on the other hand, assess people's perception of their experiences of the social, economic, psychological, political and cultural context in which they live (Atkinson *et al.*, 2020).

From a methodological stand point, both of these indicators often fall into a quantitative realm of analysis. Objective indicators, which are popular

amongst economists, are usually drawn from public institutions that gather data on topics related to economic development; for example, gross domestic product, employment, education, housing, health, and even environmental stress like pollution or waste. This form of analysis does not come without serious limitations by not addressing the psycho-social variables that influence people's health or happiness or by relying solely on proxy variables, such as those described above, which might be considered correlated to human well-being. On this regard, some findings are even troublesome; for example, an increase in income and people's standards of living does not necessarily lead to a greater subjective well-being or life satisfaction, therefore suggesting that both types of indicators, objective and subjective ones, are not always related to each other (Nepomuceno *et al.*, 2016).

Social scientists, especially those on the field of psychology, have placed more importance to the subjective indicators, which are drawn out of surveys that register a wide range of combinations of an individual's perceptions, values and attitudes according to how people evaluate their satisfaction with life, subjective well-being or, more directly, their happiness (Eckersley, 2009; Jowell & Eva, 2009; Vella-Brodrick, Park & Peterson, 2009). In recent years, subjective well-being has gained more ground in public institutions, like the The Australian Unity Wellbeing Index which is the one used in that country as an alternative to objective indicators (Cummins, Eckersley, Pallant & Davern, 2002). Other contributions have expanded on this subject by analyzing people's attachment to territory and the different factors that explain their variance (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001; Tobiasz-Adamczyk & Zawisza, 2017).

In the context of Chile, this paper is based on the subjectivity well-being paradigm, presented as an analysis of survey data of an specific hypothesis: territorial variances and differences in terms of life satisfaction underline an ethical opposition between individualistic societies; and those based on solidarity, juxtaposed to an additional ethical opposition: whether people ought to make sense in society through duty or by pursuing their own well-being. By conducting this study in Chile, we aim to explore how these ethical oppositions manifest in a society that has experienced significant social and economic transformations. Thus, territorial variances of life satisfaction may be the result of cultural differences between urban and rural populations; people who live in urban spaces are expected to live by an ethical system coherent within modern societies, while people who live in rural territories are bound by other ethical systems that might be similar to those seen in pre-modern societies (Li, Luo, & Li, 2021; Pearsall *et al.*, 2021). As the reader will later find out, our empirical analysis actually shows that the results are more inclined towards the null hypothesis.

In order to provide a response to this hypothesis, we believe in expanding upon the subjectivity paradigm of well-being. As previously stated, psycho-social or cognitive aspects of people's lives make up for a good foundation of what can be conceived as universal well-being, but these must be connected or related somehow to people's expectations, and their institutional environment as well (Barrientos, 2005; Keyes, 1998). For some specialists, the subjectivity paradigm

of well-being should also consider ethical elements in its definition. In other words, in researching the factors that cause or lead to life satisfaction or dissatisfaction one should consider the system of values that are in place in society. Peoples and cultures appeal to these in order to define expectations and guide decision making processes on how people assess their lives and the paths that they ought to take (PNUD, 1998; 2002; 2008; 2012; 2015). When describing the meaning of the decisions and self-evaluations of those interviewed, studies on human development and subjectivity usually come up with ideal types that allow subjects to be sorted into different categories (optimists, pessimists, satisfied but upset, fulfilled but unsatisfied, etc.) (PNUD, 1998; 2002; 2008; 2012; 2015). This study will, however, directly discuss ethical positions with those interviewed, using questions that simulate stressful situations or dilemmas involving values. In other words, the respondents were questioned and made to put themselves in hypothetical situations in which they had to use their values to provide solutions and decisions.

Ethical dilemmas are ways to manifest opposite views between aphorisms; in this case, we are focusing to those related to the ethical oppositions summarized in our hypothesis. We should also clarify that struggling ethical aphorisms are not a new concept, especially in the field of philosophy there are number of tensions between the notions of duty and pleasure; or individualism versus solidarity. Some early references can be seen in Epicurus concept of eudemonia in which fulfillment is either defined by pleasure or duty. In other words, it refers to values that involve pleasure (well-being or happiness in contemporary sociological terms) or to a system of values that understands that people are fulfilled when carrying out a task –that is to say, when they comply with what they have imposed and forced upon themselves as an aim by way of reason (Kant, 1968)–. Max Weber summarizes it better by stating a pair of contradictions: “We’ll honor God working to live” or “we’ll honor God living to work” (Weber, 2003). In the modern world, and regarding the tension between individualism and solidarity, these struggling ideas arise from the individual subjectivity more so than societal aphorisms. Liberal democracies feature the coexistence among individuals who ought to act in their own self-interest, Spinoza argues that this claim leads to a conundrum in which either an individual should appeal to his ethical egoism for achieving happiness, or should everyone else’ happiness be the initial concern, since one’s own happiness can only emerge from that achievement (Spinoza, 2011). We argue that this tension still reflects ethical dilemmas in our postmodern world, and that they are especially relevant to the Chilean society as we will see below.

As a country, Chile has undergone several political and economic transformations these last decades. During a long and violent top-down dictatorship (1973-1990), being unopposed and passing a big number of policies and other economic reforms. This time period fluctuated between a depressed treasury, a bustling agricultural reform (Avendaño, 2017) and flourishing –although difficult– industrialization (Ffrench-Davis 2017) bolstering into technocratization. The long term effects of these policies have been a matter of debate among

scholars, some even suggest that those have exacerbated not only Chile's economic inequalities, but also territorial ones (Ramírez, Tartakowsky & Modrego, 2009; Ruiz Rivera & Delgado Campos, 2008). After the military regime, the democratic governments that took place in the following years gave up the idea of reforming the institutional arrangements that were lost or replaced after the coup d'état. Politicians by that time were merely conceding into incremental reforms rather than transforming society (Ffrench-Davis, 2017; Thezá, Flores & Gac, 2017).

Above all, these political and economic transformation during the dictatorship had also an impact in the cultural landscape (Gárate Chateau, 2012; Ffrench-Davis, 2017; Salazar, 2003). The Chilean society had to readapt their ethical views in new ways to deal with was happening in their life. Nevertheless, democracy was reinstated almost 30 years ago; these cultural transformations derived from the neoliberal revolution are still impacting Chile. Several authors and institutions have studied these alterations, by researching their impact on Chilean society and explaining the unease and cultural paradoxes that these dramatic changes and processes have generated within the population (Lechner, 2002; 2004; Lechner & Güell, 2006; PNUD, 1998; 2002; 2015). However, the ethical viewpoint debate –that is, the values people use to make decisions and evaluate their lives– has not been researched in much detail. After decades of democratic transition in Chile, people's reflections on how life ought to be still crop up causing tension when it comes to individual freedom.

Our research aims to integrate the cultural and ethical challenges that come with modernity, as we have done in a previous work (Flores *et al.*, 2018), but adding a territorial component. We justify this by stating that regional variability of ethical viewpoints is influenced by social structures. Understanding territory as a factor of political and economic opportunity for citizens and inhabitants is something that historical and social studies have been in charge of analyzing (Delamaza, 2011; Flores Cáceres *et al.*, 2011; Illanes, 1993; Montecinos, 2005; Navarrete-Yáñez & Higuera-Seguel, 2014; Pearsall *et al.*, 2021).

2. Methodology: Data & Analysis

To perform this study, we used data collected in a survey carried out by the Universidad Autónoma de Chile. This survey was made by a private consultant company named ICCOM-CADEM during September 2013; the results were later published in October of the same year. The current data base has a sample size of 1,708 people, with a 4.2% margin of error and a 99% confidence interval and was designed using the representative system of quotas by territory type, in accordance with the typology suggested by Henríquez and Barton from the Universidad Católica de Chile (Henríquez & Barton, 2012). These were proportionally divided in the following way:

Chart 1: Territory type and sample

Type of territory	Sample description	N
Large cities	Large urban and metropolitan territories, with an average population of 177,000 inhabitants and a density of 4,245 people per km ² .	923 (1164*)
Medium-sized towns	Medium-sized towns, with an average population of 42,025 inhabitants and a density of 179 people per km ² .	315 (234*)
Territories with an urban center and a high number of rural territories.	Urban territories with an important urban center, with an average population of 24,000 inhabitants and a density of 45 people per km ² .	325 (204*)
Rural territories	Distant and scattered rural territories, with an average population of 9,000 inhabitants and a density of 17 people per km ² .	145 (106*)
Total		1,708

Source: In-house, based on data from the Universidad Autónoma de Chile 2013 survey and the Henríquez and Barton typology (Henríquez & Barton, 2012).

() Weighted numbers.*

To carry out the territorial characterization of subjectivities (ethics), we followed the structure constructed by Gilbert, Colley & Roberts (2016), who designed a study in which they characterized the mental and subjective well-being of Scottish society. In their work, these authors demonstrate the importance of considering elements of mental well-being and life satisfaction in the characterization of rural and non-rural territories. For this, they used a survey with a sample that allowed them to distinguish territories according to rural accessibility (remote rural territories, accessible rural, and non-rural), which they characterized by constructing two logistic regression models—one for mental well-being and another for subjective well-being—thereby understanding the predictability of these subjectivity variables for each type of territory.

In the Chilean case, we will present four models (see Figure 1). First, we will replicate the two constructed by Gilbert, Colley & Roberts (2016), with which we will characterize Chilean society according to the significance of subjective indicators related, first, to mental well-being and second, to life satisfaction. To that we will add another two models that describe individuals according to the previously suggested ethical notions. Those involve, on one hand, people who prefer to live to work rather than work to live and, compared to those who prefer individualism to solidarity. At the same time, each model will include variables that differentiate between rural and non-rural ratios, using the criteria described above.

This analysis is therefore made up of two chapters. In the first chapter, the reader will find an inferential analysis using four logistical regression models. We justify the use of this technique because of the dichotomic flexibility it provides for the dependent variable. A second reason, we could argue, is that allows the possibility of isolating each of the covariates' estimates, by also gathering the residual effects on the explanatory –independent variables– on the dependent one.

The independent variables were also adjusted and expanded; those with a nominal value were recoded into dummy variables –those that can only assume 0 and 1 values–.

Strictly speaking, our regression models were successfully applied to a subsample of 1,294 observations that do not count for any missing values in any of the independent variables. The later ones make up to 22 independent or predictor variables, representing those surveyed socioeconomically depending on territory type and putting a value on the context in which people live their lives. Although this typology is made up of four different territory types, the modeling only considered medium-sized, rural with an urban presence and rural towns, because it was crucial to avoid multicollinearity between independent variables, that is when two or more predictors have a strong correlation with each other, adding a degree of uncertainty into our models. Given that precaution, all the variables with a high correlation among themselves were excluded from the models, making it easier to identify the estimates' contributions to the dependent variable.

Chart 2: Description of the variables incorporated into the model

Variable	vars	n	missings	missings (percentage)	mean	sd	min	max	range	se
Satisfaction with life	1	1703	5	0.29	0.92	0.27	0	1	1	0.01
Mental well-being	2	1695	13	0.76	0.84	0.37	0	1	1	0.01
Living to work Working	3	1485	223	13.06	0.53	0.5	0	1	1	0.01
Individualistic	4	1469	239	13.99	0.42	0.49	0	1	1	0.01
Being a woman	5	1708	0	0	0.62	0.48	0	1	1	0.01
18-29	6	1708	0	0	0.19	0.39	0	1	1	0.01
30-45	7	1708	0	0	0.25	0.43	0	1	1	0.01
46-60	8	1708	0	0	0.28	0.45	0	1	1	0.01
Socioeconomic group	9	1708	0	0	2.64	1.16	1	5	4	0.03
Elementary	10	1674	34	1.99	0.13	0.33	0	1	1	0.01
Humanist high school	11	1674	34	1.99	0.19	0.39	0	1	1	0.01
Technical high school	12	1674	34	1.99	0.09	0.29	0	1	1	0.01
Technical college	13	1674	34	1.99	0.06	0.24	0	1	1	0.01
University and post-graduate	14	1674	34	1.99	0.09	0.29	0	1	1	0.01
Medium-sized towns	15	1708	0	0	0.18	0.39	0	1	1	0.01
Rural / urban presence	16	1708	0	0	0.19	0.39	0	1	1	0.01
Rural	17	1708	0	0	0.08	0.28	0	1	1	0.01
Having a job	18	1706	2	0.12	0.51	0.5	0	1	1	0.01
Communal opportunities for recreation and entertainment	19	1670	38	2.22	4.43	1.38	1	7	6	0.03
Work opportunities	20	1663	45	2.63	3.86	1.48	1	7	6	0.04
What people are like	21	1684	24	1.41	4.86	1.27	1	7	6	0.03
Health services	22	1671	37	2.17	3.97	1.48	1	7	6	0.04
Quality of transport	23	1691	17	1	4.5	1.43	1	7	6	0.03
How quiet the place is	24	1700	8	0.47	5.29	1.31	1	7	6	0.03
How nice the place is	25	1700	8	0.47	5.4	1.32	1	7	6	0.03
How people live	26	1689	19	1.11	5.15	1.21	1	7	6	0.03

Source: In-house, based on data from the Universidad Autónoma de Chile survey.

Our second analysis will be a descriptive examination of how the ethical models' frequencies performed within the four territorial types accounted in the survey. We did this by employing a Mekko chart or mosaic plot, which allows for the regression models' frequencies to be visualized using a cross-tab or contingency table (Friendly, 2001; Hartigan & Kleiner, 1981).

3. Results: Models

As it was proposed in this paper, we used a logistical regression technique; this type of regression is applied when the observed outcome of the dependent variable can only discreetly vary within the integers of 0 and 1, and it helps in finding which variables might be correlated or uncorrelated with the probability of either outcome.

Figure 1: Logistical regression model

$$Pr(Y_i = 1 | X_i) = \frac{e^{a+bX}}{1 + e^{a+bX}}$$

Let's define Y_i as the outcome variable in the figure described above, and X_i as a covariates matrix that contains the same 22 independent variables used throughout all our models. We previously stated that this study is trying to estimate four inferential models. The first one describes the effects the independent variables have over life-satisfaction; the second one estimated the mental well-being of everyone who was interviewed (see Table 1). Our third model evaluate the ethical debate on living to work or working to live, and finally, the fourth regression model was raised concerning the ethical strife between individualism and solidarity (see Table 2). Since logistical regressions require a dummy variable to generate their estimates, in the following chart the reader can inspect our recoding process in creating the dependent variables of the four models.

Chart 3: Recoding and source of the dependent variables for each model

Model	Source variable	Categorical range	Recoding into
1	How would you describe yourself?	Completely satisfied Satisfied Moderately satisfied Not very satisfied Not at all satisfied	Grouped 'completely satisfied' and 'satisfied' as 1, and the rest as 0.
2	On a scale of 1 to 7, how would you rate your mental health?	1: 'I feel terrible' 7: 'I feel great'	Grouped 6 and 7 as 1, and the rest as 0.
3	Which sentence do you most agree with? I would rather have:	a) A well-paying job and a permanent job contract, even if I don't like my job much or b) A job I like but that pays less without a permanent job contract.	Answers a) are recoded to 1, and b) to 0.
4	By your judgment, to improve Chilean society we need:	1) More successful people, although they have less time to worry about others (individualists) or 2) People more concerned about others, although they have less time for their own successful careers (solidarity).	Answers 1) are recoded to 1, and 2) to 0.

Source: In-house, based on data from the Universidad Autónoma de Chile 2013 survey and the Henríquez & Barton typology (Henríquez & Barton, 2012).

The first regression model describes the effect of the independent variables in relation to the satisfaction with life variables. To do this, the following question was asked: Considering all the aspects of your life, how would you describe yourself? 'Completely satisfied', 'satisfied', 'moderately satisfied', 'not very satisfied' or 'not at all satisfied'. The answers were arranged dichotomically, with the 'completely satisfied' and 'satisfied' answers grouped together as 'satisfied' and the rest of the options grouped together as 'not satisfied'. Next, in order to evaluate mental well-being, the following question was used: On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being 'I feel terrible' and 7 being 'I feel great', how would you rate your mental health? To create the model, the 6 and 7 values were used as an empirically significant cut-off point for good mental health and options 1 to 5 were grouped as one that represents a worse state of mental health.

To construct the third inferential model referring to the previously mentioned ethical debate on living to work and working to live, the following question was used: Which sentence do you most agree with? I would rather have a) a well-paying job and a permanent job contract, even if I don't like my job much or b) a job I like but that pays less without a permanent job contract. The model was constructed according to a live to work relationship –in other words, those whose ethical stance prefers a job that pays well and with good conditions, even if they do not like it that much. Lastly, in order to discuss the main ethical concepts raised concerning individualism and solidarity, a fourth regression

model was constructed using the following question: For you, a good Chilean society needs either 1) more successful people, although they have less time to worry about others (individualists) or 2) people more concerned about others, although they have less time for their own successful careers (solidarity).

Table 1: Logistical regression model for subjective well-being variables by territory type

	Satisfaction with life			Mental well-being		
	Odds Ratio	CI	p	Odds Ratio	CI	p
(Intercept)	1.50	0.24 – 9.52	.668	0.14	0.04 – 0.51	.003
Being a woman	1.10	0.63 – 1.93	.738	0.66	0.42 – 1.02	.061
18-29	0.49	0.23 – 1.02	.058	2.45	1.33 – 4.52	.004
30-45	0.44	0.20 – 0.97	.041	1.10	0.64 – 1.90	.729
46-60	0.78	0.38 – 1.58	.489	1.38	0.80 – 2.37	.247
Socioeconomic group	2.12	1.57 – 2.85	<.001	1.09	0.87 – 1.38	.444
Elementary	1.63	0.72 – 3.68	.242	0.91	0.53 – 1.58	.744
Humanist high school	0.55	0.26 – 1.18	.123	0.91	0.52 – 1.59	.731
Technical high school	0.81	0.30 – 2.19	.671	3.21	1.30 – 7.92	.011
Technical college	1.98	0.45 – 8.65	.362	3.60	1.15 – 11.25	.028
University and post-graduate	0.88	0.22 – 3.54	.859	1.23	0.45 – 3.32	.686
Medium-sized towns	1.34	0.68 – 2.64	.406	1.60	0.92 – 2.77	.097
Rural / urban presence	0.75	0.39 – 1.45	.387	1.48	0.91 – 2.42	.117
Rural	0.93	0.40 – 2.19	.871	1.07	0.53 – 2.16	.841
Having a job	0.46	0.23 – 0.90	.023	0.90	0.57 – 1.41	.643
Communal opportunities for recreation and entertainment	1.14	0.94 – 1.39	.182	1.06	0.89 – 1.27	.508
Work opportunities	1.06	0.88 – 1.29	.528	1.04	0.89 – 1.21	.600
What people are like	0.98	0.77 – 1.25	.885	0.94	0.76 – 1.17	.580
Health services	1.23	0.98 – 1.55	.077	0.94	0.78 – 1.12	.479
Quality of transport	0.90	0.72 – 1.12	.340	1.19	1.04 – 1.37	.013
How quiet the place is	1.14	0.87 – 1.49	.332	1.17	0.98 – 1.40	.077
How nice the place is	0.71	0.56 – 0.90	.004	1.07	0.92 – 1.26	.383
How people live	1.54	1.16 – 2.04	.003	1.33	1.04 – 1.68	.021
Observations	1294			1294		
Pseudo-R ²	R ² _{CS} = .078 R ² _N = .188 D = .089			R ² _{CS} = .112 R ² _N = .185 D = .107		
X ² _{deviance}	p=.000			p=.000		

Source: In-house, based on data from the Universidad Autónoma de Chile 2013 survey.

Significant values in bold.

The results shown in Table 1 lead to the conclusion that there are positive answers to this question in the 30 to 45 years old age range, with older people being 0.44 more likely to indicate their satisfaction with life. When it comes to socioeconomic status, it was observed that as income increases, life satisfaction also increases by 2.12 points. When it comes to labor relations, those who live in a nice place and those who positively value what the people surrounding them are like were also relevant groups, with the latter being higher (p<.01) and their

satisfaction with life values being 1.54 times higher than those who do not. However, these results contradict what was seen in Gilbert's Scotland, the model with analysis by territorial type did not show any significant or predictable relationships in Chile.

The results of mental well-being show that people aged between 18 and 29 have a significantly positive perception ($p < .01$) of their own, with values 2.45 times higher than older adults; people with a (high school and college with $p < .05$) technical education have a rate three times higher than that of people from other types of education. The same thing happens with people who have a good opinion of the quality of transport and the way people live. Once again however, there was no predictable relationship by territory type between these factors.

Table 2: Logistical regression model for ethical variables by territory type

	Live to work			Individualistic		
	Odds Ratio	CI	p	Odds Ratio	CI	p
(Intercept)	1.69	0.63 – 4.53	.300	1.12	0.41 – 3.05	.820
Being a woman	1.03	0.76 – 1.39	.858	0.98	0.72 – 1.34	.914
18-29	1.03	0.69 – 1.55	.881	1.18	0.78 – 1.79	.431
30-45	1.18	0.77 – 1.79	.445	0.81	0.53 – 1.24	.334
46-60	1.31	0.88 – 1.95	.183	1.26	0.85 – 1.87	.256
Socioeconomic group	0.83	0.71 – 0.97	.021	0.73	0.62 – 0.85	<.001
Elementary	1.12	0.71 – 1.75	.632	0.88	0.57 – 1.36	.567
Humanist high school	1.06	0.72 – 1.58	.765	1.17	0.78 – 1.73	.450
Technical high school	0.93	0.56 – 1.54	.766	0.78	0.46 – 1.34	.373
Technical college	0.71	0.37 – 1.35	.292	1.03	0.55 – 1.92	.938
University and post-graduate	1.03	0.57 – 1.87	.913	1.65	0.90 – 3.03	.106
Medium-sized towns	0.65	0.46 – 0.93	.020	0.51	0.35 – 0.75	<.001
Rural / urban presence	1.79	1.19 – 2.68	.005	1.01	0.68 – 1.49	.977
Rural	0.96	0.57 – 1.62	.871	1.21	0.71 – 2.05	.485
Having a job	0.96	0.69 – 1.32	.794	1.08	0.78 – 1.49	.652
Communal opportunities for recreation and entertainment	1.01	0.89 – 1.14	.924	0.99	0.88 – 1.11	.841
Work opportunities	0.96	0.85 – 1.07	.429	0.99	0.88 – 1.11	.859
What people are like	0.99	0.85 – 1.16	.938	0.98	0.84 – 1.13	.740
Healthcare	0.99	0.88 – 1.11	.854	0.98	0.87 – 1.11	.768
Quality of transport	0.96	0.85 – 1.09	.563	0.91	0.81 – 1.03	.145
How quiet the place is	1.10	0.94 – 1.30	.236	1.01	0.86 – 1.18	.948
How nice the place is	1.08	0.92 – 1.26	.337	1.08	0.93 – 1.27	.308
How people live	0.90	0.75 – 1.09	.296	1.14	0.94 – 1.38	.197
Observations	1294			1294		
Pseudo-R ²	R ² _{CS} = .044 R ² _N = .058 D = .054			R ² _{CS} = .057 R ² _N = .077 D = .062		
X ² _{deviance}	p=.000			p=.000		

Source: In-house, based on data from the Universidad Autónoma de Chile 2013 survey.
Significant values in bold.

As it can be seen in Table 2, the third model that estimates the predictors on those who follow the mantra 'I live to work', shows significant differences between the dissimilar socioeconomic groups, and the way medium-sized rural territories with some urban presence or completely rural towns performed. The $p < .01$ value stands out in rural territories with an urban presence, meaning these people are 1.79 times more likely to prefer a well-paid job without being happy compared to those in other types of territory. On the model for individualists preferences, once again we see a significant relationship between territory type (specifically medium-sized towns) and socio-economic group, where a value of $p < .001$ accounts for an increase of between 0.51 and 0.73 in individualists belonging to medium-sized towns with higher incomes.

With the aim of proving our models validity, we computed the Cox and Snell's R^2 and Nagelkerke's R^2 statistics, given that the pseudo R^2 isn't a sufficient test to estimate the percentage of cases explained or predicted by logit of probit models. As can be seen, the satisfaction with life and mental well-being models compute a higher predictability than the previous ones ($R^2_{CS} = 11.2\%$; $R^2_N = 18.5\%$). We also computed a determination coefficient (D), which gave us an estimate of trails of successes and failures' confirming the fitting of our models. At last, the Chi Square Test (X^2) also indicates that all the estimates are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) at a 95% confidence interval meaning that there is high level of association between the independent variables and the dependent ones.

In short, we can conclude that, although the questions on subjective and mental well-being are relevant for analysis, they do not, on their own, help to significantly distinguish territorial variances. These ethical scopes do give us an insight in understanding what inhabitants from different territories define as meaningful when it comes to all factors they consider relevant to their well-being.

4. Results: Ethical types and estimated frequencies

The following diagram is a mosaic plot that describes the behavioral frequencies of the ethical models through the composition of four ethical types, which are used to describe the four types of territory. These ethical types are:

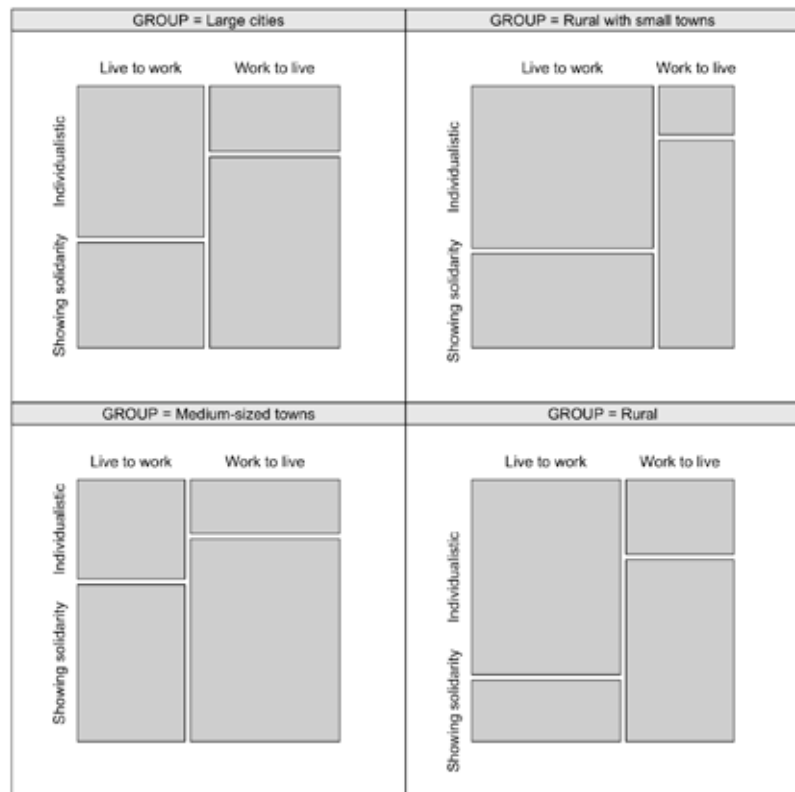
1. Individualists focused on duty: This group is mainly made up of people who prefer to live to work and think that society is better when individualistic, though their presence is significantly different depending on the territorial type being analyzed. While they are more common in rural territories, there are less present in urban territories, particularly among people who live in medium-sized towns.

2. Supportive, focused on well-being: From an ethical standpoint, they are utterly opposed to the previous group that prefers to work to live in a supportive society rather than an individualistic one. As it can be seen in the mosaic plot, this ethical type is particularly common among people living in medium-sized towns and large cities and comparatively less so in rural territories and rural territories with urban towns.

3. Supportive, focused on duty: These people think society is better when individuals are more concerned about others than in individual success, and also live by the mantra to live to work. This group has a big presence in medium-sized towns, but ethical types are less common in all the other territories.

4. Individualists, focused on well-being: People who value individualism above solidarity and who prefer to work to live. This group does not hold a majority in any of the territorial variables; however, as an ethical type they are common among inhabitants of medium-sized towns.

Illustration 1: Mosaic plot of the different types of territories



Source: In-house, based on data from the Autonomous University's 2013 survey.

This is how we can identify the tension between solidarity focused on well-being and individualists focused on duty that fundamentally emerges among inhabitants of territories with large cities and in rural territories. It is interesting to note that, in rural territories, duty and individualism are more strongly positioned in people's subjectivities. On the other hand, in medium-sized towns, these ethical proportions are exceptional compared to the other territories. For their inhabitants, solidarity and well-being are the ethical dimensions that make the most sense, followed by solidarity focused on duty, not well-being.

5. Discussion

This paper presents a rural world that looks like an urban one more than it 'should be'; with individualism and duty appearing with greater intensity. Meanwhile, according to this analysis, it is in the world of medium-sized town subjectivities where preconceptions of 'what is rural' are more notorious. In this type of territory – territories with medium-sized towns – people express that they are closer to understanding what happens in the world and in their own lives from a perspective of solidarity and well-being. In short, the urban and rural worlds, at least from the ethical field of subjectivity, are less distant and less different than what we originally believed.

These results contradict our hypothesis that stated that territorial variances in terms of life satisfaction or subjective well-being are based upon different ethical systems that operate in these types of societies. But according to our empirical results, the boundaries of each ethical system do not appear to be those that we stated; furthermore, stating that there must be two systems in place or a rather similar number it might just be a reductionism. But even if we amplify the amount of ethical systems functioning within societies, and even if we believe that these systems overlap each other, it still makes it difficult to correlate ethical views with territorial variation; whether it is analyzing small towns, rural territories or large cities; this might just be a spurious correlation. Nonetheless, the way that the territorial variability was classified in the original database into a discrete categorical variable can also be problematic, especially if considering that rural territories should be defined by including qualitative criteria such as culture, customs, and their territorial linkage.

Based on those assumptions we can reconstruct the original hypothesis into an alternative approach: worldviews on well-being and the factors that people take into account for whatever well-being constitutes for them, does not divert very much amid people who live in cities and people who live in rural territories. Although according to our results, this is not entirely applicable for those who live inside the spectrum of these two areal extremes (rural territories – cities). We should clarify that we do not hold an antithetical thesis against the link between territory and ethical systems, but undertaking that matter involves a far more complex task that this paper intends to pursue; for now, we can conclude that

ethical systems in different territorial arrangements are not so different, nor so distant.

Actually, the results of this paper can make the case for territorial types being significantly defined using ethical or subjectivity variables, but the focus should be in delving and expanding its complexity, not to simply state a hypothetical given. Social science literature still lingers in some preconceptions of the rural world, a place where people are normally happy, happy with little, have a lot of friends and where solidarity prevails. At the very least, this article intends to put these preconceptions on hold. It's been almost one and a half centuries since Tönnies' (2002) first published the idea of community against society. Then, during the latter years of the development sociological theory, even with all its nuances, most authors have ventured into similar notions from its beginnings and in some extent continues to do so; Durkheim's (1997) concepts of mechanical solidarity seen in pre-modern societies, which by extension includes rural ones, versus organic solidarity seen in modern societies are good examples.

We argue that in Chile, a country characterized not only by socioeconomic disparities but also by significant levels of territorial inequity, it is crucial to study these questions related to subjective well-being in greater depth. Dimensions related to ethics are particularly significant when focusing on the territorial differences of these subjectivities.

* The authors would like to thank FONDECYT (the National Fund for Science and Technology) Project N°XXXXXX from the National Commission for Chilean Scientific and Technological Research for funding this study.

6. Bibliography

- Atkinson, S., Bagnall, A. M., Corcoran, R., South, J., & Curtis, S. (2020). Being well together: Individual subjective and community wellbeing. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 21(5), 1903-1921.
- Avendaño, O. (2017). Reforma agraria y movilización campesina en Chile (1967-1973) y Perú (1969-1976). *Polis*, 16(47). <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-65682017000200015>
- Barrientos, J. (2005). *Calidad de vida, bienestar subjetivo: Una mirada psicosocial*. Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales.
- Corey, L. M., & Shapiro, A. D. (2004). Social Well-Being in the United States: A Descriptive Epidemiology. In: O. G. Brim, C. D. Riff, R. C. Kessler (eds.) *How Healthy Are We? A National Study of Well-Being at Midlife* (pp. 350-372). University of Chicago Press.
- Cummins, R. A., Eckersley, R., Pallant, J., & Davern, M. (2002). Wellbeing in Australia and the aftermath of September 11.
- Dasgupta, P., & Weale, M. (1992). On measuring the quality of life. *World Development*, 20(1), 119-131.
- Delamaza, G. (2011). Elitismo democrático, líderes civiles y tecnopolítica en la reconfiguración de las élites políticas. In: A. Joignant & P. Güell (eds.) *Notables, tecnócratas y mandarines: Elementos de sociología de las elites en Chile (1990-2010)*. Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales.
- Eckersley, R. (2009). Population measures of subjective wellbeing: How useful are they? *Social Indicators Research*, 94(1), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-008-9339-z>
- Ffrench-Davis, R. (2017). La des-industrialización en la revolución neoliberal de la dictadura, 1973-81. *Contribuciones Científicas y Tecnológicas*, 42(1), 19-29.
- Flores, D., Delamaza, G., Salas, R., & Thezá, M. (2018). Nosotros, los otros y la ética de vivir juntos. *Revista Espacios*, 39(14).
- Flores Cáceres, D., Pagliai Fuentes, C., Lagarrigue Ibáñez, A., & Leyton Faúndez, E. (2011). Juegos en el Poder Municipal, una aproximación etnográfica. *Revista Iberoamericana de Estudios Municipales*, 2(4), 17-48. <https://doi.org/10.32457/riem.vi4.419>
- Friendly, M. (2001). A Reader's Guide to Visualizing Categorical Data. In: *Proceedings of the (SAS) User's Group International Conference* (paper 173-26). Long Beach, California: Frank Fry, Conference Chair.
- Gárate Cheteau, M. (2012). *La revolución capitalista de Chile (1973-2003)*. Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado.
- Gilbert, A., Colley, K., & Roberts, D. (2016). Are rural residents happier? A quantitative analysis of subjective wellbeing in Scotland. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 44, 37-45. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2016.01.002>
- Hartigan, J.A., Kleiner, B. (1981). Mosaics for Contingency Tables. In: Eddy, W.F. (eds) *Computer Science and Statistics: Proceedings of the 13th Symposium on the Interface*. Springer, New York, NY. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4613-9464-8_37
- Henríquez, C., & Barton, J. (2012). Fortalecimiento de la gestión ambiental municipal. In I. Irarrázaval, M. de los A. Morandé, & M. Letelier (eds.) *Propuestas para Chile 2012* (pp. 247-278). Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.
- Hidalgo, M. C., & Hernández, B. (2001). Place of attachment: Conceptual and empirical questions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21, 273-281. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jevp.2001.0221>
- Illanes, M. A. (1993). El Proyecto Comunal en Chile: (fragmentos) 1810-1891. *Historia*, 27, 213-329.
- Immanuel, K. (1968). *Crítica de la razón práctica*. Losada.
- PNUD (1998). *Informe de Desarrollo Humano, 1998: Las paradojas de la modernización*.
- PNUD (2002). *Informe de Desarrollo Humano, 2002. Nosotros los chilenos: Un desafío cultural*.
- PNUD (2008). *Informe de Desarrollo Humano, 2008. Informe de Desarrollo Humano en Chile rural*.
- PNUD (2012). *Informe de Desarrollo Humano, 2012. Bienestar subjetivo: el desafío de repensar el desarrollo*.
- PNUD (2015). *Informe de Desarrollo Humano, 2015. Los tiempos de la politización*.
- Jowell, R., & Eva, G. (2009). Happiness is not enough: Cognitive judgements as indicators of national wellbeing. *Social Indicators Research*, 91(3), 317-328. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-008-9343-3>
- Keyes, C. L. M. (1998). Social Well-Being. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 61(2), 121-140. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2787065>
- Layard, R. (2006). Happiness and public policy: A challenge to the profession. *The Economic Journal*, 116(510). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0297.2006.01073.x>
- Lechner, N. (2002). *Las sombras del mañana: La dimensión subjetiva de la política*. LOM Ediciones.
- Lechner, N. (2004). ¿Cómo reconstruimos un "nosotros"? *Revista Foro*, 51(1), 42-58.

- Lechner, N., & Güell, P. (2006). Construcción social de las memorias en la transición chilena. In E. Jelin & S. G. Kaufman (comps) *Subjetividad y figuras de la memoria*. Siglo XXI 12.
- Li, M., Luo, Y., & Li, P. (2021). Intergenerational solidarity and life satisfaction among empty-nest older adults in rural China: Does distance matter? *Journal of Family Issues*, 42(3), 626-649. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X20926216>
- Montecinos, E. (2005). Los estudios de descentralización en América Latina: una revisión sobre el estado actual de la temática. *EURE (Santiago)*, 31(93), 73-88. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0250-71612005009300005>
- Navarrete-Yáñez, B. E., & Higuera-Seguel, V. (2014). Chile desde la Teoría secuencial de la descentralización, 1990-2010. *Convergencia*, 21(66), 179-202.
- Nepomuceno, B. B., Cardoso, A. A. V., Ximenes, V. M., Barros, J. P. P., & Leite, J. F. (2015). Mental health, well-being, and poverty: A study in urban and rural communities in Northeastern Brazil. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, 44(1), 63-75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10852352.2016.1102590>
- Pearsall, H., Gutierrez-Velez, V. H., Gilbert, M. R., Hoque, S., Eakin, H., Brondizio, E. S., Solecki, W., Toran, L., Baka, J. E., Behm, J. E., Brelsford, C., Hinrichs, C., Henry, K. A., Mennis, J., Roman, L. A., Rosan, C., South, E. C., & Valletta, R. D. (2021). Advancing equitable health and well-being across urban-rural sustainable infrastructure systems. *npj Urban Sustainability*, 1, 26. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s42949-021-00028-8>
- Ramírez, E., Tartakowsky, A., & Modrego, F. (2009). *Importancia de la desigualdad geográfica en Chile. Documento de trabajo/ Programa Dinámicas Territoriales Rurales* (Documento de trabajo N.º 30). RIMISP-Centro Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo Rural.
- Ruiz Rivera, N., & Delgado Campos, J. (2008). Territorio y nuevas ruralidades: un recorrido teórico sobre las transformaciones de la relación campo-ciudad. *EURE (Santiago)*, 34(102), 77-95. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0250-71612008000200005>
- Salazar, G. (2003). *Historia de la acumulación capitalista en Chile (Apuntes de clase)*. LOM Ediciones.
- Silvia, P. (1991). Technocrats and Politics in Chile: From the Chicago Boys to the CIEPLAN Monks. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 23(2), 385-410.
- Spinoza, B. (2011). Ética. Gredos.
- Thezá, M., Flores, D., & Gac, D. (2017). Reforma Agraria en Chile, ¿Palimpsesto de otra ruralidad? Reflexiones y propuestas. *Polis*, 16(47), 137-164. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-65682017000200137>
- Tobiasz-Adamczyk, B., & Zawisza, K. (2017). Urban-rural differences in social capital in relation to self-rated health and subjective wellbeing in older residents of six regions in Poland. *Annals of Agricultural and Environmental Medicine*, 24(2), 162-170. <https://doi.org/10.26444/aaem/74719>
- Vella-Brodrick, D. A., Park, N., & Peterson, C. (2009). Three ways to be happy: Pleasure, engagement, and meaning. Findings from Australian and US samples. *Social Indicators Research*, 90, 165-179. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-008-9251-6>
- Weber, M. (2003). *La ética protestante y el espíritu del capitalismo*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.