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Contents

Introduction to the Special Issue 'Migration and Happiness'

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In recent years one sees rapidly increasing interest in happiness as a topic for social-science investigation. Happiness research emerged in its modern incarnation among economists; more recently there are contributions from other social scientists such as sociologists and political scientists (of course it also has more ancient roots, e.g. with extended treatment by Aristotle). This research field has also gained attention in public policy discourses, with the Stiglitz/Sen/Fitoussy report (2009) on social progress and well-being (commissioned by French president Nicholas Sarkozy) and a British "National Well-Being Project" embraced by Prime Minister David Cameron. Some academics (and much of the public) no doubt think of books on happiness as something to be found in a bookstore's "self help" section, but that perspective is increasingly inaccurate (or at least incomplete).

Happiness studies starts with a distinction between objective well-being and subjective well-being. Examples of objective well-being include income (and other material resources), health, social ties with friends/family, etc. In a conventional perspective rooted in neo-classical economics, one *assumes* that the various forms of objective well-being (particularly income) have favorable subjective consequences (a rough way of referring to the more precise term: utility). The distinctiveness of happiness studies is that it rejects this idea as an axiom, instead treating the relationship between objective factors and subjective consequences as an empirical question. Higher incomes might make people happier, but in articulating the possibility we also indicate the opposite possibility: perhaps higher incomes *don't* make people happier – in which case, we can do empirical research to determine the answer.

Some of the conclusions established in happiness research are quite striking, at least with respect to conventional economic perspectives. At any given point, people with more income are happier than those with less – but increases in income over time do not lead to greater happiness. This idea (known as the "Easterlin paradox", viz. Easterlin, 1974, 2001) rests on the notion that the association between income and happiness works primarily through income's function as a marker of status: people who have higher incomes compare themselves favorably with those who have less. These status comparisons, however, do not change to anyone's advantage when income increases for all – so economic growth generally does not contribute to greater happiness. Even upward mobility might not contribute to happiness if one then develops aspirations for further increases (Clark et al., 2008); a folk wisdom advising us that money does not buy happiness might hold some truth (at least for those with an income above a basic threshold). Other key findings are perhaps less surprising: characteristics that contribute to happiness include having close relationships, good health, not being unemployed, and religiosity (see e.g. Dolan et al., 2008).

The distinctive approach of happiness studies has been applied to a great many theoretical questions and specific social groups in recent years. It has not, however, been applied in much research on migration (exceptions include Safi, 2010, Amit, 2010, Bălţătescu, 2007, Knight & Gunatilaka, 2010). Most migration scholars focus on various objective forms of well-being, e.g.

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asking how well integrated immigrants are, the degree to which they can achieve citizenship, the security of their legal and/or residential status, etc. All of these questions are of course important in their own right. But it would be unwise to assume anything about the subjective consequences of the objective situations most migration scholars study; instead of making assumptions, we can learn much more from treating the question as an empirical one. The articles in this special issue are unified via their adoption of this mode. Sometimes the value of the exercise becomes apparent when common-sense ideas work out not to be empirically supported; in other instances we find empirical support for ideas that were hitherto "merely" common sense.

Two articles here (Melzer and Graham & Markowitz) address the question of whether migrants gain happiness from migration. This question might strike many readers as one for which an answer provided by common sense ought to be sufficient, particularly when the migrants are moving from a poorer country to a wealthier one. Even so, one might wonder: if higher incomes in general do not generally bring greater happiness, perhaps a higher income accomplished via migration is no more effective than other means of increasing one's income (Bartram, 2011).

The issue poses a significant challenge in relation to data, one that arises for the study of migration more generally: to perform quantitative analysis, one would want panel data on migrants collected before and after migration. Data of this type are at best uncommon, and the instances that do exist do not include variables on happiness. Melzer's work is then very interesting and compelling for its use of German panel data to gauge the consequences of migration for individuals moving from eastern to western Germany. The fact that contemporary Germany was in relatively recent years two separate countries means that east-west migration in the post-reunification period is plausibly considered an instance of international migration at least in certain key respects.

Melzer finds that German East-to-West migrants generally experience an increase in happiness. The main reason, at least for men, is that they have better employment prospects in the west: migrants find more secure jobs offering better wages, with positive consequences for happiness. This finding is convincing not least for the high quality of the statistical analysis. Perhaps not all readers will be convinced that this migration flow is a typical instance of international migration more generally – in which case one might wonder whether the findings here from the German case support a more general claim about the happiness consequences of international migration. Even so, Melzer's article is valuable precisely for leading us to that sort of comparative thinking: instead of looking for very general assertions ("international migration leads to happiness"), we would want to consider how the happiness consequences of migration very likely depend on the contextual conditions in which it is undertaken. The value of that point extends well beyond research on migration and ought to be particularly attractive to sociologists who study happiness.

Graham and Markowitz investigate migration flows from Latin America to the US and Europe (primarily Spain), thus taking place in a context quite different from that experienced by German migrants. Here the empirical research is shaped by the constraint noted above: there are no panel data on these migration streams. One implication of this constraint is that when there is an association between two variables it is difficult to determine the direction of causation (if any): if migrants are less happy than non-migrants (stayers in the origin country, natives in the destination), one cannot know definitively whether migration made the migrants less happy or whether less happy people were more inclined to migrate.

Graham and Markowitz address this issue by investigating differences in happiness among people expressing differing intentions regarding migration. Their main finding is that people who intend to migrate are generally less happy than those who don't. More broadly, potential migrants are "frustrated achievers", people who have relatively high levels of objective well-being (e.g. income) but who are nonetheless dissatisfied with their situations and seek to improve them (e.g. via migration). Of course, even if migration improves their situations in objective terms, there is no guarantee that they will then experience greater levels of happiness or satisfaction.

The article by Félix Neto and Joana Neto examines SWB among returned emigrant adolescents

in Portugal. This is a topic where even common sense doesn't lead to an obvious prediction: as Neto and Neto indicate, one might expect that returning "home" would be relatively easy (particularly in comparison to outward migration), but perhaps holding that expectation renders returning migrants ill-prepared to cope with the inevitable challenges that follow a prolonged period of absence and residence elsewhere. They address this question by the comparing life satisfaction of returned migrants to that of Portuguese adolescents who do not have migration experience (stayers). Their main finding is that there is no significant difference between the two groups – perhaps lending support to the notion that return migration is in fact an easier process than outward migration. They also explore a range of factors accounting for variance in life satisfaction and find that psycho-social factors (e.g. contact with peers, feelings of mastery/control) are much more important than demographic factors.

Elizabeth Vaquera and Elizabeth Aranda investigate happiness and migrant integration as well, focusing on the experiences of immigrants in south Florida. Their article asks about the subjective consequences of transnationalism: in part because of the decreasing cost of communication and transportation, immigrants in recent decades are increasingly likely to maintain contact and involvement with their communities of origin, sometimes even returning for visits on a regular basis. Vaquera and Aranda find that subjective well-being is enhanced by transnationalism, but only if contact and involvement are maintained at a moderate level. If visits "home" are too frequent or if all of one's confidantes are in the country of origin, consequences for emotional well-being and life satisfaction are negative.

Migration is a hugely complex topic, and there are vast possibilities for research making connections between migration and happiness. A significant recent trend in migration research is to consider the migration of people who move between relatively poor countries (as against migration from poorer to wealthier countries); it would be particularly interesting to see investigation of happiness in contexts of that sort. Measurement of happiness among migrants also raises questions relating to culture, particularly when one is comparing the happiness of immigrants to that of natives; these questions are familiar in discussions of international comparisons, and research on migrants might help advance our understanding of them more generally.

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Aspirations and Happiness of Potential Latin American Immigrants

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Abstract

The migration literature shows that Latin American emigrants, in addition to immigrants generally, report lower happiness levels and satisfaction with financial success than natives do in their destination country. We use a survey question from the Latinobarometro on intent to migrate to shed light on attitudes and aspirations prior to migration. We find that potential migrants report the qualities of "frustrated achievers" (e.g. respondents with high objective success in terms of income, but who report low satisfaction with their economic gains) and are less happy than average. Our analysis supports the hypothesis that unhappiness drives migration, while not disproving that migration also creates unhappiness; it is likely that these factors are not mutually exclusive and that they reinforce one another. Our work addresses the broader question of whether unhappiness is a necessary condition for major societal change.

Keywords: Happiness, Migration, Subjective Income, Latin America.

Introduction

There is a nascent body of literature examining the impact of migration and income on happiness. Several studies show that Latin American emigrants, in addition to immigrants generally, demonstrate lower happiness levels than natives do in their destination country. In trying to explain this finding, researchers have asked whether unhappiness drives migration or whether the results of migrating make people unhappy. A major challenge in answering this question is the difficulty in acquiring and thus the absence of longitudinal data that follow individuals before and after the migration process.

This paper seeks to provide additional insight into the relationship between migration and unhappiness, but in lieu of longitudinal data, we utilize a survey question from the Latinobarometro survey on the intent to migrate to identify attitudes and aspirations prior to migration. Through this analysis, we are taking an initial step to answer the larger theoretical question: is unhappiness necessary to drive progress and major change in a society? Our results suggest this is the case: those that intend to migrate demonstrate the qualities of "frustrated achievers" (e.g. respondents with high objective success in terms of income, but who report low satisfaction with their economic

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gains) and are less happy than average. These findings provide support for the reasoning speculated in the literature as explaining lower happiness levels among Latin American migrants.

Background: Literature on Happiness, Income and Migration

Attempting to create new linkages outside the happiness economics discipline, researchers began applying a subjective well-being or happiness framework of analysis to the field of migration. Traditional, behavioral economics expected migrants to have higher, or at least not lower than average, utility levels, as people surely would have not made the decision to sacrifice the pleasure of living among their family, friends and country to do something that would make them unhappy.

A wide body of research in happiness economics has demonstrated that income and happiness do not always increase in a linear manner, although there is significant debate about this, even today (Easterlin, 2001; Graham, 2011a). Challenges to the assumption that immigrants are necessarily better off rose from this assumption (Bartram, 2010). Rather, research has consistently demonstrated that immigrants report lower levels of subjective well-being (this term will be used interchangeably with happiness and life satisfaction throughout this paper) compared to natives in their destination country. This finding has held for immigrants across different originating countries.[3]

Bobowik (2011) analyzed happiness levels of immigrants in Europe and found lower happiness across the diverse immigrant population. Knight (2010) looked at internal migration in China and found that rural to urban migrants report lower happiness than both rural and urban households. Safi (2010) demonstrated that the disparity in happiness levels between immigrants and natives persisted even after individuals had spent 20 years in their destination country, and that the lower happiness levels carried over into second generation immigrants. Finally, Bartram (2011) confirmed Safi's findings, demonstrating that immigrants to the U.S. similarly display lower happiness levels than natives.

In light of these findings, the literature has generally been optimistic in suggesting that it is not that potential immigrants are necessarily naïve or irrational in choosing to embark in something to make that ultimately makes them unhappy, but rather there are other forces at work. Knight (2010) and Bartram (2011) posit that when deciding to migrate, potential immigrants miscalculate how their happiness levels will be affected — they do not anticipate their aspirations will rise once they make more money in their new country. The result of this adaptation of aspirations, the authors hypothesize, is an unexpected decline in happiness. The authors also hypothesize and provide some support that immigrants do not anticipate their reference group will adjust to include natives, resulting in lower happiness. Wright (2010) found some support that potential immigrants do not anticipate or appreciate how poor their living conditions will be in the new country and how this will affect them. As is described in Easterlin (2001), people project they will be happier in the future, when they are making more money, but in fact, as they make more money their aspirations adjust upward and they are less happy.

Outside of Easterlin's framework, Bartram (2011) provides some evidence that while, on average, happiness does not increase with income, economic immigrants may be a special case: they derive more happiness from marginal income than people do in general. He posits this special association between income and happiness for certain people may explain why they would immigrate. This finding did not, however, explain why immigrants then still have lower happiness levels overall; Bartram shows that dissatisfaction with one's financial situation largely explained this phenomenon. He also reveals a paradox: immigrants gain greater than average happiness from increased income, and then, perhaps as a result, they are less happy than average because they are frustrated with their income situation.

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[3] For a review of the various terms used in the literature to describe happiness or well-being, and the substantive differences across them, see Graham (2011b).

It is generally agreed that across countries, the very poorest citizens are least likely to migrate (Pellegrino, 2004). Migrating abroad requires a threshold of financial resources that the very poorest individuals cannot afford. Additionally, there is consensus that migration trends vary across countries; however, patterns that relate the trends from one country to another are contested. Connor and Massey (2010) use survey data of immigrants in Spain and the U.S. to understand the relationship between income and migration. The authors found that Latin American immigrants to Spain are more likely to have originated from South America with middle class origins, while immigrants in the U.S. are more likely to be from Central America and Mexico (hereafter referred to as Central America) and come from a lower income class.

Pellegrino (2000) similarly reports that immigrants from Central America that cross to bordering countries demonstrate lower educational attainment than the average in the destination countries and in their country of origin, but that South American immigrants typically have had higher educational levels compared to their peers. Nevertheless, the massive wave of migration from Latin America to the U.S. has resulted in greater diversification of the profile of Latin American immigrants; for example, Mexican emigrants make up the largest immigrant class in the U.S., with many coming from low income backgrounds, but with many also coming from professional ones.

A 2007 OECD report asserted that immigrants from low income countries are primarily high-skilled while emigrants from middle income countries tend to be lower skilled. In contrast, Connor and Massey posit that low-income countries, such as those in Central America, are more likely to export low income, low-skilled labor, while middle income countries, mostly found in South America, are more likely to export moderate to highly-skilled, middle-class labor.

Using a happiness economics framework, several authors have begun reconciling conflicting findings related to income and migration, by not looking at "income" generally and undefined, but rather by breaking down "income" into absolute and relative income measures and exploring the differential effects of these facets of income on happiness. In his 2011 work, Bartram built on the assumption that although immigrants may make more absolute income in their destination country, they are likely to report lower relative income levels, as their "reference group" shifts to include residents of their destination country.

Valencia (2008) similarly found that the willingness to migrate is influenced by both relative deprivation as well as family income, especially the interaction between these two variables. Valencia reported that those families who are most willing to migrate were those who stood to gain the greatest decreases in relative deprivation. Additionally, Wood et al. (2010) researched the impact of being a crime victim on the intent to migrate using multivariate regression analysis. The author reported opposing effects of objective versus subjective income, but he did not offer an explanation as to why this was the case or why he chose to include both income measures.

This paper then builds on that literature by attempting to answer the question of whether unhappiness, particularly unhappiness derived from dissatisfaction with one's financial situation, drives migration, or, if the experience of migrating leads to the lower happiness levels reported by migrants. In answering this question, this paper additionally considers a final hypothesis posited but then refuted by several authors: that lower unhappiness levels among immigrants can be explained by a disposition that is generally less happy, and that immigrants would have been just as unhappy had they remained in their home country. The authors use several methods to try to answer this question of endogeneity regarding happiness and disposition, but without longitudinal data, or at least data that assess the profile of immigrants prior to moving, the results have been inconclusive. We attempt to shed light on this question by looking at those who have yet to move but intend to migrate.

Data and Methods

Data

This analysis utilizes the Latinobarometro attitudinal survey, which is administered annually in 18 countries in Latin America.[4] The work is primarily limited to the surveys given in the years 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2009, as the variables of interest to this investigation overlap then. The intent to migrate serves as a proxy for actual migration trends, with the advantage that it allows for the assessment of attitudes *prior* to migration.

Intent to migrate is measured with the question: "Have you and your family ever seriously considered moving abroad?" This variable is labeled *intent*. This question presents several challenges in analyzing actual migration, as well as intent. First, those who answer this question have *not* migrated, and they may never move abroad. This creates a selection problem, in that those individuals who have actually migrated abroad are not included in the survey. The inclusion of the word "seriously" is meant to counter this in order to better gauge those who are most likely to move or consider moving, but it is obviously an imperfect proxy. This limits the conclusions that can be drawn about our findings to those in the sample who have not moved yet, although their direction and consistency (discussed below) suggests that they may be helpful in explaining the differential levels in happiness between migrants and non-migrants in the destination countries.

Additionally, because of the modifier "you *and your family*", those individuals who have considered moving abroad alone, especially single people, may answer this question in the negative (Wood et al., 2010). This could also result in error, as it is common for single people, rather than entire families, to migrate abroad. Finally, another issue is that the very poorest respondents in Central America who have to migrate illegally are probably less likely to honestly report their intent. These potential sources of error suggest caution when drawing conclusions. Nevertheless, the question has been productively used by other authors to analyze migration trends and can offer unique insights into attitudes toward migration (Wood et al., 2010; Cardenas, 2009).

Several survey questions are used to assess "income" and financial satisfaction and their impact on the intent to migrate. The Latinobarometro does not include a question that directly measures the monetary income level of respondents. Thus, in order to measure absolute income the analysis relies on a composite wealth index developed by Wood et al. (2010). The index is a 0-3 score based on three household goods: the presence of hot running water in the respondent's home, ownership of a washing machine and the ownership of a home telephone. This measure is referred to as *wealth.*

Subjective wealth or economic status is measured in three ways. First, relative wealth compared to others is assessed using an economic ladder scale (ELS) question: "Imagine a 10 step ladder, where in '1' stand the poorest people and in '10' stand the richest people. Where would you stand?" This measure is aggregated into three wealth groups: *poor* for ELS scores of 1-3, *middle* for ELS scores of 4-6, and *rich* for ELS scores of 7-10. This allows greater attention to be focused on the middle class, a population with attitudes that have been under scrutiny as the literature argues they are a driver of development (see Frank, Markowitz & Graham, 2011).

The analysis attempts to measure financial satisfaction, by considering how respondents compare their economic situation to personal expectations for themselves, based on their past personal economic experiences and their personal aspirations. We attempt to disentangle the different influences of past assessments and future aspirations on responses, recognizing that they likely have inter-acting effects.

Economic status relative to one's aspirations is measured using the question: "In general, how would you describe your personal economic situation and that of your family: very good, good,

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[4]   Graham has worked with the survey team for years, and therefore has advance access to the data.

average, bad, or very bad?" This variable is labeled *econ_aspirations*. Economic status relative to past experiences is measured with a question related to recent mobility: "Do you consider your economic situation and that of your family to be much better, a little better, about the same, a little worse or much worse than 12 months ago?" This variable is referred to as *econ_experience*. Finally, subjective well-being is measured with the open-ended, ordinal scale question: "Generally speaking, would you say that you are: not at all happy, not very happy, quite happy, or very happy? This variable is labeled *happy*.

There is an additional question in the Latinobarometro for select years that provides further insight into our analysis. The 2002-2004 questionnaires include a follow-up to *intent*, with the question: "To those who answered yes [my family and I have considered going to live abroad], to which country would you consider moving?" This question helps to assess the effectiveness of using intent to migrate as a proxy for actual migration.

Methods

We first present descriptive statistics on migration levels, general wealth and happiness levels, and wealth and happiness levels for those who expressed intent to migrate compared to those who have not. In addition, given the differential trends in Central America versus South America demonstrated by Connor and Massey (2010), these statistics will be broken down by region. We then supplement these descriptive statistics with econometric analysis, using a probit model reporting marginal effects to measure the likelihood that, yes, the respondent and his or her family have considered migrating or, no, they have not considered migrating.[5]

The complete regression model will include all economic status measures to estimate their "inter-action" effects, that is, to measure the change in the relationship between subjective wealth and the intent to migrate when objective wealth is held constant and vice versa. Like other well-being regression models, we incorporate controls for happiness and other socio-demographic variables.

As a first step in assessing the relationship between intent to migrate and actual migration, we compare *intent* tabulations to expectations based on empirical evidence. Connor & Massey (2010) argue that the location of the United States in the Western Hemisphere reduces the costs of movement to that destination compared to a country like Spain. In contrast, because Spain shares colonial and cultural history with Latin America, it offers a closer social proximity for Latin Americans compared to the U.S., especially in terms of language.

Aspiring migrants from South America face significant physical distances (and thus high costs) whether they choose to migrate to the U.S. or Spain. Therefore, South Americans emigrating from Latin America will largely choose to go to Spain, as the physical costs will be great in either case, but the social costs will be less there. Further, those who migrate from South America tend to be at least from the middle class in order to afford the costs. Connor and Massey support this argument with evidence that Latin Americans surveyed in Spain tend to be from South America, and they are from middle-class origins with at least a secondary education and an ability to get a job in the service sector. In contrast, the costs for Central Americans to migrate to the U.S. are lower, thus, permitting lower class residents from Central America to move there. These findings are reinforced by the work of Padilla & Peixoto (2007), Kyle & Goldstein (2011), who

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[5]   Probit models assess the probability of a respondent being in a particular binary, ordinal category rather than attempting to impose a cardinal order. Probit models are deemed appropriate in this case, because the dependent variable, intent to migrate, reports only two categorical values: the respondent has considered migrating abroad or the respondent has not considered migrating abroad, with no differential cardinal values attached to either of the categories. The coefficients are reported as marginal effects, that is the change in the probability of intent to migrate that comes from moving from one category to the next of the independent variables (such as from being married to unmarried).

in particular shed light on the Ecuadorian migration boom to Spain which faded out in the early 2000's, and Terrazas et al. (2011).

Our analysis considers the extent to which intentions to migrate follow this pattern, by asking the question: *are those individuals considering moving to Spain more likely to be from South America and of middle-class status, while those considering moving to the U.S. are more likely to be from Central America and of lower economic class status?*

The sample size of this question is considerably smaller than our full sample, narrowed first by the fraction of people who answer yes to *intent*, and then the fraction that consider moving to each specific country. Yet it sheds light on whether the data conform to expectations and on the disparity or similarities between actual migration trends and the intent to migrate. Although important, this disparity is often neglected in the propensity to migrate literature. Researchers assume there are consistent and high levels of association between how individuals answer survey questions on intent to migrate and actual migration trends. The reality may be that the intent to migrate is a reflection more of life satisfaction, or other variables, rather than of actual migration trends. We attempt to provide insight into the relationship between intent and actual migration trends, although further research is needed.

Findings

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics related to migration, wealth, happiness and region are depicted in Figure 1 and Tables 1 and 2. Figure 1 shows that across Latin America, the intent to migrate fluctuated between 22% and 25% during the period 2004-2009, with intent to migrate dropping to its lowest value during the period, 18%, in 2009. Table 1 shows that those expressing intent to migrate generally report higher objective *wealth* values and rank themselves higher on the economic ladder scale (ELS) compared to those without intent to migrate. However, those with intent to migrate assess their present economic situation, measured by *econ_aspirations and econ_experience*, lower relative to those who do not express interest in migrating. Further, Table 2 demonstrates that potential immigrants also report lower happiness levels generally compared to non-immigrants. These findings hold across both South and Central America.

Without controlling for other variables, these findings suggests that only those with a certain level of wealth are able or willing to consider migrating, and that the likelihood of migrating increases with absolute wealth, on average, across Latin America. The ELS responses mirror this finding: the wealthier one is compared to others, the more likely one is to consider migrating. However, measures of economic status relative to one's expectations of self reveal an opposing trend. The more respondents' economic status matches or exceeds their expectations of themselves, based on past experiences or aspirations, the less likely they are to migrate. The lower their economic status relative to their expectations, the more likely they are to consider migrating. This finding follows Graham's (2009) "frustrated achievers" theory: individuals, who, in an objective sense are wealthy, but perceive themselves to be less successful than others, leading to dissatisfaction or lower happiness levels. The lower happiness levels provide some confirmation of this to be the case. The theory of frustrated achievers builds into happiness economics, in that, happiness does not increase linearly with income/wealth.

Tables 3 and 4 assess wealth levels of those considering emigrating from Central America versus South America. In raw numbers, South Americans considering migrating have higher wealth levels across all measures compared to Central Americans. However, South Americans in general report higher wealth levels than Central Americans, as would be expected given the generally higher levels of development in South America compared, on average, to Central America. Thus,

we converted the wealth measures to standardized scores in order to compare between South and Central Americans. The standardized scores were calculated as such: $z = (X_i - mean)/standard$ deviation (Table 4). Using these calculations, South Americans who have considered migrating have higher wealth levels relative to their peers (other South Americans) than Central Americans do relative to their peers (other Central Americans), confirming Connor and Massey's (2010) theory that there are greater barriers to exit (migration) for South Americans compared to Central Americans. However, Central Americans considering migration have higher ELS scores, and higher *econ_aspirations* and *econ_experience* than South Americans do. This profile suggests that the South Americans considering migration are objectively wealthier than the Central Americans considering migration, but they perceive themselves to be less wealthy compared to others and to their own expectations of themselves.

Table 5 shows that Central Americans are overwhelmingly likely to intend to migrate to the U.S., as predicted, while South Americans are about equally as likely to migrate to the U.S. or Spain and are, at least, more likely to consider migrating to Spain compared to Central Americans. Table 6 measures the *wealth* of respondents and shows that in Central America, the wealthier than average are significantly more likely to go to Spain, while the rest are equally likely to go to the U.S. or to not migrate at all, largely confirming Connor and Massey's finding that there are lower barriers for middle class and less wealthy people to migrate from Central America (and/or that the poorest that have to migrate illegally do not report *intent*). From South America, similar to Central America, the wealthiest are most likely to migrate to Spain, middle-income respondents are more likely to migrate to the U.S., and the poor are the least likely to migrate. The distance respondents who are willing to travel increases with wealth, and these differences are statistically significant. Because Connors and Massey argue that the financial cost of traveling to the U.S. and Spain are both high, while the social costs are lower in Spain, we would expect that wealthier respondents would go to Spain, and that less wealthy respondents from South America will go to the US. For the most part, this holds up in our data and provides some confirmation of validity of intent to migrate as a proxy for actual migration.

Regression analysis

The following analysis uses a probit regression with marginal effects. The base model controls for several socio-demographic variables shown to be associated with the intent to migrate. The socio-demographic correlated with intent to migrate are explained in Table 7. Therefore, the base model can be summarized as follows:

Intent= age + gender + married + education + capital + crime victim + fear of unemployment + happiness + epsilon

We also include but do not report controls for country and year. The results of our analysis of the base model, by specifications, which control for objective and subjective wealth, are reported in Table 8.

We find that the descriptive trends related to wealth, happiness and intent to migrate hold even when controlling for other significant drivers of immigration, such as being young, living in a capital city, being a crime victim, and fearing unemployment. Increasing absolute wealth is associated with increased intent to migrate. Wealth relative to others, measured using the ELS-based *poor* and *rich*, shows that the self-identified "rich" are more likely to consider migrating than the self-identified "middle" and "poor" (there is no significant difference between the latter two).

Subjective wealth measures, that compare the respondent's wealth relative to their expectations for themselves, reveal a contrasting relationship between economic status and the intent to migrate. As people become more satisfied with their economic situation, they are less likely to consider migrating.

Finally, above and beyond the effects of satisfaction with wealth, people who intend to migrate are less happy than the average population. In particular, the results report that the explanatory power of *happy* doubles when we include controls for objective wealth, but then goes back to original levels when controls for subjective wealth are included. This suggests that the influence of happiness on the decision to migrate is significantly influenced by one's satisfaction with their financial situation, as shown by Bartram (2011).

These trends give support to the role of the "frustrated achiever" in driving migration, which may, in turn, explain conflicted associations between income and intent to migrate recorded in the migration literature. The coefficients demonstrate that increased absolute wealth is associated with increased propensity to migrate, although the trend is not consistent across the entire sample. While being objectively wealthy increases the propensity to migrate, being satisfied with the wealth level opposes this propensity, decreasing the likelihood of migrating. In contrast, if one is objectively wealthy but is still unsatisfied with his/her economic situation, then one will feel additional pressure to migrate. These opposing trends may partly explain why associations between income and migration are often inconsistent.

These findings potentially give support to the hypotheses of "false expectations" held by potential immigrants. The image of the frustrated achiever supports Bartram's (2011) finding that income gains or losses have a greater impact on the happiness of immigrants compared to other people. In particular, the extent that unhappiness pushes people to consider migrating is mediated by their satisfaction with their economic situation. Yet, these findings do not give conclusive support to the question of whether unhappiness drives migration or whether migration makes people unhappy. At the least, it demonstrates that people were already frustrated and unhappy prior to migrating. The lower happiness levels that are observed in migrants in the new countries could be a continuation of these attitudes.

Alternatively, these findings could signal that potential migrants are frustrated and thus more demanding for improvements in their situation through migration, setting them up for the "false expectations" described above. We obviously need longitudinal data to disentangle the two potential channels: do immigrants begin more frustrated than the average, as observed here, or do they arrive in their new country with average initial happiness levels, but then soon thereafter experience a drop after expectations are unfulfilled?

Safi's (2010) analysis of immigrants in Europe suggest the latter may be the case, as satisfaction decreases the longer immigrants are in the new country, and then begins increasing again after 10 years. Nevertheless, she finds that immigrants are still significantly less happy than natives even after having lived in the new country for 20 years.

Conclusion: Implications

These findings are a first step in bridging the link in immigrant experiences and attitudes pre-departure and post-migration and particularly in highlighting the role of frustration driving migration. They continue to suggest the need for longitudinal data to better understand the changes in attitudes during the migration process.

Our analysis supports the hypothesis that unhappiness drives migration, while not disproving that migration also creates unhappiness; it is likely that these factors are not mutually exclusive and more likely that they reinforce one another. The profile of Latin American emigrants provided suggests they are unhappy with their current situation prior to migrating, above and beyond considerations of wealth level, fears of unemployment, and feelings of insecurity (such as being a crime victim). Complementing this, Latin American emigrants are frustrated with their economic situation in particular. This frustration is not derived from low economic achievement—they objectively and subjectively rate themselves as attaining high wealth levels relative to others—but

rather from the expectations they impose on themselves derived from their past experiences and aspirations.

Given these traits, it is likely that these frustrated achievers continue to project high expectations on themselves once they migrate. Those frustrations can easily become further agitated when language barriers, obstacles in recognizing technical abilities, and a lack of established social networks prevent immigrants from meeting their expectations. This may lead to the observed low happiness levels abroad. Still, our results do not discount the possibility that immigrants are less happy than the average population and would have been less happy whether they migrated or not.

This leads to the broader theoretical question: is unhappiness necessary to drive major societal change? In Graham (2009), we find that in some very desolate conditions, such as in Afghanistan, people adapt their expectations downward; thus they report to be happier than others with much better security, health, and so forth. Is it necessary to disrupt the happiness of those that have adapted in order to realize quality of life improvements in such a setting? Our findings in this paper suggest that happy people, including people who are satisfied with their economic situation regardless of their actual income level, are not willing to undergo the major change entailed by migration. This is not to say that they are opposed to other major changes, but they are not considering a common solution utilized in the Latin American context today.

Further research is needed to identify other changes, comparable in impact to migration, that could be undertaken to improve one's situation; and, second, whether those changes are being made by those happier people who do not report considerations to migrate; and third, whether those changes have a similar negative impact on happiness as migration does—is migration making people better or worse off compared to the alternatives? Better answers to these questions, in turn, could help us understand the relationship between happiness and societal change, especially economic development.

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Annexes
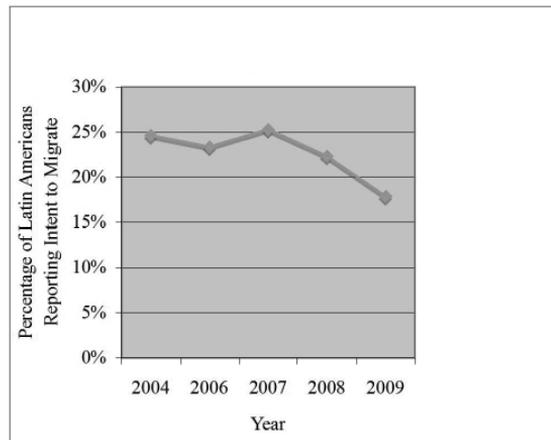
Figure 1: *Intent to migrate. Time trends across countries.*

Table 1: *Wealth by Migration Intentions.*

INCOME MEASURES	Intent to Migrate: YES	Intent to Migrate: NO
Objective Wealth		
Wealth	1.32	1.22
Subjective Wealth: Relative to Others		
ELS	4.37	4.24
Subjective Wealth: Relative to Expectations of Self		
Econ_aspirations	3.01	3.06
Econ_experience	3.03	3.09

Table 2: *Happiness Across Different Migration Intentions and Region.*

Region	Migration Intentions: Considering Migrating? Yes/No	Mean Happiness Level
Across Sample (Central and South Americans)	Yes	2.9182
Across Sample (Central and South Americans)	No	2.9753
South Americans	Yes	2.8065
South Americans	No	2.8915
Central Americans	Yes	3.0378
Central Americans	No	3.1013

Table 3: *Raw Wealth of Potential Immigrants by Region.*

	Central America	Central America	South America	South America
	Intent to Migrate: Yes	Intent to Migrate: NO	Intent to Migrate: YES	Intent to Migrate: NO
Overall Migration Rates	24%	76%	20%	80%
INCOME MEASURES				
Obj. Wealth				
Wealth	1.22	1.05	1.42	1.28
Sub. Wealth: Relative to Others				
ELS	4.09	3.91	4.36	4.26
Sub. Wealth: Relative to Expectations of Self				
Econ_aspirations	2.90	2.93	3.09	3.13
Econ_experience	2.96	2.98	3.07	3.14

Table 4: *Standardized Wealth of Potential Immigrants by Region.*

	Central America	Central America	South America	South America
	Intent to Migrate: Yes	Intent to Migrate: NO	Intent to Migrate: YES	Intent to Migrate: NO
Overall Intent to Migrate	24%	76%	20%	80%
Economic Status				
Objective Wealth:				
Wealth	0.06	-0.02	0.12	-0.03
Subjective Wealth, Relative to Others:				
ELS	0.07	-0.02	0.05	-0.01
Subjective Wealth, Relative to Expectations of Self:				
Econ_aspirations	-0.03	0.01	-0.05	0.01
Econ_experience	-0.02	0.01	-0.06	0.01

Table 5: *Migration Destination by Region of Origin.*

Destination	Overall	Central Americans	South Americans
2002	23.66%	22.78%	24.22%
U.S.		13.71%	6.61%
Spain		0.56%	5.19%
Costa Rica		1.94%	0.08%
Argentina		0.11%	1.55%
2003	23.39%	21.22%	24.75%
U.S.		12.50%	6.83%
Spain		0.95%	6.77%
Costa Rica		1.77%	0.09%
Argentina		0.07%	1.43%
2004	24.62%	23.05%	25.54%
U.S.		65.04%	29.06%
Spain		4.39%	30.75%
Costa Rica		8.48%	0.40%
Argentina		0.06%	6.98%

Table 6: *Wealth of Migrants by Region of Origin.*

	Central America	Central America	South America	South America
	Intends to Migrate to U.S.: YES	Intends to Migrate to U.S.: NO	Intends to Migrate to U.S.: Yes	Intends to Migrate to U.S.: NO
Wealth	1.10	1.10	1.50	1.40
	Intends to Migrate to Spain: YES	Intends to Migrate to Spain: NO	Intends to Migrate to Spain: Yes	Intends to Migrate to Spain: NO
Wealth	1.83	1.09	1.57	1.39

Table 7: *Correlates with Intent to Migrate.*

Drivers of Intent to Migrate	Supporting Literature
Being under 40 years old	Studies have shown that older people are less likely to migrate (Pelligrino, 2004). For those under 40, reports have given contradictory trends. Wood et al. (2010) show that migration decreases (linearly) with age, while others report a curvilinear effect related to age (Connor and Massey, 2010).
Being male	Traditionally men were the most likely to migrate (and thus presumably most likely to consider migrating) (Wood et al., 2010); however, more recently there has been documentation of a "feminization" of migration from Latin America. This trend has been followed by increased male migration, as family members follow the wives, mothers, girlfriends, etc. (Pelligrino, 2004). These ebb and flows in regards to gender may explain the not completely conclusive relationship between gender and intent to migrate.
Increased Education	The more educated endure lower risks when migrating as they can more easily acquire employment and enjoy higher returns on their migration compared to the less educated (Pelligrino, 2004; Connor & Massey, 2010; Wood et al., 2010; Defoort, 2008).
Living in a capital city	It is presumed that those who live in the capital are more likely to consider migrating because they have greater access to information, lowering the risks of migrating to a new country (Wood et al., 2010).
Being a Crime Victim	Wood et al. (2010) used the Latinobarometro to demonstrate the clear relationship between being a crime victim and reporting increased intentions to migrate.
Increased Fear of Unemployment	Those with lower economic prospects, especially an increased likelihood of unemployment, report higher levels of immigration (Horton, 2008; Briquets, 1983).

Table 8: *Base Probit Model Analyzing Impact of Happiness and Income on* Intent.

Outcome Variable: Have you and your family seriously considered moving abroad? Yes=1 No=0.

Young: 18-29 (omit over 40)	0.0799*** (0.0035)	0.0851*** (0.0035)	0.0850*** (0.0036)	0.0872*** (0.0040)
Middle-aged: 30-39 (omit over 40)	0.0667*** (0.0040)	0.0705*** (0.0040)	0.0702*** (0.0041)	0.0718*** (0.0045)
Gender: 1=male 0=female	0.0110*** (0.0028)	0.0105*** (0.0028)	0.0105*** (0.0028)	0.0117*** (0.0031)
Married: 1=yes 0=no	-0.0116*** (0.0029)	-0.0100*** (0.0029)	-0.0101*** (0.0029)	-0.0118*** (0.0032)
Education	0.0101*** (0.0003)	0.0086*** (0.0003)	0.0086*** (0.0004)	0.0089*** (0.0004)
Lives in capital city 1=yes 0=no	0.0575*** (0.0040)	0.0494*** (0.0041)	0.0492*** (0.0041)	0.0544*** (0.0045)
You/Your Family Crime Victim in Last 12 mo. 1=yes 0=no	0.0625*** (0.0029)	0.0618*** (0.0029)	0.0621*** (0.0030)	0.0609*** (0.0033)
Fear of unemployment: 1=no fear to 4= much fear	0.0207*** (0.0011)	0.0215*** (0.0011)	0.0214*** (0.0011)	0.0204*** (0.0012)
Happy 1=very unhappy to 4=very happy	-0.0193*** (0.0016)	-0.0213*** (0.0017)	-0.0214*** (0.0017)	-0.0180*** (0.0019)
Objective Wealth				
Wealth (index)		0.0205*** (0.0016)	0.0201*** (0.0016)	0.0216*** (0.0018)
Subjective Wealth: Relative to Others				
ELS-Poor (omit middle)			0.0004 (0.0033)	-0.0001 (0.0036)
ELS-Rich (omit middle)			0.0100** (0.0048)	0.0126** (0.0056)
Subject Wealth: Relative to Personal Expectations				
Econ_aspirations 1=very bad to 5=very good				-0.0120*** (0.0023)
Econ_experience 1=very bad to 5=very good				-0.0048*** (0.0019)
Observations	96011	94142	93031	73856
Pseudo R-squared	0.0872	0.0881	0.0879	0.0890

Note: Probit regression reporting marginal effects. *** denotes sig. at 1% **denotes sig. at 5% *denotes sig. at 10%. Standard errors in parenthesis. Year and country controls not shown—coefficients available from authors at request.

Special Cases

Table 9: *Probit Model Analyzing Impact of Happiness and Income on Intent to Migrate, Differentiated by Destination Country.*

Outcome Variable: What country have you considered moving to?

	(1)	(2)
	Intent to Migrate to the U.S.	Intent to Migrate to Spain
Young: 18-29 (omit over 40)	0.0440*** (0.0032)	0.0141*** (0.0017)
Middle-aged: 30-39 (omit over 40)	0.0336*** (0.0037)	0.0106*** (0.0019)
Gender 1=male 0=female	0.0001 (0.0024)	0.0023* (0.0012)
Married 1=yes 0=no	0.0015 (0.0024)	0.0006 (0.0012)
Education	0.0027*** (0.0003)	0.0015*** (0.0002)
Lives in Capital City 1=yes 0=no	0.0179*** (0.0031)	0.0035** (0.0015)
You/Your Family Crime Victim in Last 12mo. 1=yes 0=no	0.0196*** (0.0025)	0.0092*** (0.0013)
Fear of Unemployment: from 1=no fear to 4=much fear	0.0064*** (0.0009)	0.0026*** (0.0005)
Region: 1=Central America 0=South America	0.0877*** (0.0105)	-0.0685*** (0.0059)
Happy 1=very unhappy to 4=very happy	-0.0079*** (0.0014)	-0.0029*** (0.0007)
Objective Income		
Wealth	0.0159*** (0.0014)	0.0044*** (0.0007)
Subjective Income Relative to Expectations for Self		
Inc_aspirations From 1=very bad to 5=very good	-0.0046*** (0.0016)	-0.0038*** (0.0009)
Inc_experience From 1=much worse to 5=much better	-0.0010 (0.0013)	-0.0025*** (0.0007)
Observations	53591	53591
Pseudo R-squared	0.0836	0.1328

Note: Probit regression reporting marginal effects. *** denotes sig. at 1% **denotes sig. at 5% *denotes sig. at 10%. Standard errors in parenthesis. Uses years 2002, 2003, 2004. Year and country controls not shown—coefficients available from authors at request.

Table 10: *Probit Model Analyzing Impact of Happiness and Income on Intent to Migrate When Controlling for* Remittances *in 2009.*

Outcome Variable: Have you and your family seriously considered moving abroad? 1=Yes 2=No

Young: 18-29 (omit over 40)	0.0707*** (0.0074)
Middle-aged: 30-39 (omit over 40)	0.0639*** (0.0084)
Gender: 1=male 0=female	0.0097* (0.0057)
Married: 1=yes 0=no	-0.0168*** (0.0059)
Education	0.0079*** (0.0007)
Lives in Capital City: 1=yes 0=no	0.0561*** (0.0093)
You/Your Family Crime Victim in Last 12mo. 1=yes 0=no	0.0486*** (0.0059)
Fear of Unemployment: from 1=no fear to 4=much fear	0.0162*** (0.0022)
Remittances 1=yes, receives 0=no, does not receive	0.0811*** (0.0090)
Happy 1=very unhappy t0 4=very happy	-0.0176*** (0.0036)
Objective Income	
Wealth	0.0092** (0.0036)
Subjective Income: Relative to Others	
*ELS-Poor (*Omit Middle)	0.0044 (0.0065)
ELS-Rich (omit middle)	0.0003 (0.0094)
Subjective Income Relative to Expectations for Self	
Inc_aspirations From 1=very bad to 5=very good	-0.0093** (0.0041)
Inc_experiece From 1=much worse to 5=much better	-0.0053 (0.0035)
Observations	18128
Pseudo R-squared	0.1112

Notes: Probit regressions reporting marginal effects. *** denotes sig. at 1% **denotes sig. at 5% *denotes sig. at 10%. Standard errors in parenthesis. Includes only year 2009. Year and country controls not shown—coefficients available from authors at request.

Table 11: *Income Levels of Remittance Recipients.*

Income Values: ELS-Based Categories	Percent that Receive Remittances	Income Values: Composite Wealth Index	Percent that Receive Remittances
Poor	13%	**0**	16%
Middle	15%	**1**	14%
Rich	21%	**2**	15%
		3	23%

Satisfaction with Life among Adolescents from Returned Portuguese Immigrant Families

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Abstract

A central construct within the positive psychology literature is satisfaction with life. The aim of this study was to determine the level of satisfaction with life among adolescents from returned immigrant families in Portugal, as well as the background, the intercultural contact and the adaptation factors related thereto. The sample consisted of 615 adolescents (mean age = 16.5 years; SD = 1.4). The mean duration of sojourn in Portugal for the sample was 8.4 (SD = 4.6). They answered a self-report questionnaire. A comparison group involving 217 young Portuguese was also included in the study. Adolescents from returned immigrant families revealed similar levels of satisfaction with life in comparison with peers who have never migrated. The notion that geographic mobility of parents is a primary cause of adaptation problems in their children appears to be incorrect. Predictive factors – demographic, intercultural, and adaptation variables – were significantly linked to the satisfaction with life of youth. Combined, these variables explained 37% of the variance in life satisfaction. The results help us understand which variables are important to target when developing interventions to improve the life satisfaction of adolescents from returned immigrant families.

Keywords: Adaptation, Adolescents, Intercultural Contact, Return Migration, Satisfaction with Life.

Introduction

Acculturation refers to the process of culture contact that generally occurs through movement from a place of origin to a different place of settlement. Although migration is often a permanent solution to migratory movements, the return to the place of origin is also a possibility. The acculturation cycle therefore may not end in the receiving societies, but continues during and after remigration and migratory life has a powerful impact on it. Similarly, sociocultural changes also occurred for those who stayed behind. In this sense, the return of migrants to places of origin generates a new cycle of adjustment, a process of re-acculturation (Donà & Ackermann, 2006). The migratory experience shapes identities, perceptions and inter-group relations after return and these aspects need to be researched further.

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For decades, intensive research efforts have concentrated on the cultural adaptation of immigrants to a foreign culture. However, much less attention has been paid to re-entry to one's home country after a sojourn abroad (Martin, 1984; Tamura & Furnham, 1993; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). This lack of research interest in cultural re-entry may stem from a widely taken perspective that re-entry should not be problematic since it is "going home". Individuals returning home after extended stay abroad may experience difficulties re-adjusting to their home country. For example, a review of the literature by Isogai, Hayashi, & Uno (1999) found that the majority of returnees to Japan experience difficulties in readjusting. They often feel rejected by the Japanese society, particularly after having returned from a long sojourn abroad, and they frequently struggle with core issues pertaining to identity. Friction is caused by being perceived as having adopted "foreign characteristics" which are incompatible with the Japanese cultural manifestations. These may include increased assertiveness on the part of the returned person, a more individualistic orientation, less conformity to group norms, and for women, a new-found resistance to male-dominated social practices.

Sussman (1986) highlights five difficulties sojourners experience upon their return home. First, the unexpectedness of the re-entry problems may cause the shock to be significantly worse. Most individuals going to another culture are likely to be anticipating adjustment difficulties whereas those returning home are not. Second, changes occur within the individual as a result of the sojourn. Third, changes occur in the home culture itself. Fourth, friends and family expect returnees to be the same as they were before the sojourn and are not expecting new types of behaviour or values. And fifth, friends and family are often not interested in the sojourn, and this is experienced with frustration and disappointment by the re-enterer.

Despite the demographic importance of return migration theoretically, methodology, and substantively, social scientists know relatively little about it (Sopemi, 2008). In this paper we seek to deepen understanding of return migration. It is important for us to understand which factors might increase risk for poor well-being. Identifying factors of risk can help highlight potential foci for prevention and intervention efforts. This paper examines the relationship between re-acculturation, adaptation, and satisfaction with life among adolescents from returned Portuguese immigrant families. The motivation for adolescents in this study to return are mixed, in that remigration was the decision of their parents, who were immigrants, and the adolescents did not necessarily wish to migrate to Portugal.

Satisfaction with life

Despite evidence that immigrants are no worse off than their domestic peers when it comes to mental health problems, there is a dearth of studies that specifically address issues of positive mental health outcomes, such as satisfaction with life, as well as factors associated with these outcomes. The bulk of the studies have focused on negative mental health outcomes. This focus on mental health problems has been criticized by Rogler (1994) who, along with Carballo (1994), has argued for the need to accomplish direct psychological acculturation research in other areas.

Within the field of psychology, the study of "happiness" generally falls under investigations of subjective well-being (SWB). Subjective well-being is a growing area of psychology that focuses on people's emotional and cognitive evaluations of their lives (Diener, Lucas, & Oishi, 2002; Bălţătescu, 2005). The study of subjective well-being is of substantial applied importance (Bartram, 2010). Diener (1995, p. 319) argued that "when policy makers seek to understand how to improve the quality of life, measures of SWB are necessary to complement more objective measures such as economic indices. Indeed, measures of happiness and life satisfaction are now collected in highly industrialized nations to monitor the well-being of these societies. If only

social indicators are considered (e.g., per capita income and crime rates), valuable information is lost about how people weigh and react to their life circumstances."

It has been suggested that satisfaction with life is one of three components of SWB, the others being positive and negative affect (Andrews & Withey, 1976; Michalos, 1980; Diener et al., 1985). Whereas positive and negative affect refer to the affective, emotional aspects of SWB, satisfaction with life refers to the cognitive-judgmental aspect. This is somewhat different from happiness as a positive emotional state and distress as a negative one. Life satisfaction is a psychological variable that has received attention as an outcome of universal interest that may be particularly useful for studying cultural variation (Diener & Suh, 2000). Shin and Johnson (1978) defined life satisfaction as an overall assessment of one's quality of life based on one's own criteria. Judgments are based on a comparison with a standard one sets for oneself. An appropriate standard cannot be externally imposed. Diener (1984) has pointed out that the hallmark of SWB is that it centers on personal judgments, not upon some criterion judged important by the researcher(s).

Whereas several different scales for the assessment of affective components exist (cf. Argyle, 2001), few attempts have been made to construct psychometrically sound measures of general life satisfaction (Diener, 1984). Diener et al. (1985) developed the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) to meet the need for a multi-item scale to measure life satisfaction as a cognitive-judgmental process. Although there are other life satisfaction scales that measure global life satisfaction, many are confounded with items that also measure some aspects of the affective component of subjective well-being or are specific to a particular population.

In a previous investigation, Neto (1993) examined whether specific psychometric findings reported by Diener et al. (1985) could be generalized to a group of participants differing in at least two important aspects, cultural/national background and age, by examining Portuguese adolescents. This study reinforced the viewpoint of Diener et al. (1985) that the SWLS could be used with other age groups, in this particular case with adolescents. Moreover, it supported the cross-national validity of the SWLS. Another investigation focused on psychological correlates of life satisfaction among young Portuguese living in France, the country that received the greatest number of Portuguese migrants in the past three decades (Neto, 1995). The results of this study replicated earlier findings and demonstrated part of the broad network of background and psychosocial variables in which life satisfaction is embedded.

The research reported here will focus on demographic, intercultural contact, and adaptation correlates of global assessment of life satisfaction among returned adolescents from Portuguese immigrant families. Although the foci of satisfaction may vary among migrants, there is a substantial common core of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, regardless of the focus considered (Scott & Scott, 1989).

Returned Emigration to Portugal

This study is relevant in the context of Portugal now being a receiving country, for both returnees and foreign nationals. At the present time Portugal is simultaneously an emigration and an immigration country (Neto, 2006). Historians consider Portuguese emigration as a "structural historical phenomenon" (Serrão, 1974) or as a "structural constant" (Godinho, 1978). In 2002 the number of Portuguese residing abroad close to 4.6 million according to MNE/DGACCP (*Ministério dos Negócios Estangeiros/Direcção Geral de Assuntos Consulares e Comunidades Portuguesas*). Among these Portuguese abroad, 61.11% live in America, 27.08% in Europe, 7.50% in Africa, 3.62% in Asia, and 0.70% in Oceania. The United States, Brazil, France, Canada, Venezuela and South Africa are the countries in which great numbers of Portuguese reside (more than 300 000).

Taking into account the importance of emigration in the Portuguese society, it could be thought that the issue of return was a well-studied subject in this country. Statistical information

and empirical research on return migration are scarce (Rato, 2001). The official numbers of the return of emigrants of the National Institute of Statistics (INE) indicate that during the periods of 1976/81, 1986/91 and 1996/2001 alone more than 295 000 individuals arrived at the domestic territory. Surpassing these values one concludes that, throughout only one quarter of century (1976/2001), almost 600 000 individuals will perhaps have returned, which is considerable given the demographic dimension of the country. Despite the importance of the demographic volume of the return of emigrants, the research of this issue is very scarce, and furthermore most of this bibliography belongs to the 80`s decade (Silva et al., 1984).

The focus of the present paper is to understand the life satisfaction of adolescents from returned Portuguese immigrant families. These adolescents often have to deal with changes associated with acculturation and with the normal developmental changes of adolescence. Both may take place simultaneously and involve rapid change. In spite of evidence that young immigrants do not exhibit more symptoms of psychological disorders than their national peers (Fuligni, 1998), there is a lack of studies that focus on the positive aspects of adaptation among returned immigrant youth and on how they compare with non-immigrant peers.

Objectives

The purpose of this investigation is three-fold. The first objective was to examine whether an emigrant background affects satisfaction with life. For Phinney & Alipuria (1996), one basic question about bicultural individuals is whether they are confused outsiders or special individuals with a broader understanding. The "marginal man" conceptualization (Park, 1950; Stonequist, 1961) is still guiding research. Park's view was that, with migration and the loosening of bonds to his/her original culture, the marginal person - a person at the edge of two cultures - becomes "the individual with the keener intelligence, the wider horizon, the more detached and rational viewpoint" (Park, 1950, pp. 375-376). In contrast, Stonequist (1961) viewed the marginal person as a person caught between two cultures, never fitting in.

Until recently, the dominant Western view of the multiethnic person was consistent with that of Stonequist. Multiethnic people have been portrayed as troubled and anxious outsiders who lack a clear identity. However, the results of recent empirical research have indicated that multiethnic individuals are at no psychological disadvantage in comparison to monoethnic individuals. Researchers have consistently found no differences between self-esteem of multiethnic and monoethnic groups (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Sam & Virta, 2003). Two studies have shown that young Portuguese living in France did not differ on loneliness and satisfaction with life from young Portuguese who had never migrated and were living in Portugal (Neto, 1995, 1999). The same results have been found among Portuguese migrants living in Switzerland (Neto & Barros, 2007). In a recent study, adolescents from immigrant families living in Portugal reported fewer mental health problems than Portuguese adolescents who have never migrated (Neto, 2009). In the present study we will present research comparing life satisfaction of adolescents from returned Portuguese immigrant families and young Portuguese living in the same country without migratory experience.

The second aim was to examine whether life satisfaction can be understood on the basis of demographic, intercultural contact and adaptation variables. *Demographic factors* such as, age, gender, and length of sojourn are seen as key factors in understanding the migration experience (Ward et al., 2001). However research on demographic factors has yielded conflicting results regarding the nature of the relationship with life satisfaction. The empirical research is mixed in suggesting that men and women tend to experience reentry differently. For example, for Brabant et al. (1990) gender was the most important variable for predicting re-entry problems. However, Sussman (2001) reported no significant relationships between gender and re-entry difficulties.

Specifically, concerning satisfaction with life, although female teenagers reported more negative affects, they also seem to have experienced greater joys, so that little difference in global happiness or satisfaction was usually found between genders (Diener, 1984; Neto, 1995).

Research findings pertaining to age and well-being are also somewhat ambiguous. Some studies have reported that younger people cope with transitions better while others have concluded that older people have fewer problems (Church, 1982). However, studies conducted on adolescents showed a positive and statistically significant relation between age and depression (Turjeman, Mesh, & Fishman, 2008; Wade, Cairney, & Pevalin, 2002). It seems that older adolescents, in their transition from school to adult life, face adult-like challenges that spare the younger adolescents attending high school. In agreement with that argument, studies have shown that adolescents' overall life satisfaction decreases with age (e.g., Casas, Bǎlţǎtescu, Bertran, Gonzáles, & Hatos, 2009).

Similarly to the length of one's stay abroad, the time elapsed since one's return has also been used as a predictor of re-entry adjustment. However, the results of the research related to the influence of the length of time since return on re-entry adjustment are inconsistent (Szkudlarek, 2010). For example, Amit (2010) showed that the number of years spent in Israel does not significantly predict life satisfaction.

The well-being of adolescents with immigrant background is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon (Pernice & Brook, 1996). However, various reviews (e.g., Aronowitz, 1984; Berry, 1997; Rogler et al., 1991; Ward et al., 2001) have identified some *intercultural contact* factors that arguably are important for well-being outcomes: identity, social interaction and perceived discrimination. An important domain is the extent to which changes in identity are related to changes that occur in the process of acculturation. Two aspects which have been found to be very important to adolescents of immigrant background are ethnic identity and majority identity (Phinney, 1990). Group identification implies a sense of belonging and this sense is implicated in the psychological well-being of ethnic majority group members (e.g., Zheng, Sang, & Wang, 2004) Another important indicator of intercultural contact is peer interactions with a migrant background and peers who have not migrated. Lacking a peer network might be detrimental to one's well-being and increase the likelihood of falling into a depressive mood (Turjeman, Mesh, & Fishman, 2008). Ethnic discrimination and prejudice play a major role in the adaptation of immigrants as such experiences diminish the physical and emotional health outcomes of immigrants. Specifically, some studies have shown that perceived discrimination has a strong negative effect on various aspects of immigrants' mental health (Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000; Neto, 1995). Berry et al. (2006) found that perceived discrimination was negatively related to psychological adaptation, including life satisfaction.

Adaptation, varying from well-adapted to maladapted, is the long-term outcome of psychological acculturation (Berry, 1997). Ward and colleagues have distinguished two components of adaptation. Psychological adaptation refers to psychological well-being or mental health and satisfaction in a new cultural context, whereas sociocultural adaptation relates to learning new social skills to interact with the new culture, dealing with daily problems of living, and carrying out tasks effectively (Ward & Kennedy, 1999). These two forms of adaptation are interrelated; dealing successfully with problems and positive interactions with members of the host culture are both likely to improve one's feelings of well-being and satisfaction; similarly, it is easier to accomplish tasks and develop positive interpersonal relations if one is feeling good and accepted. In this study, psychological well-being was measured as positive self-esteem, mastery, and frequency of psychological symptoms (lower levels of mental health problems, such as anxiety, depression, and somatic symptoms), while social adaptation was measured as school adaptation, and behavioral problems (i.e., antisocial behavior).

In Western cultures self-esteem and acting in a consistent way that is congruent with one's personal beliefs are personality factors associated with high levels of subjective well-being (Diener

et al., 1999). By contrast, unhappy people tend to have more psychological symptoms (Proctor, Linley, & Maltby, 2009). Another strong predictor of subjective well-being is the presence of positive social relationships (Argyle, 2001; Neto, 2005). Thus social adaptation may denote positive social relationships.

In sum, this study explored the relations of socio-demographic, re-acculturation, and adaptation variables with life satisfaction. In particular, an attempt was made to identify the differentiated relations of demographic variables, identity, social interaction, perceived discrimination, school adaptation, and behavioural problems with life satisfaction in adolescents of different sex and age groups.

The third aim of this study was to compare the percent of variance accounting for background variables and psychological variables. In accordance with the literature we expect to find a greater percent of the variance in life satisfaction with intercultural and adaptation variables than with demographic variables (Diener, 1984; Neto, 2001). Early SWB researchers focused on identifying the external correlations that lead to satisfying lives. For example, in his influential article, Wilson (1967) catalogued the various demographic factors related to SWB measures. However, after decades of research, psychologists came to realize that external factors often have only a modest impact on well-being reports. For example, Proctor et al. (2009) in their review of 141 empirical studies on life satisfaction among youth concluded that the relationship between demographic variables (i. e., age, gender, race, and socioeconomic status) and life satisfaction was weak and that these variables contribute only modestly to the prediction of youth life satisfaction.

Specifically, based on the above review, three hypotheses concerning satisfaction with life of adolescents from returned immigrant families were tested:

Hypothesis 1. Satisfaction with life scores of adolescents from returned immigrant families will be similar to those of adolescents without migratory experience.

Hypothesis 2. Age predicts life satisfaction among adolescents from returned migrant families. Younger adolescents will show more life satisfaction than older adolescents (Turjeman et al., 2008; Ward et al., 2001).

Hypothesis 3. We hypothesized that intercultural and adaptation predictors will account for a larger proportion of the explained variance in satisfaction with life scores than demographic predictors would.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 615 adolescent students, children of returned Portuguese immigrants from France (n = 360), Germany (n = 74), Venezuela (n = 76), Canada and the United States (105) and that have themselves lived in that country. All students were attending Portuguese public high schools in the North of Portugal. The mean age of the participants was 16.51 (SD=1.41) and range from 13 to 19. There were 57.7% girls and 41.8% boys. Seventy five (12.2%) of the participants were born in Portugal, and 535 participants (87%) were born abroad. One of the critical variables in acculturation is duration of time in the settlement culture. The mean duration of residence in Portugal was 8.41 years (SD=4.57). Concerning the neighbourhood 61% is above all composed of people that have never migrated, and 37% is composed of by at least half of the people that have migrated. Ninety-two percent were Roman Catholic.

Table 1: *Characteristics of the sample*

Variables	Returnees (N = 615)
Mean age (SD)	16.5 (1.4)
Sex	
Male	257 (41.8%)
Female	355 (57.7%)
Place of birth	
Portugal	75 (12.2%)
Abroad	535 (87.0%)
Country of immigration	
France	360 (58.5%)
Germany	74 (12.0%)
Venezuela	76 (12.4%)
Canada and USA	105 (17.1%)
Mean age of arrival (SD)	8.4 (4.6)
Duration of sojourn	
Less than 6 years	188 (30.6)
6-10 years	188 (30.6)
More than 10 years	224 (36.4)
Neighborhood	
All different	179 (29.1)
Different	195 (31.7)
Equal	161 (26.2)
Same	48 (7.8)
All same	21 (3.4)

Notes: Neighborhood = Ethnic composition of neighborhood: this scale ranged from 1 (almost all people are not emigrants) to 5 (almost all people are emigrants)

For purposes of comparison, 217 Portuguese adolescents (58.8% females and 41.2% males; mean age=15.18 years, SD = 1.19; 93% low socioeconomic status) were recruited for the study. The proportion of adolescents returned and adolescents without migratory experience by gender was not significantly different (χ^2 (1, 828) = 0.04, p = 0.84). The mean age of both ethnocultural groups (returned adolescents M = 16.51, SD = 1.44; adolescents without migratory experience M = 15.18, SD = 1.19) was significantly different, F(1, 831) = 153.8, p < 0.001, η_p^2 = 0.156. Thus, age was used as a covariate.

Measures

Measures used in the study were assembled by an international group of scholars to study the adaptation of immigrants and ethnocultural youth across cultures (Berry et al., 2006). Measures were either developed for the project, or adapted from existing scales, as described below. In designing the Portuguese version of the items, the author followed the guidelines proposed in the literature on cross-cultural methodology (Brislin, 2000): independent/blind/back translation, educated translation, and small scale pre-tests. Except for the demographic questions, all the items

were answered on a five-point scale. The alphas for the current sample are reported in Table 3 in the diagonal in parentheses.

Demographics. This included age, gender, place of birth (Portugal or abroad), age at arrival in Portugal, and religion. Participants also reported their ethnicity and the occupation of both parents.

Cultural identity: Portuguese identity was measured with the item "I feel that I am Portuguese", and returned country identity was measured with the item: "I feel I am Canadian/French...". Responses options ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5).

Ingroup and outgroup social interaction. Ingroup peer interaction (4 items) assessed the frequency of interaction with peers who have lived some time abroad. A sample question is: How often do you spend free time with peers who have lived some time abroad? Outgroup social interaction was reported on a similar scale with 4 items assessing the frequency of interaction with peers who have never left the country. Responses options ranged from *almost never* (1) to *almost always* (5).

Perceived discrimination. This scale consisted of nine items (Neto, 2006). Five of the items assessed direct experience of discrimination - negative or unfair treatment from others (e.g., *I have been teased or insulted because I am a returned immigrant*), and the remaining 4 items assessed the sources of the negative treatment (e.g., teachers, pupils, etc.). Participants responded on a scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*).

Behavioural problems. The scale was based on Olweus (1989), with modifications by the researchers. It included ten items assessing frequency of antisocial behaviours such as stealing, destroying property, bulling, and misbehaving in school. A sample item is: *Cursed at a teacher*. Respondents rated the behaviours on a scale from *never* (1) to *many times during the past 12 months* (5).

School adaptation. This was assessed by means of a seven-item scale. Items came from a variety of sources (e.g., Anderson, 1982; Moos, 1989). A typical item of this scale is *At present I like school.* Responses options ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5).

Psychological problems. This scale consisted of 15 items measuring depression, anxiety and psychosomatic symptoms. Five items measured each of the three areas. The items were taken from the following sources: Beiser and Flemming (1986); Reynolds and Richmond (1985); and depression scales from Robinson, Shaver and Wrightsman (1991). Participants responded on a 5-point scale ranging from *not at all* (1) to *very often* (5). Sample items included *I feel tired*; *I feel tense and anxious* and *I feel lonely even if I am with people* corresponding to psychosomatic symptoms, anxiety and depression respectively. A factor analysis indicated that the 15 items constitute one factor.

Mastery: this was measured using a six-item scale that measured the degree to which individuals feel a sense of mastery and control of their lives. It was based on several existing scales: Connell (1985), Levenson (1981), Paulus (1983) and Pearlin and Schooler (1978). Sample items included: "What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me" and "I often feel helpless in dealing with problems of my life". The scale had an internal consistency of 0.64.

Self-esteem: this was measured using Rosenberg's (1986) 10-item self-esteem inventory. Sample items were "On the whole I am satisfied with myself" and "I have a positive attitude toward myself". The scale had an internal consistency of 0.69.

Satisfaction with life: this scale consisted of 5 items (Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin,1985) and an item in this scale was: "The conditions of my life are excellent". The reliability and the validity of this scale have been previously demonstrated for a Portuguese population (Neto, 1993, 1995).

Procedure

Recruitment of participants was centered around the northern part of the country (in the Douro and Minho regions). The participants were recruited in the following way: we approached schools and asked for permission to have students fill in the questionnaires during class time. In the classroom, participants were asked to fill out a paper-and-pencil questionnaire including demographic questions and items on the scales during a school session. We did not have random samples. Data collection was undertaken by one assistant. The assistant was present to supervise the data collection. The questionnaire was self-explanatory, but a standard instruction was given at the beginning of the session to inform participants that participation was voluntary and that their responses would be kept confidential and used solely for research purposes. The acceptance rate was high: 93% of the people contacted accepted to participate in the study. The questionnaire was administered in Portuguese and took approximately 1 hour to complete.

Results

The mean satisfaction with life score for the entire returned immigrant sample was 3.57 (SD=0.83), and that for Portuguese adolescents who never left the country was 3.76 (SD = 0.81). Following a review of different life satisfaction scales, Cummins (1995) proposed a "gold standard" for subjective well-being: For Diener et al.'s scale, this is 65.0 + or - 2.5% of the maximum scale measure. In other words, for 5- point scale, the gold standard is between 3.13 and 3.38, where scores below 3.13 should be interpreted as indicative of poor life satisfaction. The estimated mean scores for life satisfaction for both returned adolescents (M = 3.57) and their national peers (M = 3.76) were above 3.31, the mean score Cummins (1995) suggested as the gold standard for life satisfaction based on Diener et al.'s (1985) scale. Therefore, we may conclude that returned immigrant adolescents and their national peers are quite satisfied with their lives.

To address Hypothesis 1 (Status: returned immigrant, native) X 2 (Gender), analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted with age as a covariate and satisfaction with life as the dependent variable (Table 2). It revealed that the main effect of geographic mobility was not significant, F (1, 823) = 0.54, *ns* (returned immigrant youth: M = 3.57, SD = 0.83; adolescents who never left the country: M = 3.76 , SD = 0.81), and similarly the main effect of gender was not significant F (1, 823) = 1.40, *ns*. Girls (M = 3.61; SD = 0.81) showed similar levels of life satisfaction to boys (M = 3.65 ; SD = 0.85). There was no significant geographic mobility X gender interaction, F (1, 823) = 0.69, *ns*. These results support Hypothesis 1.

Among returned immigrants, the effect of age was significant, F (1, 611) = 16.83, $p < 0.001$, η^2 = 0.027. Younger adolescents (age 13-16; M = 3.72; SD = 0.78) showed more life satisfaction than older adolescents (age 17-19; M = 3.45; SD = 0.85). These results support Hypothesis 2.

Table 2: *Satisfaction with Life Means and Standard Deviations for Boys and Girls in the Two Samples*

	Boys		Girls	
	Mean	SD	*Mean*	SD
Returned immigrants	3.59	0.84	3.57	0.82
Adolescents who have never left the country	3.82	0.86	3.73	0.78

Examining among the returned adolescents by country of emigration, a one-away ANCOVA (covariates of age, gender) was performed to examine whether life satisfaction scored differed among returned emigrant groups. This analysis showed no significant effects of the country of emigration on satisfaction with life, $[F (5, 608) = 0.17 , ns]$ (France: M = 3.54; SD = 0.83; Germany: M = 3.61; SD = 0.88; Venezuela: M = 3.62; SD = 0.86; Canada and USA: M = 3.62; SD = 0.76).

A correlation analysis was performed that included all the re-acculturation and adaptation variables taken into account, namely life satisfaction, intercultural contact factors (i. e., Portuguese identity, returned country identity, in-group social interaction, out-group social interaction, and perceived discrimination), and adaptation (behaviour problems, school adaptation, psychological problems, mastery, and self-esteem). The correlation matrix is presented in Table 3. As expected, data showed significant negative correlations between perceived discrimination, behavioural problems, psychological problems, and satisfaction with life. Data also showed significant positive correlations between Portuguese identity, interaction with returned peers and with those who have never migrated, school adaptation, mastery, self-esteem, and satisfaction with life.

Table 3: *Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations of Acculturation and Adaptation Variables*

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1 – Satisfaction with life	3.57	0.83	(0.85)										
2 – Portuguese identity	3.36	1,24	0.13**	(--)									
3 – Returned country identity	2.95	1.30	0.06	0.17***	(--)								
4 – Perceived discrimination	1.69	0.70	-.16***	-0.14***	0.07	(0.88)							
5 – In-group social interaction	2.78	1.01	0.10*	-0.09*	0.07	0.09*	(0.75)						
6 - Out-group interaction	4.27	0.67	0.15***	0.14***	-0.04	-0.25***	-0.01	(0.70)					
7 – Behavioural problems	1.31	0.48	-.11**	-.08*	-.03	0.28***	-0.03	-0.07	(0.84)				
8 – School adaptation	3,79	0.66	0.28***	0.07	0.02	-0.26***	0.05	0.17***	-0.33***	(0.67)			
9 – Psychological problems	2.49	0.65	-0.36***	-0.06	0.01	0.29***	0.01	-0.14**	0.24***	-0.36***	(0.90)		
10 - Mastery	3.89	0.64	0.35***	-0.09*	0.03	-0.04	0.11***	0.04	-0.07	0.09	-0.12**	(0.74)	
11 – Self-esteem	3.69	0.62	0.51***	0.10*	-0.02	-0.27***	0.11**	0.13**	-0.18***	0.30***	-0.45***	0.33***	(0.77)

Note: Alpha coefficients are in the diagonal in parentheses.*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001.

Multiple regression models were used to examine the relative strength of the variables in predicting satisfaction with life among returned immigrant youth. Three sets of possible predictors were considered: demographic variables (i.e., gender, age, and duration of sojourn), intercultural contact variables (i.e., Portuguese identity, returned country identity, perceived discrimination, in-group social interaction, and out-group social interaction), and adaptation variables (behavioural

problems, school adaptation, psychological problems, mastery, and self-esteem). Dummy variables were created for gender. The goal was to examine whether acculturation was associated with satisfaction with life after more general socio-demographic factors have been accounted for. Sociocultural and psychological adaptation factors were entered last to determine whether the relationship between acculturation and life satisfaction would change after adaptation factors were introduced into the model.

The VIF values are all well below 10 and the tolerance statistics all well above 0.20; therefore, there is no strong collinearity within the predictors. Table 4 shows the results of the regression models for the entire sample. The regression model of the first set of demographic variables was significant, F_{change} (3, 593) = 6.46, $p < 0.001$, explaining 3% of the variance. Gender and duration of sojourn were not significant predictors, but older respondents indicated lower general life satisfaction compared to younger respondents. The addition of the intercultural contact variables on step 2 significantly increased the explained variance, R^2_{change} = 0.06, F_{change} (9, 593) = 3.79, $p < 0.001$. The analyses revealed that besides age, Portuguese identity, perceived discrimination, interaction with returned and national peers emerged as significant predictors of life satisfaction. The more adolescents reported Portuguese identity and interaction with returned peers and with peers who have never migrated, and less discrimination, the more likely they were to experience satisfaction with life. The addition of the adaptation variables on step 3 also significantly increased the explained variance, R^2_{change} = 0.28, F_{change} (13, 568) = 25.08, $p < 0.001$. The factors that contributed significantly to the explained variance were age, school adaptation, psychological problems, mastery and self-esteem. The data supported Hypothesis 3 because intercultural contact and adaptation variables accounted for a larger proportion of the explained variance in life satisfaction than demographic predictors.

Table 4: *Regression Predicting Returned Immigrant Adolescents Satisfaction with Life [a]*

Predictor variables	Block 1	Block 2	Block 3
Demographic factors			
Gender	0.02	0.03	-0.05
Age	-0.18***	-0.16***	-0.14**
Duration of sojourn	0.01	-0.02	0.01
Intercultural contact factors			
Portuguese identity		0.10*	0.06
Returned country identity		0.01	0.02
Perceived discrimination		-0.12*	0.02
In-group social interaction		0.13**	0.04
Out-group social interaction		0.10*	0.05
Adaptation factor factors			
Behavioural problems			0.05
School adaptation			0.08*
Psychological problems			-0.14**
Mastery			0.19***
Self-esteem			0.38***
Multiple R2	0.03	0.09	0.37
R2 change and significance	0.03***	0.06***	0.28***

[a] Beta coefficients are reported. *p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Discussion

The satisfaction with life of returned immigrants has not been sufficiently researched worldwide (Amit, 2010). This study investigated the degree of satisfaction with life among returned adolescents, and the factors that may predict the level of life satisfaction among them. All three of our study hypotheses were supported.

Consistent with previous studies (e.g., Neto, 1995; Neto & Barros, 2007; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996), we found multiethnic young people were not at a psychological disadvantage because of their mixed cultural background. Hypothesis 1 was supported: adolescents from returned immigrant families did show similar levels of life satisfaction to peers that had never migrated. Our findings are also consistent with other studies showing that the mean life satisfaction score was beyond the neutral point (Neto, 1995; Sam, 1998). Diener & Diener (1996) discussed this tendency for people to be above average in reported satisfaction with life, concluding that people are motivated to have positive experiences. The data from the current study indicating that adolescents were fairly satisfied appears to be in line with Berry's (1997) conclusion that the majority of immigrants adapt very well to their new societies, despite difficulties in meeting the demands of cultural changes and of living in two cultures.

In general Portuguese immigrants are well accepted which in part reflects the core values shared by the culture of origin and the culture of settlement. The preferred acculturation strategy among young Portuguese in France (Neto, 1995), in Germany (Neto, Barros, & Schmitz, 2005), and North America (Berry et al., 1989) is integration, that is, some degree of cultural integrity is maintained while one moves to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. This preference for integration may, on the one hand, protect immigrants' psychological well-being, as individuals opting for integration tend to experience greater well-being during the acculturation process (Berry, 1997). On the other hand, as they have maintained aspects of the Portuguese culture, the re-acculturation to the country of origin may become an easier process when they return to Portugal.

Younger adolescents (age 14-16) reported more life satisfaction than older adolescents (age 17-19), supporting our second hypothesis. These results are in agreement with previous research showing that younger immigrants were generally better adapted than older immigrants (Berry et al., 2006). It is not easy to explain why this is the case, partly because of the lack of longitudinal studies. Two explanations can be advanced. One is that the younger the acculturating individual, the more "flexible" the person is in terms of conflicts between one's original cultural heritage and that of the new society. Another explanation is that older adolescents are faced with more challenges than their younger peers as they go through the transition from adolescence to adulthood.

Satisfaction with life is a complex phenomenon, being experienced differently by people under varying conditions. Like all complex phenomena, it is caused by an interaction of personal dispositions and situational forces. Our results showed that within the three sets of variables – demographic, intercultural contact and adaptation variables - we found significant predictors of life satisfaction. Among socio-demographic factors, age emerged as a significant predictor of life satisfaction. The inclusion of the demographic variables allowed for their effect to be controlled in regressions. The results of this study showed the complexity of the relationship between the re- acculturation process and its adaptation outcomes among returned adolescents.

Among intercultural contact factors, social interaction both with peers who have returned from emigration and those who have not migrated, perceived discrimination, and Portuguese identity emerged as significant predictors of life satisfaction. Age remained a significant predictor in this model. Returned migrants who have more contacts with returned peers and peers who have not migrated were best equipped for developing more life satisfaction. Perceived discrimination clearly decreased life satisfaction. This result supports previous findings of negative influence of negative acculturation experiences on psychological well-being of adolescents (Gil et al., 1994; Rogler et al., 1991). This finding is consistent with a growing body of research demonstrating

that recognizing that one's group membership is a target of prejudice and discrimination carries negative psychological consequences for disadvantaged groups (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz & Owen, 2002). Portuguese identity was positively associated with life satisfaction. Portuguese identification plays an important role in life satisfaction because returned adolescents may attribute value to their national group and derive satisfaction from the belongingness and sense of inclusion.

However, when adaptation variables were added to demographic and intercultural contact variables no intercultural contact factor remained in the model. In this model self-esteem, mastery, psychological problems, and school adaptation emerged as significant predictors, and age also remained a significant predictor. This study suggests that the most important predictor variables of life satisfaction among adolescents of returned migrant background were the adaptation variables.

The strongest predictor of life satisfaction was self-esteem. As Diener (1984) pointed out, high self-esteem is one of the strongest factors of well-being, and several studies have found a relationship between self-esteem and life satisfaction among adolescents (e.g., Dew & Huebner, 1994; Neto, 1993). Campbell *et al.* (1976) found that self-satisfaction showed the highest correlation with life satisfaction of any variable examined.

Another factor related to life satisfaction was mastery. The adaptation to a new cultural context creates a lot of challenges. If one feels in control of these challenges, one's sense of satisfaction improves. The fact that persons with a high level of mastery have higher feelings of life satisfaction is consistent with earlier studies (Neto, 1995; Lachman & Wearer, 1998; Sam, 1998). A practical consequence of this finding is that helping returned adolescents with immigrant background to develop a better sense of mastery may improve the global assessment of life satisfaction.

Another predictor of life satisfaction were the psychological symptoms. In fact the absence of depression and other negative emotions is part of the subjective well-being. Many studies have shown how there is a strong negative relation between depression in particular and satisfaction (Veenhoveen, 1994). In an Australian study Headey and Wearing (1992) also found a negative relation between depression and anxiety, and life satisfaction. If psychological symptoms are distinct from positive affect and satisfaction, they have quite strong negative correlations with them (Argyle, 2001). In light of this, it is obvious that, by reducing the psychological symptoms, the level of life satisfaction can be enhanced.

For most immigrant children and adolescents, school and other educational settings are the major arenas for inter-group contact and re-acculturation. School adjustment can be seen as a primary task of the cultural transition process. Education is conventionally associated with better adaptation and lower levels of stress (Jayasuriya, Sang, & Fielding, 1992), and our results showed that school adjustment was a strong predictor of well-being.

We expected that demographic factors of gender, age, years of residence would account for modest levels of the explained variance in life satisfaction. Psychosocial factors, including re-acculturation and adaptation variables, would account for the larger part of the explained variance in life satisfaction. This was observed supporting our third hypothesis. Our regression model indicated that about 37% of the explained variance in life satisfaction can be accounted for through the combined demographic and personal factors. Only 3% of the explained variance could be attributed to demographic factors. Thus, the demographic variables, as expected, only accounted for a small percentage of variance in life satisfaction. In fact, Andrews and Withey (1976) stated that the demographic variables they assessed accounted for less than 10% of the variance in SWB. Neto (1995, 2002) and Sam (1998) also found that demographic factors were less relevant than personal factors for the understanding of life satisfaction. Thus, to improve one's life satisfaction, early intervention should focus more on psychosocial than on demographic factors as the former can be changed more readily than many of the latter.

Although the findings of this study add to the existing literature on return migration issues and SWB, a number of limitations deserve mention. First, data were collected on student samples

from the North of Portugal where there are strong migration influences. Our findings may not generalize to other age groups or to return migrants living in areas where migration is not a strong issue. Second, the use of self-reported measures does not provide the opportunity to check whether respondents correctly estimated their attitudes and behaviours. External indices that test the validity of self-reported measures would be useful in such a context. Third, data were cross-sectional and causal implications cannot be drawn. Longitudinal studies may help us better understand the temporal relationship between predictor and dependent variables.

Despite the aforementioned limitations, several strengths of this study should be highlighted. It replicates earlier findings and demonstrates the broad network of background and psychosocial variables in which life satisfaction is embedded. It highlights the relevance of cultural factors in the provision of mental health services, and therefore has implications for the evaluation, intervention and treatment of adolescents with returned emigrant backgrounds. In addition, age differences in satisfaction with life are relevant for assisting returned immigrants in the integration process as well as for future research in return migration and health. Clinical professionals must take into account socio-cultural background when planning interventions.

Many emigrants return to Portugal. Better understanding of how re-acculturation processes might exacerbate risk for life satisfaction or facilitate healthier adjustment is a worthy endeavour, especially given the increasing return population in Portugal. The present study offers suggestions for prevention and intervention programs for returned adolescents.

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The Multiple Dimensions of Transnationalism: Examining their Relevance to Immigrants' Subjective Well-being

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Abstract

Using data from a random representative survey of South Florida immigrants (n=1,268), our research examines different facets of transnationalism and how they relate to a typically overlooked component of immigrant incorporation–subjective well-being. We examine separately the affective and evaluative components of immigrants' well-being in their country of reception—the United States — by differentiating between self-reported emotional well-being and self-reported satisfaction with life in the U.S. Findings support that the kinds and frequency of connections that immigrants maintain with the home country are important factors for understanding immigrants' subjective well-being.

Keywords: Immigrants, Life Satisfaction, Subjective Well-Being, Happiness, Transnationalism

Introduction

For decades scholars have sought to understand the process of immigrant adaptation. Researchers have spoken of "assimilation," the process by which immigrants become like their native counterparts (Gordon, 1964). More recent discussions of assimilation have noted how children of immigrants take different paths to incorporation through segmented assimilation (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Portes & Zhou, 1993), which does not necessarily conform to previous understandings of assimilation as a steady process of 'conversion' with natives. Others point out how the United States has adopted aspects of immigrant cultures as immigrants come to resemble "mainstream" society over time (Alba & Nee, 2003). At the same time, immigration scholars have expanded the scope of their inquiries to include how immigrants maintain involvement in the societies they leave behind (Basch, Glick-Schiller & Szanton-Blanc, 1994; Levitt, 2001; Smith, 2006). These latter works focus on what has been termed patterns of transnational living.

Many of the studies on immigrant incorporation examine objective indicators of well-being to measure the success and adaptation of immigrants in the receiving country. Income, educational

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attainment, language use, occupational mobility, residential integration, or intermarriage, among others, are standard indicators of assimilation (Alba & Nee**,** 2003). The assumption is that greater well-being is associated with successful assimilation to the dominant group in a society, although research on the paradoxes of assimilation, which point to declining well-being (such as health) upon migration, has called this assumption into question (e.g. Rumbaut, 1997).

Within the assimilation literature, however, not enough attention has been paid to immigrants' subjective indicators, despite the suggestion by some that they might be more relevant to an individual's condition when compared to objective indicators (e.g. Diener, Lucas, Schimmack & Helliwell**,** 2009). Subjective indicators of well-being, which refer to people's own feelings about and evaluations of their lives, include affective components, such as happiness, and cognitive components, such as life satisfaction (Diener, Suh, Lucas & Smith 1999; Diener, Kahneman, Tov & Arora, 2010). In the process of moving, adapting, and integrating into a new society - and given that linkages are often maintained with the old country, we ask: how do immigrants *think* and *feel* about their lives in the receiving country? Are they satisfied with the lives they have created in the United States? How do they describe their own emotional states? In this study we explore the subjective well-being of immigrants, and in particular, how subjective well-being relates to transnationalism.

Theoretical Framework

Contemporary Immigrants and Assimilation

The characteristics of immigrants have changed dramatically since Milton Gordon's formulation of the assimilation theory (1964). Immigrants arriving to the U.S. from Latin America and parts of Asia are socio-economically and racially distinct from those in the earlier waves of immigration, and do not always speak English. Addressing contemporary immigrants, Alejandro Portes and his colleagues propose that the context of reception in the U.S., in addition to the conditions of exit from home countries and immigrants' social capital, are important to understand the diverse paths to assimilation into various segments of the American population, particularly among the children of immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut**,** 1996, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Whereas Portes & Rumbaut's (1996, 2001) work challenges the dominant straight-line assimilation theory, others such as Alba & Nee (2003) and White & Glick (2009) have argued that the dominant assimilation paradigm is still theoretically and empirically valuable, and that new immigrant groups play significant roles in defining American culture. In the last few decades, the study of immigrant assimilation has been further complicated by increasing patterns of circular, and serial or family-stage migration, and more broadly, by the growth of transnational/bi-national communities. These are the patterns that we argue are central to the understanding of contemporary immigrants' subjective well-being.

Transnationalism

Transnationalism refers to the development of networks, activities and patterns of living that span home and host societies (Basch et al. 1994). Researchers have shown how transnational communities are intertwined and how immigrants navigate the terrain of transnationality and migration (Basch et al., 1994; Levitt, 2001; Massey, Goldring & Durand, 1994; Smith, 2006). Some researchers have proposed that transnational linkages and host society incorporation and assimilation can coexist (Levitt, 2001; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004; Morawska, 2004; Portes, Guarnizo & Haller, 2002). In other words, incorporation into the American mainstream society

is blended with persistent ties to the home country. Michel Laguerre, for instance, calls these binational connections, attachments and belonging diasporic citizenship (1998), implying that one can negotiate membership and belonging to more than one country. The ideas of membership and belonging raise questions regarding how transnational involvement is conceptualized. Are transnational immigrants only those who actively engage in cross-border activities? Are transnational immigrants those whose identities and loyalties lie in the home country, or to both the home and host country? Or, does membership in transnational families or communities mediate the relationship immigrants have with their home countries? We take into account these various dimensions of transnationalism in our examination of immigrants' subjective well-being.

Conceptualizing the multiple dimensions of transnationalism

Although transnational practices among immigrants are not new (Foner, 2000), the scale and intensity of transnational exchanges (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999) have accompanied major transformations in technology and mass communication. However, the frequent use of the concept by scholars and its ambiguity have led some to conclude that it is losing its conceptual and explanatory capacities (Kivisto, 2001). In their seminal work, Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt (1999, pp. 219) identify a typology of transnationalism in which economic, political and socio-cultural transnationalism are used to understand the research to date, and in which they argue that the "high intensity of exchanges" in these areas are what gives the concept its meaning. We see evidence of these forms of transnationalism in the remittances that migrants send (Duany, 2010; Guarnizo, 2003) and the grassroots political activities in which immigrants engage in their home countries (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003; Smith, 2006), among other formal exchanges.

A broader approach to transnationalism entails viewing it as a type of consciousness and identity (Laguerre, 1998; Nájera-Ramírez, 2002; Vertovec, 1999; 2001). As Laguerre (1998, p. 8) has argued, "Diaspora is thus both a residence and a state of mind. It has a subjective content as well as an objective quality." The subjective content is in the form of identities, consciousness, belonging and emotions, which precede and result from transnational processes (Vertovec, 2001). This perspective raises questions about whether immigrants' cognitive and emotional connections to their home and/or host countries might influence their subjective well-being in the country of settlement. This might be ascertained by exploring immigrants' desire to return to their home country or remain settled in the host country; or even if immigrants feel "at home" in one country or the other, or both. Taken together, these could be indicators of the extent to which immigrants see themselves as transnational actors or as members of transnational families or communities whose identities and loyalties might be split.

Along these lines, transnational populations have also been defined by others more broadly in terms of membership to kinship groups, organizations or communities. For instance, scholars such as Parreñas (2001), Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) and Olwig (2003) have examined transnational family forms and other kinship groups, and have illustrated the emotional and familial linkages that bind groups of people separated by international boundaries and the global economy. This perspective accounts for immigrants and nonimmigrants alike as embedded in transnational social fields, or an arena of social relations that is not necessarily contiguous with the boundaries of nation-states (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004). According to this approach, remittances, for example, could be interpreted as significant for both their material value and because they are based on "an emotional attachment to those left behind. It is a tie predicated on emotions related to longing, the sorrow of absence, and the desire to remain bonded to one's family" (Kivisto, 2001, pp. 567-568). In the current study, we attempt to establish how a number of these approaches to transnationalism relate to immigrants' subjective well-being.

Transnationalism and subjective well-being

Subjective well-being and other psycho-social measures have been examined in immigrant populations before. Early work on migrants frames these experiences in terms of emotions of loss, as the historical account of European migrations by Oscar Handlin (1973) illustrates. More recently, ethnographic work on immigrants' emotional states has confirmed the dislocating nature of the migration process (Aranda, 2006; Sayad, 2004). However, much of the research that links well-being and immigration has used a more medicalized approach that seeks to identify immigrants' emotional and mental dysfunctions (see Cuellar, Bastida & Braccio, 2004; Hao & Johnson, 2000, for examples of exceptions) for what they reveal about mental illness in immigrant populations (Portes, Kyle & Eaton 1992; Salgado de Snyder, 1987; Vega, Kolody & Valle, 1987).

Although these findings reveal a wealth of information on how immigrants are coping with life in the United States, the trend toward the medicalization of subjective assessments and emotional states may fragment our understanding of immigrant adaptation, especially when one considers that "many of the mental illness categories included in *DSM* are peculiar (culture-bound) to North America and Western Europe" (Flaskerud, 2000, p. 11). Additionally, as Myers & Diener (1995) have stated, much of the psychological literature focuses on negative states. The positive side of the well-being spectrum can be found in studies of emotional well-being or happiness (Bartram, 2011; Diener & Lucas, 2000). In agreement with this latter approach, in the current study we examine the subjective well-being of immigrants—not just emotional states, but also immigrants' cognitive assessments of their lives. For example, rather than just examine how migration might lead to separation from kin, possibly resulting in negative emotional states, we also consider how visiting the home country and communication with confidants back home might lead to positive evaluations of life satisfaction.

Diener and colleagues propose that subjective well-being encapsulates topics such as happiness, life satisfaction, and morale (Diener & Lucas, 2000). They also make the careful distinction between a person's evaluation of his/her life - what might be considered a global judgment, versus feelings of well-being, that include moods and emotion which are often based on evaluations of life events (Diener, Suh, Lucas & Smith 1999; Diener, Kahneman, Tov & Arora, 2010). Thus, as Diener and his colleagues argue (2010, p. 14), well-being "must be parsed into the judgmental versus affective components." This becomes particularly important when studying immigrant subjective well-being given the international variations that have been found in prior research (Diener, Kahneman & Helliwell, 2010). When making international comparisons, Diener et al. (2010) highlight this necessary differentiation arguing that circumstances of life vary to a much larger extent than patterns of emotion do. We agree that correlates of well-being need to disaggregate between evaluative judgments and affect. Thus, we carry this distinction forward in our empirical approach.

Like mental health illness, these subjective states also face cultural relevancy concerns. International comparisons regarding predictors of life satisfaction, for instance, reveal that there are indeed cultural differences in how a state of life satisfaction is determined (Oishi, Diener, Lucas & Suh, 2009). Oishi and colleagues (2009) found that financial issues are more relevant to life satisfaction in poorer countries, and home-life issues are more strongly associated with life satisfaction in wealthy countries. Moreover, fulfilling esteem-related needs was more important to overall life satisfaction in individualist countries compared to collectivist countries.

In spite of these cultural relevancy concerns, subjective assessments do allow room for individuals to consider both major and minor life events. Changing life conditions influence subjective well-being. For example, recent work has shown this to be the case for happiness among immigrants who increase their income through migration, although their levels of happiness do not achieve parity with natives (Bartram, 2011). Additionally, reactions to events depend on the amount of time that has passed since the event occurred (Diener & Lucas, 2000). This

raises questions regarding not just how the migration process itself affects individuals, but how a sustained transnational life, which might involve extended separations from kin and/or long-term patterns of remitting, might continue to define immigrants' subjective well-being. In other words, for immigrants who lead transnational lives, migration might be more than an experience in their past; it might represent a social position with ongoing effects on their lives. Or, alternatively, weak transnational linkages might be important for their symbolic ties to the country of origin.

Thus, transnationalism may mediate how the relationship between migration and well-being are interpreted in two ways. First, much research on immigration assumes that immigrant adaptation and well-being are linear processes beginning once the process of migration is complete. From a transnational perspective, which is the angle that we adopt in this paper, movement back and forth or having ties in both countries might alter the nature of adaptation and ultimately, the outcomes under consideration. Yet, transnationalism has rarely been analyzed for its relationship to subjective well-being or mental and emotional health outcomes (for exception, see Murphy & Mahalingam, 2004).

Another way in which transnationalism may contribute to our understanding of immigrant well-being is by introducing other mediating factors related to linkages to the home country. For instance, a transnational approach allows room to consider immigrants who continue to actively engage in communication patterns with the home country. This network of support is important as it could mitigate negative emotional states that may emerge from difficulties with host country adaptation. At the same time, maintaining transnational ties could encumber the immigrant with greater responsibilities regarding the sending of remittances, thereby affecting their assessments of satisfaction with their lives. These examples illustrate the importance of integrating transnationalism in studies of immigrant subjective well-being.

Murphy & Mahalingam's (2004) work represents one of the main attempts to demonstrate how transnationalism relates to subjective well-being. Based on a community sample of West Indian immigrants, they found that transnationalism was positively related to both life satisfaction and, paradoxically, depression. The higher incidence of depression was related to those who engaged in transnational political activism. Communicating with transnational kin was positively related to social support, ethnic identity, and perceived stress, and negatively related to anxiety, demonstrating transnational communication's emotional buffering effects. These findings also lend support to the notion that cognitive and affective evaluations of immigrants' lives must be examined separately for they may work in different ways.

While keeping immigrants' subjective well-being at the center of our research questions, this study gauges the extent to which different forms of transnationalism, such as sending remittances or having ongoing close relationships in the home society, are found among immigrants in South Florida. Specifically, we analyze how these aspects of transnationalism are related to self-reported emotional well-being and life satisfaction of first-generation immigrants. In line with the previous research already discussed (Diener, Suh, Lucas & Smith, 1999; Diener, Kahneman, Tov & Arora, 2010), we argue that emotional well-being and life satisfaction are indicators of subjective well-being. Most importantly, they are measures that are not typically explicitly looked at when examining immigrant assimilation and incorporation.

Hypotheses

As mentioned previously, transnationalism has been conceptualized from different angles. One approach emphasizes the frequency and intensity of transnational exchanges (Portes et al., 1999) when evaluating activities that give the concept its definition. Accordingly, we examine the relationship between transnational activities (such as visiting the home country and owning a business in the home country) and subjective well-being. We believe that when immigrants

are able to maintain regular contact with the home country, they will also report a better sense of emotional well-being and life satisfaction. The following hypothesis is derived from this perspective:

H1: Visiting the home country and owning a business in the home country are related to higher emotional well-being and life satisfaction among immigrants.

There are other transnational exchanges that may prove burdensome on immigrants. For example, sending remittances could prove to be a hardship for immigrants who may not earn as much income as U.S. natives. This is particularly poignant given that most remittances go to the poor in the countries of origin (Orozco, 2004). Thus, sending remittances could be indicative of a lack of resources among kin networks in the home country, which could compromise an immigrant's emotional well-being because they shoulder the weight of improving the status of those left back home. However, given that migration grants immigrants the opportunity to help kin back home through remittances, we believe their overall life satisfaction will remain unchanged. Thus, we propose the following hypothesis:

H2: Those who send remittances to the home country are less likely to report high emotional well-being, but they are no different than those who do not send remittances in terms of their life satisfaction.

Other conceptualizations of transnationalism define it as a type of consciousness or identity (Vertovec, 2001). This approach captures how immigrants' emotions and cognitive states are shaped by their status as transnational actors. We hypothesize that this kind of identity or consciousness is captured in a desire to reconnect with the home country, perhaps by wanting to return home or identifying where immigrants feel the greatest sense of belonging. We hypothesize that these two indicators are, in turn, related to subjective well-being:

H3: Immigrants who want to return home and who consider their countries of origin as their true home are less likely to experience high emotional well-being and high life satisfaction in the country of reception.

As part of having a transnational identity, immigrants may feel drawn to both kin and the culture of their home country. Both communication with kin left behind and attending cultural festivities, for example, may fill some of the void resulted from the separation from the home country. Greater communication with kin and attending cultural festivities might represent strategies that improve life satisfaction and emotional well-being. For this reason, we hypothesize that:

H4: Communicating with kin in the home country and attending festivities related to the home country are related to the greater likelihood of having high emotional well-being and life satisfaction.

As part of membership to transnational kinship groups, immigrants might be separated from their confidants in the home country. Having confidants (regardless of where they are located) might help to elevate immigrants' emotional well-being given the social support they might provide, but at the same time, the separation from these confidants might not improve satisfaction with one's life. As such, we hypothesize that our two measures of subjective well-being will operate differently from each other. We hypothesize that:

H5: Immigrants who have confidants in the home country are more likely to report high emotional well-being, but not high life satisfaction.

Data and Methods

Home to over one million of the nation's immigrants, South Florida is a perfect case study to test the prevalence of transnational lives and how living transnationally enhances or detracts from immigrants' subjective well-being. The political and economic turmoil that propels immigrants from the Caribbean, Central, and South American countries into the migratory flow often lead them to settle in South Florida. As the most important metropolis in this area and because of

its proximity to Latin America, Miami's status as a global city, (Sassen, 2001) and a hub for the concentration of global capital (Grosfoguel, 2003) in particular, lead us to believe that South Florida immigrants may engage in patterns of transnationalism living.

With the support from the National Science Foundation, the authors created a survey to be administered to a random sample of South Florida first generation immigrants-- the Immigrant Transnationalism and Modes of Incorporation study (ITMI). The questionnaire was designed to further inquire on findings from a prior qualitative study about South Florida immigrants that included in-depth interviews with 115 South Florida immigrants and 15 focus groups with immigrants from Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Colombia, and Peru (Aranda, Sabogal & Hughes 2004). The findings were used to develop the survey questions that would test whether the information gained through the qualitative study was supported by data from a larger random sample of immigrants.

The telephone survey designed by the researchers included questions about a broad range of issues including immigrants' patterns of assimilation, their transnational behaviors, their subjective well-being, their experiences with discrimination, among other topics. The questionnaire was administered by The Institute for Public Opinion Research (IPOR) at Florida International University to a randomly selected group of almost 1,270 immigrants from Broward and Miami-Dade counties during the summer and fall of 2008.

The random digit dial (RDD) sample included two components, one sample of landline telephone numbers and a subsample of cell phone numbers. Out of the 1,268 completed phone interviews, 344 were conducted with cell phone users. The sample had an overall margin of error of plus or minus 2.8%. Respondents included immigrants from over 80 countries. The survey was originally created in English, pre-tested, then translated into Spanish, pre-tested again, amended, and pre-tested again. It was also translated into Haitian Creole. The interviews were performed using Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) survey techniques. The cooperation rate was high at 87%--that is, of the qualified respondents who heard the interviewer's introduction on the phone, 87% agreed to complete the survey. The response rate was 51% for landlines and 49% for cell phones (AAPOR response rate #4), which is comparable to studies using similar methods and populations (AAPOR, 2011; Kasinitz et al., 2008). It is possible that those with higher subjective well-being were more likely to agree to be interviewed. However, the survey was introduced to the respondents as one based on their experiences as an immigrant, not about well-being, so perhaps even those with low subjective well-being might have felt compelled to share their experiences.

Analyses reported are weighted by age, gender, education, and country of origin to represent the proportions of each immigrant population based on data from the U.S. Census American Community Survey 2005-2007 data. In addition, we employed multiple imputation techniques to deal with missing values on covariates in the analytical models. We employed the *proc mi* and *proc mianalyze* commands of the *SAS* software to deal with missing data. These statistical tools predict values for missing data by incorporating information from other attributes of individuals with some randomness built into the imputed values in order to account for the uncertainty of estimates (Allison, 2002). As a robustness check, we compared analytical models using multiple imputation as well as list-wise deletion and sample mean. The results were quantitatively almost identical to those reported in the tables below and did not change the qualitative interpretations at all.[3]

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[3] Calculations available upon request.

Measures

An important contribution of this study is its focus on measures of subjective well-being as indicators of how immigrants fare in their countries of destination. Diener, Scollon & Lucas (2009) have shown that subjective well-being is in fact composed of a number of inter-related measures encompassing positive and negative feelings, life satisfaction among others. As discussed earlier, subjective well-being needs to be examined in terms of both its *cognitive* and *affective* components (Diener, Kahneman, Tov & Arora, 2010). We use a general indicator of affect by asking the question, "In general, how would you describe your emotional well-being? Would you say it is excellent, very good, good, fair or poor?" We also consider an evaluative measure of subjective well-being: life satisfaction, which was measured from the question, "How satisfied are you with your life in the United States? Would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, or not satisfied?" While a possible limitation to our data is that we only have two measures of subjective well-being and the response options were constrained to a few possible answers, Diener, Kahneman & Helliwell (2010) have stated that this kind of approach is better than having no measures of subjective well-being at all. Additionally, our study offers an innovative analysis of how immigrants rate their well-being within the context of transnationalism.

Our key independent variables include a variety of measures of transnationalism. As justified above, these consist of activities such as sending remittances, owning a business in the home country, attendance to festivities related to the home country, communicating with members of the home country, visiting the home country, having confidants in the home country, thinking about moving back to the home country, and what country feels like home. Some of these are concrete international exchanges and some represent cross-border relationships that are indicative of transnational patterns of living.

Studying subjective well-being among immigrants from a sociological perspective means that attention must be paid to external factors that are known to affect psychological states (Ross & Mirowsky, 2003). We also include control measures that have been shown to be important for well-being such as English fluency, gender, education, and household income (Cuellar, Bastida & Braccio, 2004), as well as discrimination (Dawson, 2009). Finally, we account for elements that have been found to be related to subjective well-being such as self-rated health, religiosity, marital status and unemployment (Dolan, Peasgood & White, 2008). For a complete list of measures and how they were asked in the survey refer to Table 1.

The empirical analysis proceeds as follows. We start by presenting the main characteristics of our sample. Then we examine the bivariate relationship between subjective well-being and transnationalism. Next, we move onto the analytical models. Using ordinal logistic regressions, we estimate the relationship between transnationalism and our two outcomes of subjective well-being: emotional well-being and satisfaction with life in the U.S. while accounting for the factors described above.

Table 1: *Definitions of Main Measures in Study*

Measures	Question from Survey
Subjective Well-being	*Emotional well-being* In general, how would you describe your emotional well-being? Would you say it is excellent, very good, good, fair or poor? *Satisfaction with Life in the U.S.* How satisfied are you with your life in the United States? Would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied or not satisfied?
Indicators of Transnationalism	*Visited home country* Since you left (country or origin) how often have you been back? *Remittances* How often do you or someone in your household send money to (country of origin)? *Own business in home country* Do you own any business(es) in the United States or in (country of origin)? *Frequency of communicating with home country* In general, how often do you communicate with anyone in (country of origin)? Would you say that you communicate every day, at least once a week, at least once a month, every few months, rarely or never? *People in which you confide in home country* How many of those people that you can confide in currently live in (country of origin)? Do none of them live there, some of them, most of them, or do all of them live there? *Thought of moving back* Have you ever thought of moving back to (country)? Would you say you have thought about this all the time, sometimes, or never? *Which country feels like home* Which feels most like "home" to you: the U.S., (country of origin), both or neither?
Controls	*Self-reported Gender* *Age* May I ask how old you are? *Marital status* What is your marital status? *Length of stay in the U.S.* What year did you come to the United States? *Education* What is the highest grade of school you have completed? *Citizenship* Are you now a U.S. citizen? *National origin* Open ended. Recoded as follows: Cuban, Colombian, Haitian, Other Hispanic, Other non-Hispanic *English fluency* How well do you speak English? Would you say very well, well, not well or not at all? *Racial Discrimination* Has people treating you unfairly because of your skin color been a major problem, somewhat of a problem, a small problem or no problem at all? *Annual household income* We don't want to know your exact income but would you tell me approximately, what is your annual household income before taxes? *Employment status* Which of the following best describes your type of employment in South Florida: professional, managerial, technical, sales, administrative support, student, homemaker, unemployed, military or police, or farming? Recoded as employed or unemployed *Health* Living in the U.S. has made me a healthier person. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree? *Religiosity* How often do you attend religious services? Do you attend always, sometimes, rarely or never?

Descriptive Analyses

In Table 2, we describe the main characteristics of the sample as well as the distribution of their responses to the questions on transnational patterns of living. Our respondents are evenly distributed by gender (52% female), and their average age is almost 49 years – the youngest being 18, and the oldest 96. Almost 60% of the sample is married or in marriage-like relationships. On average, the immigrants interviewed have been in the U.S. for 22 years. However, the sample includes immigrants who arrived to the U.S. the same year the interview took place (2008), to a few who have been in this country for over 80 years.[4] On average, the respondents reported having received about 13 years of formal education, and about 53% has U.S. citizenship.

Whereas our sample is too small to differentiate all respondents by their country of origin, a few groups had enough respondents to be studied separately. We singled out the countries of origin with a critical mass of respondents (i.e. more than 100 respondents); the rest of the origins are grouped under "Other Hispanic" and "Other Non-Hispanic." The countries we were able to consider separately are: Cuba, Colombia, and Haiti. Not surprisingly, as our sample was in South Florida, 35% of the respondents were from Cuba, about 7% were from Colombia, and an additional 8% were from Haiti. Given the demographic composition of the region in which we based our sample, in our analyses we use Cubans as the referent group.

As for perceived English fluency, about two thirds of the respondents (66%) reported speaking English at least well. A measure of perceived racial discrimination requested participants to consider to what extent experiencing differential treatment because of phenotype was a problem. Interestingly, about three quarters of the respondents do not find differential treatment because of skin color to be a problem in their daily lives, but 11% responded it to be *somewhat* to a *major problem*. We also included annual household income as measured in brackets. About one quarter of the sample made $20,000 or less annually, an additional 32% made between $20,000 and $39,999, 21% between $40,000 and $59,999; and about 12% made between $60,000 and $79,999. About 10% made $80,000 or more. Our sample approximates the income distribution for the U.S. foreign-born population at the national level based on 2003 estimates (Larsen 2004). About 5% of our sample reported being unemployed, which is consistent with the 5.2% national unemployment rate for the foreign born in 2008 (Kochhar, Espinoza & Hinze-Pifer, 2010).

About one third of the respondents attends religious services regularly, and about one quarter never attends. Finally, about two thirds of the immigrants interviewed claim to have better health since migrating to the U.S. Although not an ideal measure of general health, we deem that it may provide important information on the health changes that immigrants experience upon migration and that the literature has extensively studied, such as better health compared to non-immigrants but worsening and converging with natives over time, and susceptible to the stresses of their immigrant status (Akresh & Frank, 2008; Cunningham, Ruben & Narayan, 2008; Jasso et al., 2004; Rumbaut, 1997).

The measures on transnational linkages appear on the right panel of Table 2. Over one-third, or 36% of the respondents has not been back to the country of origin since coming to the U.S. This number is affected by Cubans, who disproportionately do not visit their country of origin (Cubans are 55% of those who do not visit, even though they are 35% of the sample), likely a function of Castro's government and U.S. restrictions on visitation in years past. Over one third of the respondents (35%) had returned but not in the past year; the rest had returned at least once in the past year. About 20% sends remittances at least once a month, with an additional 20% sending money to their country of origin twice a year or more. Interestingly, almost half of the respondents reported that they never send money to their country of origin. As expected, only a very small proportion of the sample reports owning a business in the country of origin (3%).

Regarding the affective relationship with kinship networks, we observe that communications with

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[4] The majority of the respondents (87%) arrived to the U.S. in 1965 or after. About 53% of the respondents migrated to the U.S. between 1986 and 2008.

individuals in the country of origin are common. Almost half of the respondents communicate with their country of origin at least once a week (in tables reported as *frequently*), and an additional 25% at least once a month (*sometimes* in the tables). Fourteen percent of the sample said that they never communicate with their home country. Regarding their responses on confidants, about 14% of the sample reported having no confidants (in any country). Of those who did have confidants, half had none of these in the home country and about 37% had at least one confidant in the home country. Attendance to festivities related to the home country is not widely embraced by the respondents –half of the sample report they never or only rarely attend such festivities; an additional 33% respond they attend only sometimes and 11% report attending frequently. There is an almost even split between those who never think of returning and those who do think of returning at least sometimes. Finally, only 13% of the sample believed that their home country is the place that feels like "home." About half of the sample favor the U.S. as 'home'; over a third (36%) declare that both countries feel like home, and a small minority report that neither or another country feels like home (2%).

In sum, Table 2 presents a very heterogeneous population of both recent and long-time immigrants. It also highlights diversity in terms of the transnational relations immigrants maintain. There is a mix of connections with the country of origin: a significant group extremely engaged who keeps strong ties with the country of origin and a smaller group that does not keep such ties. Next, we examine how the measures of transnationalism are related to the two measures of subjective well-being assessed in the current work.

In Table 3 we examine bivariate relationships between subjective well-being and key measures of transnationalism. High emotional well-being is common among our respondents, with about half of the sample respondents reporting very good or excellent emotional well-being (56%). There seems to be an interesting relationship between visits to the home country and emotional well-being, with those who have never been back being underrepresented in the excellent emotional well-being category, and those who visit often, overrepresented among those with very good and excellent emotional well-being. Sending remittances frequently is related to lower levels of emotional well-being (between 18-22% of those who send remittances respond having excellent emotional well-being, whereas excellent well-being is reported by 24% of the whole sample). The same is true for respondents who own a business (only 18% reported excellent well-being).

On the other hand, higher levels of communication with the home country seem to be related to higher proportion of respondents with poor emotional well-being when compared to the whole sample. The relationship between the number of confidants in the home country and the emotional well-being is more complicated. Emotional well-being is similarly distributed among respondents regardless of whether they do not have confidants back home or whether they have most of them in their country of origin. Interestingly, those with all confidants in the country of origin have higher proportions of respondents in the 'poor' and 'fair' well-being categories (29% vs. 17% for the whole sample). The same is true for respondents who said they had no confidants at all (23% had fair/poor well-being and only 19% had excellent well-being). Attending festivities related to their country of origin is the only measure of transnationalism that is not significantly related to reports on emotional well-being. Further, those who think about moving back all the time are less likely to have high emotional well-being than immigrants who never think about returning. Finally, those who consider the U.S. home are the ones with higher proportions of respondents in the excellent emotional well-being category (28%) when compared to those who consider the country of origin (15%), neither (13%) or both countries (23%) home.

Table 2: Descriptive Characteristics of Sample (Weighted Percentages)

Individual and socio-economic measures	Percentage	Transnational measures	Percentage
Female	52.49	Has been back to country of origin	
Age (mean)	48.64	Never	36.28
Marital Status		Been back, but not last year	34.64
Single/Never Married	18.38	Once last year	19.40
Married	59.67	Twice last year	5.27
Widowed	6.45	Three or more times last year	4.25
Divorced/Separated	15.50	Sends remittances	
Years in the U.S.	21.94	Never	48.09
Years of education	12.70	Rarely	8.89
U.S. citizenship	53.31	Sometimes	21.81
Origin		Frequently	21.20
Cuban	34.72	Owns a business in country of origin	2.84
Colombian	7.23	Communicates with home country	
Haitian	7.86	Never	13.53
Other Hispanic	43.62	Rarely	15.86
Other Non-Hispanic	6.37	Sometimes	24.89
Speaks English		Frequently	45.72
Not well at all/does not speak it	34.13	Confidants in home country from total	
Well	30.36	None	49.63
Very well	35.50	Some	25.79
Receiving differential treatment because of phenotype is		Most	6.08
No problem at all	75.61	All	4.72
A small problem	13.03	No confidants	13.78
Somewhat of a problem	7.77	Attends festivities related to home country	
A major problem	3.59	Never	55.88
Household annual income (in US $)		Sometimes	32.93
19,999 or less	24.57	Always	11.17
20,000-39-999	32.08	Thinks about moving back	
40,000-59,999	21.13	Never	52.69
60,000-79,999	12.39	Sometimes	34.18
$80,000 or more	9.94	All the time	13.13
Unemployed	5.40	What Country feels like home	
Attends religious services		Country of origin	13.01
Never	25.17	U.S. Feels like home	49.56
Rarely	13.89	Both U.S and country of origin	35.67
Sometimes	28.17	Other or Neither	1.76
Always	32.76		
Healthier since migration			
Strongly agree	17.86		
Agree	49.70		
Disagree	26.36		
Strongly disagree	6.07		

Next, regarding the relationship between transnationalism and reports of satisfaction with life in the U.S., we observe that most immigrants in our sample are satisfied with their lives in this country (51% satisfied and 42% very satisfied). Visits to the home country and sending remittances reveal that the more visits or the more often one sends remittances, the lower the proportion of people who answered they were satisfied with their lives in the U.S. That is, among those who never visited, 47% reported being very satisfied, while only 33% of those who visited three or more times last year were very satisfied. Similarly, 49% of those who did not send remittances reported being very satisfied with their life in the U.S, but only 34% of those who send money frequently

fall into this group. Those who own a business in the home country are less likely to answer being very satisfied (29%) than the overall sample (42%). More frequent communication with the home country is related to underrepresentation among the satisfied group (34%) compared to the overall sample. The same is apparent for the number of confidants in the country of origin (31% among those with all confidants back home are very satisfied). Those with no confidants back home seem to be more likely to respond that they are very satisfied with life in the U.S. (38%) than those with more confidants in their country of origin. Immigrants who reported having no confidants at all seem to fall in between those with no confidants back home or all confidants back home in their reports of satisfaction with life in the U.S. (42%). Individuals not satisfied with lives in the U.S. are overrepresented among those who constantly think about going back to their country of origin (19% vs. 7% in the whole sample). Those who frequently attend festivities related to their home country also seem more likely to be in the 'non-satisfied' group (12%). Finally, respondents who say the U.S. feels like home are more likely to also be satisfied with their lives in the U.S. (56%) compared to the overall sample (42%), those who consider the country of origin (19%), both countries (34%) or neither country (14%) home.

Analytical Results

Next, we proceed to assess the robustness of the relationships between subjective well-being and transnationalism. In Table 4, we first model the relationship between transnational measures on self-reported emotional well-being (Models 1 and 2) and then we assess transnational measures on their reports of satisfaction with life in the U.S. (Models 3 and 4). We start by introducing models that only include measures of transnationalism and then compare these relationships, controlling for theoretically relevant individual, socio-economic and contextual measures. It is important to account for these measures as they may modify the relationship between these components. To accommodate our nominally ordered dependent variables, we have employed Ordered Logistic Regression models (OLR). We present odds ratios, which can be interpreted in a similar fashion as those from logistic regressions: odds ratios larger than 1 indicate an increased chance that an individual with a higher score on the independent variable will be observed in a higher category on the dependent variable (i.e. positive emotional well-being or higher life satisfaction). Odds ratios smaller than 1 indicate an increased chance that an individual with a higher score on the independent variable will be observed in a lower category on the dependent variable.

Model 1 in Table 4 presents our measures of transnationalism as they relate to self-reported emotional well-being. In general, the table suggests that when immigrants maintain symbolic linkages with the country of origin (e.g., visiting infrequently, having confidants there), they have higher odds to report high emotional well-being, but sustained linkages such as frequent contact and sending remittances, or having thoughts of returning to the home country, or alternatively feeling attached to neither country may have negative consequences for emotional well-being when compared to those who do not maintain any linkages at all. In short, it seems that emotional well-being among immigrants in South Florida is optimal when the immigrant keeps symbolic ties with their country of origin.

More specifically, compared to those who have never gone back to their country of origin, only those who have been, but not in the last year seem to report higher emotional well-being than those who never visited. No differences are evident between those who never visit and those who visit one or more times a year. This finding only partially supports our first hypothesis (H1) in which we proposed that immigrants who visit frequently would be more likely to report high emotional well-being. Thus, when compared to those who never visit, infrequent visits are associated with improved well-being. A possible explanation for this is that less frequent visits serve the purpose of cultural maintenance and keeping symbolic ties with the home country.

Table 3: *Transnational Measures and Well-being (Frequencies)*

Measures of transnationalism	Self-Reported Emotional Well-being				Satisfaction with Life in the U.S.		
	Poor/Fair	Good	Very good	Excellent	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied
All respondents	16.51	27.17	31.99	24.33	6.75	50.95	42.30
Has been back to country of origin							
Never	15.77	27.53	36.24	20.47	5.69	47.39	46.92
Been back but not last year	14.48	25.17	30.96	29.40	3.59	51.12	45.29
Been back once last year	18.11	31.10	29.92	20.87	11.02	54.33	34.65
Been back twice last year	19.72	22.54	30.99	26.76	16.90	50.70	32.39
Been back three or more times last year	24.59	27.87	19.67	27.87	8.20	59.02	32.79
Sends remittances							
Never	12.68	24.88	34.07	28.37	6.09	45.35	48.56
Rarely	15.70	29.75	36.36	18.18	9.92	50.41	39.67
Sometimes	21.69	27.71	28.92	21.69	6.83	56.22	36.95
Frequently	21.26	30.71	27.95	20.08	6.67	58.82	34.51
Business Ownership							
Owns a business in country of origin	13.33	33.33	35.56	17.78	8.89	62.22	28.89
Does not own a business	16.73	26.96	31.74	24.57	6.71	50.54	42.75
Communicates with home country (a)							
Never	8.17	22.01	40.25	29.56	3.82	28.03	68.15
Rarely	14.90	27.13	28.19	29.79	5.88	44.92	49.20
Sometimes	15.19	29.11	31.96	23.73	4.75	53.80	41.46
Frequently	19.94	27.47	30.82	21.78	8.92	57.41	33.67
Confidants in home country from total							
None	15.63	26.63	32.22	25.52	5.93	44.71	49.36
Some	13.83	27.09	34.87	24.21	5.49	59.25	35.26
Most	12.82	28.21	33.33	25.64	10.26	56.41	33.33
All	29.09	21.82	23.64	25.45	12.73	56.36	30.91
Has no confidants	23.27	30.82	27.04	18.87	8.92	52.87	38.22
Attends festivities related to home country (b)							
Never	16.74	27.06	32.44	23.77	6.17	47.89	45.93
Sometimes	17.69	25.40	32.88	24.04	5.68	57.27	37.05
Frequently	12.86	32.14	25.71	29.29	12.14	45.71	42.14
Thinks about moving back							
Never	12.42	23.76	36.34	27.48	2.48	42.55	54.97
Sometimes	16.82	31.49	30.29	21.39	7.95	61.20	30.84
All the time	29.94	29.95	20.32	19.79	18.58	57.92	23.50
What country feels like home							
U.S.	13.49	22.63	35.79	28.09	3.86	40.42	55.72
Country of origin	24.84	27.88	32.12	15.15	15.34	65.64	19.02
Both U.S. and country of origin	16.30	32.59	27.68	23.44	6.71	59.51	33.78
Neither/Other country	34.79	39.13	13.04	13.04	22.73	63.64	13.64

Chi-square is significant for all crosstabulations except for "Attendance to festivities related to home country."

Notes: (a) "Sometimes" and "always" are collapsed into "Frequently."

(b) "Everyday" and "At least once a week" appear as "Frequently." Respondents who choose either "Every few months" or "Rarely" are included in "Sometimes."

Next, as we hypothesized (H2), individuals who send remittances to their home country are less likely to report positive emotional well-being compared to those who never send money. Those who send money back home may be sending it to relatives facing financial difficulties, when the immigrants themselves also may be struggling financially in the U.S., which in turn may affect the emotional well-being of the respondents. Having a business in the home country is not related to differences in their emotional well-being, therefore the second part of (H1) is not supported. However, because less than 3% of the sample reported having a business in the home country, we cannot be certain if the lack of significance may be due to the small number of people who answered positively to this question.

Next, we examine communication with the home country. Compared to those who never communicate with their home country, those who communicate frequently report a lower sense of emotional well-being. More specifically, they are 31% less likely to report high emotional well-being than those who never communicate with their home country. Some communication does not seem to be different to emotional well-being compared to no communication at all. Our fourth hypothesis in which we proposed that communication was related to higher odds of reporting high emotional well-being is unsupported.

Reports on confidants in the home country indicate that having *some or most* confidants back home is related to higher levels of emotional well-being when compared to those who do not have any confidant there. However, when individuals have *all* confidants back home or no confidants at all, these are no better off in terms of their emotional well-being than individuals who had *no* confidants back home (but some in the United States). Therefore, our fifth hypothesis is partially supported, in that having *some or most* confidants back home (as opposed to none) is related to positive emotional well-being.

Differences in attendance to festivities related to their home country are not related to changes in reports of emotional well-being. However, the direction of the coefficient would support our fourth hypothesis that frequent involvement in festivities is related to high emotional well-being. As we proposed (H3), frequent thoughts of returning to the country of origin are negatively related to emotional well-being; the more the individuals reported thinking of returning, the less likely they were to report high emotional well-being. However, reporting that the country of origin felt like home (as opposed to the U.S.) has no significant relationship to self-reported emotional well-being, therefore not supporting the second part of (H3). Interesting to note, however, is that those who report that neither country or another country felt like home have lower likelihoods of reporting high emotional well-being. Perhaps this latter finding might speak to a general lack of attachment to any particular place, or a sense of disconnect where they feel at the margins of multiple societies. This might suggest that their identities are not anchored in either the country of origin or the receiving society.

Model 2 assesses the robustness of the relationship between transnational measures and emotional well-being while controlling for individual and socio-economic measures. Most of the relationships just described remain qualitatively unchanged. Some of the coefficients increased their size, for example, those who have visited the country of origin three or more times in the last year have even lower likelihoods of reporting excellent well-being compared to those who never visit. It may be that visiting the home country on a very frequent basis can take a toll on immigrants regarding travel, or the very reasons that motivated those trips may be responsible for the lower likelihood of experiencing high emotional well-being. However, the significance of occasional visits to the home country on reporting excellent emotional well-being remains, thus partially supporting our first hypothesis.

A few measures that were significant in Model 1 are no longer significant when including our control variables. The only change that really alters the overall findings is that the relationship between communicating frequently with the home country and a lower likelihood of experiencing high emotional well-being (in comparison to those who never communicate) disappears. Levels

of communication have no apparent relationship with emotional well-being once controls are considered, thus, the first part of (H4) remains unsupported.

Regarding the relationship between individual and socio-economic characteristics and emotional well-being included in Model 2, only a few of the measures seem to be related to emotional well-being. In particular, females are less likely to experience high emotional well-being. Also, perceived English proficiency is significantly related to the self-reported emotional well-being of immigrants in South Florida. Compared to those who report speaking English very well, lower perceived English command is related to lower odds of reporting good or excellent well-being. This is an important finding given the many assumptions that English fluency is not necessary in immigrant Miami (Huntington, 2004). Our data show that it matters when it comes to immigrants' emotional well-being. On the other hand, racial discrimination seems to be most detrimental to emotional well-being when it is perceived as a major problem, and to a lesser extent, somewhat of a problem. Those who consider differential treatment a major problem have 54% lower odds of reporting excellent emotional well-being than those who reported never having received this type of differential treatment. This is consistent with the literature pointing that discrimination affects mental health (Williams, 1997). Finally, the economic situation of the household appears to be related to the self-reported emotional well-being of immigrants. When compared to the highest income bracket ($80,000 or more), respondents in all other income brackets are less likely to report excellent emotional well-being. This is consistent with research that finds that adverse conditions such as poverty are likely to affect people's sense of well-being (Veenhoven, 1991). Interestingly, those who are unemployed report higher levels of emotional well-being than employed respondents. Whereas from preliminary analyses we know that unemployment is negatively related to emotional well-being, this reverse in sign is likely the product of accounting for other socio-economic indicators such as income and education. Moreover, it is possible that this finding, which does not correspond to the general findings in the literature, could be a product of the relatively small number of unemployed respondents in our sample (Dolan et al., 2008).

Finally, we included measures for health and religiosity, two factors traditionally considered in the literature on subjective well-being. According to our models, when compared to the group who considers itself healthiest since moving to the U.S., the rest of the respondents seem to report worse emotional well-being. Interestingly, different levels of religiosity are not associated with differences in self-reported emotional well-being.

Next, we turn to assess the relationship between transnationalism and satisfaction with life in the U.S. It is important to understand these results in relationship to those discussed above; rather than focusing on one's emotional state of well-being, life satisfaction represents a cognitive evaluation of one's life. Although some of our hypotheses state that these outcomes might work in similar ways, we also believe that, in some circumstances, these two outcome measures will deviate from each other.

Model 3 in Table 4 suggests that, similar to findings on emotional well-being, only those who have been back to the country of origin, but not recently, report higher levels of satisfaction with their lives in the U.S. when compared to those who have never visited. This finding only partially supports (H1) that associates higher frequency of visits with high life satisfaction. When compared to those who never visited, visiting the home country is related to higher satisfaction with life in the U.S., as long as these visits are not too frequent—those who visit frequently are no different from those who have not gone back at all in terms of their life satisfaction.

Having a business and sending remittances do not appear to make a significant difference in reported levels of satisfaction with their lives in the U.S., thus not supporting the second part of (H1), but indeed supporting the second part of (H2). Differences in communication with the home country seem to be related to satisfaction with life in the U.S. Compared to those who never communicate with their home country, communication with the home country is

associated with lower likelihoods of reporting high satisfaction with life in the U.S. Thus, the first part of hypothesis four is not supported. It is important to note that we do not know if discontent with their lives in the U.S. leads to frequent communication with the home country, or whether too much communication suggests that separation from those with whom immigrants communicate influences their life satisfaction in the U.S.

Next, when compared to those who have no confidants in the home country, those who have them are not different in their reports on life satisfaction in the U.S., thus not supporting our fifth hypothesis. Compared to those who never attend, attending festivities related to the home country does not seem to be significantly associated with differences in life satisfaction in the U.S. Therefore, the second part of our fourth hypothesis is not supported. Two of the measures on transnationalism appear as the most important in predicting differences in reports of satisfaction with life in the U.S.: thoughts of returning to the country of origin and feeling their country of origin is home. Frequent thoughts of returning are related to lower odds of being satisfied with life in the U.S. As we hypothesized (H3), those who report always thinking of returning only have about one third of the odds (odds ratio 0.34) of those who never think of this of reporting high satisfaction in the U.S.

As with emotional well-being, one needs to take into consideration endogeneity when interpreting these relationships: people who are not satisfied in the U.S. may be more likely to want to leave, but also, those who want to leave may not allow themselves to be satisfied in the U.S. Similarly, those immigrants who report that their country of origin feels more like home are less likely to report being satisfied with their lives in the U.S. (odds=0.40) compared to those who responded just the U.S., thus supporting the second part of our third hypothesis. In other words, those rooted in the U.S. society only have higher levels of life satisfaction in the U.S. This might be the case because the country to which they feel attached corresponds to the country in which they live. Similarly, compared to those who mentioned that only the U.S. felt like home, immigrants who consider that both countries feel like home and those who report that neither or another country feel like home have 44% and 83% respectively lower odds to say that they are very satisfied with their lives in the U.S. Among those with loyalties to both countries, perhaps the mixed emotions or feelings of being split between the two might be responsible for the lower satisfaction with their U.S. lives.

Considering individual and socio-economic measures (see Model 4) leaves the relationships between transnational measures and self-reported satisfaction with life in the U.S. largely unchanged from our reports above, suggesting that these measures do not significantly moderate the relationship between transnationalism and life satisfaction. Only two important changes are worth highlighting. First is that sending remittances "sometimes" is associated with a lower likelihood of reporting high satisfaction than never sending remittances. This finding means that (H2) is only partially supported. Secondly, the relationship between communication with the home country and satisfaction with life in the U.S. changes. The full model suggests that, after accounting for individual and socio-economic differences, there are no significant differences in satisfaction with life in the U.S. between those who never communicate with their country of origin and those who do, regardless of frequency, rendering the first part of (H4) unsupported. This suggests the idea that variables related to social context are responsible for the lower levels of life satisfaction reported earlier for people that communicated often. Similar conclusions, though not as strong, seem to be taking place regarding emotional well-being measured in Model 2.

In terms of the relationships between socio-economic and individual measures and satisfaction with life in the U.S. included in Model 4, we observe a few additional differences from the model on emotional well-being. Most importantly, there are differences by country of origin. Compared to Cubans, all other immigrants are less likely to be satisfied with their lives in the U.S., but no such differences were significant for emotional well-being. It is possible that having a larger community of co-ethnics may result in greater social support and social capital among

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Table 4: *Transnationalism on Subjective Well-being (Ordered Logistic Regression Odds Ratios)*

	Emotional Wellbeing				Satisfaction Life in the U.S.			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Baseline		Full Model		Baseline		Full Model	
Measures of transnationalism	Odds	S.E	Odds	S.E	Odds	S.E	Odds	S.E
Has been back to country of origin (ref: never)								
Been back but not last year	1.36	(0.13) **	1.32	(0.14)*	1.42	(0.15)	1.36	(0.16)*
Been back once last year	1.04	(0.16)	0.92	(0.17)	0.92	(0.17)	1.17	(0.20)
Been back twice last year	1.10	(0.25)	0.63	(0.27)	0.92	(0.27)	0.73	(0.31)
Been back three times or more last year	0.97	(0.28)	0.47	(0.31)*	0.94	(0.31)	0.97	(0.34)
Sends remittances (ref: never)								
Rarely	0.52	(0.19) ***	0.61	(0.20)*	0.88	(0.21)	0.70	(0.23)
Sometimes	0.69	(0.14) **	0.82	(0.16)	0.84	(0.16)	0.71	(0.18) †
Frequently	0.60	(0.14) ***	0.67	(0.16) **	0.95	(0.16)	0.99	(0.18)
Owns a business in country of origin	1.21	(0.32)	1.01	(0.34)	1.30	(0.36)	1.22	(0.38)
Communicates with home country (ref: never)								
Rarely	0.81	(0.20)	0.90	(0.21)	0.72	(0.23) †	1.01	(0.25)
Sometimes	0.82	(0.19)	1.09	(0.22)	0.70	(0.22) †	1.11	(0.25)
Frequently	0.69	(0.19)*	0.89	(0.23)	0.54	(0.23)***	1.17	(0.27)
Confidants in home country from total (ref: none)								
Some	1.52	(0.13) **	1.63	(0.14) **	1.12	(0.15)	1.19	(0.16)
Most	1.75	(0.22)**	1.91	(0.23) ***	0.73	(0.25)	0.77	(0.27)
All	1.05	(0.25)	1.35	(0.26)	0.97	(0.28)	1.15	(0.30)
No confidants	0.86	(0.16)	1.28	(0.17)	0.79	(0.18)	0.99	(0.20)
Attends festivities related to home country (ref: never)								
Sometimes	1.09	(0.12)	0.98	(0.13)	1.13	(0.13)	1.18	(0.14)
Frequently	1.30	(0.17)	1.16	(0.19)	1.12	(0.20)	1.14	(0.22)
Thinks about moving back (ref: never)								
Sometimes	0.74	(0.12)**	0.81	(0.13)	0.48	(0.14) ***	0.62	(0.15) ***
All the time	0.44	(0.18) ***	0.53	(0.19) ***	0.34	(0.22) ***	0.39	(0.24) ***
What country feels like home (ref: U.S.)								
Country of origin	0.79	(0.17)	0.98	(0.19)	0.40	(0.20) ***	0.66	(0.22) ***
Both U.S. and country of origin	0.90	(0.13)	1.00	(0.14)	0.56	(0.14) ***	0.70	(0.16) ***
Neither/Other country	0.27	(0.38) ***	0.32	(0.38) **	0.17	(0.42) ***	0.15	(0.47) ***
Individual and socio-economic measures								
Female			0.80	(0.11)			1.02	(0.13)

	(1)	(2)
Age	1.01 (0.01) †	1.01 (0.01)
Marital Status (ref: married)		
Single/Never Married	1.00 (0.16)	1.26 (0.18)
Widowed	1.00 (0.25)	1.13 (0.33)
Divorced/Separated	0.91 (0.16)	1.28 (0.18)
Years in the U.S.	0.99 (0.01)	0.97 (0.01) †
Years of education	1.01 (0.02)	0.97 (0.02)
Citizen	1.08 (0.16)	1.16 (0.19)
Origin (ref. Cuban)		
Colombian	0.75 (0.24)	0.49 (0.27) **
Haitian	0.84 (0.25)	0.26 (0.28) ***
Other Hispanic	0.82 (0.16)	0.38 (0.18) ***
Other Non-Hispanic	0.74 (0.26)	0.36 (0.30) ***
Speaks English (ref: very well)		
Well	0.59 (0.15) ***	1.13 (0.17)
Not well at all/does not speak	0.34 (0.18) ***	0.78 (0.21) ***
Receiving differential treatment because of phenotype is (ref: no problem)		
A small problem	0.93 (0.16)	0.75 (0.19)
Somewhat of a problem	0.71 (0.21) †	0.73 (0.24)
A major problem	0.46 (0.30) **	0.36 (0.34) ***
Household annual income (ref: $80.000+)		
$60,000-$79.999	0.42 (0.35) **	0.65 (0.39)
$40,000-$59.999	0.48 (0.26) **	0.68 (0.29)
$20,000-$39.999	0.37 (0.29) ***	0.53 (0.28) *
$19,999 or less	0.24 (0.30) ***	0.48 (0.31) *
Unemployed	1.78 (0.26) *	0.73 (0.29)
Health since moving to U.S. (ref: very healthy)		
Healthy	0.59 (0.18) **	0.34 (0.21) ***
Unhealthy	0.41 (0.19) ***	0.17 (0.24) ***
Very unhealthy	0.32 (0.29) ***	0.10 (0.38) ***
Attendance to religious services (ref: never)		
Rarely	1.20 (0.18)	1.27 (0.21)
Sometimes	0.98 (0.15)	1.30 (0.18)
Always	1.03 (0.15)	1.75 (0.18) **
-2 Log Likelihood	3.583 3.202	2.291 2.058

† Significant at 10%; * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%; *** significant at 0.1%.

immigrants from Cuba. Additionally, U.S. immigration policies have historically supported the settlement of Cubans in this country. These may be among the reasons why all of the immigrants are less satisfied with their U.S. lives when compared to Cubans, who have made South Florida into an extension of Cuban society (Portes & Stepick, 1993).

Compared to immigrants who reported speaking English very well, lower levels of English command are related to lower likelihoods of reporting high satisfaction with life in the U.S. Like emotional well-being, this reveals the importance of English language acquisition for life satisfaction in this country. In terms of differential treatment due to phenotype, it is especially relevant in terms of life satisfaction in the U.S. among those who reported it being a major problem. The findings on discrimination highlight the importance of context. Discrimination may be related to satisfaction in the U.S. because it is perceived as being a feature of this country. However, we suggest that learning English might be a mechanism by which individuals feel more personal worth and esteem. That would explain its relationship with general emotional well-being (see Table 4) and to a lesser extent with life satisfaction in the U.S. In terms of income, similar to emotional well-being, those in the lowest income brackets have the smallest odds of reporting being satisfied with life in the U.S.

Finally, compared to the immigrants who report being very healthy since moving to the U.S., all others are less likely to report high satisfaction with life in the U.S. highlighting the important relationship between these measures. In terms of self-reported religious attendance, we observe that, unlike with emotional well-being, those who always attend religious services are more likely to report high satisfaction with their life in the U.S. when compared to those who never attend such services.

Discussion

Our research examines the importance of recognizing the different manifestations of transnationalism and how they relate to a typically overlooked component of immigrant incorporation–subjective well-being. As our results suggest, for many, migration is not a linear progression in which a process of country substitution occurs. Many immigrants keep various forms of transnational involvement, from material exchanges, to activities engaged in to nurture relationships, to ways of thinking and being that span borders. Numerous aspects of transnational living examined above appear to be associated with the subjective well-being of immigrants. Thus, their levels of involvement and strengths of connections to the home country inform our understandings of their cognitive and affective evaluations of their lives in the U.S.

Our analytical findings demonstrate that variations in certain measures of transnationalism are related to individuals' general emotional well-being and their satisfaction with their U.S. lives. More specifically, compared to those who do not maintain such relationships at all, infrequent visits to the home country and having some or most confidants in the home country are associated with high levels of emotional well-being; however, visiting three or more times a year, sending remittances, thinking about moving back to the home country all the time, not feeling rooted in either the home or the host country, or feeling attached to a third country, all contribute to lower likelihoods of experiencing high emotional well-being when compared to those who do not maintain those relationships. For life satisfaction in the U.S., when compared to those who do not maintain any relationship, infrequent visits to the home country seem to improve the likelihood of experiencing high satisfaction with their lives in the U.S.; whereas, sending remittances occasionally, thinking about moving back to the home country, and considering the country of origin, both countries, or neither (or another) country home detract from high life satisfaction. We propose two main ways to interpret these relationships. The most useful way is to think about each way as representing one scenario.

For instance, thinking about returning to the home country maintains a clear-cut relationship with emotional well-being and life satisfaction—immigrants who frequently think about returning are worse off along both measures than those who do not entertain such thoughts. However, according to our findings, measures such as visiting the country of origin and how many confidants one has there operate differently. Visiting infrequently seems better for emotional well-being and life satisfaction than not visiting. However, multiple visits in a year seem worse to emotional well-being than no visiting (although it is unrelated to levels of life satisfaction). Similarly, having some or most confidants in the home country is better for emotional well-being compared to having no confidants in the home country. On the other hand having all of them there is related to lower emotional well-being than having none back home (although confidants are not related to life satisfaction).

What these two scenarios tell us is that there are patterns of involvement and connection to the home country and these maintain complex relationships with immigrant subjective well-being. In the first scenario, too much attachment to the home country is detrimental for their cognitive and emotional reports of well-being. More specifically, thinking about returning all the time may suggest a lack of rootedness in the U.S. and/or fierce loyalties to the country of origin, that result in lower reports of emotional well-being and life satisfaction in the U.S. In other words, strong cognitive and emotional attachments to the home country, or enmeshment in the home society, may compromise immigrants' subjective well-being in the host society.

However, recall the second scenario where symbolic involvement in the home country seemed the best scenario when compared to no involvement, particularly with regards to emotional well-being. Visiting occasionally rather than not visiting at all is better for their subjective well-being, whereas too many visits in a year compromises emotional well-being – similar to having a certain amount of confidants back home is better than having all or none. That subjective well-being, in particular, seems optimal with some linkages to the home country rather than a lot or none suggests that those who maintain some connection, perhaps in more symbolic ways, may have successfully negotiated the pull of the home country without having it compromise their subjective well-being in the U.S.

Our study uncovers some ways in which transnationalism relates differently to emotional well-being and life satisfaction in the U.S. It could be that with a few exceptions noted above, the measures of transnationalism considered in our study are not related to life satisfaction as strongly because immigrants draw on different events and circumstances to evaluate their lives along affective and cognitive dimensions. Satisfaction with their U.S. lives is more of a global evaluation that has shown to respond to individuals' needs and values, and can result in a positive assessment despite the possible presence of negative emotional states, as Murphy and Mahalingam (2004) found in their study of West Indian immigrants. For instance, immigrants may feel a longing for their country of origin (e.g., desire to return) and be highly involved in the activities we have examined here (e.g., frequent visits), thus more likely to experience poor emotional well-being in the country of reception. However, if they earn an income that would afford them a better living than in their home country, and can carry out their lives similar to how they envisioned them when they decided to migrate, then they may have a higher life satisfaction, an assessment that might rely on fulfilling physical needs such as shelter and safety, as the research on cross-cultural comparisons of life satisfaction reveals (Oishi, Diener, Lucas & Suh, 2009).

Finally, an immigrant might accomplish these markers of successful incorporation, and to those studying objective well-being, they would be deemed to have successfully assimilated; however, much would be missed by not examining their subjective well-being—in particular their emotional well-being and life satisfaction, as we have done in this study. These outcomes might play out in contradicting ways, particularly in light of the prevalence of transnational communities and the linkages immigrants maintain with their home countries. Thus, we argue that these under-examined, subjective immigrant outcomes be incorporated more widely into the research on assimilation and incorporation.

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Does Migration Make You Happy? The Influence of Migration on Subjective Well-Being

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Abstract

In the field of neoclassical economics, migrants are expected to move to improve their economic situation, but what are the effects of moving on the subjective well-being (SWB) of migrants? Using longitudinal data from the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP) (1990-2007), I investigate the influence of migration from Eastern to Western Germany on SWB. The hypotheses in this study are derived from neoclassical economics and from the psychology literature. Following the rational choice framework, I expect that migration improves SWB in the long term. Fixed-effects models distinguish between the effects of unobserved heterogeneity, such as varying personality traits, and migration on SWB. The results reveal that migration has a positive, long-term effect on SWB. In addition, the favorable labor market conditions in Western Germany account for the increasing SWB that is reported by male migrants but does not account for that reported by female migrants.

Introduction[2]

According to neoclassical economics, migrations are typically financially motivated. Migrants generally improve their economic situation after moving to a new location, but they also experience the non-monetary losses of family and friendship networks (see, e.g., Borjas, 1987; Chiswick, 1999; Sjaastad, 1962).[3] Can such financial gains compensate for the possible loss of friendship and family networks? How does migration affect the SWB of migrants? Are migrants happier after they move? Few studies have addressed these questions (De Jong, Chamratrithirong & Tran, 2002) because of the unavailability of data pertaining to the influence of migration on SWB. Ideally, longitudinal data containing information on SWB before and after migration are necessary; however, such data rarely exist. In the country of destination migrants may participate in surveys only after they move, while no previous information is available. In the country of origin migrants drop out from the data sets after relocation and the data contain no information after the leaving their countries of origin. Therefore, most studies rely on cross-sectional data that

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[3] There are additional reasons to migrate; for example, some individuals migrate to improve their quality of life (see, e.g., Benson & O'Reilly, 2009).

are collected after such moves, and these data contain no previous information on SWB. Hence, migrants are compared with natives (Amit, 2010; for studies on older immigrants, see Amit & Litwin, 2010; Bălţătescu, 2007; Bertram, 2010; for studies on second-generation immigrants, see Neto, 1995; Safi, 2010). Other studies ask the respondents directly about their SWB before and after a move (De Jong, Chamratrithirong & Tran, 2002; Lundholm & Malmberg, 2006). Problems arise from both of these designs. In the first type of research, it is not possible to distinguish whether a deviation in the levels of SWB is caused by migration or by general differences in the level of SWB of migrants and natives. In the second type of research design, we cannot be certain that the indicated improvements are indeed objective. These problems emphasize the importance of using longitudinal data to conduct research on SWB, as these issues raise doubts regarding the reliability of cross-sectional samples for this subject. Based on longitudinal data from the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP), this study investigates the influence of migration on SWB with regard to relocation from Eastern to Western Germany after the fall of the wall.

After the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) found itself in a unique position (Mayer, 2006). After the first free election in March 1990, the reconstruction of the nation was controlled by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Despite sharing a common past and language, East and West Germany developed in different directions after the Second World War, and by 1989, the two former nations had as many differences as similarities. West Germany developed a market economy and a conservative-corporatist welfare regime, whereas East Germany adopted a socialist system with a planned economy. The socialist system was never able to compete with its capitalist counterpart, and per capita income in the East lagged behind that of Western standards. Even today, 20 years after reunification, the Eastern German labor market demonstrates weaker performance than the Western market, and Eastern Germans are offered large incentives to migrate (Melzer, 2011). The consequence of these conditions was a substantial and permanent migration from Eastern to Western Germany. Compared with the population level in 1988[4], the former GDR had lost 4.3 percent of its population by 1992, 7.9 percent by 1995, 10.7 percent by 2000 and 14.1 percent by 2006. The reunification of Germany, which several economists have called a "natural" experiment, provides a unique opportunity to study the influence of migration on SWB based on longitudinal data containing information for the periods before and after moves.

Although previous research on the effects of migration or regional mobility on SWB provides initial insight into the topic and deepens our understanding of the process, the existing literature is limited in several aspects.

First, previous studies are based on cross-sectional data. When analyzing cross-sectional data, one cannot distinguish between the effects of unobserved heterogeneity, such as varying personality traits, and the effects of migration on SWB. However, previous research indicates that personality influences SWB (e.g., Diener et al., 1999).[5] Second, when asked to compare two situations directly, most people report that their lives are improved after migration (Hagerty, 2003), and migrants do not differ from the general population in this regard (Scott & Scott, 1989). Therefore, migrants may report higher SWB after their moves to avoid acknowledging any cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). Using cross-sectional data, one cannot clearly determine the causality between the described factors and SWB (Frey & Stutzer, 2005). Although it is for example clear that gender influences satisfaction, other factors, such as marriage or migration, may show a reverse causality. Therefore, cross-sectional studies are unable to determine whether migrants are more satisfied than the general population, whether the characteristics that make

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[4] For the population levels of the GDR, see *Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR* (1989): 335. For more recent figures, refer to the Federal Statistical Office Wiesbaden (2006). The figures that are presented in this paper do not include East Berlin, as it is not possible to differentiate between East and West Berlin after 2000. By that year, Eastern Germany, including Berlin, had lost 10.1 percent of its former population.

[5] For example, neurotic individuals may report lower satisfaction than those who are not neurotic (Diener et al., 1999).

these individuals more likely to relocate also make them happier, or whether their greater satisfaction actually results from their relocation.

These problems emphasize the importance of using longitudinal data to conduct research on SWB, as these issues raise doubts regarding the reliability of cross-sectional samples for this subject.

Third, few studies link the effects of migration on SWB within an explanatory theoretical framework. The hypotheses that are tested are primarily derived ad hoc from previous findings (e.g., Lundholm & Malmberg, 2006). The few contributions to the literature that do provide a theoretical background concentrate on specific aspects. In some cases, the theoretical framework aims to describe the integration of migrants and to compare migrants and natives using a variety of assimilation models (Safi, 2010) or to discuss the integration process using concepts such as the social capital framework of Bourdieu (1986) (see: Amit, 2010; Amit & Litwin, 2010). Other authors have used theoretical concepts to explain the situation of migrants before and after migration. For example, Lu (2002) followed the housing career thesis in analyzing residential mobility. Only De Jong, Chamratrithirong & Tran (2002) integrated the question regarding the influence of migration on SWB with a theory that is typically used to analyze migration. In accordance with Sjaastad (1962), De Jong, Chamratrithirong &Tran (2002) treat migrations as investments in the productivity of individuals.

Fourth, some features of migration have not been addressed at all. Questions regarding the influence of regional characteristics or the length of the stay in a new host region on SWB remain unanswered. However, studies that have been conducted at the macro level show the importance of regional income or unemployment levels for individual satisfaction (for the USA, see Alesina, Di Tella & MacCulloch, 2004; for Europe, see Di Tella, MacCulloch & Oswaldm 2001; for Germany, see Easterlin & Plagnol, 2008).

This study attempts to fill these gaps and to analyze the influence of migration from Eastern to Western Germany on SWB. Hypotheses that describe the relationship between migration and subjective well-being (SWB) are derived from human capital theory and psychology approaches. More precisely, this study aims to answer the following questions: How does migration influence SWB? How do changes in SWB after migration (if such changes exist) develop over time? Are there differences in SWB changes among different migrating groups or between men and women? What is the influence of the conditions of the regional labor markets on SWB?

The reunification of Germany, which several economists have called a "natural" experiment, provides a unique opportunity to study the influence of migration on SWB based on longitudinal data containing information from before and after migration. The empirical investigations that are presented in this paper are based on the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP), and on waves from 1992 to 2006. Hereby information on all individuals who migrated from Eastern to Western Germany between 1990 and 2007 are included. Fixed-effects models are used to determine the effects of unobserved heterogeneity and migration on SWB, based on the assumption that unobserved characteristics tend to be stable over time. The use of fixed-effects models ensures that the effect of migration on SWB is causal rather than based on selection. This approach verifies that "happy" individuals are not those who typically migrate but that migration does indeed affect SWB. In the analyses, I control for individual and regional labor market characteristics in Eastern and Western Germany. I distinguish between migrants and persons who returned to East Germany after relocation to the West. Variables that indicate the amount of time individuals have lived in the West account for the influence of time on changes in SWB. The analyses are conducted separately for men and women, as previous studies have found gender-specific differences in the influence of migration (e.g., Frijters, Haisken-DeNew & Shields , 2004).

Migration and Subjective Well-Being

Research on the SWB of migrants has different goals in sociology and economic contexts.[6] Sociological research in this field focuses on the integration process of migrants and dates back to 1928 to the research of Park (1928) on 'marginal man' and the uprooted (Handlin, 1951). In contrast, the first economic research to address SWB in the context of migration was motivated by differences in SWB between countries.[7] In fact, the average happiness of individuals differs among countries; individuals from Western Europe and the USA score higher on well-being scales than those from Eastern Europe (Blanchflower & Oswald, 2008).[8] However, as Bartram (2010) indicated, it would be an ecological fallacy to conclude that migration from countries with lower levels of SWB to those with higher levels of SWB would increase happiness.

Analyzing five Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden), Lundholm & Malmberg (2006) revealed a positive relationship between residential mobility and SWB. Among the few people who were less satisfied after a move (8 percent), singles were overrepresented. In turn, individuals who reported greater satisfaction with their social lives after a move showed the highest level of general satisfaction, as social life has the largest effect on overall satisfaction. The authors concluded that migration in Nordic countries is not a trade-off situation in which social and environmental cuts are accepted in return for higher incomes; rather, they found that relocations serve as opportunities to obtain preferred types of housing, as found by Lu (2002) in an analysis of the USA. Other studies, such as a study of repeated, temporary and permanent migration in Thailand, reveal a mixed influence of migration on life satisfaction (De Jong, Chamratrithirong & Tran, 2002). Mobility was found to increase, decrease and not to influence life satisfaction; approximately one-third of the migrants accounted for each group. However, job satisfaction increased after migration. The study reveals a negative relationship between life satisfaction and education, and this relationship was explained by the unrealistic expectations of highly educated individuals regarding living conditions after their moves. Finally, previous research in this field that concentrated on depression, which could be understood as the opposite of SWB, reveals that residential mobility increases the likelihood of depression, especially for women (Magdol, 2002).

The most recent study that has applied a different methodology focuses on the life satisfaction of immigrants and natives in the USA. The results that were obtained by Bartram (2010) are consistent with those of other studies that have compared the SWB of immigrants and natives and found lower life satisfaction among immigrants than natives (e.g., Amit, 2010; Amit & Litwin, 2010; Bălțătescu, 2007; Neto, 1995; Safi, 2010). In comparisons between countries of origin, immigrants from poorer countries show lower levels of life satisfaction, whereas immigrants from Europe or Canada do not differ significantly from natives. Moreover, the satisfaction of immigrants from poorer countries is defined to a greater degree by absolute income. These immigrants constitute a group with modest earnings and are therefore more frustrated than natives with regard to their inability to obtain higher incomes (Bartram, 2010).

Thus far, only one study has included a variable measuring life satisfaction before and after migration based on longitudinal data. Frijters, Haisken-DeNew & Shields (2004) investigated determinants of life satisfaction in Eastern and Western Germany and also included measurements of the influence of migration on life satisfaction. Using ordered logit fixed-effects models, the authors found a positive effect of migration from Eastern to Western Germany and a negative

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[6] For a general overview of the factors that influence SWB, see the work of Dolan et al. (2008). For an overview validating the theoretical importance and the measurement of SWB, see the studies of Blanchflower & Oswald (2004a), Di Tella & MacCulloch (2006), Frey & Stutzer (2002), and Kahneman and Krueger (2006).

[7] In general, economic research on SWB dates back to Richard Easterlin (1974) who found that individuals do not report increased SWB with increased personal income.

[8] Moreover, at the macro level, life satisfaction is an excellent predictor of international migration (Blanchflower & Oswald, 2008).

effect of relocation from West to East for men only (Frijters, Haisken-DeNew & Shields, 2004). This study provides a general overview of the influence of major life events on SWB rather than on the effects of migration. Differences in SWB between groups of migrants or over time were not examined. Moreover, this study was based on a rather short period during which levels of life satisfaction in Eastern and Western Germany were still converging.

Theoretical considerations

Subjective well-being of migrants

According to neoclassical economics, migration represents a risky investment through the allocation of human capital to increase productivity. Individuals maximize their utility by choosing the most beneficial location. In this respect, migrants must be willing to tolerate present costs to obtain future benefits Borjas, 1987; Chiswick, 1999; Chiswick, 1978; Sjaastad, 1962). Individuals compare the costs and benefits of migration. In this sense, migration is equivalent to any other investment in human capital, such as schooling or on-the-job training.

The costs of migration are both monetary and non-monetary (Sjaasjad, 1962). The monetary costs of migration are primarily transportation costs, whereas the non-monetary costs are more substantial and include the loss of location-specific human capital, such as the loss of family and friendship networks (DaVanzo, 1983), and opportunity costs (Sjaasjad, 1962). However, the benefits of migration can also be non-monetary. Therefore, individuals may migrate to a better climate, for family-related reasons or to improve life quality and they may accept the financial disadvantages in order to live in a new location (see, e.g., Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). When people make their decisions with sufficient information and without unrealistic expectations by considering both monetary and non-monetary costs and benefits, only those who profit from a migration in a subjective sense will migrate (Ziegler & Britton, 1981). Thus, as De Jong, Chamratrithirong & Tran (2002) claimed, *migrants are likely to report higher subjective well-being (SWB) after a move than before a move* (hypothesis 1). Moreover, *the increase in SWB after a move should be enduring*[9] (hypothesis 2) because migration (similar to other career investments) is a long-term investment.

An alternative view of the long-term development of SWB is provided by the psychological literature: following an initial increase in SWB in the period immediately after migration, mechanisms that include adaptation, aspiration and comparison reduce SWB in later periods. First, as individuals adapt to repeated stimuli (Scitovsky, 1992), they should adapt quickly to their improved living standards after migration and thus experience a decline in SWB. Second, obtaining higher incomes may trigger even higher aspirations regarding earnings and economic status (Stutzer, 2003; van Praag, 1993). Third, individuals change their reference categories after receiving an increase in income and thereafter compare themselves to even wealthier persons (Venhoven, 1991). Therefore, migrants who relocated from Eastern to Western Germany should change their comparison group from Eastern to wealthier Western Germans. Alternative hypothesis 2a states as follows: *Following an initial increase in SWB after migration, migrants are likely to report decreasing SWB in later periods.*

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[9] According to neoclassical economics, such decisions are based on the unrealistic assumption that individuals maximize their utility for life. Therefore, "enduring" indicates an improvement in SWB over a lifetime.

Group differences

The costs and benefits of migration depend on the education of a migrant and the income distribution in the locations of origin and destination (Borjas, 1987; Chiswick, 1978; 1999). Highly educated individuals should profit the most from relocations from Eastern to Western Germany because of the higher marginal value of their education in the West (c.f. Melzer, 2011). Moreover, highly educated individuals also have regionally broader networks (Massey et al., 1998). These networks render these individuals as less regionally dependent and reduce their migration costs. Low costs combined with high gains should both motivate more highly educated individuals to migrate and increase their profits and SWB after such a move. In addition, highly educated individuals are more likely to be able to gather the necessary information for migration and to weigh the gains and losses appropriately. Hence, these individuals are more likely to make well-considered decisions and to avoid disappointment. Therefore, *highly educated individuals should report more positive changes in SWB than migrants with lower educational levels after a move* (hypothesis 3).

According to Mincer (1978), the migration of couples is subject to the same maximization strategy as that of individuals. The only difference is that the decision to migrate is based on the entire household, and the monetary and non-monetary gains and losses of all household members are accumulated. The migration occurs when a household unit benefits irrespective of the individual gains and losses of the household members. Both partners are unlikely to simultaneously improve their situations in a new destination (Mincer, 1978; Kalter, 1998). One partner usually initiates a move, and the other partner follows (the "tied mover"). Even if, according to the theoretical setting of Mincer (1978), work is gender-neutral empirical, evidence shows that as a result of lower earnings and interrupted labor force participation, women are usually in the position of tied movers (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Mincer, 1978; Shihadeh, 1991). Thus, women who migrate with their partners could be expected to reveal fewer positive changes in SWB after their moves. However, if one seriously considers the theoretical framework of Mincer (1978), then one finds that compensation payments are exchanged between the household members, who gain or lose as a result of relocation. Therefore, it is hypothesized that *after a migration, women who migrate with their partners should not report negative changes in their SWB* (hypothesis 4).

Data and methods

Data

The empirical analyses are based on the SOEP, which is a representative longitudinal survey (Wagner, Frick & Schupp, 2005). The sampling procedure is based on a random selection of households; within each household, every household member over the age of 16 is surveyed.

An unbalanced sample of persons from eastern German states serves as the basis of the research; people who entered the sample after 1990 or who were absent in one or more waves were also included in the estimates. All persons who exited Eastern for Western Germany between 1990 and 2007 are identified as migrants. Individuals who exited Eastern Germany in 1990 and 1991 are investigated, as any other person in the sample, from 1992 and thereafter from their second year in Western Germany. The estimates are limited, as information on regional characteristics is not available before 1992. The data set contains 8,233 persons between 16 and 63 years of age, and 650 of these individuals migrated.

The sample contains 50,532 person-years for stayers and an additional 5,829 person-years for migrants (3015 of these person-years are from the period following the moves). After migration, individuals in Western Germany continued to be interviewed on a yearly basis. The questionnaires for Eastern and Western Germany are identical.

The data set contains information for 40 percent of male migrants and 38 percent of female migrants for more than 5 years in Western Germany and for 12 percent of male and female migrants for more than 10 years. Those numbers arose because some migrants departed from the panel (people remained in the panel for an average of 8 years), returned to East Germany, or spent fewer than 5 years in West Germany. It is also possible to account for return migration to East Germany after a move to West Germany. Indeed, 68 men and 73 women returned to East Germany after relocating to the West; these individuals are labeled as returnees and are included in the estimates.

The following question from the SOEP was used to operationalize SWB: "How satisfied are you with your life, all things considered?" The respondents were instructed to answer on an integer scale that ranged from 0 to 10, where 0 represents the lowest level of life satisfaction, and 10 represents the highest satisfaction level. A dummy variable, "migrated to Western Germany," takes the value of one if a person from East Germany lives in West Germany and zero otherwise. An additional variable was created to determine the time that the migrants spent in West Germany. This variable indicates whether an individual spent no time, less than two years, two to four years, four to six years, six to nine years or more than ten years in Western Germany (e.g., "migrated less than two years ago"). Finally, the dummy variable "returned to Eastern Germany" identifies all persons who returned to East Germany after relocation to West Germany.

Additional variables were constructed based on their interactions with the "migrated to Western Germany" variable to capture the differences in SWB among various groups of migrants. For example the interaction term "partner* migrated" was generated. It takes the value of one if a person migrated with his or her partner (cohabitation) and zero otherwise. The same values apply to the "married* migrated" and "tertiary education* migrated" variables.

The analyses control for a range of individual and regional characteristics, which are described briefly in the following section. Information regarding the distribution of these variables can be found in the appendix.

Age effects are given as both age and age squared.

A measurement of the subjective classification of *health* status on a scale from 1 (poor health) to 5 (excellent health) is included.

Marital status: A battery of dummy variables accounts for the following life stages: single (1), cohabitating (2), married (3), divorced (4) and widowed (5). When a divorced person finds a new partner, his or her status changes from divorced to cohabitating.

As many people migrate to begin a new job, it is important to control for changes in employment status, household income and hours worked.

Employment status: This variable distinguishes between four categories: full-time employment (1), part-time employment (2), apprenticeship (3) and maternity leave or irregular employment (0).

Household income: The household income variable represents the logarithm of the combined individual monthly net wages of both partners living in a household deflated to 1992 values. For single people, household income equals individual income.

The number of *hours worked* per week is included.

I have also controlled for regional income and unemployment levels, as the economic situation differed between East and West Germany and differed as a result of the changes in the East German economy after reunification. Moreover, individuals relocate not only between East and West Germany but also within East Germany. These changes in labor market conditions might influence both the decisions of individuals to migrate and their SWB.[10]

Regional income levels: All information on average daily incomes (rounded to €1) was obtained from the data of the Federal Employment Agency, which are based on the IAB *Employee History (Beschäftigten-Historik* - BeH) V7.01, Nuremberg 2007. The variable provides gender-specific values.

[10] For example, average wages for men increased by approximately 20 percent from 1992 to 1995. However, this period of rapid wage growth was followed by a period in which scarcely any wage growth occurred. These calculations are based on the *IAB Employee History (IAB Beschäftigten-Historik* - BeH) V7.01, Nuremberg 2007.

Regional unemployment rates: The unemployment rates (rounded to 1 percent) from 1998 to 2006 were obtained from the official data of the Federal Employment Agency. Gender-specific unemployment rates at the NUTS 3 level are not available for years prior to 1998. Nevertheless, the IABS data enables an approximation of gender-specific unemployment rates for the period from 1992 to the present. Therefore, the information pertaining to local unemployment rates is derived from two sources.

Population density: The final variable that provides information on regional features is a dummy that measures a region's population density. This variable takes the value of 1 if the region in question is urban and has more than 100,000 inhabitants.

Methods

Fixed-effects models are used to estimate the relationship between SWB and migration, as these models have several desirable statistical properties.[11] First, the estimations are based on within variation only, and this type of estimation eliminates the influence of time-invariant observable and unobservable heterogeneity among individuals. Consequently, the influence of time-invariant characteristics, such as gender or race, on SWB cannot be estimated, but at the same time it is unnecessary to control for time-invariant characteristics, such as personality traits. Because survey data usually contain only limited information regarding personality traits and because it is virtually impossible to control for all features of personality that might influence SWB, this advantage is significant. Fixed-effects models control also for the potential sample selection of time-invariant characteristics; such a procedure is crucial because migration is a highly selective process (c.f. Hunt, 2006; Melzer, 2011). If one does not control for some observable and unobservable differences between migrants and non-migrants, then SWB differences that result from selection into migration could be wrongly ascribed to the influence of migration on SWB. The use of fixed-effects models ensures that selection according to time-invariant characteristics is no longer a concern.

The following model was fitted:

$$SWB_{it} = \beta_1 living\_West_{it} + \beta_2 living\_East_{it} + \delta_1 found\_partner_{it} + \delta_2 Z_{it} \qquad (1)$$
$$+ \delta_3 living\_West_{it} * found\_partner_{it} + v_i + \varepsilon_{it}$$

The dependent variable SWB is observed for respondent i at time t. β_1 indicates the estimated parameter that indicates the influence of migration from Eastern to Western Germany on SWB, our key variable labeled *living_West*. β_2 indicates the changes in SWB of returnees, individuals who returned to the East after relocating to the West. δ_1 provides information regarding the effect of one of the control variables, *found_partner*, on life satisfaction, and δ_3 estimates the influence of the interaction effect between the *found_partner* variable and the migration dummy and indicates whether migration has an additional effect on SWB of people living in partnerships. Other observable time-dependent, individual and regional characteristics enter the model via Z_{it}.

I allow individual variance in intercepts but not in slopes. Therefore, a separate intercept for each individual included in the data is estimated by v_i; the deviation of the individual values over time from the general mean is captured by the observation-specific error term ε_{it}.

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[11] Even if the trend in the research on SWB, especially in the economics literature, is progressing toward ordered logit models, I refrain from using ordered logit models in this article. Blanchflower & Oswald (2004b) showed that simple OLS regressions achieve results that are similar to those obtained from ordered logit models for three-point scales, and the life satisfaction scale that is used in this study is measured on an eleven-point scale. These results are also supported by Ferrer-i-Carbonell & Frijters (2004) who used SOEP data to show that the results of ordered logit models and OLS regressions do not differ considerably. In contrast, the authors emphasize the importance of fixed-effects regressions, as these regressions do change the results substantially (Ferrer-i-Carbonell & Frijters, 2004).

Results

Descriptive results

As shown in Figure 1, the average SWB was lower in Eastern Germany than in Western Germany for the entire period from 1990 to 2008. This result emerged despite the convergence that was observed in the period following reunification. Life satisfaction increased between 1991 and 1999 in the East and declined simultaneously in the West. The increase in the East was associated with an increase in both relative and absolute income, whereas the decline in the West was primarily linked to unemployment (Easterlin & Plagnol, 2008). The course of life satisfaction for East Germany in Figure 1 begins with a sharp decrease between 1990 and 1991. Not until 1999 did Eastern Germans regain the level of satisfaction that was reported in 1990. After 1999, no further convergence occurred; rather, the curves for Eastern and Western Germans followed the same pattern of increases and decreases for the next six years. Only in 2008, the last year under observation, did the satisfaction of Eastern Germans increase slightly higher than that of Western Germans.

In addition to the life satisfaction of Eastern and Western Germans, a third line (a long dash-dotted line) is included in Figure 1, which displays the average life satisfaction of people who migrated from Eastern to Western Germany after their moves. The first observation in this group is from 1991, as the first migrations occurred between 1990 and 1991. Eastern Germans who relocated to the West were more satisfied than the population who remained in Eastern Germany, but the Eastern-West migrants remained less satisfied than the Western population.
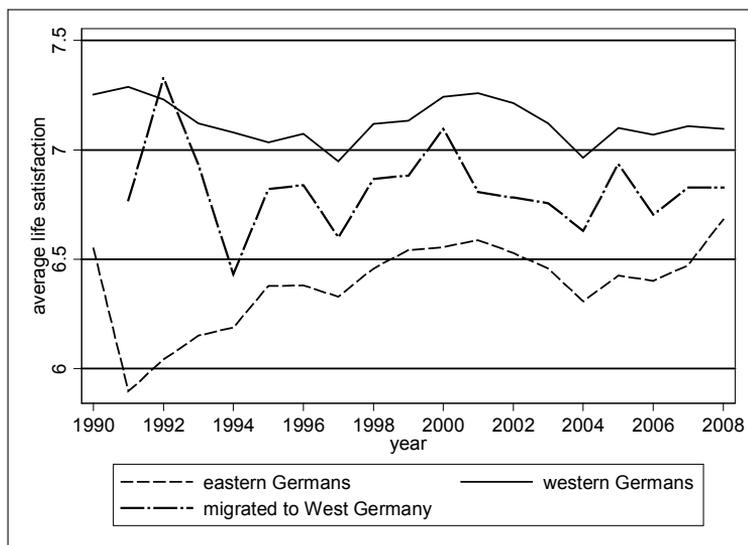
Figure 1: *SWB of Eastern and Western Germans and that of individuals who migrated from Eastern to Western Germany*

Analytical results

The results of the fixed-effects regressions for men and women are presented in Tables 1 and 2, respectively. I discuss the influence of migration on SWB for men first and for women second and subsequently compare these effects. I begin the analyses with Model 1, which includes the

"migrated from Eastern to Western Germany" and "returned to Eastern Germany" variables in addition to demographic information. In Model 2, the individual economic variables are included to indicate their influence on the migration variable. In Model 3 (as in Model 6), the duration of the stays in Western Germany is considered using dummy variables that indicate the number of years spent in the West to account for possible changes in SWB over time. In Model 4, additional interaction effects are included to account for group-specific differences (e.g., differences between highly qualified and less qualified migrants). Finally, in Models 5 and 6, regional labor market characteristics are also controlled. This method enables an analysis of whether the SWB changes that were found after migration are caused by improved labor market characteristics in the West.

Even when individual observed and unobserved characteristics are controlled, migration from Eastern to Western Germany increased the life satisfaction of men by 0.3 scale points (see Model 2), with an average life satisfaction in Eastern Germany of approximately 6.5 points. In contrast, return migration did not increase SWB.[12] The use of fixed-effects models enables the verification that "happy" individuals are not those who migrate but that migration does indeed influence SWB. Migration from Eastern to Western Germany increased SWB; only becoming unemployed or start to work part time had a greater influence on the life satisfaction of men (see Models 2-6). By comparing Models 1 and 2, we can observe that the changes in income, employment and working conditions related to the migration from East to West Germany partially account for the improved SWB of migrants after their moves. After the employment situation is controlled, migration from East to West Germany loses one-fourth of its former magnitude.

More importantly, the change in SWB was enduring (Model 3). Male migrants reported higher levels of life satisfaction even six years after migration. However, after labor market characteristics are controlled in Models 5 and 6, the effect of migration is no longer significant for men. Therefore, the increased SWB after migration can be explained by the superior labor market characteristics of Western Germany. Men appear to have benefited, in terms of SWB, from higher income levels and more secure employment situations in Western Germany.

Neither highly educated men nor those who moved to Western Germany with a partner (married or otherwise) differ from other groups of migrants (Model 4).

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[12]   Fixed-effects models compare SWB changes that are caused by return migration to East Germany as a deviation from an individual's average level of SWB over the entire period in the data.

Table 1: *Consequences of migration from Eastern to Western Germany on the SWB of men: fixed-effects regressions based on SOEP data for the 1992-2006 period*

Men	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
individual characteristics						
migrated from Eastern to Western Germany	0.401***	0.291**		0.294*	0.092	
	(0.100)	(0.097)		(0.124)	(0.175)	
returned to Eastern Germany	0.071	0.052	-0.266	0.059	0.039	-0.081
	(0.242)	(0.230)	(0.228)	(0.230)	(0.233)	(0.259)
migrated less than two years ago			0.315**			0.142
			(0.106)			(0.153)
migrated two to four years ago			0.323**			0.136
			(0.114)			(0.163)
migrated four to six years ago			0.395**			0.199
			(0.139)			(0.200)
migrated six to nine years ago			0.181			-0.029
			(0.168)			(0.221)
migrated more than ten years ago			0.389*			0.155
			(0.174)			(0.232)
age	-0.061***	-0.123***	-0.124***	-0.123***	-0.132***	-0.123***
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.017)
age squared	0.001***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
health	0.423***	0.409***	0.409***	0.408***	0.408***	0.408***
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
found a partner in the past year	0.206**	0.075	0.071	0.088	0.085	0.077
	(0.070)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.072)
married in the past year	0.245**	0.113	0.110	0.098	0.095	0.112
	(0.092)	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.095)	(0.095)	(0.093)
divorced in the past year	-0.176	-0.164	-0.167	-0.169	-0.170	-0.168
	(0.121)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.116)
spouse died in the past year	0.038	-0.016	-0.019	-0.025	-0.034	-0.025
	(0.228)	(0.232)	(0.232)	(0.233)	(0.232)	(0.232)
has children	0.136**	0.177***	0.177***	0.177***	0.179***	0.179***
	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)
became unemployed		-0.390***	-0.391***	-0.390***	-0.389***	-0.395***
		(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.077)
began part-time work		-0.382***	-0.382***	-0.380***	-0.375***	-0.376***
		(0.099)	(0.099)	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.099)
began vocational training		-0.236***	-0.237***	-0.235***	-0.234***	-0.211***
		(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.063)
household income		0.023***	0.023***	0.023***	0.022***	0.022***
		(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
hours worked		0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
interaction terms						
tertiary education* migrated				-0.120	-0.102	
				(0.189)	(0.189)	
partner* migrated				-0.101	-0.101	
				(0.152)	(0.150)	
married* migrated				0.148	0.133	
				(0.157)	(0.161)	
regional characteristics						
income level					0.007	0.006
					(0.005)	(0.005)
unemployment rate					-0.004	-0.004
					(0.005)	(0.005)
city with more than 100,000 residents					-0.039	-0.032
					(0.078)	(0.079)
Person-years	27457	27457	27457	27457	27457	27457
persons	4099	4099	4099	4099	4099	4099
r-squared overall	0.145	0.171	0.172	0.171	0.188	0.184
r-squared within	0.060	0.085	0.085	0.085	0.085	0.086
r-squared between	0.175	0.204	0.204	0.204	0.230	0.225
rho	0.525	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.513	0.515

Robust standard errors are used; year dummies are included; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

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Table 2: *Consequences of migration from Eastern to Western Germany on the SWB of women: fixed-effects regressions based on SOEP data for the 1992-2006 period*

Women	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
individual characteristics						
migrated from Eastern to Western Germany	0.472***	0.416***		0.412**	0.500***	
	(0.095)	(0.093)		(0.135)	(0.142)	
returned to Eastern Germany	0.335	0.348	-0.024	0.339	0.355	-0.094
	(0.206)	(0.199)	(0.202)	(0.197)	(0.199)	(0.206)
migrated less than two years ago			0.472***			0.562***
			(0.094)			(0.106)
migrated two to four years ago			0.351**			0.450***
			(0.123)			(0.135)
migrated four to six years ago			0.475***			0.574***
			(0.139)			(0.146)
migrated six to nine years ago			0.190			0.286
			(0.169)			(0.173)
migrated more than ten years ago			0.386*			0.479**
			(0.178)			(0.183)
age	-0.040**	-0.095***	-0.094***	-0.095***	-0.117***	-0.109***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.018)
age squared	0.001***	0.001***	0.001***	0.001***	0.001***	0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
health	0.402***	0.403***	0.402***	0.403***	0.403***	0.403***
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
found a partner in the past year	0.234***	0.112	0.106	0.118	0.122	0.123
	(0.062)	(0.065)	(0.066)	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.066)
married in the past year	0.158	0.061	0.058	0.068	0.074	0.073
	(0.084)	(0.087)	(0.086)	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.086)
divorced in the past year	-0.117	-0.085	-0.087	-0.083	-0.078	-0.079
	(0.121)	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.119)
spouse died in the past year	-0.001	-0.021	-0.025	-0.015	-0.009	-0.014
	(0.160)	(0.159)	(0.160)	(0.160)	(0.160)	(0.160)
has children	0.113**	0.182***	0.182***	0.182***	0.183***	0.188***
	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.039)
became unemployed		-0.298***	-0.300***	-0.298***	-0.306***	-0.313***
		(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.071)
began part-time work		-0.135**	-0.134**	-0.135**	-0.135**	-0.140**
		(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.043)
began vocational training		-0.258***	-0.259***	-0.258***	-0.260***	-0.239***
		(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.064)
household income		0.028***	0.028***	0.028***	0.028***	0.028***
		(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
hours worked		0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
interaction terms						
tertiary education* migrated				0.134	0.105	
				(0.214)	(0.213)	
partner* migrated				-0.032	-0.040	
				(0.160)	(0.159)	
married* migrated				-0.050	-0.035	
				(0.175)	(0.176)	
regional characteristics						
income level					0.009	0.008
					(0.006)	(0.006)
unemployment rate					0.013**	0.013**
					(0.005)	(0.005)
city with more than 100,000 residents					-0.179*	-0.173*
					(0.087)	(0.087)
Person-years	28908	28908	28908	28908	28908	28908
persons	4134	4134	4134	4134	4134	4134
r-squared overall	0.130	0.154	0.154	0.154	0.159	0.157
r-squared within	0.051	0.067	0.067	0.067	0.067	0.068
r-squared between	0.180	0.199	0.197	0.199	0.201	0.199
rho	0.523	0.518	0.518	0.518	0.511	0.511

Robust standard errors are used; year dummies are included; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

The SWB patterns that were found in this study are generally similar for men and women. Migration increased SWB for both sexes. The effect endured for at least 6 years, and no group differences can be found, although the positive effect of migration on SWB appears to have been slightly larger and more stable for females. In addition, the effect of return migration was positive but never significant. Few differences between men and women can be found. The most important difference is that the influence of migration on the SWB of women remains stable even when regional features are controlled (see Table 2 and Models 5 and 6). There were differences between men and women with regard to employment status. Both men and women who became unemployed, began apprenticeships or began part-time work were less satisfied. Initially, this pattern showed no gender-specific differences. However, a comparison of the effects of migration and employment status on SWB reveals differences between men and women. Next to the effect of health, unemployment or part-time work shows the strongest effect on SWB for men, whereas migration shows the strongest effect on SWB for women.

I conducted several tests to account for possible sources of selectivity. First, I tested whether persons who are removed from the data are indeed a random group and not selected among those who are less satisfied (see the additional variable test used by Wooldridge, 2001, p. 581). Two of the three constructed tests support the view that individuals are removed from the data randomly. Second, I constructed various robustness tests to analyze whether the various methods of accounting for migrants and returnees influence the analyses.[13] In this situation, the main problem is that returnees might be selected according to their satisfaction. East-West migrants who are particularly dissatisfied in the West might return to the East. The effect of migration remains stable regardless of the specification used (the results are not presented here). Finally, I estimated the Heckman selection controls with a reduced set of variables following the method of Heckman & Smith (1996). The results indicate that the unobserved characteristics based on which persons are selected for migration account for approximately one-sixth of the effects of migration on SWB (the results are presented in the appendix). The results indicate the importance of using fixed-effects estimations and controlling for unobserved characteristics.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate the influence of migration on SWB. The hypotheses in this study regarding the effect of migration on SWB were derived from neoclassical economic concepts such as the human capital theory and from concepts developed in the psychology literature. The main prediction derived from the human capital framework is that migrants should be more satisfied after a move. The estimations are based on longitudinal data (SOEP 1990-2007), which include information pertaining to individuals living in, moving from, and returning to Eastern Germany. Fixed-effects hierarchical models were used to distinguish the effects of personality and mobility on SWB.

East-West migration in Germany has had a positive influence on SWB. Therefore, hypothesis 1 (*migrants should report higher SWB after their moves*) is verified. Although the favorable conditions in the Western German labor market, such as higher regional income levels, account for the increase in the reported SWB of men, the same result was not observed for women. Previous studies have shown that men and women experience increased SWB as a result of different factors. For example, Fandrem, Sam & Roland (2009) showed that young women gain greater satisfaction from housing. For example, the quality of housing may differ between Eastern and Western Germany, and women may have experienced greater SWB in the West because of the superior quality of housing. Other reasons for the high and stable increases in the SWB of women after migration might have been associated with the structure of the labor market in West Germany,

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[13] Possible influences were investigated, for example, by including previously excluded returnees in the sample, adding returnees to migrants in West Germany or treating these migrants as a separate group in the final models.

which may have been especially beneficial for women. Research addressing mobility in urban municipalities shows that women are more likely to relocate to larger cities because the men in these cities have higher education levels and earnings and are thus more attractive to women (Edlund, 2005). Wages in Western Germany tend to be higher than wages in Eastern Germany. Therefore, westward migration may be driven by a mechanism that is similar to that which motivates migration to cities. Single women who migrate to Western Germany or to larger cities may profit from increases in their own wages and those of their potential partners (cf. Edlund, 2005). For female migrants who live in partnerships, a different mechanism could account for the increased SWB following migration. In this context, the research on over-qualification might be insightful. For example, Büchel (2000) showed that married women who live in more highly populated municipalities are less likely to work in jobs for which they are overqualified (Büchel, 2000). If Eastern and Western Germany differ regarding the density of population and the density or quality of jobs that are available (e.g., high-quality jobs in East Germany are more scarce) or if couples migrate from rural areas to urban areas, then women who migrate with partners or spouses may be more satisfied because of the superior job opportunities that are available. If this explanation holds true, then the regional control variables that were used may not capture the complete effect of the superior job opportunities that are available in West Germany.

The positive effect of migration on SWB was found a maximum of six years after relocation for men and a maximum of ten years after relocation for women. Hypothesis 2 (*the increases in SWB after a move are enduring*) can be confirmed only for women. For men, the situation is more complex. On the one hand the effect can be interpreted as enduring; the SWB of men remained higher after six years, which is longer than individuals usually need to adapt to new situations. For example, the existing research shows that individuals typically need approximately 3 years to adapt to widowhood or marriage, two years to recover from layoffs and one year to adapt to a divorce (e.g., Clark et al., 2008). On the other hand, the effect of migration on SWB for East German male migrants who relocated to West Germany declines in magnitude after six years and does not remain significant. This result may indicate that an adaptation process was occurring and that male migrants were affected by the "hedonic treadmill"; and that even a significant change in living conditions, such as the changes associated with relocation, may not increase SWB indefinitely. Therefore, neither hypothesis 2 nor the alternative hypothesis 2a can be confirmed for men. Further research best one based on international data is necessary to clarify the process that affects the SWB of men after relocation.

Interestingly, the results for women contradict the predictions of psychologists regarding adaptation, aspiration and the comparisons used in alternative hypothesis 2a (*migrants should report decreasing SWB in periods following migration*) and earlier research (cf. Brickman, Coates & Janoff-Bullman, 1978). However, a comparison of the results to more recent research provides a more harmonious view of the situation. According to recent research, individuals do not completely adapt to non-monetary life events, such as marriage, divorce, disability (Di Tella, Haisken-DeNew & MacCulloch, 2007; Easterlin 2003; Lucas et al., 2003) or migration. Neither *highly educated migrants nor those who move with a partner reveal different levels of SWB* (thus, hypothesis 3 must be rejected, but hypothesis 4 is confirmed).

This study provided new information on migration using longitudinal data. However, new questions also arise. One of the most important questions concerns whether the positive, long-term effect that was found in this study can be confirmed for international migration. For example, does this pattern apply to people who relocate to a society with an entirely different culture or economic situation or to countries in which other languages are spoken? Moreover, it would be interesting to determine whether people who relocate to a society with a different ethnic majority also show such high increases in SWB. However, new data sources will be required to answer such questions. Finally, this study compared the SWB of East-West migrants before and after their moves with the remaining population of the country of origin; the link between migrants and individuals from a country of destination is still absent and should be analyzed in future research.

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Appendix

Table A1: *Characteristics of male and female migrants and stayers;*
SOEP data for the 1992-2006 period

	men				women			
	stayers	migrants	min	max	stayers	migrants	min	max
individual char.								
life satisfaction	6.4	6.8	0	10	6.4	6.8	0	10
age (in years)	40.1	36.9	17	63	40.1	34.6	17	63
health	3.55	3.69	1	5	3.49	3.69	1	5
single (in %)	24.6	23.7	0	4	18.4	20.1	0	4
in a partnership (in %)	11.9	19.1			12.2	20.5		
married (in %)	58.4	52.1			60.6	50.2		
divorced (in %)	4.5	4.8			6.45	8.4		
widowed (in %)	0.6	0.3			2.4	0.9		
has children (in %)	31.08	31.20	0	1	35.37	38.02	0	1
without sec. degree (in %)	0.9	0.6	0	4	0.6	0.1	0	4
lower secondary (in %)	22.6	10.7			20.9	8.1		
intermediate sec. (in %)	51.4	50.6			54.7	54.0		
upper secondary (in %)	19.9	34.3			18.5	31.4		
tertiary education (in %)	20.8	26.9			25.7	25.7		
employed full time (in %)	68.4	83.1	0	4	41.7	42.7	0	4
employed part time (in %)	1.4	1.9			13.3	19.0		
unemployed (in %)	30.0	11.7			41.0	32.8		
vocational training (in %)	5.2	3.3			4.0	5.5		
hours worked (in %)	32.3	39.1	0	80	23.8	25.7	0	80
household income (in €)	1317	2365	0	101021	920	1163	0	28000
regional char.								
income level (in €)	62.9	92.0	38	125	53.9	61.5	32	92
unemployment rate (in %)	15.6	9.7	1	33	18.8	9.1	1	36
city with more than 100,000 res. (in %)	26.3	34.9	0	1	27.0	29.3	0	1
n person-years	26213	1244			27338	1570		

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Table A2: *Consequences of migration from Eastern to Western Germany on SWB: Heckman selection regressions based on SOEP data for the 1992-2006 period*

	Men	Women
Individual characteristics		
migrated from Eastern to Western G.	0.323***	0.363***
age	-0.228***	-0.226***
age squared	0.003***	0.003***
Reference category: single		
cohabitating	0.012	-0.078
married	0.127**	-0.009
divorced	-0.332***	-0.238***
widowed	-0.032	0.088
Reference category: no secondary degree		
lower secondary degree	-0.225***	-0.323***
intermediate secondary degree	-0.113*	-0.128**
upper secondary degree	0.209***	0.117*
tertiary degree	0.082*	0.062*
Reference category: employed		
not employed	-0.761***	-0.700***
employed part time	-0.400***	-0.086*
vocational training	-0.684***	-0.733***
household income	0.047***	0.065***
hours worked	-0.003*	-0.011***
inverse Mills ratio	0.045***	0.050***
Person-years	27423	28824
r-squared	0.1148	0.0998

To compute the inverse Mills ratio, I controlled for age, age squared (if a person was single, cohabiting or married), educational level, employment status, household income, hours worked, the labor market, unemployment and regional characteristics. The estimates were obtained with two-step Heckman selection controls using STATA 10. The criteria for the selection were the duration of unemployment, the time spent in the labor force, and house ownership. Moreover, for the selection equation, only being single or having a partner (married or otherwise) was distinguished, whereas information on divorce and widowhood were also used for the outcome equation.

New Governance: Pitfalls of Activation Policies for Young Migrant Dropouts in the Netherlands

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Abstract

Migrant youth are at a disadvantage in the Netherlands when it comes to schooling and work: many drop out of school and are unemployed. We will use concepts of new governance to discuss the complexities surrounding the execution of policies to reintegrate dropouts back into school or the labour market from the perspectives of professionals (street level bureaucrats) working in activation programmes. The results show that cooperation is difficult. The most difficult youngsters are beyond the reach of most policy initiatives. Furthermore, many professionals perceive educational requirements as unrealistic for some youngsters. Finally, new requirements for employability may stigmatize youngsters as unwilling and unmotivated.

Keywords: Young Migrants, Youth Unemployment, Early School Leaving, Activation Policies, New Governance

Introduction

Current figures on the position of young migrants[3] in the Netherlands indicate that migrant youth are at a disadvantage in the educational and professional spheres compared with their Dutch counterparts. They are overrepresented in the lower segments of education and leave school before graduation almost twice as often (Ministry of Education [Min. OCW], 2007a). On the labour market they are concentrated in the lower segments and show structurally high levels of unemployment (Statistics Netherlands [CBS], 2008). Of special concern are what are referred to as non-participants i.e. young people who do not attend school, who are not active jobseekers, and who are without a regular income (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment [Min. SZW], 2007a).

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[3]   In the Netherlands the term non-western migrant includes migrants from Turkey, Africa, Latin America and Asia, with the exception of Indonesia and Japan, with at least one parent born in one of these countries. The young migrants referred to in this paper are non-western, mostly Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean. Those groups represent the four largest migrant groups in the Netherlands. Furthermore, among them dropout rates and unemployment figures are the highest.

Many social policies and measures to improve the position of young migrants in the Netherlands have been developed in order to help them cope with their disadvantaged position. These measures mainly originated from two policy lines. Firstly, there is a more activating approach towards unemployment which resulted in the Active Labour Market Policy (ALMP) (Eichhorst, Kaufmann & Konle-Seidl, 2008). This pertains to recent transitions from a 'passive' to an 'active' welfare state in which activation to work has increasingly taken precedence over social security provision (Van Oorschot, 2004) and in which social security functions as a reintegration tool, an incentive to stimulate the 'inactive' unemployed or benefit recipients to work (Van Berkel & Borghi, 2008). The goal of these policies is to improve economic self-reliance and to reach social integration of these groups since their status is often associated with poverty and social exclusion (Eichhorst et al., 2008).

Secondly, a number of policies that aim to combat school dropout rates fit in with the ALMP context and have an activating character. In line with the European aspiration to become a knowledge economy (European Council, 2000), the aim is to prevent youngsters from leaving school early, to educate young people as much as possible so in the future they will have more opportunities on the labour market, and to reintegrate dropouts back into school and onto the labour market.

Policies on early school leaving and youth unemployment are developed and coordinated on national and European levels, but policy implementation and activation programmes are decentralized. Municipalities, employment offices (in the Netherlands, Centre for Work and Income [CWI]) and schools are all responsible for achieving the national and European goals. This study examines the execution of policies to reduce school dropout levels and to activate young migrants to work in the local context of the city of Utrecht. We are interested in how official policies take shape in the institutions and organisations responsible for policy execution. We are also interested in what this implies for the young migrant dropouts involved. The central questions of our study are: how are policies concerning early school leaving and youth unemployment executed in the local context (the city of Utrecht) and what are the consequences for the migrant youngsters involved?

To answer our research questions our study consists of three different parts. The first part treats the theoretical field of policy execution focussing on new governance and street level bureaucracy. We also offer an overview of the main European national and local policies to combat early school leaving and youth unemployment. Together this serves as the (theoretical and policy) background for the second and third part. In the second part we examine how official policy takes shape in the local context along the lines of activation and new governance. Therefore we performed an extensive case study research in the regional context of the city of Utrecht. Utrecht is one of the four largest cities in the Netherlands where the dropout and youth unemployment rates are the highest (Min. OCW, 2007a; CBS, 2008). The third part deals with the consequences of the policy execution for the young migrant dropouts and we examine in what ways policies work out beneficially or obstructively.

New governance and street level bureaucracy in activation

Central in the implementation and execution of activation policies are forms of new governance (Van Berkel & Borghi, 2008; Van Berkel, 2009; Lindsay & McQuaid, 2009). New governance entails that, in order to address complex social problems, such as disadvantaged youngsters with multiple problems, new models for provision of activation must be employed: welfare provision is less organised on a state level and instead responsibilities for providing services are decentralized to locally responsive multi-agency partnerships which consist of multiple stakeholders with specific expertise (Daly, 2003; Van Berkel & Borghi, 2008; Lindsay & McQuaid, 2009).

In his studies Van Berkel (2005, 2008) distinguishes key concepts typical of new governance in implementing activation policies. First, *decentralisation*: In active welfare states local governments are more and more responsible for the implementation of national policies and the provision of social services. Secondly, *marketisation:* with the transition from passive to active welfare states, (semi) privatized reintegration markets were created in order to make activation services more efficient and of better quality (Struyven & Steurs, 2002; Van Berkel & Van der Aa, 2005; Lindsay & McQuaid, 2009). This means providing welfare services is (partly) contracted out to private re-integration or activation companies (providers) by governmental institutions like employment offices, which act as purchasers of these services. This competitive climate should stimulate private companies to promote more individually focussed and responsive service provision. Lastly, the promotion of *interagency cooperation:* on the local level one-stop shops have been introduced with the aim to have a more effective cooperation between organisations responsible for income provision and activation and to serve tailor made services for the unemployed. These partnerships are established between former providers of these services, but also with new (contracted out) commercial partners.

Several studies highlight some difficulties or tensions in delivering services by means of new governance. Firstly, regarding interagency cooperation: differences between (local) partners in professional and organisational values, cultures and interests can hamper successful interagency cooperation and integration of services in one-stop shops (Axelsson & Axelsson, 2006; Glendinning, 2003; Vangen & Huxham, 2003). Power differences and struggles between partner organisations over who's in charge of the partnership, fear of losing one organisational territory and interest can obstruct trust-building between partners (Glendinning, 2003). Contracting out activation services can hinder 'genuine partnership' because it entails unequal power relationships between purchaser and provider. This can limit the exchange of shared knowledge and experience which are vital for partnerships (Lindsay & McQuaid, 2008).

Furthermore, instead of delivering individualized tailor made services contracting out seems to lead to private activation services applying standardized approaches (Lindsay & McQuaid, 2009). Van Berkel & Van der Aa (2005) point to several disincentives for private companies to offer more tailor made services: for instance they only have to meet a success rate (job placements) of around 50 percent, and there is a lack of quality control and monitoring by the purchasers of the services offered to the clients. Lastly, the way in which private activation services are financed, by outflow in job placements, can lead to 'creaming' in which difficult clients are excluded from programs or 'parking' in long term trajectories in which hardly any job counselling or job training takes place (Struyven & Steurs, 2002; Van Berkel & Van der Aa, 2005).

To examine our second question whether the social policies have unintended consequences for the target group, young migrant dropouts, we will examine how the supply of social services for young migrant dropouts is affected by the principles of new governance: marketisation and interagency cooperation. However, the delivery of social services is not only determined by formal and operational organisation, but also by the way professionals adopt these policies and put them in practice. Therefore we also use street-level bureaucracy theory which states that the street-level workers in organisations ultimately decide what kind of services and benefits clients receive. Consequently, according to Lipsky, they do not just deliver but in fact make policy (Lipsky, 1980; Evans & Harris, 2004; Winter, 2002, 2003). The street-level bureaucracy theory consists of two key concepts: discretion and coping behaviour. Discretion is the freedom professionals or street-level bureaucrats have when deciding what action to take. They use their discretion to apply various coping behaviours which are the informal practice strategies professionals apply to handle complex work situations and work pressure, such as an enormous workload and limited resources. One important coping strategy is 'creaming' where professionals tend to focus on 'workable' clients at the expense of the more difficult ones. In this present study we explore whether discretion and coping behaviours on the part of professionals in reintegration organisations in Utrecht have positive or questionable consequences for young migrant dropouts.

In the next section we provide an overview of the Dutch national and local activation policies on early school leaving and youth unemployment. For this we use existing data such as official policy documents and other studies that evaluate activation and reintegration policies.

Dutch policies

We now give a brief overview of the main national and local policies to reduce the number of dropouts and to promote labour market participation of young migrant people. We focus on the main policies that pertain to young migrant dropouts. Migrants are often seen as a group that needs extra attention in order to improve their educational level or to encourage their labour market participation (Social and Economic Council [SER], 2007). However, the problems of migrant youth are dealt with in the more general framework of achieving a sufficient educational level and consequently improving labour market participation. Nevertheless, since migrant youngsters are well represented in dropout and youth unemployment rates, these policies implicitly target this group. This can also be observed in the reintegration programmes which are generally to be found in migrant neighbourhoods and where clients with a migrant background are overrepresented.

National context

Policies on early school leaving stem from the early 1990s, with reforms in vocational education. In 1994, the basic qualification was introduced as a way of establishing a minimum level of vocational training which would ensure labour market access (Houtkoop, 2004). Obtaining the basic qualification entails completing at least the second level of secondary vocational education. Without a basic qualification, sustainable labour market options are assumed to be limited and the definition of 'dropouts' in the Netherlands therefore actually refers to all youngsters who do not obtain this basic qualification. Furthermore, since 1994, the Netherlands has been divided into Regional Report and Coordination Points (RMC regions) to facilitate tackling the problem of school dropouts and to register the number of early school leavers.

The recent boom in Dutch policies to prevent young people from dropping out and to return dropouts to school is heavily influenced by the Lisbon Agreements. The European Council set the goal to become one of the most competitive and dynamic knowledge economies and therefore one important aim is to reduce the number of people in the 18-24 age group who have only completed the lower level of secondary education by half (European Council, 2000). In this intensified attack on reducing dropout, a new law was introduced in 2001 that required municipalities and schools to report the number of dropouts to the RMCs.

In 2006 the Dutch government launched an action plan entitled 'Attack on Dropping Out' because the number of dropouts remained high and it was feared that the Lisbon targets were out of reach (Min. OCW, 2006). This plan entailed, for instance, to create more trainee places and one-stop shops for young people with questions relating to education and employment. Another important measure was to extend the compulsory school leaving age from 17 to 18 and introduce a 'qualification obligation' (Min. OCW, 2007b). This means that all youngsters between 16 and 18 who have not attained a basic qualification level should attend school until they turn 18.

The policies give priority to education rather than to employment. The goal for young unemployed people is for them to achieve the basic qualification through additional education or to award them qualifications for skills obtained through work experience (Min. OCW, 2003, 2006).

The primary responsibility for executing labour market policies lies with the municipalities and their social-service departments. As of 2004, responsibility for providing social benefit is tied by the new Social Assistance Act (WWB) (Min. SZW, 2003), which provides municipalities with

their own budget to implement social assistance policies at local level. The aim is to limit the inflow of people into social security and to stimulate the outflow into work. The municipalities and the Social Security Agency contract out private reintegration companies that are responsible for providing reintegration programmes for benefit recipients.

The aims to improve both the qualification level and the labour market position of young people converge in 2009 introduced study-work obligation to the age of 27. All youngsters applying for social benefit are referred to work programmes or sent back to school, or to a combination of work and study. If young people refuse this offer to learn or work they may no longer be entitled to benefit (Min. SZW, 2007b).

Local context: prevention and activation in Utrecht

In Utrecht, there is integrated cooperation, i.e. a 'comprehensive approach', between different organisations - schools, youth care, social work, the municipality and employment offices and also private initiatives which run different kinds of preventive and curative programmes are all involved in the field of activating young dropouts (see model 1). The municipality also created a covenant scheme together with the Ministry of Education and the local training centres for secondary vocational education (ROCs) to reduce the number of dropouts. Also, Utrecht implemented the obligation to work and study up to the age of 27. The municipality opened a youth office in January 2009, this is a front office where young Utrecht residents between 13 and 27 years of age can go with their questions on school, work and income. The youth office refers dropouts to the most suitable institutions that will help them return to school or find employment on the labour market.

This overview of current policies is the background against which we studied the local execution of measures to combat dropping out and to enhance reintegration. To further answer our research questions 'how are the policies executed and what does this imply for the young migrants' we concentrate on matters related to new governance in activation and the role of front line workers or the street level bureaucrats. First, interagency cooperation and marketisation are treated: how does cooperation between organisations work and how do organisations approach and admit young people. Secondly, issues surrounding obtaining sufficient educational qualifications and new requirements for employability that affect young migrants are discussed. These imply important implications for the execution of official activation policies and the position of young migrant dropouts.

## Methods and overview of the local field of activation

Our study was part of the comparative European research project TRESEGY. The project ran from June 2006-2009 and studied how young migrants experience their life in their country of residence, what problems they face and what kind of support from social policy they receive. Six European countries with nine cities as research locations participated in the project. The project realised extensive quantitative and qualitative studies involving youth surveys and ethnographic studies in various local settings like on the street, schools, community centres and activation programmes for young people. In this article we are discussing the findings for the Dutch context.

For the qualitative field study on policy execution, we conducted a case study and interviewed 28 professionals which are key figures in public and private organisations involved in the activation of young dropouts and the young unemployed in Utrecht (see annex).

The picture below (figure 1) provides a schematic overview of the local field of activation and its main levels and actors. We also included the different trajectories dropouts can take. Moreover, other cities in the Netherlands are similarly organised so this picture resembles the situation

of activation of early school leavers in major Dutch cities. The programmes and policies target 'dropouts': youngsters in the 13-27 age range who are at risk of dropping out of school, who have already dropped out, and who may also be unemployed.

In the city of Utrecht, there is a large migrant community. Because many migrant youngsters in Utrecht are in a disadvantaged position, the presented local activation initiatives often involve this group.
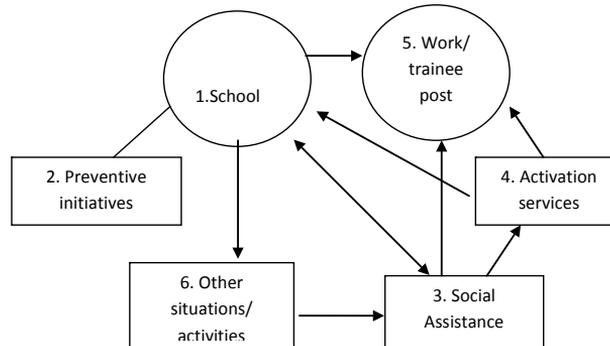
Figure 1: *Local field of activation*

The following main actors are involved in the field of activating dropouts: first schools (Regional Training Centres) which house care and advice teams and rebound facilities for youngsters who face dropping out. Secondly, in Utrecht there are several dropout prevention projects which collaborate with schools and are executed in classrooms like buddy projects, a self-employment project and a migrant empowerment association. Third, social assistance organised around municipality institutions entailing one-stop offices like the youth office, and the study-work office. Other important players on this level are the school attendance office and the Department of Education responsible for executing educational policies. Fourth are private activation and rehabilitation services. Fifth are work and trainee posts. Work and trainee posts are joined in this figure because trainee posts are considered to be necessarily stepping-stones for being employed. Finally, youngsters can be in other activities or situations like care tasks, black work, psychological or psychiatric services, juridical circuit, etc. Within this field dropouts can take the several trajectories (indicated by the arrows): for instance, dropping out and entering directly the labour market, or not finding/ searching work and applying for social benefit, and from social assistance back into school, work or trainee posts (e.g. work-first projects). It should be clear that there are more possibilities and that these trajectories can be repeated in variable ways several times. For example, when youngsters lose their job or drop out of school once more, a new cycle can start again.

Between February and May 2007, and September 2008 and April 2009 we held semi-structured in depth-interviews from over an hour with 28 figures that are representatives of local organisations and projects (see Table 1 in the appendix). We selected our respondents so that they form a balanced representation of our case study (Yin, 1994). We established contacts in the field using snowball sampling; in this way we composed a sample that represents the whole reintegration field of the city of Utrecht. We started with policymakers of the municipality and the schools because they have a good overview of all the different organisations active in this area. Their information enabled us to map the local field of activation and they also provided us with several contact persons within the different organisations. Our respondents are in most cases professionals who are often programme coordinators or policymakers and also staff who actually carry out the work, in order to establish a broad local overview of the policies and their

implementation in the city of Utrecht. Moreover, all the coordinators were, in addition to their managerial tasks, actually working with the youngsters.

We complemented the interview data with participant observations of actual policy execution in the field. We conducted participant observations in a garage that has work-study programmes for young dropouts. We interviewed the training staff, the owner and several migrant youngsters and observed how educational goals were merged with practical training in a real life work situation. Furthermore, we attended a rebound class for youngsters who face dropping out and interviewed several youngsters and the coordinating teacher. The observations were written out in field reports and the interviews were recorded and transcribed.

We decided to stop to recruit new informants when we noticed we could not retrieve new information from extra interviews, which meant that we reached data saturation (Boeije, 2010). Furthermore, in this study we carried out triangulation to validate our data. We used three different types of triangulation; triangulation of researchers, data resources and methods. During the whole research process two researchers were involved in the study. The benefit of working with two or more researchers is that two persons always know more than one person, and that interpretations could always be verified with the other researcher. Triangulation of data resources was established by interviewing many different actors in the field of reintegration in the city of Utrecht. In this way we were able to examine many different perspectives on the same issues, in order to verify the statements of informants. Last, by combining methods like interviewing and observations we could compare 'speech' with 'actions' and verify answers given in face-to-face interviews with observed behaviour. This improved the validity of the study.

We analysed the data using the MAXQDA07 software package, which enabled us to perform an accurate and systematic analysis of our qualitative data. Segments from the transcripts were coded with the help of our theoretical concepts (Boeije, 2010). Core concepts were identified as overarching themes of the study and we were able to get results based on theoretical themes which were constructed with the coded fragments of our analysis.

Results

Interagency cooperation

> 'One problem you come across is that so many organisational cultures are working together in the office. And we try to develop unity, some kind of professional unity. If at first you don't succeed, try, try, try again.'
>
> (Coordinator P7 Youth Office)

Central to the comprehensive approach is interagency cooperation in which the different and multiple social problems of youngsters are taken care of. There are different levels of cooperation. Firstly, the municipality is involved in various cooperation initiatives, or one-stop shops such as the youth office, a work-study office, and an employer's office. All aim to put the unemployed or dropouts in contact with the right institutions, or to put employers in touch with the unemployed. When talking of these kinds of initiatives, a phrase that was often heard was: 'they work like a spider in a web'. For the young dropouts the youth office is the most relevant, where partners from secondary vocational schools, social work, employment offices, employers, school attendance officers and social affairs cooperate in the office. The main objective of the cooperation is to present dropouts with a tailor-made programme in which various aspects of their particular situation are taken care of. This tailor-made or individual approach entails a considerable amount of discretion on the part of the youth office professionals, because they are the people who decide what care will be given and which organisation a youngster will be referred to.

Secondly, preventing students from leaving school early also involves collaboration between the municipality and schools. Vocational schools in Utrecht work together with the school attendance officer from the municipality and professional care institutions.

Thirdly, as a result of marketisation, the municipality contracted out the reintegration tasks to commercial organisations. The youth office, for instance, put out the reintegration services, which means that youngsters who need to be reintegrated into the labour market are referred to a private reintegration company. These organisations work together with official partners such as youth care, employment offices, the police and judicial authorities and some are also connected to the youth office. If some kind of professional care or help is not possible in one organisation, other parties are contacted and clients referred to them.

There has been a recent move to increase cooperation with professional youth care institutions. For example, schools and reintegration projects cooperate with professional care, in order to provide support for youngsters with their personal and psychological problems. Activation programmes provide social care themselves through psychologists or cooperate with different professional care organisations. Since some students drop out because they have personal problems, secondary vocational schools set up special needs advisory teams to refer pupils to social work and mental health care when necessary.

Complexities of interagency cooperation

The interviewees explained that most of the dropouts have numerous personal problems, including mental health issues, addiction, debt, or care responsibilities. This means that in many cases numerous parties are involved and this makes working together more complex. In the past it used to be possible for different organisations to work independently of each other on a youngster's various problems, for example a housing organisation and debt aid operated separately without even being aware of the other's involvement. Despite considered to be complex there is a lot of willingness to make the cooperation succeed:

> 'It is easy to say we work integrated, right? However, it is not easy to collaborate with all these parties, it is very complex. People who talk easily about it do not know what it means in practice. It is really something…nevertheless you should at least try to do it.'
>
> (Policymaker 2 P6 Municipality Department of Education)

Furthermore, registration of young dropouts and their problems was difficult in the past and a newly introduced computer system to which all involved organisations and institutions are linked should now make it easier to share and collect information and provide tailor-made programmes for youngsters. However, so far the effectiveness of the new computer system is not clear and concerns about privacy hinder the full implementation of the system.

Another difficulty informants mentioned is that, despite intensive cooperation, different organisations and institutions continue to work in their own interest; first and foremost they are part of the organisation they work for, and cooperation takes second place. Therefore, despite the aim of interagency cooperation there is still a lot of discretionary space left for individual organisations to operate in their own interest, as the coordinator of the youth office explains:

> 'What is complicated to such a one-stop office, it is of course a multi-disciplinary office in which enthusiastic employees of the various organisations are working but they remain part of their own mother organisation. So the project manager of the office is just a functional executive so to say. All interests of the parties involved remain of importance. That makes it very complicated.'
>
> (Coordinator P7 Youth Office)

The interviewees also informed us that cooperation between social and commercial actors can be difficult. Because of marketisation, the youth office is compelled to refer youngsters to commercial partners because the municipality has contractual agreements with reintegration services. Social partners and commercial partners sometimes conflict because the commercial partners also have a commercial interest in activating dropouts. Commercial parties, in turn, sometimes feel excluded by the social partners who feel more affiliation with each other.

Another example of organisations having different interests is that social affairs of the municipality attempts to place people in sustainable labour market positions, while the public employment service (CWI) sometimes tends to 'push' people into short term positions simply to meet placement targets as formulated by the coordinator of the employer's office:

> *'And well, the public employment service (CWI) is solely targeted at placements and do not care if they are still there the next day, so to speak, while for the municipality that is a primary goal, we want to establish sustainable placements as we call it within the municipality.'*
>
> (Coordinator P5 Employers Office)

The coordinator of the youth office is afraid that cooperation between social affairs and the employment service will be disadvantageous for people receiving social assistance:

> *'The municipality is responsible for people in social assistance and in general these people are qualitatively speaking less good than people on unemployment benefit, so the municipality is afraid that taking these groups together will be disadvantageous for the outflow of people on social assistance.'*
>
> (Coordinator P7 Youth Office)

The 'lost' group – the youngsters who are not reached

Some of the policies on early school leaving or youth unemployment will not reach all youngsters. For example, when youngsters become 18 and beyond the scope of compulsory education, it is difficult for schools and the municipality to intervene in someone's personal situation. The municipality states that it tries to have in view all youngsters in the 18-year-old and younger age group:

> *'We do say that we have all the youngsters in view. And officially that is true and that is what we try in reality too. We really do visit them at home if we cannot reach them.'*
>
> (Policymaker 2 P6 Municipality Department of Education)

However, when dropouts older than 18 are not in trouble with the law or the police and if they do not apply for social benefit, they are invisible. The work-study obligation is supposed to take care of this group. However, a complaint from the informants from the municipality is that they wish to see the work-study obligation as an obligation for the youngsters too, and not only as an obligation for the municipality to provide education or work opportunities.

In addition to the group of invisible youngsters there is also a group of 'difficult' youngsters. This group embarks on the programmes, but they are often rejected and passed on or not really taken care of. In fact, according to our informants, there are no suitable programmes for the most difficult group of youngsters.

Our interviewees define the most difficult group as a group of youngsters who are not motivated to finish the programme successfully or who have (psychological) problems that are too complex to deal with. An unmotivated group is, in fact, a lost group because the youngsters themselves no longer put in an appearance. There is, in this case, nothing that the professionals can do to make

the youngsters stay in the programme - participation is voluntary and motivation is crucial as reflected in the following statements from the coordinators of a rehabilitation project:

> *'It happens that someone does not show up for the intake and eventually you have to stop quite soon. You just cannot reach all of them. We also have a group we can not reach'*
> (Coordinator 2 P3 Rehabilitation Project)

> *'We do not try to get this group, it will become too complicated.' (On youngsters with psychiatric problems).*
> (Coordinator 1 P3 Rehabilitation Project)

Programmes generally have certain intake procedures to ascertain whether dropouts have the necessary requirements and motivation to conclude the activation programme successfully. 'Difficult' groups are then rejected. The organisations and their professionals use discretional power and apply coping behaviours in order not to get involved with the most difficult youngsters. It is therefore very easy for organisations to apply their own admission requirements.

One explanation for these practices may possibly lie in the marketisation of the reintegration services. Commercial reintegration services only accept 'workable' customers, who, they are sure, will be reintegrated into school or work within a certain timeframe. Most programmes have a fixed schedule and have to meet the targets set by the municipality in order to receive financial support. This might indicate a strategy of creaming in which only workable clients are admitted (Struyven & Steurs, 2002; Van Berkel & Van der Aa, 2005; Winter, 2003). As stated above, creaming strategies are coping behaviours of professionals to handle work and time pressure in order to meet their targets.

> *'One group is left over, and we take care of part of that group. And still, there are many who first need something else before they can start here or who are not suitable for our programme at all.'*
> (Coordinator 1 P3 Rehabilitation Project)

We noticed that reintegration programmes focus increasingly more on mental care. Mental care provision generally takes longer than activation programmes and reintegration to the labour market is not the main goal. We recognised this process as a possible parking strategy in which difficult clients are 'parked' in long-term psychological programmes (Van Berkel & Van der Aa, 2005). 'Parking' is another example of coping behaviour, in which difficult clients are not really taken care of because the risk of them failing the programme is high, while at the same time they can officially report to the municipality that the youngsters have, in fact, been admitted and receive payment. The following example shows how clients who according to the social affairs intake are considered to be 'easier to activate' (belonging in category 1-2 programmes) are sent to a private activation company to be activated and then are being re-categorised:

> *'We noticed that social affairs presented many clients for programmes 1 and 2 whereas their problematic situation was one in fact that belongs to programme 5 –the psychological programme- where you have more time to get to the essence of the matter.'*
> (Coordinator P10 Reintegration Service)

A work coach of the Youth office complains about this practice of the private activation company:

> *'They made a lot of phone calls to transfer youngsters to a care programme. A care programme lasts a year so they have more time to place youngsters and also receive more money. My idea is that they try to categorise many youngsters as having psychological problems and yes, money seems to be a clear target.'*
>
> (Work coach P7 Youth Office)

Basic qualification requirement

One interesting point relating to the demand for sufficient qualification arises from the interviews with professionals from schools and reintegration companies. In line with national activation policy, returning to education often takes precedence over work as far as possible (Min. SZW, 2007b).

However, the opposite picture emerged during the interviews. On the one hand the need for sufficient education and the emphasis on the basic qualification is often stated to be an important official goal of the programme. On the other hand, for several reasons many professionals in the field reject the need for these youngsters to obtain the basic qualification. First, they feel this standard is too high for some groups and too much is asked of these youngsters.

> *'Is the norm of the basic qualification perhaps too high?'*
> *'Yes, in some cases the level of the basic qualification does appear to be too high. And these youngsters are always perceived as dropouts and we feel this is not fair. Students who do not have the ability, who can just attend level 1, they have to, that's it.'*
>
> (Policymaker P12 Regional Training Centre 2)

Secondly, the officials consider that making older youngsters in particular (over 23, the age above which they are no longer officially deemed to be a dropout) attend school is unrealistic. They are too old and will certainly not be motivated to attend school together with 16 and 17 year olds. Instead, many youngsters are actually better off when they have a good place to work. Furthermore, the basic qualification level is not necessarily required in order to find and keep a job. Interviewees state that many lower-educated people are successful on the labour market. Therefore, many professionals in the field do not agree with the official goals to improve qualifications and they focus instead on the transition to work.

> *'What we see in Utrecht, and what I'm convinced of is that everybody who wants to work can work, regardless of their qualification.'*
>
> (Coordinator P5 Employers Office)

Professionals use their discretional power and often support youngsters to find a job instead of helping them get back to school if they think someone would be better off on the labour market. By doing so, they give their own twist to official activation policies which prioritise education. The following quote from an educational policymaker summarizes some of the basic qualification issues:

> *'Early school leaving involves youngsters without a basic qualification who drop out. So all the youngsters who reach level 1 and for whom we do our outmost to get them to develop, well, this is something that is not rewarded. They leave school with a level 1 certificate and go straight to the labour market where they perform fine but they do not have a basic qualification and are still perceived as being a dropout - this is actually a bit strange.'*
>
> (Policymaker P9 Regional Training Centre 1)

This demand for the basic qualification level also has repercussions on the young people. Youngsters are clearly aware of the qualification norm that is imposed on them and adjust their future expectations in line with this norm. Many professionals report that these youngsters have a too high expectation of their future career and many dropouts participating in activation programmes find it difficult to accept their 'too low' qualification. This hampers their reintegration process for the simple reason that youngsters are not willing to accept a lower level education or job, and this process of acceptance often takes a long time.

> *'Many of them can't reach the level of the basic qualification, level 1 is the highest achievable for them. The problem is that we all say: you need the basic qualification (level 2) and youngsters believe they have to achieve this as well. Even when you tell them it is too difficult for them to achieve, they still want to. That's the norm we set as society.'*
>
> (Coordinator P7 Youth Office)

The supposed lack of employability

An important element in the activation programmes focuses on the transition to work. In these programmes, professionals instil in the young people that it is their personal responsibility to make themselves suitable to enter the labour market; they must improve their employability. This relates to the characteristics of activation policies and ALMPs, where welfare entitlements, such as to social benefit, are made more conditional on individual action and effort (Van Berkel & Van der Aa, 2005; Eichhorst et al., 2008). Many professionals in the field indicate problems with attitude towards working and in particular with 'employee skills', which are seen to be needed in order to be 'employable'.

> *'Learning soft skills is a point of interest; I mean we are not trying to objectify whether a person meets the norms of employee skills, but in the work first projects that is mostly the point of interest. We continuously point out: do you know what is usual behaviour in the workspace? That means being on time, to cancel by telephone if you are ill. Things that are normal for most people, but not in the starting phase of a paid job for this group.'*
>
> (Coordinator P4 Employment Desk)

It is assumed that many young dropouts, and migrants in particular, do not have these skills. Therefore, the primary task of the reintegration programmes is to help dropouts get used to a daily work routine, and to practice skills to enable them to perform as expected at work. A coordinator of one of the projects in Utrecht makes clear why it is important to focus on learning employee or social skills to young migrant dropouts:

> *'They are being prepared here for the labour market, so how exactly does that work and what is important?'*
> *'All the skills needed to be able to perform as required. So, being on time, keeping appointments, decent communication, no shouting, no getting angry and throwing things around and then walking away. But it won't always work, but you have to try because they just don't know.'*
> *'Is that really a deficiency or a problem of this group?'*
> *'Yes, yes, with migrant youth it's just that they're not used to it, they're just not used to it. It's also ignorance. It's not that they are unwilling, it's often sheer ignorance.'*
>
> (Coordinator P10 Reintegration Service)

The interviewees also indicated that the particular problems with migrants' employee skills can also be explained by their having street culture combined with insufficient (parental) guidance or structure at home and school. This makes it difficult for them to conform to the prescribed nine to five pattern of work and to keep appointments.

> *'Most of these youngsters grew up in a street culture. In street culture it is the survival of the fittest, so it matters how you present yourself to your friends. That brings a lot of problems, because they learned to think and behave in a particular way, which is difficult to change.'*
>
> (Coordinator P10 Reintegration Service)

Discussion

The aim of this study was to examine the execution of policies to reduce school dropout levels and to activate young migrants to work in the local context of the city of Utrecht. In this conclusion we answer our research questions: how are policies concerning early school leaving and youth unemployment executed in the local context (the city of Utrecht) and what are the consequences for the migrant youngsters involved? Below we will summarize and discuss the tensions and difficulties that became apparent during the analysis. These are in line with the existing literature and relate to the following issues: successful implementation requires new cooperation structures and working methods. Moreover, high demands -in the sense of qualification and professional skills- resulting from the activation policies are placed on the youngsters.

Social policies on dropouts are implemented along the national policy lines of the forthcoming work-study obligation and the basic qualification requirement. The policies that oblige youngsters to study or to work have to be achieved through a comprehensive approach strategy involving different parties cooperating in a joint structure. A recent example of this strategy is the founding of the Utrecht youth office. All informants are convinced of the necessity and added value of this interagency cooperation and they are all keen to see it established. However, the informants also made it clear that cooperation is difficult - the more parties have to work together, the more complex the cooperation. Different organisations or institutions remain responsible for their own target groups and have their own objectives and targets to meet, and therefore continue to work from their own perspectives and agendas as also shown in other studies (see for instance Glenddinning, 2003). This points to discretion, because the organisations' targets often conflict with the aims of cooperation, and street level bureaucrats ultimately decide how far cooperation goes.

Another focus of the comprehensive approach was a more customer-oriented style, in particular in the privatized reintegration market. Despite the aims for a more individualised approach, reintegration services continue to offer standard reintegration programmes, which, as other scholars (Van Berkel & Van der Aa, 2005; Lindsay & McQuaid, 2008) have pointed out, is more (cost) effective for them. The problem with this is that it results in 'creaming' practices i.e. only admitting 'workable' clients. Some cases also showed instances of 'parking' strategies, where 'difficult' groups are 'parked' in long-term projects that mainly focus on psychological support. Applying street-level bureaucracy theory, creaming and parking strategies can also be seen as coping behaviours that professionals deploy in order to handle time constraints and to meet imposed targets. In general, we observed a more psychological approach to at-risk youngsters or dropouts, both in policies, as in schools and also in the various programmes.

Moreover, all the professionals from the various organisations indicate that there is a 'lost' group. It is generally accepted that this group cannot be helped. Organisations are free to reject certain clients, and sometimes youngsters are passed on to other organisations or are beyond reach which again indicates 'creaming practices'. The respondents claim some problems are too complex to deal with or that some youngsters are simply not motivated enough to participate in the programmes successfully. Other studies show that negative perceptions of the motives of the target group can enforce coping practices such as creaming (Winter, 2002). The discretionary power of professionals is important in these situations because professionals can decide whether a young person is admitted to the programme or not. There is also some doubt as to whether the customer-oriented approach is suitable for this group: their expectations of education and a future professional career are often seen by the professionals as unrealistic and impossible to fulfil.

In general, the activation policies give precedence to study rather than employment. However, we found that professionals acknowledge that obtaining a basic qualification is simply not realistic for some youngsters who would be better off on the labour market. This imposed qualification norm stigmatizes dropouts who are, in fact, successfully employed and it makes it more difficult for young people participating in the programmes to accept their lower educational level. The central

premise of the street-level bureaucracy theory, which says that professionals ultimately decide how official policies are implemented, becomes clear in this case; despite the official educational policy goals, many professionals focus more on labour market participation. Discretion makes it possible for professionals to act independently when making their own decisions about the best programme for a youngster.

Finally, we would like to indicate how young migrant dropouts are perceived by the professionals- they are not employable and lack the appropriate employee skills. However, they do feel that obtaining these skills is an important aim of preventive and reintegration projects. Respondents believe the lack of competences has to do with street culture and not having the right structure and guidance at home and school. However, by focusing on their lack of social competences the professionals can unintentionally contribute towards stigmatizing them as unmotivated and unwilling. Well-intended interventions that try to improve the social skills can in this way also lead to further stigmatization and even exclusion of young migrant dropouts in particular. A number of studies confirm this statement and show that the presumed lack of social skills is used by some employers as an excuse for not hiring young migrants. This is defined as a subtle form of discrimination (Moss & Tilly, 1995, 2001; Schaafsma, 2006).

Conclusion

All the current activation policies and measures can be seen in the light of the general trend in European welfare states to make a transition to a knowledge/service-based economy. This kind of economy requires young people to be educated as much as possible to ensure successful labour market participation. However, the danger is that vulnerable groups, such as migrant youngsters, will have problems meeting the new requirements and will end up as 'losers' in the knowledge economy (Esping-Andersen, 2000; Giddens, 2007; Bude, 2009). Indeed, what the professionals in our study say confirms the fact that some young migrants in the Netherlands have problems meeting the requirements of today's society in terms of professional and social skills. Moreover, our evaluation of activation policies in the local context showed that measures which aim to improve these skills can hinder instead of support these youngsters.

From all the projects we included in our study, we spoke to one or two key figures. We expected them to be the right source of information about the implemented social policies in the local context. A next step in our research would be to include perspectives of more persons involved in the programmes, and especially executive staff, which could contribute to a better understanding of the complexities and working methods of the individual programmes. Although we have conducted research with a few youngsters for this study, we believe in future studies more attention should be paid to the perspectives of the young dropouts themselves. The ideas of the youngsters about the basic qualification and supposed lack of soft skills are of importance to get a better understanding of the consequences of these requirements for the youngsters.

This study analysed the activation of young migrant dropouts in a major Dutch city and described the possible tensions, problems and contradictions in the field. This revealed that well-intended policies and reintegration initiatives can contribute to the marginalisation of some young dropouts. Attention should be given to these issues. Although reintegration policies and programmes can be beneficial for a large number of dropouts, we have to bear in mind that some youngsters will be hampered rather than supported and end up in an even worse position.

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Appendix

Table 1: *Organisations and informants*

Organisation:	Public or private?	Informant:
1. Study-Work Office	Public	Coordinator
2. Garage	Private	Owner, Advisor, Teacher/foreman 1, Teacher/foreman 2
3. Rehabilitation Project	Private	Coordinator 1, Coordinator 2
4. Employment Desk	Public	Coordinator
5. Employers Office	Public	Coordinator
6. Municipality: Department of Education	Public	Policymaker 1, Policymaker 2
7. Youth Office	Public	Coordinator, Work Coach
8. Rebound Facility	Public	Coordinator
9. Regional Training Centre 1	Public	Policymaker, Coordinator Internships, Career Counsellor, Coordinator Basic Vocational training (level 2), Intercultural Coach
10. Reintegration Service	Private	Coordinator
11. Buddy Project	Public	Coordinator
12. Regional Training Centre 2	Public	Policymaker Coordinator
13. Self-Employment Project	Private	Coordinator
14. School Attendance Office	Public	School attendance officer 1, School attendance officer 2
15. Empowerment Initiative	Private	Coordinator
16. Migrant Network	Private	Coordinator

Policy, Governance and Governmentality: Conceptual and Research Reflections on Ageing in England

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Abstract

This paper looks in more detail at the incidence and consequence of social policies for older people through the conceptual lens of governmentality (Foucault, 1977) in England. This international paper with focus on England will enable us to consider the implications of the re-figuring of the relationship between the state, older people and helping professions. In many ways, policy provides three trajectories for older people: first, as independent self-managing consumers with private means and resources; second, as people in need of some support to enable them to continue to self-manage; and third, as dependent and unable to commit to self-management. Governmentality provides the theoretical framework through which to view policy and practice that is largely governed by discourses of personalisation, safeguarding, capability and risk for older people in England.

Keywords: Governance, Power, Welfare, Social Policy

Introduction

This article looks in more detail at the incidence and consequence of social policies for older people through the distinctly post-structuralist lens of governmentality (Foucault, 1977). This will enable us to consider the implications of the re-figuring of the relationship between the state, older people and social work. This re-figuring constructs an ambiguous place for older people: they feature either as a resource - captured in the idea of the 'active citizen', as affluent consumers, volunteers or providers of child care - or as a problem in the context of poverty, vulnerability and risk. In many ways, policy provides three trajectories for older people: first, as independent self-managing consumers with private means and resources; second, as people in need of some support to enable them to continue to self-manage; and third, as dependent and unable to commit to self-management. Governmentality provides the theoretical framework through which to view policy and practice that is largely governed by discourses of personalisation, safeguarding, capability and risk.

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Taking aim at Governmentality

Exploring the role that social policy plays in shaping the social context of older people through the lens of governmentality is to adopt a specific approach to the analysis of this phenomenon. The use of such an analysis reflects the way that neo-liberal forms of government - such as those that have existed in the UK and most of the western world since the late 20ᵗʰ century - manage populations. Our interest is in the subtle mechanisms through which the behaviour of individuals is shaped, guided and directed without recourse to coercion (Foucault 1991, Rose 1999). Central to this process is the concept of the self-managing citizen-consumer engaged in an endless process of decision-making in consumer-based markets. The process is supported by an array of discourses of self-management and associated social practices that are disseminated through social institutions such as factories and workplaces, the media, banks and retail outlets, health and welfare services, schools and universities, churches, and leisure and community organisations. These discourses penetrate deep into family life and personal relationships, regulating behaviour by locating individuals in a network of obligations towards themselves and others. Simultaneously a 'felt' responsibility for a particular locality or an imagined community is produced (Rose, 1996), whereby identity is affirmed. Examples of this process can be identified in the commitments to promoting social capital of the Blair/Brown Labour administrations or the 'Big Society' idea of the Cameron/Clegg Coalition government. Citizenship is avowed by participating in consumer-based activities and the maintenance of an accredited life-style (Miller, 1993). The process has been described as an 'ethic of the self' (Davidson, 1994) and is supported by an ever increasing array of experts embedded in a range of social systems such as physicians, health professionals, social workers, beauticians, personal trainers and financial advisers (Rose, 1999).

Parallel to this process the state is concerned with gathering statistics that help define the population and maintain a level of surveillance that affords the management of risk. Affluent older persons are identified, measured, and then grouped with similar persons. Once described, the characteristics of this group are disseminated via a range of media that suggest personality, aspirations and life chances. Similarly, older people requiring support - the physically infirm, cognitively impaired, widowed, etc - are identified, measured, grouped and their characteristics disseminated. For most individuals the level of surveillance is best described as a light touch sufficient to maintain the disciplinary focus of the state in a way that is both fleeting and total (Rose & Miller 1992; Rose 1996, 1999; Turner, 1997, Knowles, 2001). However, for those whose behaviour is thought to be high risk or for those who fail to conform to the notion of the self-managing consumer-citizen, this surveillance is more oppressive, leaving them vulnerable to victim-blaming (Osborne, 1997). This produces the three trajectories referred to earlier, where those individuals who are willing and able to commit to the market and to self-manage experience a particular combination of options and opportunities while those who, for whatever reason, fail to meet this commitment experience a different and more limited set of options that are often oppressive and impersonal (Rose, 1996; 1999; Petersen, 1997; Gilleard & Higgs 2005). The consequence of this for the 'government of government' (cf. Foucault, 1977) is that its role is clearly circumscribed. It must set out to ensure that basic freedoms are respected, but acknowledge the importance of the family and the market for the management of the care of older people.

Social policy: Constructing the context

Analysing the impact of neo-liberalism from different perspectives, both Giddens (1998) and Beck (2005) have claimed that citizens and the state are faced with the task of navigating themselves through a changing world in which globalization has transformed personal relations and the relationship between state and the individual. Since 1979, both Conservative and Labour Governments have

adopted a neo-liberal stance characterised by an increasing distancing of the state from the direct provision of services. Instead, government operates through a set of relationships where the state sets standards and budgets for particular services but then contracts delivery to private, voluntary or third sector organisations. The underpinning rationale is that this reconfiguration of the state retains a strong core to formulate public policy alongside the dissemination of responsibility for policy implementation to a wide range of often localised modes such as social work and social workers. Neo-liberal governance emphasizes the enterprise as an individual and corporate strategy, supported by its concomitant discourse of marketisation and the role of consumers. The strategy increasingly relies on individuals to make their own arrangements with respect to welfare and support, accompanied by the rhetoric of choice, self-management, responsibility and obligation (Jordan, 2005) - even where public money is used to pay for services.

Neo-liberalism in the 21st century is perhaps the dominant contemporary means through which boundary adjustments are being made and rationalised, with far-reaching consequences for both states and markets. The project of neo-liberalism is evolving and changing, while the task of mapping out the moving terrain of boundaries for social work and older people's experiences is only just beginning; it is long overdue. In this context, the territorial state defined by geographical space is not so much withering away as being increasingly enmeshed in webs of economic interdependencies, social connections and political power. This, in turn, leads to the development of a denser and more complex set of virtual, economic, cultural and political spaces that cut across traditional distinctions between inside and outside, public and private, left and right (Beck, 2005). In this sense, possibly the most influential piece of contemporary neo-liberal social policy came with the implementation of the National Health Service and Community Care Act, 1990. This brought with it the purchaser/provider split and case management; it laid the foundations for subsequent policy initiatives such as the cash–for-care schemes (Direct Payments and Individual Budgets) which provide the core of the 'personalisation agenda'. Much of this is inspired by global developments in the way care is funded (Powell & Gilbert, 2011).

In the second decade of the 21st Century, we have entered an accelerated phase of retraction by the UK state in relation to its role in the provision of welfare, with actual levels of support being reduced. Rhetorically, the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition is committed to the idea of the 'Big Society' which translates into a vision of individuals and communities coming together to work to resolve common concerns, as this Cabinet Office statement confirms:

> *We want to give citizens, communities and local government the power and information they need to come together, solve the problems they face and build the Britain they want. We want society – the families, networks, neighbourhoods and communities that form the fabric of so much of our everyday lives – to be bigger and stronger than ever before. Only when people and communities are given more power and take more responsibility can we achieve fairness and opportunity for all.*
> *(HM Government, 2010)*

This 'felt responsibility' for a particular locality or 'imagined community' is core to the neo-liberal project which, alongside active citizenship, provides the discursive structure for volunteering and the promotion of a network of voluntary activity. In the process, the disciplinary effect of the self-managing individual is reproduced at neighbourhood and community levels. The third sector is crucial in such a scenario, playing a key role by inter-connecting a new partnership between government and civil society. Promoting this relationship is core to the functions of the new Office of Civil Society established by the coalition government in 2010 whose role is to enable people to develop social enterprises, voluntary and charitable organisations while promoting the independence and resilience of the sector.

Evidence of public intervention to support the renewal of community through local initiatives not only advances the status of professional social work organisations but fetishises

the day-to-day operations of social work. Equality, mutual respect, autonomy and decision-making through communication with socially disadvantaged and/or dependent older people come to be seen as integral to the sector and provide an opportunity to encourage socially excluded groups and communities to participate as active citizens in, rather than be seen as a potential burden to, community engagement (Gilleard & Higgs, 2005). Neo-liberalism is especially concerned with inculcating a new set of values and objectives orientated towards incorporating citizens as both players and partners in a marketized system. As such, social workers are exhorted to become entrepreneurs in all spheres and to accept responsibility for the management of civic life (Beck, 2005). There is also an apparent dispersal of power (Foucault, 1977) achieved through establishing structures in which social workers and older people are co-opted into or co-produce governance through their own accountable choices (Gilbert & Powell 2010).

As Burchell (1993) has observed, this is directly connected with the political rationality that assigns primacy to the autonomization of society in which the paradigm of enterprise culture comes to dominate forms of conduct including that of social work with older people. The very significance of autonomization is that there is a strategic aim to diffuse the public sector's monolithic power to encourage diversity and fragmentation of provision of care to private and voluntary sectors. Such a strategy constitutes a fundamental transformation in the mechanisms for governing social life. It has combined two interlinked developments: a stress on the necessity for enterprising subjects and the resolution of central state control with older people articulates with a desire to promote organizational social work autonomy through service provision. Each of these has redefined previous patterns of social relationships within and between those agencies and their clients.

The important point to note is that there is great contingence and variation in such relationships, with unevenness across time and space. These relationships involve the development of new forms of statecraft – some concerned with extensions of the neo-liberal market-building project itself (for example, trade policy and financial regulation), some concerned with managing the consequences and contradictions of marketisation (for example, social policy). It also implies that the boundaries of the state and the market are blurred and that they are constantly being renegotiated (Kendall, 2003). Theoretically we identify the need to engage with key social debates about the future of welfare and individual relationships to and expectations of the state. One of the central debates has been on neo-liberalism and its impingement on re-positioning of older people and collective organisation of modern society.

Integrating services: Social policy and older people

The previous sections of this article have sought to identify the changing relationship between the state and older people by exploring the notion of governmentality. The discussion now moves on to consider more specifically how social policy shapes the social context for older people. Here we need to take account of the social and economic backdrop that frames older people's experiences of support and care. In the process, we identify key developments in social policy such as personalisation, risk and safeguarding, and their congruence with the neo-liberal project. The neo-liberal project constructs as its core subject the self-managing citizen-consumer who is actively making choices within markets. In the context of welfare this involves individuals making choices about the type of support they want and who will provide that support as the range of providers is expanded in two broad ways. First, new providers enter the market providing new services or providing services in new ways. Second, and of key importance, people seeking support move outside of the segregated confines of welfare services to obtain services from mainstream providers (Dickinson & Glasby, 2010). Such innovative moves may include, for example, a physical exercise programme from a sports centre instead of physiotherapy, an art course instead of time at a day centre, a holiday abroad instead of respite care.

In many ways, the 'Personalisation Agenda' as it is set out in 'Putting People First' (2007) represents the high point of the neo-liberal project with respect to welfare. This approach is largely constructed through a framework of earlier policy which includes the Community Care (Direct Payments) Act (1996), Independence Wellbeing and Choice (Department of Health, 2005) and Our Health, Our Care, Our Say (Department of Health, 2006). This was then supplemented by the Coalition Government with the publication of Capable Communities and Active Citizens (Department of Health, 2010) and Think Local, Act Personal (2011) which aim to tie the shift to self-directed support outlined by the 'Personalisation Agenda' more closely to the notion of the Big Society. The discourses that articulate within this policy framework are those familiar to neo-liberalism: independence, choice, freedom, responsibility, quality, empowerment, active citizenship, partnership, the enabling state, co-production and community action.

Alongside this policy framework, a number of specific techniques are constructed, that target individuals, families and communities. These include an alternative method of allocating cash to individuals in the form of individual budgets, on-line self-assessment to augment local authority assessment processes, and community-based advocacy to support life style choices. In addition, commissioning models and approaches are being developed, that aim to promote opportunities by responding proactively to the aspirations of people receiving services. Self-directed support is significant as it breaks with the tradition where state support is mediated by professionals who undertake assessments and organisations that are funded to provide places. Even in more recent times, when individuals might be afforded a choice between two or more places or opportunities, the organisations received funding from the state. Under personalisation, assessment takes place to identify the overall budget a person is entitled to receive, but the money is allocated to the individual either through a direct payment or by establishing an individual budget. In terms of governmentality, the 'Personalisation Agenda' effectively shifts the responsibility for organising support from the state to the individual needing support via a form of cash transfer - something that Ferguson (2007) describes as the privatisation of risk.

The advance of the 'Personalisation Agenda' has drawn support from a number of sources including specific groups of service users (Glendinning et al., 2008), politicians from across the spectrum (Ferguson 2007), and social care managers and social workers (Samuel, 2009). One possible reason for this is that personalisation is conceptually ambiguous, making it difficult to disagree with its basic premise while it retains a number of contradictory ideas (Ferguson, 2007). However, it has also drawn criticisms particularly from older people who have reported lower psychological wellbeing due, possibly, to added anxiety and stress due to the burden of organising their own care (Glendinning et al., 2008). There are also concerns expressed regarding the impact of personalisation on the integration and stability of adult social care; this includes unease with the emphasis on individualistic solutions which may undermine democratic and collective approaches to transforming existing services or developing new services (Newman, Glendinning & Hughes, 2008). Doubts have also been expressed over the readiness of the third sector to take on the demands of providing support. At the same time, while the disaggregation of budgets might suit some small innovative niche organisations, the disruption of funding streams may be perceived as a threat and bring instability to larger, more mainstream third sector organisations (Dickinson & Glasby, 2010). Other issues arise due to the somewhat fragmented process of implementation and the differences that occur in service provision between urban and rural areas (Manthorpe & Stevens, 2010). Ferguson (2007), drawing on the Canadian experience, suggests that personalisation favours the better educated, may provide a cover for cost-cutting and further privatisation and marketization of services, while the employment conditions of personal assistants may give rise to concern.

Governmentality enables the identification of the parallel concerns of neo-liberalism - the promotion of the self-managing individual and the management of risk. So far we have explored self-management in social care through the promotion of self-directed care as part of the

'Personalisation Agenda'. We now turn to the management of risk. This can be seen to take two forms, each dealt with by different elements of social policy. Protection from the risks posed by others is managed through safeguarding and policy such as No Secrets (DH and HO, 2000) [England and Northern Ireland] or In Safe Hands (2000) [Wales]. In Capable Communities and Active Citizens (2010) the government clearly states that safeguarding is central to personalisation. Risks posed by the individual to their own person are contained by the Mental Capacity Act (2005) and its powers to override individual choice or replace autonomy by measures such as Enduring or Lasting Powers of Attorney or the Court of Protection.

No Secrets has provided the basis of policy towards safeguarding for over a decade. It defined abuse in the context of an abuse of trust and the Human Rights Act (1998) and set out a model for inter-agency working that has been adopted by local authorities in England and Northern Ireland. In Wales the corresponding policy is 'In Safe Hands'. No Secrets drew from experience in relation to safeguarding children and described a number of categories of abuse including physical, sexual, neglect and financial abuse. However, it lacked the legal imperative to share information that is included in safeguarding children. Furthermore, the environment within which 'No Secrets' operates has seen considerable change since implementation. One key change was the discursive shift from vulnerable adult to safeguarding that took account of the dangers of victim blaming implied in the notion of vulnerable adults while the concept of safeguarding suggests the focus should be on the environment within which people find themselves. However, this rhetorical shift has not removed abuse. A recent prevalence survey suggests levels of abuse of between 2.6 per cent and 4 per cent, depending on how the estimates are constructed (O'Keeffe et al., 2007). Action on Elder Abuse, one of the organisations that sponsored the study uses evidence of under reporting to reinterpret this estimate as 9 per cent (Gary Fitzgerald, personal communication).

In 2008, the Department of Health set up a consultation over the review of No Secrets where a number of organisations including the Association of Directors of Adult Social Care and Action on Elder Abuse campaigned for a legislative framework to put adult protection on the same footing as child protection (Samuel, 2008). However, no significant changes in guidance or legal status occurred as the Coalition government maintained that safeguarding was an issue for local communities; thus maintaining the distance between the state and individuals. Discourses of safeguarding operate and produce their effects via the multiple interactions of institutions embedded in local communities. Furthermore, the advent of personalisation has seen an increasing focus on financial abuse as direct payments and rules about eligibility for state support for care costs increase opportunities for financial exploitation, fraud and theft. No Secrets treats financial abuse as an artefact of other apparently more serious forms of abuse. However, in 2004, the House of Commons Select Committee identified financial abuse as possibly the second most commonly occurring form of abuse experienced by older people. Estimates in the USA suggest that financial abuse is the most common form of abuse with up to 40 per cent of older people victims (Gorbien, 2011).

Conclusion

This article has explored the place that social policy plays in shaping the social context of older people. To achieve this we have drawn on the concept of governmentality to identify how neo-liberal forms of government construct older people as active consumers within welfare markets shifting the responsibility for organising support from the state to the individual. The contemporary context for working with older people who need some form of support is formed by the relationship between personalisation and safeguarding. These set out the twin pillars of neo-liberal governance, namely self-management through self-directed support and the management of risk through safeguarding. Individuals are constructed as citizen-consumers actively making choices about what their needs are and identifying appropriate services, sometimes

with the support of advocates or workers such as social workers in a process of co-production. In circumstances where risks are considered too high the power to make choices can be temporarily or permanently restricted.

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Philip Martin, Importing Poverty? Immigration and the Changing Face of Rural America, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2009, 242 p.

Book review

Can you identify one trend which has considerably shaped the socio-economic image of rural America, and more specifically of California? You would be hard pressed to find a force more influential yet controversial as migration. In his book, Philip Martin asks and answers the following question: "Does the US risk creating a rural underclass in order to get a seasonal farm workforce?". He wrote it in order to raise awareness of the urgent need of a change in immigration due to a high influx of poor immigrants. In that respect, the intended audience is not only represented by scholar-type of people who want to learn more about this topic, but also, and perhaps mainly, by policy makers, who have the power to influence and shape immigration legislation.

Agriculture in California attracts the high numbers of immigrants who are to be found in the state. They are poor, uneducated and mainly of Hispanic origin. Indeed, American agriculture is home to around 2.5 million workers on an annual basis. Most of these farmworkers work for periods of less than six months on strawberries, broccoli, lettuce, cauliflower and other fruit and vegetables plantations. Amongst these workers, very high numbers are undocumented and can work in this type of job for around ten years. Starting from these facts, Philip Martin wonders what the impact of immigration on rural America is.

Philip Martin is a professor of agricultural and resource economics at the University of California, Davis. He is also chair of the UC Comparative Immigration and Integration Program and editor of the quarterlies *Migration News* and *Rural Migration News*. Additionally, he is the author of *Managed Labor Migration in the Twenty-First century*. Needless to say, he is a specialist in the field of migration and agriculture and his views on the topic are highly relevant for anyone who embarks on the study of any of these two mainly from an economic point of view.

Philip Martin offers a holistic approach of immigration in rural America by looking at how agribusiness, immigration policy, welfare system, demographics and economics are linked and interact to each other. Based on a variety of relevant sources of both primary and secondary origin such as academic papers, press releases, political speeches, farmers' opinions, US Census Data and other legal texts, the author looks at the impact of poor immigrants on rural America. After a thorough analysis, his argument is that the current rural labour model cannot be sustainable in the long run. This is backed up by the fact that the current business-labour model only attracts poor and uneducated immigrants who are caught in a vicious circle of poverty and welfare dependency. They are paid very little money, which means that they cannot afford to send their children to colleges. This triggers a new generation of farmworkers who can only generate the same type of citizens. As a result, the circle is unlikely to be broken due to path dependency. Very low wages are the reason why farmers prefer (undocumented) immigrants, as opposed to American workers, who would only work for a decent wage.

In Philip Martin's view, a solution would be to "regularize the farm workforce and rationalize the farm labor market" (p.180). However, regularization of farmworkers is not likely to be wanted by farmers, since it would trigger higher wages for workers. The solution to problems he

puts forward is mechanization of agriculture. For Martin, mechanization is a labor-saving process which would increase workers' wages because there would be fewer people employed. This means that immigrants could be replaced by Americans who would be happy to work for higher wages. Another solution is the introduction of higher return bonuses to incentivise migrants to return to their countries of origin after a certain number of years spent in the US.

I enjoyed reading the book mainly because I got the chance to familiarise myself with the issues surrounding agricultural corporations and immigrants in rural America. However, my background in sociology and international development pushes me to adopt a more 'open doors' view regarding immigration. As a result, I would have preferred if the author would have emphasised a little more on migrants' experiences. In his book, Martin tries to come up with a formula which would make migration work for the US from an economic point of view, to help it become prosperous. He does not discuss the lack of employment security migrants face and their status as precariat.

Socio-economic problems faced by immigrants in rural America are very important because of their high numbers, yet Martin only briefly mentions that migrant farmworkers are economically insecure. Given the lack of job security migrant farmworkers face, it is worth mentioning the issues surrounding migrants' economic insecurity due to job insecurity. Indeed, the book only focuses on the negative impact of immigration on rural America, without even trying to empathize with the migrants whose only choice of survival is emigration to a country where they can get a wage which would not make them rich, but would allow them to live.

Employment is a source of stability. Job insecurity is therefore likely to reduce opportunities for social participation. As a result, the circle of welfare dependency immigrant farmworkers are caught in is due to the seasonal nature of their job and to the fact that they are undocumented. These two factors are mutually reinforcing. As in any other immigration country, employment insecurity is to be found mainly amongst low skilled, uneducated or irregular immigrants who are likely to find themselves in 3D jobs (Dull, Dangerous and Dirty). The non-regular status triggers lack of control over jobs, which emphasizes the precarious status immigrants experience.

By focusing on negative aspects immigration brings to the US, such as low wages, overcrowding in housing or low level of English, Martin only briefly mentions the fact that farmworkers take the jobs Americans would not do. Again, he does not seem to acknowledge the role of migrants - to make the 'low economy' work.

By writing this book using a highly original and coherent style, the author is trying to give information to the readers about the current factors which affect rural America. He takes this one step further and tries to convince the reader of the validity of his arguments in an aim to try and change immigration policy, which transforms his book almost into a forceful manifesto. Martin's thesis - that the US is importing poverty - is supported by strong evidence. However, even if he does provide an alternative to how to stop the US from becoming motherland to poor immigrants, he does not provide a solution for how to stop people from emigrating. This could only be done through a more homogenous lifestyle which would involve the empowerment of the poor 'South'.

I would recommend this book to anyone who wants to learn something more about not only immigration in rural America, but about immigration into America as a whole.

Claudia Paraschivescu

Brigitta Balogh, Sergiu Bălțătescu, Krisztina Bernáth, Éva Biró-Kaszás & Adrian Hatos (eds.) European, National and Regional Identity. Proceedings of the International Conference "European, National and Regional Identity" organized in Oradea, 24-26 March 2011 in the frame of the research project HURO/0801/180 (ENRI), University of Oradea Publishing House, 2011, 859 p.

Book review

How are identities formed? What are the implications of identity for well-being? Why is the question of identity relevant in policy-making, organizational management or culture? These are only some of the questions we could ask when dealing with the topic of identity. Defining who we are constitutes an important part of personality, being closely related to the life we live, to the degree of our satisfaction. Moreover, on a structural level, belonging to different groups and acting as part of them may determine the power and success of such groups in the competition for resources and domination, and explain the way in which societies function. Approaches to the question of identity can be manifold. Although the title suggests a policy-oriented approach, the articles in the volume *European, National and Regional Identity* use a multitude of perspectives including historical assessments and literary analyses.

The book is the result of the cooperation of three Universities in the Hungary-Romania border region in the frame of the ENRI project co-financed by the Hungary-Romania Cross-Border Co-Operation Programme 2007-2013. The volume contains three of the keynote addresses and 44 of the papers presented at the conference entitled *European, National and Regional Identity* held on 24-26 March 2011 in Oradea. The organizers have used a broad approach and invited papers in seven different sections (*Cultural Diversity and Social Capital*; *Qualitative Methods in the Research on European, National and Regional Identity*; *Social Identity and Well-Being*; *Identities, Representations and Prejudices*; *Identity and the Idea of Europe as Philosophical Problems*; *Levels of Identity: Europe, Nation, Region*; and *Institutions and Identity*), thus, the articles lack a close thematic focus to some aspect of identity, and cover a wide variety of topics.

Two of the three keynote addresses included in the volume present former research results: they explore the question of ethnic identity in Central and Eastern Europe (*Antal Örkény and Mária Székelyi: Constructing Border Ethnic Identities Along the Frontier of Central and Eastern Europe*), and analyze the characteristics of the authoritarian personality from a social psychological perspective based on survey results (*György Csepeli and Gergő Prazsák: New Authoritarianism*). Although both papers deal

with relevant social issues, they fail in their role of keynotes, as they lack both a general reflection on the topic of identity and a tone-setting character. On the other hand, David Bartram's article entitled *Identity, Migration and Happiness* urges socially relevant research, and discusses the relationships between pride in national identity and subjective well-being, inspiring researchers/readers to take into account the social consequences of their research and assume a morally responsible attitude.

The first chapter – that corresponds to the first conference section – contains six articles addressing the relationship between social capital and cultural diversity. The papers call on a multitude of approaches ranging from sociological to literary analyses: authors discuss the role ethnic diversity plays in the cooperation among those living in the blocks of flats in Oradea *(Adrian Hatos and Sorana Săveanu: Social Trust in the Romanian-Hungarian Cross-Border Area)*, and describe Oradea as a model for Bram Stoker's Transylvanian city *(Marius Crişan: Oradea, a Model for Bram Stoker's Transylvanian City).*

Papers in the chapter entitled *Qualitative Methods in the Research on European, National and Regional Identity* are connected by the methodology they use. Nevertheless, the disciplines involved and the topics covered are also very diverse: from explanations on how ethnic-symbolic capital is turned into political capital *(Monica Stroe: Heterorepresentations of Saxonness an their Political Meaning in Transylvania),* to case studies about ethical issues in clinical psychology *(Sándor Kőműves: Identity in the Context of Severe Dementia) and* analyses of mobbing in organizations and the related legislation *(Rozália Klára Bakó and Tünde Szigety: Threatened Identities: Mobbing as a Form of Violence in Organizations).*

The third and fourth chapters both contain papers thematically related to the keynote articles: the introductory paper of the third chapter analyzes the relationship between identities and well-being based on international survey data (*Katarzyna Hamer: Social Identities and Well-being*), whereas István Murányi's article in chapter 4 *(Social Dominance Orientation of Hungarian National Radicals)* deals with the characteristics of the Hungarian national radicals as part of the New Authoritarianism study of 2010.

In the next sections we find philosophical-conceptual and policy-oriented analyses related to identity. Three authors deal with theoretical aspects: Tamás Valastyán presents different interpretations of the concept of "Europe" *(Europa-Reden. Kants, Novalis' und Nietzsches Vorschläge zu einer Europa-Interpretation)*, Márton Attila Demeter assesses the development of nation-states and national identity from a historical point of view *(Aspects of National Identity)*, and László Levente Balogh discusses the characteristics of victim discourses and nation-building strategies in a case study on Hungary *(Identitäten und Opferdiskurse)*. Jiří Krejčík uses a more policy-oriented approach: focusing on the similarities in the attempts to form identity in Europe and India, he argues in favor of a secular identity-building strategy in Europe *(Building European Identity: India as a Model?)*.

The thematic diversity that is characteristic of the entire volume is the most obvious in the final chapter entitled *Institutions and Identity*. The eleven articles in this section cover topics from the effects of the European minority protection conditionality on Romania *(Alina Alexandra Bot)*, to the use of religious symbols in schools *(Gizella Horváth)* and the assessments on the European tradition of doing philosophy in public *(László Nemes)*.

Unfortunately, the book lacks any attempt to unify the multitude of topics by using editorial introductory chapters; it is a simple collection of articles presented at the conference. Thematic summaries of the sections can be found on the conference website; therefore, those who need such guidance are advised to follow the structure and section summaries presented there. Nevertheless, the thematic and methodological diversity demonstrates the complexity of the question of identity, its multidisciplinary relevance, and proves the usefulness of international cooperation. Although the articles show a predominantly scientific conference profile, the variety of perspectives and approaches used make the book accessible to a wide readership.

Andrea Petres

Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber (Ed.), The Handbook of Emergent Technologies in Social Research, Oxford University Press, 2011, 688 p.

Book review

Life in the post-modern society, also labeled as informational, implies almost at a mandatory level the presence of technology in every aspect of our existence. We can rapidly communicate and resolve situations on the telephone, we are being "bombed" with information through mass media channels and we can solve a great deal of medical issues due to science; but how can the achievements in technology influence the academic field of social research? This is the main issue *The Handbook of Emergent Technologies in Social Research* focuses on.

Published under the guidance of Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber – Professor of Sociology and director of the Women`s and Gender Studies Program at Boston College, *The Handbook* gathers the work of various researchers all over the world – USA, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, etc. It is structured in five main parts, every single one comprising chapters signed by contributors from different academic fields, sociology and psychology, to computer science and medicine. Reading the volume therefore offers an original and comprehensive view over the usage of the emergent technologies in the research process.

Emergent technologies, as defined by the editor in the *Introduction* part, are "those that introduce a significant break in the way individuals, groups and society as a whole conduct their activities, as well as add new dimensions to our understanding of the social world. (…) [They] can open up new areas of inquiry, provide researchers with the tools to answer new questions, and change the landscape of knowledge building within and across the disciplines" (p. 4). Consequently, the new technologies – including Web 2.0, nanotechnologies, multimedia, mobile and geospatial technologies – can change many aspects of the qualitative and quantitative research praxis that has so far been known and applied in social sciences in a certain manner.

Not entirely based on theory, *The Handbook* also focuses on empirical aspects; almost each contributor of the volume provides practical examples presenting different case studies which allow the reader to understand how these emergent technologies can be effectively applied in order to obtain solid results in social research. While reading and understanding the various analyses from this volume, we get to realize that these technologies begin to be more and more present in disciplinary and interdisciplinary fields: sociology, ethnography, natural sciences, computer-based sciences, medicine, behavioural sciences.

The direct impact of the latest technology on the research environment is intensely analyzed by the specialists taking into account the advantages and disadvantages of their usage, comparing their strengths and weaknesses. Philosophical issues and ethical dilemmas of using emergent technologies in social sciences research constitute important themes of debating. Can emergent technologies really be employed in the social research area? Can reality be altered by means of these new practices in research? Will the methodological foundation of social research be revised or discarded? Can a new reliable methodological practice be formed by incorporating emergent technologies in traditional survey research methods? These are some questions to which contributors signing the first part chapters of *The Handbook* try to give a scientific answer, along

with other discussions regarding issues like identity, safety of personal data, dependence induced by technology, manipulation and control, and so on.

Analyzing the latest surveys undertaken, one can see that Web 2.0 innovations are being applied more and more in the practice of social research; the use of the internet for inquiring new social environments (virtual communities, e-commerce, etc.), for creating new methods of accessing and collecting data, different types of research questions that arise from this new-born reality, digital and cyber ethnography are some of the aspects highlighted in the second part of the present volume. One of the reasons for using web surveys can be found when analyzing their practical and productive side - online information can be captured in real time, it can create time-efficiency and cost benefits. Various types of recently developed technologies are being presented in the third part of *The Handbook,* such as the WiShare tool and data mining technologies (chapters 16, 17, 18), while taking into consideration the difficulties emerging from their usage. Thus, advantages and drawbacks of the emergent technologies employed in the social research field are being weighed and presented with the same importance.

Audio-visual and mobile-enhanced technologies also have a profound impact on users and researchers as well, engaging lots of benefits and opportunities for the future research. An interesting emergent technology that specialists take into consideration as being the next step in social research is the so-called "digital home" or "living laboratories"; the subjects can be observed in every aspect of their existence, from location and actions to emotions and feelings. The possibility of gathering real-time detailed information regarding aspects of mobility, economic behaviour or communication does not exclude the ethical and privacy facets or even those of sample representativeness and data analysis (part IV and V).

The Handbook underlines the importance and necessity of the future social research environment to transform and adapt its methodology and concepts in order to engage the emergent technologies in its structure. According to this, the new practice in research is perceived as being based more on interdisciplinarity and multidisciplinarity.

The community of researchers will also stand for future transformations. Besides the fact that people involved in the research work need to understand and apply the "traditional" scientific methods at an advanced level, they will be trained in order to be able to use new practices based on emergent technologies. Consequently, new-built issues, such as moral aspects, sampling, data interpretation and validity, will arise.

The Handbook of Emergent Technologies in Social Research represents a reliable study ground for the community of specialists in social and natural sciences and also for students preoccupied by these academic fields. The structure of the volume, its wide spectrum of solid and scientific information and the reputation of the contributors recommend *The Handbook* as being one of the starting points for documentation, understanding and applying emergent technologies in social research.

Raluca Buhaş