

FÉLIX NETO

PREDICTORS OF SATISFACTION WITH LIFE AMONG SECOND GENERATION MIGRANTS

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ABSTRACT. As a part of a comprehensive study of the psychological acculturation of Portuguese youth born in France, this paper examines the relationship between satisfaction with life and some psychosocial variables.

The sample consisted of 519 Portuguese youth resident in Paris (47% were male and 53% female). The following instruments were administered to all subjects: the Satisfaction With Life Scale, the Acculturative Attitudes Scales, the Social Anxiety Scale, two brief measures of (a) loneliness and (b) locus of control as well as a background inventory.

As expected no gender differences were found, but there were significant effects on satisfaction with life related to religion, participation in an association, number of Portuguese friends and ethnic identity. Expressed satisfaction with life showed significant negative correlations with perceived difficulties of adaptation, marginalization, social anxiety, and loneliness; and positive correlations with integration and locus of control. Multiple regression analysis used to determine the significant predictor variables of satisfaction with life indicated that the strongest predictors were loneliness and perceived state of health.

What are the characteristics of those young individuals who are relatively satisfied with life? Although this question has guided past research among adults (Argyle, 1987; Diener, 1984, Eysenck, 1990; Strack, *et al.*, 1991), there has been a dearth of such studies among adolescents (Heaven, 1989), and particularly among migrant adolescents. It has been suggested that satisfaction with life is one of three components of subjective well-being, the others being positive and negative affect (Andrews and Withey, 1976; Michalos, 1980; Diener, *et al.*, 1985). The latter two components refer to the affective, emotional aspects of subjective well-being; whereas "satisfaction" refers to the cognitive-judgmental aspects. This is somewhat different from happiness as a positive emotional state and distress as a negative one.

Shin and Johnson (1978) have defined life satisfaction as an overall assessment of an individual's quality of life according to his chosen criteria. Judgments are based on a comparison with a standard which each subject sets for him/herself. An appropriate standard can not be externally imposed. Diener (1984) has pointed out that the hallmark of subjective well-being is that it centers on personal judgments, not upon some criterion which is judged to be important by the researcher(s). In addition, Diener (1984) has argued that the proper assessment of life satisfaction requires the possibility that different values are imposed by the researcher on the distinctive desirable factors determining satisfaction (e.g., energy and health). Such distinctions should be counteracted by asking them to rate their satisfaction with life as a whole, rather than summing across their satisfaction with specific areas, to obtain a measure of overall life satisfaction.

While several different scales for the assessment of affective components exist (cf. Argyle, 1987), 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 fulfil the need for a multi-item scale to measure life satisfaction as a cognitive-judgmental process. The scale is concise, containing only five items, and was designed around the idea that one must ask subjects for an overall judgment of their life in order to measure the concept of life satisfaction. The psychometric properties of the American-developed SWLS were examined in two samples of undergraduates enrolled in introductory psychology class and in a geriatric population sample. The SWLS has demonstrated to have favourable psychometric characteristics. On these grounds, Diener *et al.* (1985) note that the SWLS is suited for use with different age groups. It should be noted, however, that the Diener *et al.* (1985) findings were restricted to population samples comprising young adults and the elderly. Recently considerable evidence for the convergent validity of the SWLS, not only with self-report measures of satisfaction, but with peer reports of satisfaction and a memory measure as well have been demonstrated (Pavot, *et al.*, 1991).

In a previous investigation (Neto, 1993c) we have examined whether specific psychometric findings reported by Diener *et al.* (1985) could be generalized to a group of subjects differing in at least two important aspects: (1) cultural/national background, and (2) age, by examining Portuguese adolescents. This study reinforced the viewpoint of Diener *et al.* (1985) that the SWLS can be used with different age groups, and in this particular case, with adolescents. Moreover, it supported the cross-national validity of the SWLS.

The research reported here will focus on psychosocial correlates of *global* assessments of life satisfaction among young Portuguese living in France, the country that received the greatest number of Portuguese migrants during the last three decades. Although the foci of satisfaction may be various among migrants, there is a substantial common core of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, regardless of the focus considered (Scott and Stumpf, 1984). Heiss (1966) has shown that one cannot account for the satisfaction merely on the basis of knowledge of amount of pre-migration deprivation. Their data showed a complex relationship between satisfaction and present situation.

Contemporary historians consider Portuguese emigration as a "structural historical phenomenon" (Serrão, 1974) or as a "structural constant" (Godinho, 1978). Nowadays the migratory flux does not portray the massive dislocation of people across borders that was known in the 60's and the beginning of the 70's. In 1970 about 180 000 people migrated, but by 1986 less than 9 000. Even though the migratory phenomenon has been reduced in the last decade, migration continues to be a phenomenon of great importance. In 1982 according to evaluation by the State Emigration Secretary and Portuguese Community, the Portuguese population resident in foreign countries would go up to 3 871 390 people. This number is from a country with about 10 million inhabitants.

In France in particular we find a considerably dense Portuguese community (Mullet and Neto, 1991; Neto, 1986, 1993b). Although the Portuguese community in France had assumed already relative importance in number by the end of the 1st World War, the greatest migratory wave started in the 60's. In 1963 the legal exits to France overtook those to Brasil (15 223 against 11 281) marking the end of a long standing tendency that had continued over three centuries.

In 1960 only 53 932 Portuguese were officially resident in France. In 1990 the number is calculated to be around 650 000. Since 1974 official emigration has been restricted mostly to family reunification or seasonal migration.

Before 1975 immigration was mainly by males. By 1975 the demographic composition was close to equilibrium (53/47% in favour of males). We are dealing with a relatively young population, with about 35% less than 25 years of age. This situation is due to a higher fertility rate among Portuguese than among French, and a reduction in the number of older people due to a return migration (Neto, 1986).

In the Parisian region, where approximately half of the immigrants reside, the men are employed in civil construction, in automobile factories, as taxi drivers and in other diverse occupations. Many workers in civil construction have managed a certain degree of specialization, or managed to form their own company. Others have started various small businesses.

Portuguese cultural associations are well developed in France. In 1971 there were about 23 associations, increasing to 473 by 1980, and to 769 in 1982. This is a unique phenomenon in the context of immigration in France: no other community has developed such a dense and large scale associative network in such a short space of time. There are numerous Portuguese publications in France by unions and political parties, as well as in the form of general newspapers. There are also various radio programs in the Portuguese language throughout the country.

This study had four objectives. The first aim of this study was to examine whether the migration had an effect on the overall satisfaction with life. Some studies have compared satisfaction between immigrants with native-born in the receiving society. Immigrants appear to score roughly the same satisfaction, on average, as samples of native-born respondents. For example, in an Australian longitudinal sample immigrants were asked to express their degree of satisfaction with 16 different foci of adaptation (including, family, friends, possessions, etc). They showed about the same mean proportion of "delighted" or "pleased" replies as a representative sample of Melbourne residents (Scott and Scott, 1989). Although it would be helpful to compare immi-

grants with samples of origin, such data are rarely available for complex variables. As Scott and Scott (1989) suggested the best that can be done is to compare an immigrant group in one country with scores from a representative sample in some other country where such data have been systematically collected. In this vein the same authors compared immigrant adults in an Australian sample with source data provided by Andrews and Withey (1976) and by Campbell, *et al.* (1976). The data have shown very similar proportions of replies to questions concerning how respondents felt about various foci in their lives: the mean proportions of "delighted" and "pleased" replies (combined) to 21 identical items were 52% and 49% for the Australian immigrants and the American sample, respectively, and the similarity in the pattern of these two replies over the 21 items was $r = 0.80$. These data suggested that the Australian immigrants' scores tended to fall within ranges that are typical in the United States for most measures of subjective satisfaction. We will compare the satisfaction with life between young second generation living in France with young Portuguese living in Portugal, controlling variables such as age and socio-cultural level. As there is no strong a priori case for considering the immigrants excessively different concerning satisfaction (Scott and Scott, 1989), we do not anticipate that the satisfaction with life will be different between young Portuguese second generation living abroad and young Portuguese living in Portugal.

The second aim was to examine whether there were differences in the satisfaction with life according to certain background characteristics, such as gender, religion, the participation in associations, newspaper readership, the number of Portuguese friends and ethnic identity. 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 the genders (Diener, 1984). We therefore did not expect to find gender differences; yet we must be cautious because we have found gender differences in Portuguese adolescents living in Portugal (Neto, 1993a). Religion and religion participation can be regarded as one of the domains of satisfaction. Most studies on church attendance and participation in religious groups showed positive relations to well-being (e.g., Freudiger, 1980; McClure

and Loden, 1982). Thus we expected to find that such practices among young catholics would show a positive influence on subjective well-being. Activity theory has popularized the idea that active involvement causes happiness (Diener, 1984). The concept of activity can apply to diverse things and in this paper we consider things such as participation in formal organizations, hobbies (newspaper readship) and social contacts. Given the breadth of the concept of activity it is not surprising that the findings have been mixed. For example, Kozma e Stones (1978) and Cutler (1976) found that some activities are good predictors of subjective well-being and others are not. In this vein we will examine what activities can predict subjective well-being.

The third aim was to explore the relationship between satisfaction with life and other psychosocial constructs, such as perceived problems of adaptation, acculturation attitudes, loneliness, social anxiety and locus of control. We have already examined the acculturation attitudes of young second generation Portuguese towards four modes of acculturation (Neto and Berry, submitted): assimilation, segregation, integration and marginalization. When an individual in a non-dominant culture does not wish to maintain his identity and seeks daily interaction with the dominant culture, then the "assimilation" mode is defined. In contrast, when one insists upon holding on to one's original culture and at the same time wishes to avoid interactions with others, then the "separation" alternative is defined. When there is interest both in maintaining one's original culture and in daily interactions with others, "integration" is the mode of operation; here some degree of cultural integrity is maintained while one moves to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination), then "marginalization" is defined.

Berry's four category model of acculturation is of great interest as it offers two advantages. Firstly, it allows one to analyse the acculturation process at different levels, namely at the society, group and individual level and gives an opportunity to relate data collected at one level to data collected at another (Berry, 1988). Secondly, with regard to acculturation at individual level, acculturation attitudes are consistently related to basic personality dimensions (Schmitz, 1991).

In a review and integration of the literature, Berry and Kim (1987) attempted to identify the cultural and psychological factors which govern the relationship between acculturation and mental health. It was concluded that mental health problems often arise during acculturation; however, these problems are not inevitable, and seem to depend on a variety of group and individual characteristics which enter into the acculturation process, such as the attitudes held about acculturation. With respect to acculturation attitudes individuals opting for integration tend to experience greater mental health than those seeking assimilation, but both are substantially more healthy than those seeking separation or experiencing marginalization.

Loneliness is the unpleasant experience that occurs when a person's network of social relations is deficient in some important way, either quantitatively or qualitatively (Perlman and Peplau, 1981). A variety of factors increase an individual's vulnerability to loneliness (Peplau and Perlman, 1982). Such factors may increase the likelihood that a person will become lonely, and make it more difficult for the lonely person to reestablish satisfying social relations. Satisfaction with life seems to be related to the quality of our social relationships. The research suggests that loneliness is associated with different affective states as being unhappy (Bowling, *et al.*, 1989; Fischer and Philips, 1982; Russel, *et al.*, 1978) and dissatisfied (Neto, 1989a). Paloutzian and Ellison (1982) found a substantial association between loneliness and existential well-being.

Social anxiety is one of the three dimensions of self-consciousness, being defined as "discomfort in the presence of other people" (Fenigstein, *et al.*, 1975).

"Internality", a tendency to attribute outcomes to oneself rather than to external causes, has been consistently related to happiness (Diener, 1984). For example, Potash, *et al.* (1981) distinguish high- and low-satisfaction adult groups on the basis of such personality profiles. They found high satisfaction groups to be internally controlled, that is, individuals who were satisfied with life felt that they were in control of their own life events.

Based on empirical research Diener *et al.* (1985, p. 73) wrote that "the individuals who are satisfied with their lives are in general well adapted

and free of pathology". Other studies also suggest a close relationship between general life satisfaction and mental health (e.g., Hays, 1991). Hence we can predict that satisfaction with life will be associated negatively with perceived problems of adaptation, marginalization, social anxiety and loneliness and positively with integration and internality.

The fourth aim of this study was to compare the percent of variance accounting for background variables and psychosocial variables. In accordance with the literature we expect to find greater percent of the variance in satisfaction with life with psychosocial variables than with background variables (Diener, 1984).

METHOD

Sample

Subjects in this study were 519 Portuguese youngsters resident in Paris. The sample was selected from secondary schools in this town. They were all born in France, both parents being Portuguese. Thus the sample is composed of second generation migrants "stricto sensu" (Raveau, 1981). 47.4% were male and 52.6% were female. Their ages ranged between 14 and 18 years. These youngsters were from families of low sociocultural level. The sociocultural level was assessed by the method reported by Lautrey (1980; Neto, 1986) in which it is a joint function of parental occupation and education.

Instruments

A composite questionnaire consisting of five instruments was administered to all subjects:

(a) As we have noted *The Satisfaction With Life Scale* (SWLS) was first developed by Diener *et al.* (1985), consisting of five items. Instructions for administering the scale were: "Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1–7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding. The 7-point scale is: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = slightly

disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 5 = slightly agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree”.

In designing the Portuguese version of the SWLS, guidelines proposed in the literature on cross-cultural methodology (cf. Brislin, 1986) were followed as closely as possible (e.g. independent/blind/back-translations, small-scale pretests). The reliability and the validity of this scale has been demonstrated for a Portuguese population (Neto, *et al.*, 1990; Neto, 1993c).

(b) A version of the *Acculturation Attitudes Scales* (Berry, *et al.*, 1989). Each of the 20 items belonging to the four scales were answered on a 5-point Likert scale (from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”). The reliability and the validity of this scale has been demonstrated for a Portuguese population (Neto and Berry, submitted).

(c) The *Social Anxiety subscale* contains 6 items from the self-consciousness scale (Fenigstein, *et al.*, 1965). These items were answered on a 5-point scale. The range of this scale is between 0 to 24 points. The reliability and the factorial validity of this scale has been demonstrated for a Portuguese population (Neto, 1989b; 1993a).

(d) Although standardized measures of loneliness (Neto, 1992) and of locus of control (Barros, *et al.*, 1989) exist adapted to the Portuguese population to mitigate against the inclusion of too many multi-item questionnaires, we chose to use two brief measures of loneliness and locus of control. For *loneliness* we have used three items and for *locus of control* four items. In both cases the items were included in the Portuguese version of the scales previously mentioned.

(e) Finally, subjects were asked information about socio-demographic characteristics, ethnic identity, friends, difficulties experienced in France in different settings and the intention of remaining in France or returning to Portugal.

Procedure

The survey was administered from November 1989 to February 1990. The youngsters who voluntarily answered did it always in the same order: Acculturation Attitudes Scales; socio-demographic inventory, behavioral and psycho-social characteristics of the sample; and the

Social Anxiety, Loneliness, Locus of Control and Life Satisfaction scales.

RESULTS

Sample characteristics

14.5% lived in a house, 9.8% in a room, 57.8% in an apartment and 15% had other types of living arrangements. A little more than a third (36.4%) indicated belonging to an association. Of those who belonged to an association in France, 59% belonged only to Portuguese associations, 15% belonged only to French associations and 26% belonged to French and Portuguese associations.

Reading French newspapers (79.2%) was somewhat more frequent than reading Portuguese newspapers (60.1%). For about a quarter of the sample (24.9%) the three best friends were of Portuguese nationality. With respect to ethnic identity 34.7% consider themselves Portuguese, 3.5% French nationality, 59% both French and Portuguese nationality and 2.9% didn't answer. For migratory plans, more than a quarter plan to live in Portugal (26.6%), 11.0% think of staying permanently in France, 60.7% haven't decided whether they want to stay in France all their lives or go to Portugal, and 1.7% didn't answer.

Reliability Data and Descriptive Statistics

Prior to examining the internal consistency reliability of the SWLS, the inter-item correlation matrix was submitted to a principal-component analysis. In line with the Diener *et al.* findings, a single factor emerged (eigenvalue > 1), accounting for 49.1% of the variance (53.3% with Portuguese adolescents living in Portugal). Table I gives the SWLS items and their respective component loadings on the first unrotated factor.

The internal consistency coefficient was satisfactory, 0.73. (Portuguese adolescents living in Portugal 0.78). As could be expected on the basis of the results of the factor and internal consistency analysis, the corrected item total correlation for each SWLS item was substan-

TABLE I

SWLS items and their corresponding loadings and item-remainder correlations for migrants' second general

Item	Factor loadings	Corrected item-total correlations
(1) In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	0.53	0.34
(2) The conditions of my life are excellent.	0.80	0.57
(3) I am satisfied with my life.	0.86	0.67
(4) So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.	0.65	0.45
(5) If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing	0.62	0.42

Note: $n = 519$. SWLS = Satisfaction With Life Scale.

tial, i.e. over $+0.30$ (see Table I). Predictably also the mean interitem r (homogeneity) for the SWLS item set was acceptable, 0.35 .

The mean score on the SWLS was 21.8 ($SD = 5.8$, range: $7-35$). In a previous study we have found that the adolescents from families of middle/high sociocultural level had significant higher mean score on SWLS than the adolescents from families of low sociocultural level (Neto, 1993c). Thus if we compare the mean score on the SWLS for Portuguese adolescents from a low sociocultural level living in urban areas in Portugal ($M = 22.9$; $SD = 5.6$) with the mean score for second generation migrants reported here, a significant difference was not found ($t = 1.7$, $df = 621$, $p > 0.05$).

After demonstrating that the Portuguese version of the SWLS has desirable psychometric properties with migrants' second generation, the next step was to examine the relationship between the scale and other psychological measures to which we might expect it to be related, and with background factors.

Background Variables and Satisfaction with Life

A number of specific questions pertaining to the subjects' background were included to assess in an orderly way some of the theoretical suppositions about satisfaction with life. The approach treated each background variable as an independent variable, using subjects' sum score on SWLS as a dependent variable. One-way analyses of variance were performed on the data.

The means and F ratio for SWLS are shown in Table II for several background variables. The F ratio for each one-way analysis is shown at the top of the relevant column of means.

Gender differences. There was no significant main effect of gender on satisfaction with life. Male and female subjects did not differ on satisfaction.

Religion. There was a significant main effect of religion with Scheffe tests indicating a significant difference between active and non active catholics. Those active expressed more satisfaction.

Association. There was a significant main effect of belonging to an association. Those who belonged to an association were more satisfied. However, the type of association (Portuguese, French or both) was not significant.

Newspaper readership. There was no significant main effect related to Portuguese newspaper readership nor French newspaper readership.

Number of Portuguese friends. This question asked directly to the subjects among the three best friends, how many were Portuguese, and provided four response categories ranging from none to three. There was a significant main effect of the number of Portuguese friends with Scheffe tests indicating a significant difference between having 1 and 2 Portuguese friends and having three. The latter were less satisfied.

Ethnic identity. Finally there was a significant main effect of the ethnic identity with Scheffe tests indicating a significant difference between those who considered themselves either Portuguese or French. Those who considered themselves French were more satisfied. However this last category was endorsed by only 18 of 504 subjects, and mean comparisons may not be very reliable.

TABLE II

Means and F ratio for satisfaction with life as a function of selected background variables

Variable	N	Satisfaction with life
Sex		F = 0.11
Male	246	21.9
Female	273	21.7
Religion		F = 11.3*
Catholic practising	327	22.7a
Catholic not practising	159	20.1b
Other position	30	21.2ab
Association		F = 25.9*
Yes	189	23.4a
No	312	20.8b
Type of association		F = 1.4
Only Portuguese associations	108	22.9
Only French associations	27	24.6
Both types of associations	48	24.1
Portuguese newspaper readership		F = 2.2
Yes	411	21.6
No	102	22.5
Number of Portuguese friends		F = 10.9*
0	87	21.6ab
1	165	23.5a
2	138	21.9a
3	129	19.7b

TABLE II. Continued

Variable	N	Satisfaction with life
Ethnic identity		F = 3.05*
Portuguese	180	21.4a
French	18	25.2b
Portuguese and French	306	22.0ab

* $p < 0.5$.

For each variable means with no subscripts in common differed at the 0.05 level, either by F test directly for a pair of means or by the Scheffé test for three or more means.

TABLE III

Correlation between satisfaction with life and perceived problems of adaptation

Variable	Correlations
Climate	-0.21***
Housing	-0.21***
French language	-0.21***
Eating habits	-0.19***
Racism	-0.09*
Homesickness	-0.19***
Loneliness	-0.22***
Health	-0.33***
Making new friends	-0.23***

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

Predictors of Satisfaction with Life

Table III displays the correlations between satisfaction and some adaptive problems encountered in the host country. All the nine problems showed significant and negative correlations with satisfaction with life,

TABLE IV
Overview of psychometric instruments

Scale	# of items	Cronbach's alpha
Satisfaction with life	5	0.73
Integration	20	0.71
Assimilation	20	0.78
Separation	20	0.82
Marginalization	20	0.80
Social anxiety	6	0.66
Locus of control	4	0.49
Loneliness	3	0.55

TABLE V
Descriptive statistics of psychometric instruments

Scale	Mean	SD	Range
Satisfaction with life	21.8	5.8	5-33
Integration	78.4	7.8	51-94
Assimilation	45.5	9.0	24-70
Separation	48.1	10.3	24-80
Marginalizatioin	52.3	10.4	21-76
Social anxiety	11.5	4.9	0-22
Locus of control	13.1	2.5	7-20
Loneliness	5.9	1.7	3-12

as expected. The higher correlations were with health problems, difficulty in making friends and with loneliness.

In Tables VI and V we can observe the internal consistency and the descriptive statistics of the psychometric instruments used.

TABLE VI
Correlations between satisfaction with life and other psychosocial measures

Variables	Correlations
Integration	0.12**
Assimilation	0.07
Separation	-0.04
Marginalization	-0.20***
Social anxiety	-0.24***
Loneliness	-0.45***
Locus of control	0.25***

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

As can be seen in Table VI the correlations between satisfaction and integration and locus of control were significant and positive, and the correlations between satisfaction and marginalization, social anxiety and loneliness were also significant in a negative direction.

We used multiple regression analyses to determine which variables could predict satisfaction with life. In a first analysis predictors were sociodemographic (gender, religion and association) behavioral (news-papers) and psychosocial variables (friends and ethnic identity). In this equation there emerged four significant and independent predictors: (1) membership of an association; (2) the number of Portuguese friends; (3) religion; and (4) French newspaper readership. The overall multiple correlation was $R = 0.31$. The general characteristics of the predictor variables reveal a greater social activity, excepting the behavioral predictor of French paper readership.

A second regression analysis was calculated. Besides the seven variables in the previous analysis, perceived problems of adaptation, the four acculturation attitudes, social anxiety, loneliness and locus of control measures were added. Ten significant and independent predictors emerged. The strongest predictors were loneliness and perceived health status. The overall multiple correlation was $R = 0.63$. The general

TABLE VII
Stepwise regression of background variables on satisfaction with life d

Step	Variable	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	Beta	<i>t</i>
1	Association	0.19	0.04	-0.19	-4.37c
2	Number of Portuguese friends	0.26	0.07	-0.18	-4.32c
3	Religion	0.29	0.09	-0.13	-3.01b
4	French newspaper readership	0.31	0.10	0.11	2.54a

a $p < 0.05$; b $p < 0.01$; c $p < 0.001$; d The beta and *t* values are for the step at which the variables were entered.

characteristics of the predictor variables reveal greater activity and there are fewer psychosocial difficulties in the host country.

DISCUSSION

The findings presented are tentative because a convenience sample was utilized in this study. They should be interpreted cautiously since the basic design of investigation consisted of cross-sectional sampling of the population. However the results of this study replicate earlier findings and demonstrate some of the wide network of background and psychosocial variables in which life satisfaction is embedded.

The Satisfaction With Life Scale developed by Diener *et al.* (1985) contains items measuring a person's overall satisfaction with his/her life. Factor analysis of the Portuguese version of the scale showed that all items had high factor loadings on a single common factor, and the scale had high reliability with second generation migrants. The factor analysis of this study demonstrated a unitary factor structure for the SWLS, a feature not available with other life satisfaction measures (e.g., Lawton, 1975; Neugarten, *et al.*, 1961). Although the items are very broadly stated, in terms of the respondents' entire life, they show

TABLE VIII
Stepwise regression of psychosocial variables on satisfaction with life d

Step	Variable	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	Beta	<i>t</i>
1	Loneliness	0.45	0.20	-0.45	-11.31c
2	Health	0.52	0.28	-0.28	-7.38c
3	Association	0.54	0.30	-0.15	-3.92c
4	Locus of control	0.56	0.32	0.15	4.05c
5	Housing	0.58	0.34	-0.15	-3.85c
6	Religion	0.59	0.35	-0.12	-3.21b
7	Racism	0.60	0.36	0.11	2.78b
8	French newspaper readership	0.61	0.37	0.12	3.16b
9	Number of Portuguese friends	0.62	0.39	-0.13	-3.48c
10	Social anxiety	0.63	0.39	-0.08	-2.06a

a $p < 0.05$; b $p < 0.01$; c $p < 0.001$; d The beta and *t* values are for the step at which the variables were entered.

high intercorrelation. This is desirable for an instrument designed to obtain a judgment of one's life, as Pavot *et al.* (1991) have pointed out.

The results of this study show that young Portuguese living in France do not differ in satisfaction with life from the young Portuguese living in Portugal that have never migrated. More research is needed to explain these results and an avenue is to study the child-rearing practices from first generation. The Portuguese second generation grew up with supportive parents? It will be interesting to examine in a future research if this no effect is maintained, not yet at the level analysed here, as a cognitive judgmental component, but as the emotional aspects.

Life satisfaction is not an isolated attribute of people, but rather a characteristic with very wide ranging implications for a person social interactions, thoughts and feelings. Globally predictions concerning background variables have been demonstrated. In accordance with the hypothesis we have not found significant differences by sex in this

sample of migrants' second generation, the results being in accordance with findings among adults (Imamoglu, *et al.*, 1993, Neto *et al.*, 1990; Warr and Payne, 1982).

As expected, the results concerning the concept of "activities" have been mixed. The young practising Catholic revealed greater satisfaction than the not practising. Scott and Scott (1989, p. 62) have pointed out that "the theoretical relevance of religious affiliation to migrant adaptation follows from the potential in offers for peace of mind and interpersonal gratification during a period of uncertainty and stress. Unfortunately, there is little evidence to support such a view, perhaps because religious affiliation and commitment are typically confounded with other variables, such as age and ethnicity, which may have quite opposite effects on adaptation". In the present study age and ethnicity have been controlled. Besides religion the number of Portuguese friends has a significant effect on SWLS. If many studies have shown that people who have more friends tend to be happier (Larson, 1978), our results add that among subjects who are in contact at least with two cultures, if all best friends are of the same nationality this is a source of less satisfaction than if they have just some friends of the same nationality. This result may be related to the acculturation strategies of the subjects. In fact this study again shows that greater satisfaction was associated with integration than with separation. If the participation in general in an association was also revealed to be a source of satisfaction, the type of association to which the subject belonged, as newspaper readership, had no effects on satisfaction.

In sum, the background variables, as could be expected, accounted for a small percentage of variance in SWLS. In fact, Andrews and Withey (1976) gave a figure less than 10% of the variance in subjective well-being accounted for by all the demographics they assessed. In this vein Diener (1984) concluded that taken together demographic variables probably do not account for much more than 15% of the variance.

In line with the study's predictions, the SWLS was associated with variables that denoted good adaptation. With respect to the relation of satisfaction with life to subjective adaptation the evidence is clear: satisfied second generation immigrants tend to be more emotionally healthy than dissatisfied ones. Satisfaction with life was negatively related to all

perceived problems of adaptation, social anxiety and loneliness and positively associated with internality. The findings suggest also that among acculturation attitudes integration seems to be the most effective strategy if we take well-being as an indicator and marginalization the most negative. The subjective conditions that favour integration in a pluralistic society, should be promoted so that this attitude could predominate and, at the same time reduce the possibility of life insatisfaction among young second generation immigrants.

The strongest predictor of satisfaction with life when background variables were combined with psychosocial variables, was loneliness. We can consider loneliness as an important indicator of a poor quality of life. Social skills and interpersonal competence are an important resource. Those who are not socially effective are likely to become isolated and lonely. Loneliness is an effect of poor social skills (Neto, 1992). The second predictor of life satisfaction was the perception of good health. In fact, a substantial number of studies show a sizable relationship between self-rated good health and subjective well-being (Palmore and Luikart, 1972; Kozma and Stones, 1983; Campbell *et al.*, 1976). For example, in a meta-analysis of the connection between health and subjective well-being found an average correlation of 0.32 was found (Okun *et al.*, 1984). In summary, the results showed a consistent association of life satisfaction and psychological adaptation.

To conclude, future research should address the generational effect of migration upon satisfaction not only for adolescents but for other age groups as well. Although psychosocial factors have been shown to be important determinants of satisfaction with life, life events (for instance cultural skills, relationship with parents, socio-economic factors) must be considered in future research. Finally, this study has concerned itself with a global index of a judgment of satisfaction with life. There is also a need to investigate the affective predictors of a positive and negative nature. In any case, it is clear that the life satisfaction construct is very important and that it will continue to generate interesting and useful research in the years to come.

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*Universidade Do Porto,
Faculdade De Psicologia E.,
De Ciencias Da Educacao,
4000 Porto, Portugal*