ALİ S. GİTMEZ AND GÖKTUĞ MORÇÖL

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND LIFE SATISFACTION IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT. The relationship between one's objective living conditions and his/her subjective well-being is a problematic one. This paper discusses the results of a survey conducted in Turkey to explore the impacts of socio-economic status on satisfaction with various domains of life, and satisfaction of basic, and social and psychological needs. The results from the univariate, bivariate analyses and the multiple discriminant analysis indicate that socio-economic status is a strong determining factor in satisfaction with life domains and satisfaction of needs.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND LIFE SATISFACTION

One of the major areas of the Quality of Life research has been life satisfaction. Life satisfaction is conceptualized as an aspect of overall subjective well-being. The research on subjective well-being was prompted by the realization that quality of one's life is not a function, solely, of economic well-being. There is an extensive body of literature on the significance of subjective well-being in understanding the quality of one's life (Abrams, 1973; Andrews, 1974; Schneider, 1976; Campbell, 1976; Atkinson, 1982; Landua, 1992; Leelakulthanit and Day, 1992; Mullis, 1992).

The relationship between one's objective living conditions and his/her subjective well-being is problematic. Some researchers stress that assuming a correlation between the objective and subjective indicators of well-being is not justified by the empirical findings (Davis and Fine-Davis, 1991: 103—104). On the other hand, a group of literature suggests that there is a positive relationship between people's socio-economic status or income status and psychological well being (Langer, 1963; Dohrenwerd and Dohrenwerd, 1969; Meyers *et al.*, 1974; Kessler and Cleary, 1980; Douhitt *et al.*, 1992; Moller, 1992; and Ying, 1992).

Some researchers conceptualize satisfaction as a subcategory of happiness (Davis and Fine-Davis, 1991: 111), while some others define

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satisfaction and happiness as two distinct areas of psychological well-being (Zapf *et al.*, 1987: 25). Satisfaction, this latter approach contends, is more of a cognitive evaluation that is particularly dependent on social comparisons with other important reference groups as well as individual's desires, expectations, and hopes. In contrast, happiness is conceived as an emotional state produced by positive and negative events and experiences in the life of an individual.

Life satisfaction may be conceived and studied in two dimensions, representing "two forms of inequality," as suggested by Zapf and his colleagues (1987: 32). Vertical inequalities in life satisfaction are products of social stratification. Horizontal inequalities are within individuals, and define differences between the life domains in which he/she is more or less satisfied. At an aggregate level, horizontal inequalities also describe the differences in satisfaction between individuals of the same stratum.

The nature and character of the vertical inequalities in relation to life satisfaction, i.e., effects of socio-economic status on life satisfaction, are controversial issues, as mentioned above. The studies on the horizontal inequalities in life satisfaction, on the other hand, concur that people are satisfied more in their "private" domains of life such as family and marriage, household jobs, than in public domains of life (Andrews and Withey, 1976; Zapf *et al.*, 1987; Glatzer, 1991; Leelakulthanit and Day, 1992).

This paper discusses the results of a survey conducted in Ankara, Turkey, to explore the relationships of socio-economic status with satisfaction with various life domains, and satisfaction of basic and social-psychological needs. The purpose of the study was both to observe whether socio-economic status was a determinant of life satisfaction, and to find out the dimensions of life satisfaction that were discriminating between the individuals of different socio-economic status. Satisfaction was conceptualized as a cognitive evaluation, and the question on satisfaction were worded accordingly.

METHOD

The data collection method used in our study was a survey conducted with face-to-face interviews. A total of 145 interviews were done in the

fall of 1990. Since this was an exploratory survey, we used a purposive sampling procedure in data collection rather than a probabilistic one. In our sampling procedure, we used the stratification scheme for the residency areas in Ankara that was developed by the Department of City and Regional Planning at the Middle East Technical University (Turel, 1986). The 145 interviews were conducted in all the 6 strata of residency areas that were designated by this study.

The life satisfaction measures in the survey questionnaire were formulated with two criteria in mind: relevance to the literature, and to the particular social context of the study. The questionnaire included two groups of life satisfaction questions, a group of questions from which the socio-economic status index was developed, and another group of demographic questions. The English translations of the questions are presented in the appendix at the end.

In the first group of questions, respondents were asked if they were satisfied in each one of the 6 life domains listed. These life domains were: family, neighbor relations, work, social relations, professional/personal achievement, and voluntary activities. These questions were intended to identify the differences in satisfaction levels between the life domains with simple statistical analyses.

In the second group, the questions were designed to measure the level of satisfaction of basic/physiological, and social and psychological needs of individuals. The satisfaction of the basic/physiological needs were measured with three questions: nutrition, physical environment, and housing conditions. The questions about social status, work, education, and success in life were asked to measure the satisfaction with social and psychological needs. A five-point Likert scale was used to elicit the satisfaction levels in these areas, with the response categories: very satisfied, satisfied, cannot tell, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied. The responses were coded for the analyses between 1 and 5, in such a way that 1 and 5 would indicate "very dissatisfied" and "very satisfied" respectively.

The independent variables included in the questionnaire were: level of education, self-assessed income status, family assets, status of the residency area (according to the scale used to select the sample), profession/job, type of source of income, ownership of residence, age, and gender. We developed the socio-economic status index from four

of these independent variables: level of education, income status, and family assets of the respondent, and the status of the residency area in which he/she lived in. These variables were weighted equally in the computation of the index. The score on each one of the four variables was divided by the number of response categories, and these individual scores were added up to compute the socio-economic status composite score (SES index). The formula of computation is an follows:

$$\text{SES Index} = (\text{Education}/12) + (\text{Income}/6) + (\text{Asset}/8) + (\text{Residency}/6)$$

Both income and assets were the indicators of economic well-being in this formula. Education was another indicator of SES that was commonly used in developing socio-economic status indices. The function of the residency variable was dual in our index. It served as an indicator of both life styles and income levels. The residency areas represent different life styles, because people who have common backgrounds and life styles choose to live in close proximities. The scale we used also served as a proxy of income, because it was originally developed by the Department of City and Regional Planning of the Middle East Technical University, based on income differentials between residency areas.

The socio-economic status index took on the numeric values between 0.52 and 3.48 after the first step of computations. This range of values was divided into three equal parts to develop the ordinal Socio-economic status classification (SES), i.e., upper, middle, lower, which was later used for the analyses. As a result, 31 of the responses were classified in the upper SES, 71 in the middle SES, and 27 in the lower SES. This ordinal categorization was preferred over the initial numeric scale to be able to analyze the differences between the SES categories, rather than simply conducting aggregate analyses between SES and the other variables.

In order to test the differences between the SES categories, the percentages of those satisfied and the arithmetic means on the satisfaction scales were computed. The chi-square test was used to test the significance of those differences.

A multiple discriminant analysis was also conducted to identify the composite effects of the variables of satisfaction of needs on the SES

Classification. Theoretically, multiple discriminant analysis involves deriving the linear combinations of the two, or more, independent variables that will discriminate best between the a priori defined groups, i.e., the categories of the dependent variable (Hair *et al.*, 1987: 75). Although SES was the independent variable in our model, and multivariate analysis of variance would theoretically have been more appropriate for such a model, we preferred multiple discriminant analysis, because it calculates the statistics such as discriminant functions and the loadings on these functions. The discriminant functions would indicate the composite dimensions of the discriminations between the SES categories. The loadings would indicate the relative contributions of the satisfaction variables to the functions discriminating between the SES categories.

Multiple discriminant analysis also computes the typical scores for the groups of individuals, e.g., the categories of SES, on multiple discriminating variables, e.g., the satisfaction variables. Those group means on multiple dimensions, "centroids," can be plotted on the same two-dimensional plane, the "discriminant space," together with the individual discriminating variables. Plotting the centroids of the SES categories with the satisfaction variables on the same space would help us interpret the dimensions of satisfaction for each SES category.

Two of the seven variables of satisfaction of needs in the multiple discriminant analysis had been operationalized with three indicators each, in our questionnaire. The satisfaction with housing was measured by satisfaction with its structure, internal design and furniture, and hygiene. These three indicators were combined into a composite index with equal weights before entering into the multiple discriminant analysis. Another composite index was developed for satisfaction with work from its indicators. The satisfaction with work had been measured by satisfaction with its content, pay, and social status of the job. The final list of variables entered into the multiple discriminant analysis were: nutrition, physical environment, housing, social status, work, education, and success in life. The values on these variables were transformed into standardized Z scores, before being entered into the analysis.

When interpreting the results of the multiple discriminant analysis, the relationships between discriminant loadings and group centroids,

i.e., centroids of the SES categories, were taken into account, both in their original and "stretched" forms. Hair and his colleagues (1987: 110—112) describe a stretching procedure for more balanced interpretations of multiple discriminant analysis results. They propose weighting each discriminant loading and group centroid by its relative importance in the model. Discriminant loadings can be stretched as vectors on the two-dimensional discriminant space by multiplying each by its respective univariate univariate F-ratio. The centroids also can be stretched by multiplying them by the approximate F-ratio associated with each of the two discriminant functions. The approximate F-ratio for each discriminant function can be obtained by multiplying its eigenvalue by $(n - k)/(k - 1)$, where n is the sample size, and k is the number of groups.

RESULTS

Our analyses of the demographic variables broken down by SES indicated the characteristics of the SES categories. The main source of income was wage/salary for all the SES categories, but its percentage increased from the upper SES to the lower SES. The percentage of the profit from capital investments as the main source of income, on the other hand, increased from the lower SES to the upper SES. Ownership of the residence increased from the lower SES to the upper SES. There were differences also in the jobs/professions held most by the members of the SES categories. A large majority of the members of the upper SES were managers and administrators in the private and public organizations, and self-employed professionals. The middle SES was composed of public officials, small business people, public/private managers and workers. A one-third of the members of the lower SES were workers (manufacturing and service). The other large categories in the lower SES were lower level public officials and those who were unemployed or temporarily employed. The variables, age and gender were analyzed to find out any differences between the SES categories, and no significant difference was found.

A second group of analyses was conducted to determine the relationships of SES with satisfaction with life domains, and satisfaction of

needs. The results of these univariate and bivariate analyses are shown in Tables I and II.

Table I shows the percentages of positive responses to the satisfaction questions in six life domains. The significance levels given in the fourth row are those of the chi-square tests for the differences between the SES categories. The overall percentages in the fifth row of the table indicate that those surveyed were satisfied with their family lives more than any other domain. Also, family life is the domain in which people are satisfied most across all the SES categories as the first three rows of the table indicate. This is a finding parallel to the ones reported for some other countries, e.g., Germany (Zapf *et al.*, 1987: 34; Glatzer, 1991: 277). The life domain people are satisfied most seems to be family life across nations and social classes.

Another important finding shown in this table is that satisfaction decreases hierarchically from the upper to the lower SES categories in all life domains except for neighbor relations. This shows not only the unequal distribution of life satisfaction among the social strata, but also of the strength of the SES in determining the hierarchical form of this distribution. Also, the percentages for the SES categories indicate that the lower SES lags far behind the upper and middles SES categories in satisfaction in life domains except for neighbor relations and social relations.

The results from the analyses of the satisfaction of needs questions are summarized in Table II. The statistics presented for each SES category in this table are the percentages of those who are satisfied in

TABLE I
Percentages of satisfaction with life domains by SES

SES	Family life	Neighbor relations	Work	Social relations	Personal achievement	Voluntary activity
Upper	93%	52%	55%	52%	52%	24%
Middle	88%	35%	42%	35%	35%	23%
Lower	70%	48%	11%	22%	15%	0%
Significance	0.03	0.22	0.00	0.07	0.01	0.02
Overall	80%	40%	36%	33%	32%	16%

TABLE II
Percentages, standardized means and standard deviations of satisfaction of needs by SES categories

	Basic physiological needs					Social and psychological needs					
			Housing				Work				
SES Category	Nutrition	Physical Environment	Structure	Interior	Hygiene	Social Status	Content	Pay	Social	Education	Success in Life
Upper	100%	58%	84%	84%	87%	100%	81%	54%	81%	68%	61%
	0.69 (0.31)	0.29 (0.94)	0.56 (0.77)	0.54 (0.68)	0.41 (0.85)	0.57 (0.68)	0.76 (0.80)	0.43 (1.10)	0.62 (0.83)	1.00 (0.71)	0.68 (0.49)
Middle	82%	55%	50%	64%	76%	90%	41%	29%	50%	14%	37%
	0.21 (0.80)	0.16 (0.93)	–0.01 (0.86)	0.15 (0.80)	0.20 (0.78)	0.03 (0.86)	–0.02 (0.98)	0.07 (0.88)	–0.02 (0.99)	–0.07 (0.82)	0.15 (0.85)
Lower	26%	35%	30%	23%	26%	54%	10%	10%	20%	0%	11%
	–1.0 (1.0)	–0.80 (0.90)	–0.66 (1.2)	–0.98 (1.2)	–0.99 (1.1)	–0.75 (1.2)	–0.62 (0.83)	–0.58 (0.96)	–0.69 (0.93)	–0.84 (0.85)	–0.98 (1.0)
Significance	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Overall Mean & St. Dev.	0.06 (0.97)	0.00 (1.0)	–0.01 (1.0)	0.02 (1.0)	0.00 (1.0)	–0.00 (1.0)	0.06 (1.0)	0.03 (0.99)	0.01 (1.0)	0.03 (1.0)	0.04 (1.0)

each area of satisfaction, the means of the standardized Z scores computed for each satisfaction area, and the associated standard deviations in parantheses. The significance levels given in the fourth row are those of the goodness of fit chi-square tests for the uniformity of distribution among the SES categories on each satisfaction variable. The responses to the satisfaction questions were collapsed into the dichotomous categories of "satisfied" and "not satisfied" for these tests. Since the means presented in the table are those of the standardized values that were later entered into the multiple discriminant analysis, they allow direct comparisons between the results of this analysis and those of the discriminant analysis, which are presented in Tables III through VII, and Figures 1 and 2.

TABLE III
Variables in the discriminant analysis, Wilks' lambda and F-ratio values

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F	Significance
Nutrition	0.703	20.08	0.000
Physical Environment	0.889	5.95	0.004
Housing	0.753	15.57	0.000
Social status	0.800	11.85	0.000
Work	0.737	16.91	0.000
Education	0.686	21.74	0.000
Success in life	0.793	12.37	0.000

TABLE IV
Classification results in multiple discriminant analysis

Actual group (SES)	No. of cases	Predicated Group Membership Lower	Middle	Upper
Upper	31	0 0.0%	7 22.6%	24 77.4%
Middle	71	12 16.9%	45 63.4%	14 19.7%
Lower	27	20 74.1%	6 22.2%	1 3.7%
Ungrouped cases	16	8 50.0%	7 43.8%	1 6.3%

Percent of Grouped Cases Correctly Classified (Hit Ratio): 68.99%

TABLE V
Statistics for the canonical discriminant functions

Function	Eigenvalue	Percent of Variance	Cumulative Percent	Canonical Correlation	After Function	Wilks'Lambda	Chi-Squared	D.F.	Significance
					0	0.4800612	68.614	8	0.0000
1	0.88940	89.67	89.67	0.6860984	1	0.9070270	9.1240	3	0.0277
2	0.10250	10.33	100.00	0.3049148					

TABLE VI
Discriminant loadings after varimax rotation

Variable	Function 1	Function 2
Nutrition	0.337	0.736
Physical environment	–0.008	0.637
Housing	0.272	0.435
Education	0.895	–0.143
Work	0.615	0.203
Success in life	0.561	0.111
Social status	0.404	0.272

TABLE VII
Canonical discriminant functions evaluated at group means (group centroids)

Group		Function 1		Function 2	
Upper		1.23		0.33	
	Difference		1.38		0.11
Middle		–0.15		0.22	
	Difference		1.09		1.43
Lower		–1.24		–1.21	

The percentages and standardized means in Table II show a hierarchical pattern in the distribution of satisfaction among the SES categories, like the one in the satisfaction in life domains. The satisfaction is highest among the members of the upper SES, and lowest among those of the lower SES, the middle SES being in the middle, in all need categories. These differences in satisfaction between in SES categories are statistically significant.

The distant position of the lower SES category in life satisfaction that was identified in the questions on satisfaction with life domains (Table I) is not observed clearly in all the satisfaction of needs variables in Table II. For the questions on nutrition, physical environment,and housing the same pattern holds, i.e., the lower SES is lagging far behind. The arithmetic differences between both the percentages and the means are larger between the middle and lower SES categories than between the upper and middles SES categories on these variables. Among the

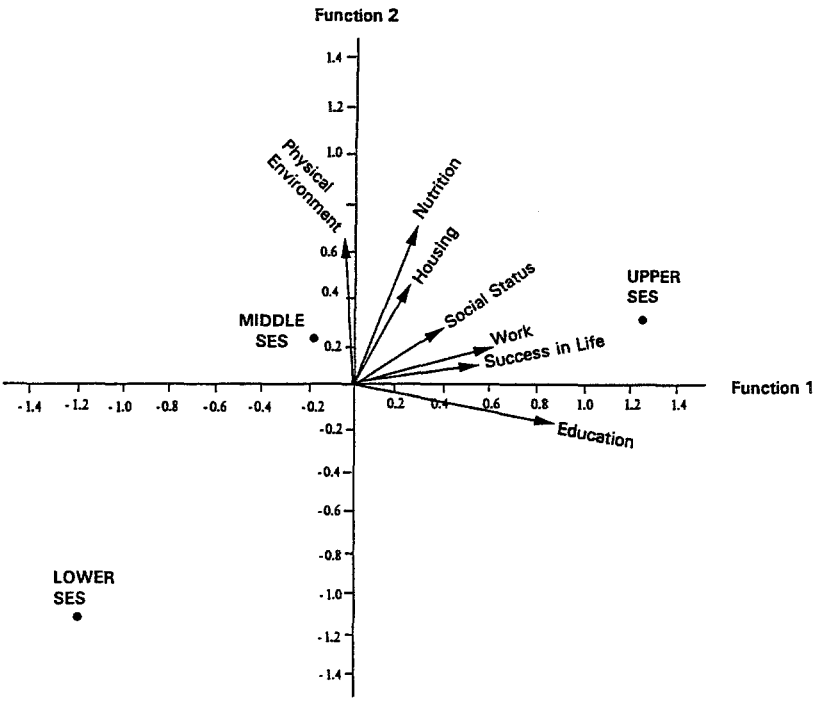

Fig. 1. Plot of satisfaction variables and SES group centroids in reduced discriminant space.

variables of social and psychological needs, the social status and success in life follow the same pattern. For the three indicators of satisfaction with work, there are mixed results. For the education variable the distance between the upper and middle categories is larger.

These differences in distances could yield meaningful composite dimensions by a multivariate analysis. Therefore, we analyzed the variables of satisfaction of needs with multiple discriminant analysis to identify these composite dimensions. For this analysis, we developed composite indices for housing and work, and computed standardized Z scores on each variable, before entering them into the analysis.

We used the Wilks method of the stepwise multiple discriminant analysis in SPSS to generate the results displayed in Tables III, IV, V,

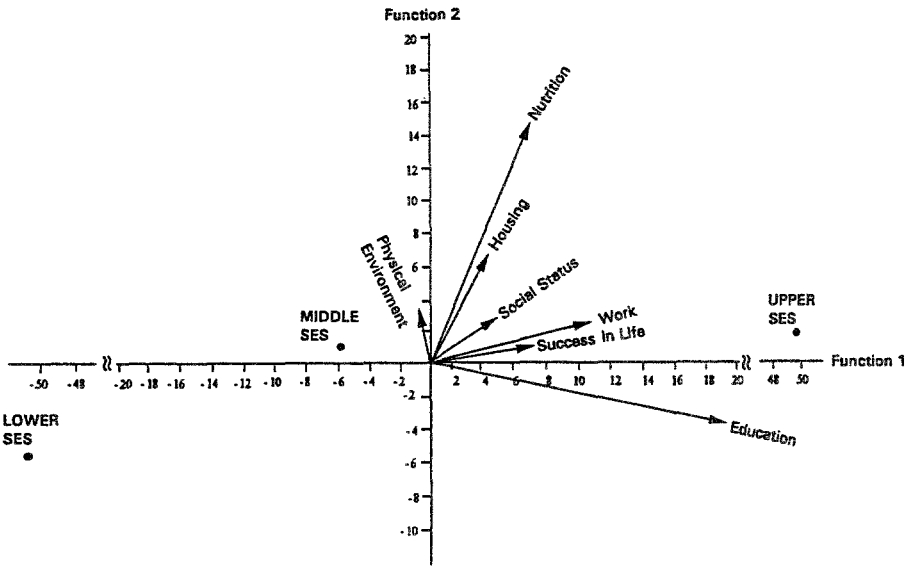

Fig. 2. Plot of stretched satisfaction variables and stretched SES group centroids in reduced discriminant space.

VI and VII. The Wilks' Lambda values, F-ratios, and significance that are shown in Table III are the results of the tests for equality of the means of the SES categories on the satisfaction variables. Since all the variables had significant F-ratios at any conventional level of significance, they were retained in the model, and used in the further analyses that are discussed below.

The overall validity of a multiple discriminant analysis is determined by the percentage of cases correctly classified by the model, i.e., the hit ratio. The results of classifications by our multiple discriminant model are shown in Table IV. As the entries on the diagonal of the matrix indicate, the percentages of grouped cases correctly classified into the upper, middle and lower SES categories are 77.4, 63.4, and 74.1, respectively. The overall percentage of the grouped cases correctly classified, hit ratio, is 68.99%. The validity of a multiple discriminant model is tested by comparing the computed hit ratio with two criteria, maximum and proportional chance criteria, which indicate in two

different ways the percentages that could be classified correctly by chance, i.e., without the aid of the discriminant function. The maximum chance criterion for our data is 55%, and the proportional chance criterion is 40%. Since our hit ratio, 68.99%, is considerably higher than both of these percentages, our model is valid, and the results from the multiple discriminant analysis are interpretable.

The multiple discriminant analysis with three group extracts two canonical discriminant functions as the composite dimensions of discriminating variables. These functions can be used as the axes when plotting discriminating variables and group centroids, if the functions are statistically significant. The statistics for the two canonical functions extracted from the seven satisfaction variables in our analysis are shown in Table V. The results of the chi-square tests indicate that the functions are significant. The percentages of variance explained by the two functions indicate that the first function is much stronger (explains 89.67% of the variance) in discriminating between the SES categories, than the second function (explains only 10.33% of the variance). This difference between the strengths of the functions needs to be accounted for in plotting the variables and group centroids, which is done is Figure 2, and in interpreting the results, which is done in the discussion section below.

The loadings on canonical discriminant functions after varimax rotation (correlations between the rotated canonical discriminant functions and discriminating variables) indicate the relative contributions of discriminating variables to the functions extracted in the analysis. These loadings are commonly used as the coordinates for plotting the vectors of discriminating variables. The loadings for the satisfaction variables in our analysis are shown in Table VI. The results in this table indicate that the variables can be interpreted in two groups. Nutrition, physical environment and housing are loaded heavily on Function 2, while social status, work, education and success in life are loaded heavily on Function 1. This can be interpreted that the basic/physiological needs are represented by Function 2, whereas the social and psychological needs are represented by Function 1. It should also be noted that the SES categories differ from each other mainly in the satisfaction of their social and psychological needs, since Function 1 explains 89% of

the variation. These results will be more meaningful when analyzed together with the group centroids.

Table VII shows the group centroids, i.e., the typical composite scores for the SES categories on the seven satisfaction variables. Table VII indicates that Function 1, which is more closely associated with the social and psychological needs, discriminates the SES categories by almost equal distances. The differences between the middle and lower SES groups are larger than the ones between he upper and the middle SES groups on Function 2, which is associated more closely with the basic/physiological needs. This can be interpreted that the lower SES is lagging far behind on the satisfaction of basic/physiological needs.

The results shown in Table VII are consistent, expectedly, with the standardized means and percentages in Table II above, which also indicate that the lower SES is lagging far behind on the variables of basic/physiological needs. On the other hand, the differences between the SES groups on the variables of social and psychological needs are balanced. On the social status variable, the lower SES is far behind, whereas on the education variable the distance between the higher and middle SES categories is larger. On the indicators of work and the variable of success in life the distances between the SES categories are almost equal.

The plots of the loadings of the satisfaction variables and the group centroids for the SES categories on the discriminant space defined by the canonical functions are shown in Figure 1. This figure summarizes, in geometric form, the results from Tables II, VI and VII, which were discussed above.

The plots in Figure 1 do not take the relative weights of the canonical discriminant functions into account. As discussed in the method section above, the "stretched" discriminant loadings and group centroids on the discriminant space yield a more realistic picture of the relationships between variables and group centroids. The stretched plottings of the loadings of satisfaction variables and the centroids of SES categories are shown in Figure 2. These stretched plottings of vectors and centroids indicate that the main dimension of the differences between the SES categories is the social and psychological needs, which was also indicated in Figure 1. In other words, the SES cate-

gories are farther apart from each other in the satisfaction of their social and psychological needs, than in that of their basic/physiological needs. The differences between Figure 2 and Figure 1 indicate that the distances between the SES categories become almost equal on both dimensions when the weights of loadings and centroids are factored in.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The major conclusion that can be drawn from the results summarized above is that socio-economic status is a strong determinant of the vertical inequalities in the distribution of satisfaction among the group of people studied. The determining role of the socio-economic status in distributing satisfaction in a hierarchical pattern holds true across the life domains and areas of need that were studied, with few exceptions (neighbor relations and social relations as life domains). This finding is in accordance with the literature suggesting strong relationships between the socio-economic or income status and subjective well-being. Since the sampling procedure in our survey was not a probabilistic one, it cannot be determined, statistically, to what extent these findings are generalizeable to the population of Turkish society or other societies. The consistency with the literature cited, however, gives some credence to the validity of the results.

The results of the multiple discriminant analysis also point to the strong determining role of SES over satisfaction of needs. The "stretched" plottings in Figure 2, which represents the respective positions of the SES groups in overall life satisfaction, discriminate these groups by almost equal distances on both dimensions. It should be reminded that in our study the SES classification was developed by dividing the SES scale into three equal distances. It is a meaningful finding that the equal distances on the SES scale generate almost equal distances on both dimensions of satisfaction of needs. This can be interpreted as an indication of the strength of SES as a determining factor in satisfaction.

The finding that the major difference between the SES categories is on the dimension of social and psychological needs may be pointing to a special characteristic of the relationship between SES and satisfaction. It can be argued that the effects of the SES on the satisfaction of social

and psychological needs are amplified by some intervening variables. Although it cannot be determined within the scope of our study what variables are the intervening ones, it can be speculated that the mass media and the cultural messages carried by them may be intervening. The media, particularly the television, mostly cover and project the cultural images of the rich and the famous, i.e., the top segments of the higher SES, in Turkey, as well as in many other countries. It can be argued that the satisfaction of social and psychological needs are more prone to be affected by the cultural images than the basic physiological needs. Therefore, the cultural images projected by the media may very well influence the members of the middle and lower SES in making cognitive comparisons between themselves and those images, and assessing their positions relatively lower on the satisfaction of social and psychological needs. This speculative interpretation can be tested as a hypothesis in future studies.

Although the relationships indicated by the regular plottings in Figure 1 are less valid in terms of representing the overall life satisfaction, they can be used for interpreting particular relationships. The distances between the SES categories on the social and psychological dimension seem to be almost equal, but the distances on the basic/physiological needs dimension indicate that the members of the lower SES is lagging far behind in their satisfaction of these needs. The individual percentages and standardized means on the variables, nutrition, physical environment, and housing in Table II, also point to the distant position of the lower SES in the satisfaction of these needs. The lower SES is also found to be far behind the middle and upper SES categories in the satisfaction with most life domains, as Table I indicates. This particular position of the lower SES seems to be pointing to the phenomenon that an underclass is in the making in Turkish society, who are aware of their underprivileged position. The position of the lower SES on the basic/physiological needs, which is apart from the middle and upper SES, seems to be important. Satisfaction of these needs involve cognitive comparisons with the hard realities people are living in, and therefore are less likely to be influenced by the intervening variables, such as the images projected by the media. This particular position of the lower SES calls for further and more focused studies on the poor, and the phenomenon of poverty.

Another finding in our study that draws attention to the position of the lower SES is the satisfaction with the neighbor relations. The percentages in Table I indicate that the members of the lower SES are very close to those of the upper SES in their satisfaction in this area, and that the middle SES is behind the lower SES, which is an exceptional situation among all categories of satisfaction with life domains and satisfaction of needs. This exceptional situation of the neighbor relations in life satisfaction among the lower social classes in Turkish society is observed also in our more recent surveys that are not published yet. It seems that this social phenomenon is very much pertinent to the social transition that is underway in the Turkish urban areas. The members of the lower SES are mostly first generation immigrants in the cities from rural areas. The neighbor relations seem to be a major area of interaction, and thus, a major area of satisfaction for this group of people. The nature and implications of these relations are worth investigating in the future studies on the poor.

APPENDIX: TRANSLATIONS OF THE QUESTIONS ASKED IN THE SURVEY

First Group of Life-Satisfaction Questions (Satisfaction in Life Domains):

Which ones of the following areas are you satisfied with these days?

( ) A. My family life
( ) B. My relations with the neighbors
( ) C. My work, work environment
( ) D. My social relations outside my work environment
( ) E. My professional, personal achievements
( ) F. My voluntary activities

Second Group of Life-Satisfaction Questions (Satisfaction of Needs):

A five-point Likert scale is used to elicit responses to the following questions: very satisfied, satisfied, cannot tell (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied), dissatisfied, very dissatisfied.

1. Are you satisfied with the food you and your family consume?

2. How satisfied are you with the (physical) environment you are living in (cleanliness, convenience and aesthetic of the neighborhood)?

3. How satisfied are you with each one of the following aspects of the house (apartment) you are living in?

   (A) Its structure,
   (B) Its internal design and furniture,
   (C) Its hygiene.

4. How satisfied are you with your social status and the respect you get from the society?

5. How satisfactory is your work in the following respects?

   (A) Its content,
   (B) The income you earn from it,
   (C) Its social status.

6. Do you think your education is satisfactory (good enough given your talents)?

7. How satisfied are you with your achievements in life?

Socio-Economic Status Variables:

1. What is your level of education?

   (1) Illiterate,
   (2) Literate but no schooling,
   (3) Elementary school drop-out,
   (4) Elementary school graduate,
   (5) Middle school drop-out,
   (6) Middle school graduate,
   (7) High school drop-out,
   (8) High school graduate,
   (9) University drop-out,
   (10) University graduate,
   (11) Masters' degree,
   (12) Ph.D. degree.

2. How would you compare your income to the others in this country?

   (1) Much better than many others (very good),
   (2) Somewhat better than many others (good),
   (3) Average (sufficient),
   (4) Worse than many others (insufficient),
   (5) Much worse than many others (very insufficient)
   (6) Desperately low

3. Which ones of the following assets do you and/or your family own? [An index of assets is developed from the number of items checked below.]

   (1) Land in rural areas,
   (2) Land in urban areas,
   (3) House or apartment,
   (4) Business house,
   (5) Commercial vehicle,
   (6) Cattle, sheep, or poultry
   (7) Shares, or securities
   (8) Automobile

4. Address of the residence: _____
   [The residency index is developed from the neighborhood specified in this address.]

Other Demographic Questions:

1. What is your profession/job? _____

2. What is your age? _____

3. Gender of respondent: _____

4. Which one of the following is the most important source of your family income
   (A) Profit from self-owned manufacturing business,
   (B) Profit from self-owned service business,
   (C) Salary/wage,
   (D) Rent from a house/apartment,

(E) Rent from commercial property,
(F) Rent from agricultural land,
(G) Capital gains (interest, dividend).

5. What is the ownership status of the house/apartment you live in?

(A) I own it.
(B) I rent it.
(C) It is owned by the organization I worked for. I pay a minimal rent.
(D) A relative owns it. I do not pay any rent.

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Department of Management,
Middle East Technical University,
06531 Ankara, Turkey.

Center for Public Administration and Policy,
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University,
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061-0520,
U.S.A.