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Subjective Well-Being among Ethnic Minorities: The Role of Socio-economic and Non-economic Factors – Dutch Case

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Subjective Well-Being among Ethnic Minorities: The Dutch Case

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Abstract

In this paper, we investigated the role of socio-economic factors like income, unemployment levels, and non-economic factors such as religion, identity and culture to explain the reasons for disparity of happiness levels among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands by applying a questionnaire survey to 111 Turkish and 96 Moroccan immigrants (Arnhem, Den Haag, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht) in the Netherlands.

The overall results of this paper indicate that Turkish immigrants report much lower levels of life satisfaction than Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands. Typical socio-economic factors like income, unemployment levels and entrepreneurship levels have failed to explain why Turkish immigrants are the least happy immigrant group in the Netherlands. We wanted to search for possible explanations for this disparity by using the Mann-Whitney U Test to reveal non-parametric comparison between two groups (Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands).

We found that, contrary to the mainstream economic approach, the effect of absolute income for Turkish immigrants was insignificant. On the other hand, the effect of relative income, which mostly explains the low level of life satisfaction, matters for Turkish immigrants. We examined also non-economic facts explaining the disparity. We investigated the role of religion, media, language, identity and discrimination to explain the different levels of life satisfaction for immigrant groups. For example, although poorer health plays an important role in explaining lower life satisfaction, Moroccans who have health problems reported higher satisfaction levels. A strong sense of “Dutch” identity was found to have a positive effect on life satisfaction. Moroccans have a strong sense of Dutch identity, but also they are more satisfied with their lives than Turks who have a strong sense of Dutch identity. Another significant finding is that immigrants who identify themselves as Muslims are much satisfied than immigrants who identify themselves as Moroccan or Turkish.

Keywords: Life satisfaction, Immigrants, Mann-Whitney U test

Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to reveal the reasons for disparity of life satisfaction levels among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands by focusing economic factors such as income, employment and entrepreneurship levels and non-economic

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factors such as culture, identity, media and religion. In our study we compared Turks and Moroccan immigrants; the two biggest non-Western immigrant groups in the Netherlands (At present 1.7 million people of 16.4 million in the Netherlands originate from or have parents from non-Western countries). They are comparable in terms of migration history, size, and socio-economic status. They share a similar history of labor migration in the 1960s and 70s, a process of family reunification and marriage migration. Plus, they face similar problems such as weaker socio-economic position, lower education, lower income and fewer job opportunities than native Dutch.

Concepts; Methodology and Data

Life became better in most countries in the second half of the twentieth century. Life is more satisfying for the average citizen whose average lifetime has also been extended. In parallel to these developments, for several decades, there has been a steadily increasing interest from scholars in subjective well being researches. It can be argued that individual attributes (such as gender, age, income and education), and other characteristics (GDP, human development and environmental indexes, religiosity, social capital and quality of institutions) are significant predictors of subjective well being.

The characteristic measures of Subjective Well Being are obtained through self-reports: people are asked to evaluate their lives as a whole or some aspect of it. The questions can be relatively straightforward and a widely used one simply asks: 'taking all things together, would you say you are ...: very happy, quite happy, not very happy or not at all happy'. Two considerations help contain the ostensible anarchy of that definition and associated modes of measurement. First, it has been extensively validated (Frey and Stutzer 2002), Second, responses are generally comparable, even among individuals from very different contexts: most people have high levels of agreement about the sources of happiness, such that peoples' use of the word points generally to a shared understanding of its referent (Easterlin 2001). There are of course different approaches to measurement no way in which these different approaches would lead to different conclusions for the question posed here, i.e., the connection between migration and happiness.

Life satisfaction is composed of individual responses to the question: All things considered how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Respondents were asked to check where they were on an ordinal scale ranging from 1 (completely dissatisfied) to 10 (completely satisfied).

Although there is a growing interest to the subjective well being within and across countries, there are few studies focusing on subjective well being of ethnic minorities. Furthermore, efforts to explain the differences between life satisfaction levels among minorities are rarely seen. In this study not only we examine the life satisfaction of Non-European minorities in the Netherlands, but also try to reveal the differences lying behind.

The data we have analyzed to answer the research questions, were gathered as part of a survey (2010) about life satisfaction and economic and non-economic factors in the cities Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Arnhem and Den Haag in which most Muslims live.

The number of people from each ethnic-cultural group is similar to each other. 111 Turkish and 96 Moroccan respondents participated in the survey. The group was divided into three

subcategories as the first, second and third generations to make meaningful comparisons between the different age groups. The first generation consists of people who were born in Morocco or Turkey and the second generation consists of people whose at least one parent was born in Morocco or Turkey. People of the third generation were born in the Netherlands. Second generation makes up the largest group of people under the research (60 per cent). They are the so-called “between generations” referring to the children born in Morocco or Turkey. They came to the Netherlands as a result of family reunification and the age scale varies from 16 to 40 years old. Also in Turkish case, 46 respondents are female and 65 respondents are male whereas Moroccan sample comprise 55 female and 41 male respondents.

Life Satisfaction of the Immigrants in the Netherlands

Life satisfaction levels of ethnic groups in the Netherlands are not published annually by any institute. Researchers and several institutions publish reports or academic papers examining the life satisfaction levels of immigrants in the Netherlands. For example, in his study Verkuyten (1986) evaluated the impact of ethnic and sex differences on happiness among adolescents in the Netherlands. In the sample, there were 104 Dutch and 157 non-Dutch people. According to the results, happiness of Turkish group was 6.4 whereas happiness of Moroccan group was 7.2 and finally happiness of native Dutch was 7.7. To measure happiness, respondents were asked to grade their over-all happiness on a 10-point scale. The sample contained: 700 native Dutch, 700 Moroccans, 700 Surinamese/Antilleans, and 700 Turks, women made up about nearly 50%. In another study Cornelisse-Vermaat (2005) examined the happiness of Non-western immigrants in the Netherlands. This study was a part of her PhD thesis at Wageningen University in the Netherlands. According to the survey, happiness of males and females for Moroccan and Turkish immigrants are 7.41 and 7.05 for females and 7.37 and 7.23 for males respectively. In 2008, FORUM (Institute for Multicultural Affairs) published a report on the attitudes of ethnic minority youth (between the ages of 15 and 35 years old) in the Netherlands. The main conclusions of the report for youth happiness are summarized as seventy-two percent of non-Western ethnic youth call themselves happy. Young Antilleans and Arubans are the happiest groups with 79%. Seventy-one percent of the young Moroccan feels happy. Young Turks are the least happy group with 67%.

Finally our findings reveal that subjective well being of Moroccan immigrants is higher than Turkish immigrants. According to the survey results means for life satisfaction are 7.7 for Moroccan immigrants and 6.8 of 10 points scale for the Turkish immigrants. Happiness levels are 3.05 for Turkish group and 3.12 for Moroccans. Furthermore, our findings reveal that female groups are happier than male respondents. Life satisfaction and happiness levels are 6.54 and 2.98 for Turkish male respondents and 6.65 and 2.95 for Moroccan male respondents, whereas for female groups the levels are 6.29 and 3.09 for Turkish group and 7.65 and 3.24 for Moroccan female respondents.

After revealing life satisfaction levels among these immigrant groups we intend to examine the impact of economic and non economic factors explaining the disparity of life satisfaction levels among these groups.

The data used in this paper was collected via questionnaire survey. As the acquired data was non-parametric comparison between two groups (Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands)

were performed using Mann-Whitney u test. The differences were accepted as significant when the p values were below 0.05.

Table 1: Mann-Whitney U Test Results

	U	Z	P
Generation	4745.000	-1.320	.187
Education	4762.500	-1.114	.265
Gender	5214.500	-.007	.994
Health	4149.000	-2.812	.005
Life Satisfaction	3434.500	-4.328	.000
Religion	4140.000	-2.421	.015
Belonging	3336.000	-4.661	.000
Identity	3038.500	-5.876	.000
Language speaking at home	2518.500	-7.531	.000
Media	2448.000	-7.087	.000
Income	3645.500	-3.897	.000
Perceived Discrimination	3616.500	-4.19	.000

From Mann-Whitney U test 9 significant differences was found between Turkish and Moroccan Immigrants answers. The descriptive statistics of life satisfaction and significant variables were given below.

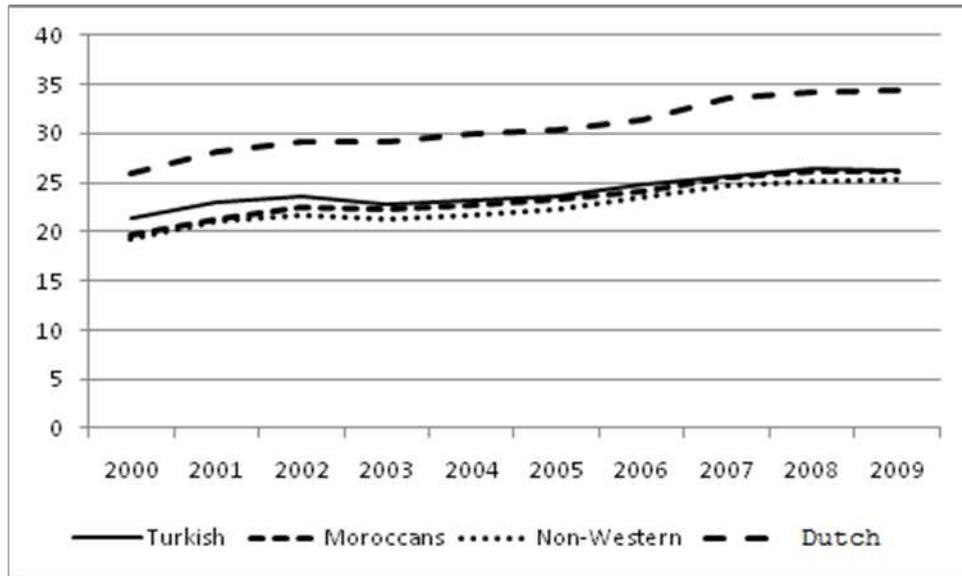
The next section tries to provide possible explanations of disparity in life satisfaction levels. The primary emphasis of this paper is on the role of income effect. Furthermore, other sets of co-variables: socio-demographic factors (gender, age (generation), years of education), religion, identity, language, media and perceived discrimination are analyzed.

Income and Life Satisfaction

From the perspective of economic theory some may expect that cross-national variation in subjective well-being is strongly linked with the society's level of income. In economic models scholars generally assume that absolute income levels are the primary determinant of individual well-being. Most of the findings confirmed that at any given point in time in a specific country, people with higher incomes are happier than people with lower incomes. Income and other economic factors receive a great deal of attention in the migration literature – probably because many people assume that income is the biggest influence on individual motivations to migrate.

However, in the case of Netherlands Turkish immigrants doing much better in socio-economic terms are the least happy and satisfied minority group in the Netherlands. The statistics demonstrate that Moroccans, although they have lower income levels and higher unemployment rates than Turkish immigrants, their life satisfaction level is higher than Turkish immigrants. (Verkuyten, 1986; Cornelisse-Vermaat 2005, FORUM, 2008)

Figure 1: Annual Income of Immigrants in the Netherlands



Source: CBS Statistics, Inkomensongelijkheid; particuliere huishoudens naar diverse kenmerken, the Netherlands, 2009.

Figure 1 demonstrates that the average annual household income of Turkish immigrants is higher than Moroccan immigrants and Non-western immigrants between 2000 and 2009. In 2010 the average net disposable annual income for Turks and Moroccans is estimated at EUR 23,200 and EUR 21,300 respectively, compared with EUR 30,200 for native Dutch. Interestingly, in this case, we expect Turkish immigrants with high annual income levels to be happier than other non-western immigrants, yet Turkish immigrants are the least happy group in the Netherlands.

Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Annual Income of Turks and Moroccans in the sample

	Turks	Moroccans
< 1000 Euros	12.5	23.4
1000-2000 Euros	34.8	48.9
2000-3000 Euros	23.2	18
> 3000 Euros	28.5	9.5

In addition to income approach, several studies in happiness literature put emphasis on the negative aspects of unemployment levels on happiness. (Frey and Stutzer, 2002; Gerdtham and Johannesson, 2001) This is because unemployment is associated with low economic status and low income levels and finally with poor health. (Reijneveld, 1998)

Figure 2: Unemployment levels according to ethnic groups in the Netherlands

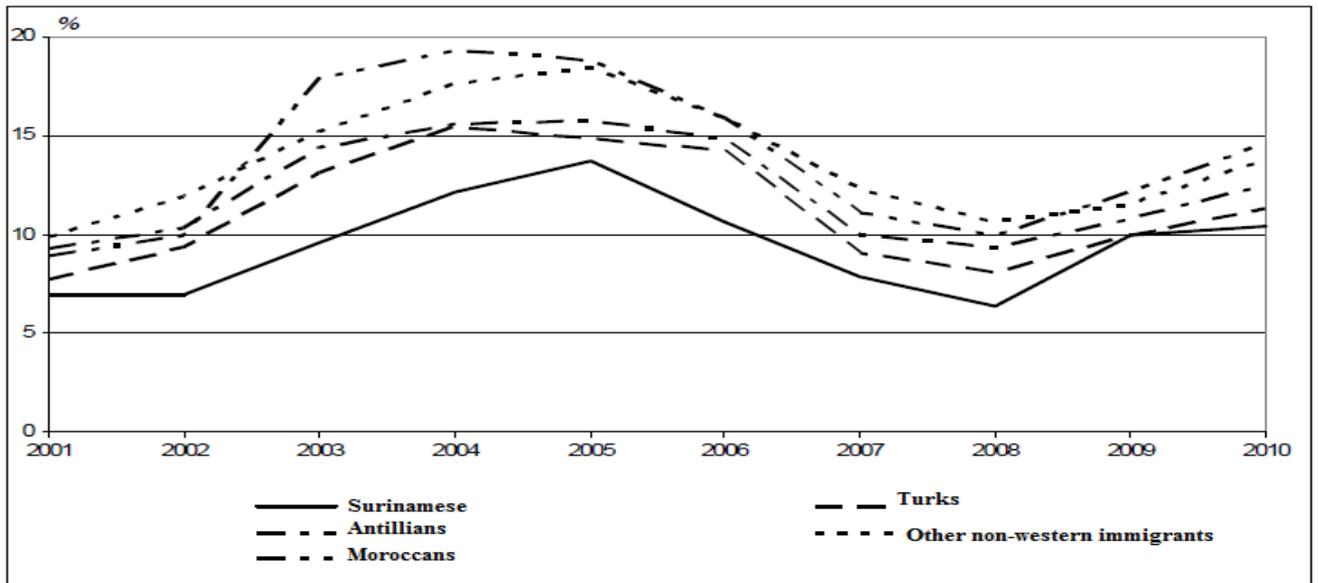


Figure 2 demonstrates unemployment levels according to ethnic groups in the Netherlands. The native group has the lowest unemployment rates for all years. They find higher positions in many areas than minority groups. In contrast to the natives, minority groups mostly get a lower position, work to a greater extent in short term, flexible jobs. Short term and flexible job mean that immigrants are more vulnerable to dismissal during times of declining employment than native Dutch employees. Their average hourly wage is substantially lower. Unemployment levels of Turkish immigrants were lower than Moroccan group between 2001 and 2010. Unemployment in these two groups peaked in 2004 and then fell gradually. However, unemployment has risen again as a result of the recession in 2009. In 2010 unemployment in the Netherlands as a whole increased from 4.4 to 4.8 percent. Ethnic minorities accounted for one quarter of this increase, even though they only form 10 percent of the working population.

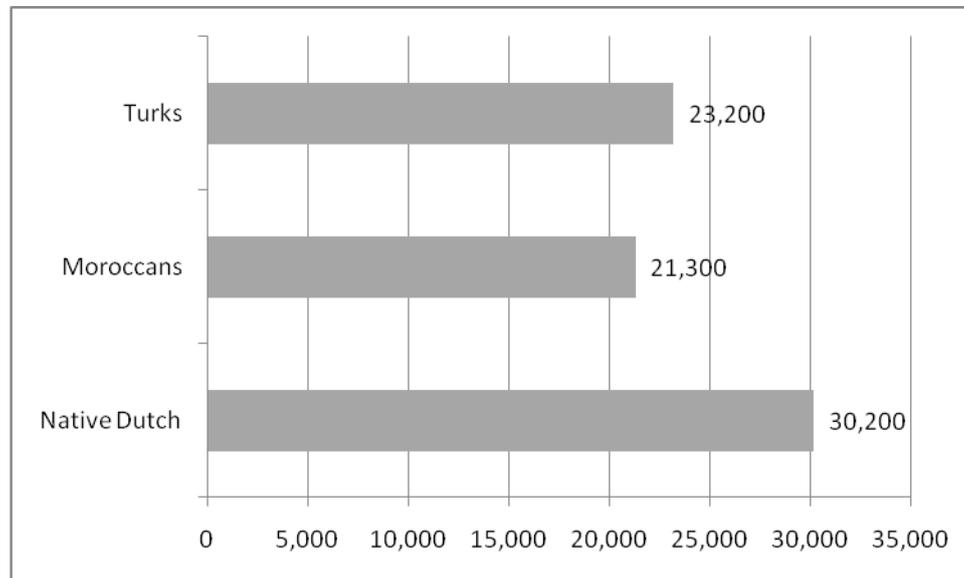
Our findings are parallel with CBS statistics in regard to unemployment. According to our survey results % 13.6 of Turkish migrants are unemployed and %20 of Moroccans are unemployed.

Table 3: Percentage of Unemployed and Employed Turks and Moroccans in the Sample

%	Turks (n=111)	Moroccans (n=96)
Unemployed	13.6	20
Employed	86.3	80

Furthermore, several studies in happiness literature indicate that self-employed are more satisfied with their lives than wage-earners are. (Anderson, 2005) This is related to being independent, able to decide working hours, flexibility etc. CBS statistics reveal that Turks are more likely to be self-employed than the native Dutch and Moroccan immigrants.

Figure 3: Number of Self Employed Turks-Moroccans-Native Dutch



The main reasons among Turks and Moroccans for starting a business are the will to succeed, exploiting market opportunities, the desire for financial independence, and using one's personal talents. First generation non-Western entrepreneurs tend to start up small retail and restaurant businesses. The main motives for the first generation entrepreneurs are: the relatively limited value of educational qualifications obtained abroad and the desire to acquire social status. Second generation non-Western entrepreneurs start up businesses roughly in the same industries as native Dutch entrepreneurs. In addition, second generation entrepreneurs choose to start up more knowledge intensive businesses: they are more inclined to start up consultancy or IT- firms, whereas the first generation is more likely to start up cleaning firms or job agencies.

After all economic indicators mentioned above we expect immigrant groups with higher income and entrepreneurship levels and lower unemployment rates are happier than low income groups. However, our findings reveal that subjective well being of Moroccan immigrants is higher than Turkish immigrants. According to the survey results means for life satisfaction are 7.7 for Moroccan immigrants and 6.8 of 10 points scale for the Turkish immigrants.

Gokdemir and Dumluoglu (2011) investigated the role of several socio-economic and non-economic factors such as absolute and relative income, education and religion to explain the differences of happiness levels of Turkish and Moroccan Immigrants (for the same groups) in the Netherlands by using ordered logit model. The result is based on the existence of a positive relationship between absolute income and life satisfaction for Moroccan immigrants. Absolute income in Turkish case is not statistically significant. For Moroccan case, absolute income positively and significantly correlated with life satisfaction. On the other hand there is a statistically significant and negative relationship between life satisfaction and relative income for both groups.

As expected, upward comparison is negatively correlated with reported satisfaction with life. Immigrants, who had a relatively higher position in Turkey, find themselves in a lower position in country of destination. This leads Turkish immigrants to compare themselves with the Dutch (who gradually have higher positions) and as a result, without the positive effects of absolute income, life satisfaction of Turkish immigrants remains lower than the Moroccan group. The results support the proposition stated above, that people’s subjective well-being is negatively affected by their income comparison level, controlling for the effect of absolute income and other individual characteristics.

The result for Turkish case is in accordance with strict version of Easterlin’s hypothesis—that, given their places in the income distribution, people don’t care at all about their absolute incomes—. It is not the absolute level of income that matters most, but rather one’s position relative to other individuals. On the other hand, for Moroccan case, both absolute income and relative income matter but coefficient of relative income is much smaller than absolute income: the coefficient of absolute income is 1.069 whereas the coefficient of relative income is 0.599.

In brief, it can be argued that high income levels, low unemployment rates, and high entrepreneurship rates can make people better off, but do not always lead to an increase in well-being. One’s life satisfaction is determined not just by income but also by a variety of non-material factors as well: family relationships, community, health, religion, etc. (Layard 2005)

Health and Life Satisfaction

Health is one of the dominant concerns in most people’s lives (Easterlin, 2001) and has a strong positive effect on life satisfaction and happiness. (Van Praag and Ferrer-i Carbonell, 2004; Ruhm, 2003) However the relationship between health and life satisfaction is complicated. People who are chronically ill can adapt to the situations of discomfort. (Groot, 2000) We wanted to find out the health status of the respondents as poorer health plays an important role to explain lower life satisfaction of immigrants.

The descriptive statistics of life satisfaction and health among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants from the survey has given above. From the statistics it can be clearly seen that respondents who report higher health status also report higher life satisfaction levels. In addition, Moroccans who have health problems are more satisfied with their lives than Turks and also Moroccans who have excellent health status are more satisfied than Turks.

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics of Health and Life Satisfaction

<u>Migrants</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
Turks			
Poor	10	4.2	2.201
Fair	31	6.58	0.807
Good	58	6.5	1.74

Excellent	12	7.25	2.006
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Moroccans

Poor	21	6.71	2.077
Fair	57	7.19	1.481
Good	-	-	-
Excellent	18	8	1.275

Religion and Life Satisfaction

From the literature many studies show a positive impact of religion on life satisfaction (Koenig *et al.*, 2001; Cohen, 2002; Myers and Diener, 1995). In some studies life satisfaction and happiness are positively associated with the density of attendance at worship services (Ferris, 2002). We measured this by using questions related to religious activities. We asked to our respondents how often (never, sometimes, most of the time, always) do involve in religious activities (include: participate in Ramadan, visit a mosque, pray five times a day etc).

There are eight non believers in the Turkish group however there is no any non believer in the Moroccan group. Believers who declared that they were always involved in religious activities are the most satisfied people in our survey. And the percentage of the believers who were always involved in religious activities in Moroccan group is higher than the Turkish group.

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics of Religion Activities and Life Satisfaction

Migrants	Sample	Mean	S.D
Turks			
Non believer	8	6.37	1.87
Believer but not involved in religious activities	28	6.61	1.22
Believer not often involved in religious activities	31	6.39	1.17
Believer and often involved in religious activities	30	5.6	2.19
Believer always involved in religious activities	14	7.71	1.93
Moroccans			
Non believer	-	-	-
Believer but not involved in religious activities	14	6.21	2.04
Believer not often involved in religious activities	37	7.38	1.38

Believer and often involved in religious activities	22	7.36	1.7
Believer always involved in religious activities	23	7.5	1.53

Belonging, Identity and Life Satisfaction

Another important fact for immigrants is belonging to a place which affects both life satisfaction and integration process of immigrants. We initially focused how strongly do members of Turkish and Moroccan communities in the Netherlands have a sense of the national (Netherlands) identity, the regional identity (Holland, Limburg, and Groningen etc.) and the local identity (of Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Utrecht etc). Second we examine the relationship between belonging and life satisfaction. Migrants who feel belonging to host country are expected to integrate successfully and expected to report higher levels of life satisfaction. Immigrants who state that they feel as a part of city that they reside in are expected to declare lower life satisfaction levels than the former group.

We have found that those from Moroccan backgrounds have a much stronger sense of Dutch identity than do those from Turkish backgrounds. As expected, Turks who have a sense of the national (Netherlands) identity are more satisfied with their lives than other Turks who have a regional identity. However Moroccans who have a sense of national identity are much more satisfied with their lives than all others. Feeling as a part of the Netherlands gradually may lead to an interest in Dutch politics; however, especially Turkish immigrants know a lot more about political parties in Turkey than in the Netherlands. For most of them Dutch politics is a little known matter.

Table 6: Descriptive Statistics of Belonging to a place and Life Satisfaction

Migrants	Sample	Mean	S.D.
Turks			
Local	65	6.25	1.912
Regional	21	6.33	1.528
National	25	6.84	1.463
Moroccans			
Local	21	6.19	2.015
Regional	38	7.37	1.496
National	37	7.69	1.261

Survey results also demonstrate that Turkish and Moroccan minorities differ greatly in the extent to which they identify themselves as being members of Dutch society or members of their own ethnic group. Table below demonstrates that those from Moroccan backgrounds

have a much stronger sense of being Muslim than do those from Turkish backgrounds. Fifty-eight percent of the Turks in the Netherlands identify themselves as Turks and only 12 percent of them regard themselves as being part of the Dutch society.

For Turks, there is a strong sense of national pride. This connects them strongly with one another, even abroad. For Moroccans is that positive collective self-consciousness is considerably lower (Buijs & Nelissen, 1994). This will derive less Moroccan identity to their country of origin.

On the other hand life satisfaction levels interestingly increases as the immigrant group feels as a part of Dutch society. While Turkish immigrants who identify themselves as Turkish have average life satisfaction level of 6.31, whereas who feel themselves as part of Dutch society declare an average life satisfaction level of 8. Another interesting issue is immigrants who identify themselves as Muslims are much happier than immigrants who identify themselves Moroccan or Turkish. Religiosity also is an important fact here.

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics of Identification and Life Satisfaction

Migrants	Sample	Mean	S.D.
Turks			
Turkish	71	6.31	1.704
Muslim	38	6.47	1.871
Dutch	2	8	0
Moroccans			
Moroccan	21	7.19	1.289
Muslim	70	7.23	1.738
Dutch	4	7.5	1.732

For Turks, the history shows the extent of the culture, and they develop a strong identity and are “proud” due to the fact that Ottoman Empire existed for several centuries. On the other hand, Moroccans are from the old colonies of France and Spain. After Morocco became independent in 1956, Moroccan culture wasn’t established promptly. Moreover, there is a great division among villages and Berber tribes. Hence the influence of the past on Moroccan immigrants is quite negative in the sense that they had a lower statue and oppressed culture, whereas the past for Turks contributed to a strong identity and pride for their nation.

Language and Life Satisfaction

In the literature knowledge of host countries language is frequently cited determinant of a sense of ethnic identity. A lack of language skills reduces immigrant’s chances of finding a job, and attaining a higher position and it is associated with significant reductions in income. Insufficient command of the Dutch language is limited to people with a non-western background born outside the Netherlands. Also it is a directly observable and crucial factor in

the interaction between ethnic minorities and their Dutch surroundings. Turkish immigrants value their language as an ethnic core value. In addition most of these immigrants prefer to speak Turkish, and often leave or (cause people to leave the group) by that way non-Turkish people in the group feel excluded. (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2008)

For this reason we wanted to find out which language do respondents most often speak at home. Language choice at home refers to the language the person speaks most often at home at the time of data collection. For a person who lives alone, the language spoken most often at home is the language in which he or she feels most comfortable.

As known this outcome is one of the most important determinants for immigrants, as it also affects the speed of integration and assimilation and level of life satisfaction. (Chiswick, 1978, Dustman, 1994)

Our findings reveal that language choice at home for Turks is Turkish on contrary for Moroccans is Dutch. More than 85% of Turks speak Turkish but more than 60% of Moroccans prefer to speak Dutch at home. For Turks and Moroccans who speak Dutch at home are more satisfied with their lives than others.

Table 8: Descriptive Statistics of Language Speaking at home and Life Satisfaction

Migrants	Sample	Mean	S.D.
Turks			
Mother language	95	6.32	1.798
Dutch	15	6.87	1.407
Moroccans			
Mother language	36	6.69	1.77
Dutch	60	7.56	1.465

The official language of Morocco is Arabic. This language, however almost exclusively is spoken in the cities. However, forty to fifty percent of the approximately 25 million inhabitants speak one of three Berber languages. Two thirds of Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands come from the Rif Mountains, where mainly Berbers live. Therefore in the Netherlands Dutch language played a unifying role for the Moroccans speaking different dialects. Even in the Moroccan mosques prays and speeches are given in Dutch.

Following Media and Life Satisfaction

Nowadays with the new technologies in media such as satellite dishes and internet broke down all borders and provided the immigrants a stronger influence on developments at their own countries. Studies in the literature have shown the consumption of media in the majority language as an important determinant of the integration process of minorities (Sinardet & Mortelmans, 2006; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005; Clement et al., 2005;)

For this importance our survey had to include the consumption of Dutch media as an indicator of the degree to which members of immigrant communities have contact with the majority culture.

Our findings reveal that more than %50 of Turks prefer to follow Turkish Media in Turkey on contrary 80% of Moroccan Migrants prefer to follow the Dutch Media. Moroccans who prefer to follow the Dutch Media are the most satisfied people with their lives than others.

Table 9: Descriptive Statistics of Media Consumption and Life Satisfaction

Migrants	Sample	Mean	S.D.
Turks			
Dutch Media	37	6.43	1.692
Turkish Media in the Netherlands	18	6	1.97
Turkish Media in Turkey	56	6.5	1.737
Moroccans			
Dutch Media	77	7.42	1.592
Moroccan Media in the Netherlands	8	6.25	1.389
Moroccan Media in Morocco	10	6.6	1.838

Numerous studies have identified the consumption of media in the majority language as an important determinant of the integration process of ethnic-cultural minorities, and in particular their sense of identity. (Peeters & D’Haenens, 2005; Clement et al., 2005)

It is therefore of some importance that our analyses should include consumption of Dutch language media as an indicator of the degree to which members of immigrant communities have contact with the majority culture. Our findings reveal that most of the Moroccan immigrants follow Dutch media in the Netherlands and they are the happiest group in this category. Due to lack of strong national proud, lack of unifying language of country of origin Moroccan immigrants mostly follow Dutch media in the Netherlands.

Discrimination and Life Satisfaction

We also examine differences in perceived discrimination. Perceived discrimination is an individual’s perception that he or she is treated unfairly because of his or her group membership (Sanchez and Brock, 1996; Mirage, 1994). When individuals feel that they are mistreated because being a membership of a group, they often feel alienated, angry and sad. Social psychologists and sociologists have also investigated the effects of discrimination on well-being. A direct relation has been found between perceived discrimination and mental health, social stress, depression, for ethnic and racial minorities. (Vega and Rumbaut 1991;

Sellers *et al.* 2003 Neto 1995, 2001; Taylor and Turner 2002) For this reason we asked our respondents have they ever perceived discrimination at any point in their lives as a minority in the Netherlands?

For Turkish migrants 65% of them declared that they have perceived discrimination on contrary 63% of Moroccans did not perceive any discrimination. Turks who felt discrimination are not satisfied about their lives and they are the least satisfied people in our sample. Moroccans who haven't ever perceived discrimination are the most satisfied people in our sample.

Table 10: Descriptive Statistics of Perceived Discrimination and Life Satisfaction

Migrants	Sample	Mean	S.D.
Turks			
Discrimination exists	70	6.19	1.928
Doesn't exist	40	6.76	1.356
Moroccans			
Discrimination exists	36	6.83	2.145
Doesn't exist	59	7.47	1.18

Conclusion

The overall results of this paper indicate that Turkish immigrants report much lower levels of life satisfaction than Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands. These findings support the findings of previous researches. (Verkuyten, 1986; Cornelisse-Vermaat 2005, FORUM, 2008) Typical socio-economic factors like income, unemployment levels and entrepreneurship levels have failed to explain why Turkish immigrants are the least happy immigrant group in the Netherlands. As the tables and figures demonstrated, Turkish immigrant groups' income, employment and entrepreneurship levels are much higher than Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands, yet their happiness level is not high as expected from the neoclassical economics perspective.

In this paper we wanted to search for possible explanations for this disparity. We found that on the contrary to mainstream economic approach, absolute income effect for Turkish immigrant was insignificant. On the other hand relative income effect which mostly explains the low level of life satisfaction matters for Turkish immigrants.

We believed that there may be other facts beyond absolute income and relative income effects explaining the disparity. Therefore we investigated the role of religion, media, language, identity and discrimination to explain the different levels of life satisfaction for immigrant groups.

Although poorer health plays an important role to explain lower life satisfaction, Moroccans who have health problems reported higher satisfaction levels. Strong sense of "Dutch"

identity has found a positive effect on life satisfaction. Moroccans have a strong sense of Dutch identity but also they are more satisfied with their lives than Turks who have strong sense of Dutch identity. Another significant finding is that immigrants who identify themselves as Muslims are much satisfied than immigrants who identify themselves Moroccan or Turkish.

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