How Migration Shapes Integration. Early Patterns of Migration and Sociocultural Integration of New Immigrants in Germany

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Kurzzusammenfassung

Die Migrationsforschung beobachtet zunehmend komplexe Migrationsmuster: Migrantinnen und Migranten folgen diversen Migrationsmotiven und verfügen über unterschiedliche Migrationserfahrungen. Ihre individuellen Charakteristika, ihre Bleibeintentionen und ihr Migrationsverhalten sind sehr heterogen. Diese komplexen Migrationsmuster stellen das in der Migrationsforschung vorherrschende Verständnis von Integration als unvermeidbarer, sukzessive ablaufender Prozess, das hauptsächlich auf der Prämisse des ‚Kommens um zu bleiben' gründet, infrage. Vor diesem Hintergrund beschäftigt sich die vorliegende kumulativ verfasste Dissertationsschrift in drei Forschungsbeiträgen mit der Bedeutung von Migration für die frühen soziokulturellen Integrationsverläufe von Neuzugewanderten in Deutschland. Hierfür werden jeweils der Erwerb deutscher Sprachkenntnisse, der Kontakt zu Deutschen und die Identifikation mit Deutschland betrachtet. Die in diesen Forschungsbeiträgen verwendeten Daten stammen aus zwei verschiedenen Surveys unter Neuzugewanderten: dem „Project on Sociocultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe (SCIP)" und dem Projekt „Recent Immigration Processes and Early Integration Trajectories in Germany (ENTRA)". Die Daten für SCIP wurden in zwei Wellen in den Jahren 2010 bis 2013 erhoben. ENTRA beinhaltet Daten aus drei Befragungen, die zwischen 2019 und 2021 durchgeführt wurden.

Der erste Beitrag liefert mithilfe latenter Klassenanalyse von Daten polnischer und türkischer Neuzugewanderter in Deutschland empirische Evidenz für zwei in der Literatur prominente Migrantentypen – *Settler* und *Target-Earner*. Mit dem *Young Learner/Professional* wird ein weiterer Typ identifiziert. Die frühen Integrationsverläufe dieser drei Typen spiegeln hauptsächlich Unterschiede in deren Bleibeabsichten, individuellen Ressourcen und Gelegenheiten zur Integration wider. Die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Migrantentyp per se, also eine spezifische Kombination bestimmter Merkmalsausprägungen, erklärt Unterschiede in der soziokulturellen Integration der Neuzugewanderten nicht besser als die einzelnen Variablen, die zur Identifikation des jeweiligen Typs herangezogen werden.

Der zweite Beitrag beschreibt zwei theoretische Perspektiven auf die Integration von Zugewanderten – Integration „über Zeit" sowie Integration als Resultat individueller Motivation und entsprechender Investments von Zugewanderten. In einer Analyse von Mini-Paneldaten italienischer, polnischer, syrischer und türkischer Neuzugewanderter in Deutschland zeigt er, dass Zugewanderte mit der Absicht dauerhaft in Deutschland zu bleiben zwar von

Beginn an stärker integriert sind, ihre Integration aber nicht schneller erfolgt als die Integration anderer Zugewanderter. Darüber hinaus spielt die (zeitliche) Aufenthaltsdauer zwar eine entscheidende Rolle für den Erwerb von Deutschkenntnissen, für die Identifikation mit Deutschland ist jedoch eher die Bleibeabsicht im Sinne der Motivation besonders relevant.

Der dritte Beitrag untersucht zwei zu unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten aus der Türkei nach Deutschland zugewanderte Kohorten genauer. Ihm liegt die Annahme zugrunde, dass Veränderungen in der Zusammensetzung von Zuzugskohorten Unterschiede in der Integration dieser Kohorten erklären können. In einem ersten Schritt kann gezeigt werden, dass Zugewanderte der aktuelleren Kohorte höher gebildet sind, stärker aus politischen Gründen zuwandern und weniger religiös sind als diejenigen der früheren Kohorte. Auf diese Unterschiede in der Kohortenzusammensetzung können Unterschiede im Kontakt zu Deutschen, anderen Zugewanderten und anderen Türkinnen und Türken sowie in der Identifikation mit Deutschland und der Türkei zurückgeführt werden. Ein Zusammenhang zwischen Abweichungen in den deutschen Sprachkenntnissen sowie in der Identifikation mit Europa und Unterschieden in der Bildung, in den Migrationsmotiven oder in der Religiosität der Kohorten ist nicht ersichtlich.

Insgesamt zeigt die vorliegende Dissertation, dass Migration ein sehr komplexes Phänomen ist, das in seinem Facettenreichtum Auswirkungen auf die soziokulturelle Integration von Migrantinnen und Migranten hat. Sie veranschaulicht, dass Migrantentypen zwar ein gut geeignetes Mittel zur Deskription komplexer Migrationsmuster sind, jedoch nicht nennenswert zur Erklärung früher Integrationsverläufe beitragen. Zudem wird deutlich, dass eine gelungene Integration in das Aufnahmeland mehr als nur Zeit erfordert und dass sich die Integration bestimmter Migrantengruppen mit deren Zusammensetzung ändern kann – es also beispielsweise ‚die' Türken in Deutschland nicht gibt.

Brief summary

Migration research observes increasingly complex migration patterns: migrants follow various migration motives and have different migration experiences. Their individual characteristics, intentions to stay, and migration behavior are very heterogeneous. These complex migration patterns challenge the understanding of integration as an inevitable successive process, which is prevailing in migration research and mainly based on the assumption of 'coming to stay'. Against this backdrop, this cumulative doctoral dissertation encompasses three research articles on the influence of migration on the early sociocultural integration trajectories of newly arrived immigrants in Germany. In each of these articles German language acquisition, contact to Germans as well as identification with Germany are studied as dimensions of sociocultural integration. The data used in these research articles come from two different surveys among newly arrived immigrants: the „Project on Sociocultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe (SCIP)" and the project „Recent Immigration Processes and Early Integration Trajectories in Germany (ENTRA)". Data for SCIP were collected in two waves between 2010 and 2013. ENTRA contains data from three surveys conducted between 2019 and 2021.

The first research article uses Latent Class Analysis to test the empirical prevalence of two migrant types that feature prominently in the literature – *settlers* and *target-earners* – among newly arrived Poles and Turks in Germany. Thereby, an additional type called *young learner/professional* is identified. The early integration trajectories of these three types mostly reflect differences in their intentions to stay, individual resources and opportunities to integrate. Belonging to a particular migrant type per se, and thus having a particular combination of characteristics, is not superior to the individual variables used to identify each type in explaining differences in the sociocultural integration of newly arrived immigrants.

The second research article describes two theoretical perspectives on migrants' integration – integration 'over time' and integration as a result of migrants' individual motivation and corresponding investments. By analyzing mini-panel data from newly arrived Italians, Poles, Syrians, and Turks in Germany, this article shows that migrants who intend to stay in Germany permanently have higher levels of integration shortly after arrival but do not integrate faster than other migrants. Moreover, migrants' duration of stay is important for the acquisition of German language skills. Yet, for the identification with Germany migrants' intention to stay in terms of motivation is especially relevant.

The third research article compares two cohorts of newly arrived Turks which came to Germany at different points in time. This article is based on the assumption, that changes in cohort composition can explain differences in the integration between both cohorts. In a first step, descriptive results show that migrants belonging to the recent cohort are higher educated, hold more political migration motives, and are less religious than migrants from the earlier cohort. These differences in cohort composition can explain differences in contact to Germans, other immigrants and other Turks as well as in the identification with Germany and Turkey. There is no correlation between differences in German language skills and identification with Europe and differences in the educational level, migration motives, or religiosity of both groups.

Overall, this dissertation highlights that migration is a highly complex phenomenon that (in its multifaceted nature) has an impact on the sociocultural integration of migrants. It shows that migrant types are a suited tool to illustrate complex migration patterns. However, they do not contribute significantly to the explanation of early integration trajectories. Further, this dissertation reveals that successful host country integration requires more than just time spent in this country and that the integration of certain migrant groups changes with their composition – thus, for example, ‘the’ Turks in Germany do not exist.

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1. Introduction: Heterogeneous migration patterns – heterogeneous sociocultural integration trajectories?

This cumulative doctoral dissertation scrutinizes the interrelation between migration patterns and early sociocultural integration processes among newly arrived immigrants in Germany.

People are moving since the beginning of time. However, as permanent settlement is a prerequisite for migration, they migrate since they started to settle down permanently around 12,500-10,000 years ago (Haas, Castles and Miller 2020). Migration primarily is an act of physical mobility (cf. International Organisation for Migration 2019) that requires "a change of residency across administrative borders" (Haas et al. 2020: 21). It is driven by individual motivations (Haas et al. 2020) and determined by migrants' intentions regarding their future (cf. Ajzen 1991) which are both closely interrelated with structural conditions on the macro-level, such as labor market dynamics or national migration control. Migration motives – the decisive reasons for migration – in earlier times, primarily concerned essential needs, like food and security. Furthermore, the move of people and goods was very costly. As a consequence, the benefits had to outweigh the costs of migration, and the act of migration usually was seen kas a one-time event that ended up in permanent settlement. Only the rich and powerful members of society could freely choose how often and to which destinations they migrate.

Nowadays, people still migrate in order to fulfil essential needs like physical safety from war or better living conditions in the host country in general. Though, additional motives, like marriages/relationships across far distances (Charsley et al. 2012; Thomas, Gillespie and Lomax 2019) or simply the strive for new experiences in life or a certain lifestyle (Benson and O'Reilly 2009; Krings et al. 2013), gain also importance. Therefore, migration has become a very heterogeneous phenomenon (Castro-Martín and Cortina 2015; Dickey, Drinkwater and Shubin 2018; Gilmartin and Migge 2015; Santacreu, Baldoni and Albert 2009; Verwiebe 2011): Whereas some migrants, for example, move with their family to another country to stay permanently, others aim for a certain training or educational degree abroad and plan to return home as soon as they have completed it. Again, other migrants move on a regular basis between two or more countries for work. Following different motivations for migration has become easier and cheaper due to modern means of transport and communication (Dekker and Engbersen 2014; Friberg 2012; Luthra, Platt and Salamońska 2018; Massey and Taylor 2003). Within the European Union (EU) migration increased strongly in recent years as especially labor mobility has been legally facilitated (Dorn and Zweimüller 2021). Furthermore, at least the EU offers various established migration channels (Thym 2016) and has created more

opportunities for legal entry in the last two decades, albeit with more sophisticated and restrictive procedures (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights and Council of Europe 2020:21 ff.). While the wish to improve over all living conditions often comes along with a permanent settlement intention (Harris and Todaro 1970; Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969), other desires, like earning a certain amount of money in the host country, may require only one or more temporary stays. By analyzing the immigration governance of thirty countries across the globe, Boucher and Gest (2018) show that governments tend to seek labor migrants who stay only short-term in the host country and have no desires for citizenship. According to Engbersen and Snel (2013), in the course of 'new migration' (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014; Salt 1989; Vertovec 2007) to Europe, traditional migration patterns are joined by new ones, so that new types of migrants arise which engage more in temporary stays and follow more fluid migration patterns. In in his study on temporary labor market schemes, Cook-Martín (2024: 640) claims in view of increasing numbers of sojourners without settlement intentions that "sociological analyses should reconsider the assumption of integration". The idea of migration as a "one-off move" (Haas et al. 2020: 27) therefore is challenged as is shown by numerous studies (e.g. for Europe: Baykara-Krumme 2013; for Germany: Constant and Zimmermann 2011; for the UK: Dustmann and Weiss 2007).

1.1. Research puzzle: Relationship between migration and migrants' integration

In a broader understanding, international migration is more than just the physical crossing of national borders and moving from one place to another. It is a process which involves costs and returns (Sjaastad 1962) and (in many cases) begins with migrants making decisions and investments when still living in the country of origin. Before the migration event takes place, migrants often already have decided on the destination, duration, and purpose of their move (Jong and Gardner 1981) (see Figure 1). For sure, these considerations can still be modified during or after migration (Friberg 2012; Haas et al. 2020). However, they affect how much migrants invest in host country specific capital before or shortly after migration and in doing so facilitate or hamper migrants' host country integration.

A common because convenient understanding of immigrant integration in the sociological literature derives from (neo-)assimilation theory, which views integration as "the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences" (Alba and Nee 2003: 14). This definition implies a gradual process of immigrant integration that comes to an end in the amalgamation of migrants and their host society. Successful integration thereby completes the migration process (Alba and Nee 1997; Gordon 1964). Hence, this definition heavily relies on

the notion of migration as a single move that ends in the destination country. The diversification of migration patterns which include different migrant characteristics, migration experiences and motives, as well as different settlement intentions and migration behavior, challenges this understanding of integration.

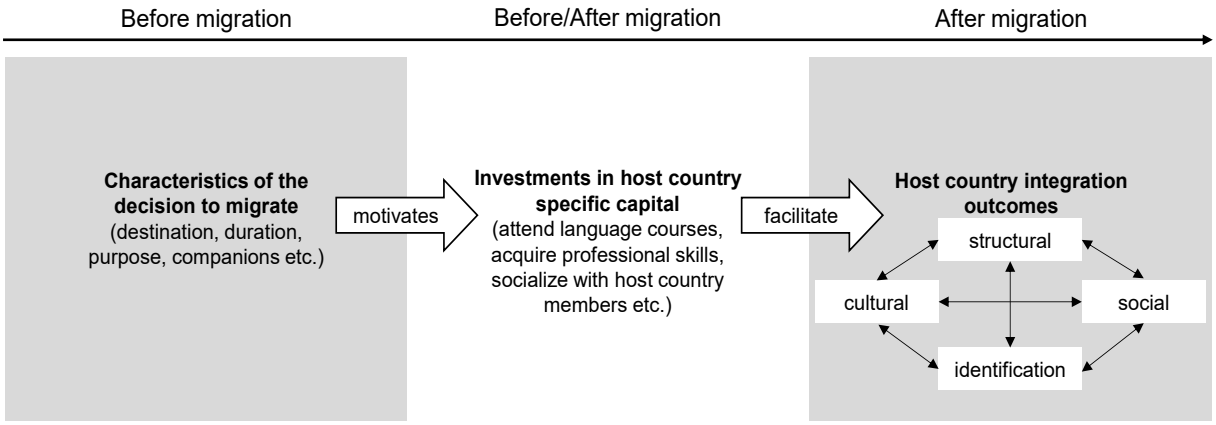

Figure 1. Relationship between migration and migrants' host country integration

Furthermore, policy makers often act on the assumption that migration determines integration processes. They try to deduct migrants' integration outcomes from migration behavior and draw their policies upon these conclusions. A popular example for this phenomenon is how the German government managed the (non-)integration of guest workers who came to Germany from Southern Europe and Turkey between the 1950s and early 1970s. These were supposed to be temporary migrants who would return to their home countries after working in Germany for a while. Therefore, there were no policy measures undertaken to facilitate their integration. However, a considerable share of these guest workers did not return and even brought their families from their home countries to Germany (Pagenstecher 1996). As a result, a generation of immigrants (and even many of their descendants later on) had difficulties finding their place in the German society because they were lacking relevant competencies, like German language skills, and resources, such as contacts to German natives. Against this backdrop, the question arises how individual migration patterns shape the host country integration of migrants and, as a consequence on a policy level, if and to what extent policy makers can draw integration measures from migration data.

1.2. Migration and migrants' integration: Previous findings and research gap

Referring to Gordon (1964), Esser (2006) differentiates between four domains of integration: structural, social, cultural, and identificational. While structural integration encompasses migrants' incorporation in the host country's educational, economic, and political system, social

integration is the establishment and maintenance of social relationships to members of the host society in everyday life. Cultural integration refers to the acquisition of knowledge and skills specific to the host country, especially language skills, and identificational integration refers to the migrants' feelings of belonging to the host country and its citizens. A large body of empirical studies on migrants' integration focuses mostly on one of these dimensions. In this dissertation, I will consider the social, cultural, and identificational dimension as migrants' sociocultural integration in the host country (cf. King and Skeldon 2010). Unlike integration in the labor market, sociocultural integration is less a matter of financial needs and – except from host country language acquisition – not necessarily subject to the labor market requirements of the host country (Galor and Stark 1990; Galor and Stark 1991). Therefore, it might be rather depending on settlement plans and be more related to migrants' individual motivation to integrate. As depicted in Figure 1, the dimensions of sociocultural integration are not only interrelated, but they are also highly relevant for structural integration. Moreover, sociocultural integration is important for migrants' subjective well-being (Angelini, Casi and Corazzini 2015) as well as social cohesion in general (Alba, Reitz and Simon 2012) which is currently challenged in many European and other countries by political radicalization.

In section 1.2.1, I will outline the findings of previous studies on the relationship between migration and migrants' integration in the host country labor market. The following sections 1.2.2 to 1.2.4 will explain the main drivers of host country language acquisition, social contacts to natives and identification with the host country and summarize the state of the art regarding the influence of migration on each of those integration dimensions. After identifying the research gap in section 1.3, section 1.4 of this introduction will provide the outline of this dissertation.

1.2.1. Migration and labor market integration

Migrants' integration in the host country labor market constitutes a large part of the structural integration domain. It is studied extensively because, from the perspective of the host country, it is an important indicator of the overall contribution of migrants to the economy of the host country and from the migrants' perspective it is often required to make a living in the new home (Dustmann 2000: 213). Concerning the relationship between migration and labor market integration, the temporariness of labor migration represents a central research topic. Numerous previous studies identify migrants' intentions to stay and their actual duration of stay as relevant factors for their labor market integration. The intention to stay is considered as an indicator for migrants' willingness to invest in host country specific human capital that is required to

integrate in the labor market successfully (Adda, Dustmann and Goerlach 2022; Dustmann 1999). Several studies show that migrants who intend to stay permanently in the host country are more successful in its economy (Clark and Drinkwater 2008; Massey 1986). This is especially the case for migrants who already are host country citizens or who at least intend to naturalize (Bratsberg, Ragan and Nasir 2002; Gathmann and Monscheuer 2020; Riphahn and Saif 2019). Further, existing studies indicate that migrants who intend to stay in the host country only temporarily have lower earnings (e.g. Borjas 1982; Dustmann 1993).

Other studies detect positive effects of migrants' actual duration of stay on their employment in the host country (e.g. for Portugal and Scotland: Dickey et al. 2018; for Germany: Granato 2014; for 18 Western countries: van Tubergen, Maas and Flap 2004). With regard to refugees, in their analysis of the IAB-BAMF-SOEP Survey of Refugees Kosyakova and Brenzel (2020) assert that the duration of the asylum procedure negatively affects refugees' labor market integration in Germany. Similarly, Brell, Dustmann and Preston (2020) find by comparing employment outcomes of refugees and other immigrants across 13 countries including Australia, Canada, the U.S., and several European countries that refugees start at significantly lower levels of wages and employability than regular migrants due to the special characteristics of their flight migration. However, so far little attention has been paid to previous stays in the host country as a factor for migrants' economic integration (e.g. Donato et al. 2008; Verwiebe et al. 2017).

The migration motive also matters for family migrants who are shown to be less successful on the host countries' labor markets than migrants holding other migration motives (Schieckoff and Diehl 2021; Sprengholz et al. 2021; Zwysen 2019) However, Zwysen (2019) demonstrates with data from the 2008 EU Labor Force Survey that refugees' and family migrants' disadvantages in their labor market integration relative to other groups diminish over time spent in the host country.

An important migration characteristic that is, according to the literature, relevant for migrants' host country labor market integration is the existence and presence of a partner or family in the host country. Lancee (2012), for example, highlights positive effects of marriage on migrants' job entry and Kalter and Kogan (2014) show that marriage is conducive to migrants' employment as well as earnings in the host country. For the labor force participation of females, the presence of children has detrimental effects (Schieckoff and Diehl 2021). Regarding selectivity into migration, education might be one of the most important attributes that also plays a major role for migrants' labor market integration. Various studies attest migrants with

higher levels of education higher chances of employment (e.g. Kalter and Kogan 2014; Kogan 2010; Lancee 2012), higher occupational status (e.g. Diehl and Granato 2018; Granato 2014), and higher earnings in the host country (e.g. Akresh 2007; Clark and Drinkwater 2008; Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich 2009). By contrast, the influence of migrants' religiosity on host country labor market integration is contested. Whereas Koopmans (2016) explains religious differences in migrants' labor market participation among European Muslims by other sociocultural factors like host country language proficiency and liberal gender values, other studies identify persisting penalties for Muslims across different immigration contexts (e.g. Blommaert and Spierings 2019; Connor and Koenig 2013; Connor and Koenig 2015; for a literature review see Nazari 2024; Shibuya, Fong and Shu 2020).

1.2.2. Migration and the acquisition of host country language skills

Host country language skills are an important prerequisite not only for participation in the host country's labor market (e.g. Chiswick and Miller 2010; Dustmann and van Soest 2002; Kanas and Kosyakova 2023) but also in the social life of the host society (e.g. Damstra and Tillie 2016; Martinovic, van Tubergen and Maas 2015; Schacht, Kristen and Tucci 2014). Exposure, efficiency, and incentives are crucial determinants for migrants' host country language acquisition (Chiswick and Miller 1995; Chiswick and Miller 2001). Exposure means the use of the host country language by others in the migrant's presence or the use by the migrated person herself. Efficiency refers to the individual ability to acquire host country language skills and incentives comprise economic benefits from these skills which can be more expected the higher the host country language skills are.

Factors for migrants' successful acquisition and use of the language spoken in the host country are empirically well studied. Previous research often differentiates between pre- and post-migration conditions for second language acquisition (e.g. Espenshade and Fu 1997; Kristen, Mühlau and Schacht 2016). Pre-migration conditions thereby relate to unswayable circumstances, like being born in a country where the host country language is also spoken, and to more or less deliberate investments before migration, like participation in language courses or previous stays in the host country. Post-migration conditions are, for example, naturalization or the linguistic environment of the family and household. In terms of efficiency, higher educated migrants tend to be more proficient in their host country's language and learn the language faster (e.g. Chiswick and Miller 2001; Kristen et al. 2016). Furthermore, migrants who arrive in their host country at a younger age and who have spent more time in the host country (Espenshade and Fu 1997) as well as women have more host country language skills

(Kristen et al. 2016). Migrants with social ties to natives and migrants with a long-term commitment to the host society, for example with settlement intentions, also learn the language more easily (e.g. Dustmann 1999; Espenshade and Fu 1997; van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2009). Religiosity can thus pose an obstacle to host country language acquisition, at least among Muslims in Germany (Hans 2010).

Migration motives, though, are less important for migrants' host country language acquisition than the selectivity of migrant groups with specific motives according to certain characteristics (Spörlein et al. 2020; Spörlein and Kristen 2019). As their numbers were growing since the recent wars in the Middle East, refugees' host country language acquisition has been analyzed in several countries (e.g. Bernhard 2023; Kosyakova, Kristen and Spörlein 2022; Kosyakova and Laible 2024; Kristen and Seuring 2021). Kosyakova et al. (2022) and Kristen and Seuring (2021) find that refugees' and other new immigrants' host country language acquisition largely follows similar patterns. However, refugees exhibit less premigration exposure and benefit more from structured learning offers than other new immigrants who are more exposed to the host country language in everyday settings. Concerning the effects of intentions to stay and long-term commitments, such as identification with the host country, previous studies among refugees lead to contradicting results. Kosyakova et al. (2022), for instance, detect a positive effect of refugees' intention to stay permanently on their language proficiency, whereas Kristen and Seuring (2021) assert a negative relationship. A reason for this discrepancy might be the uncertainty of actual (exogeneous) prospects of permanent residency which does not apply equally to all refugees (Dustmann 2000).

1.2.3. Migration and the establishment of social ties to natives

Social ties to natives can be considered as a sign of acceptance by the host society (Pettigrew 1998). They can facilitate migrants' labor market integration (Kalter and Kogan 2014; Kanas, van Tubergen and van der Lippe 2011) as well as their acquisition of host country language skills (Chiswick and Miller 2001) and identification with the host country (Becker 2022; Vroome, Verkuyten and Martinovic 2014a). In sociological research, migrants' social integration in the host country is explored in various ways. There is a large body of sociological literature on migrants' networks (e.g. Dekker and Engbersen 2014; Gërxhani and Kosyakova 2020; Vacca et al. 2018), neighborhoods (e.g. Lancee and Dronkers 2011; Schaeffer 2013; Vervoort, Flap and Dagevos 2011) as well as frequency and intensity of personal contact to natives (e.g. Haug 2003; Kalmijn 1998; Martinovic 2013; Martinovic et al. 2015). Granovetter's (1973) theory of strong and weak ties is essential for examining migrants' social integration in

the host society. He describes the strength of a tie between two individuals to be "a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie" (Granovetter 1973: 1361). Accordingly, migrants' contacts to natives can take various forms which range from casual contacts to ethnic intermarriage. Martinovic (2010: 10) groups the factors that determine migrants' social ties to natives into preferences (towards specific others), opportunities (to meet other individuals) and (the encouragement or discouragement of such interactions by) third parties (see also for example Kalmijn 1998).

So far, empirical research states several factors which determine migrants' individual social ties to natives. Migration motives can indicate the preferences for specific contact or opportunities to get in contact with natives. Seibel (2020) finds, for example, that Turkish women who migrated to Germany for family reasons have less contact to natives than women who came for other reasons. However, this could also be an effect of third parties – the family members – who do not approve of having ties to natives. Moreover, migrants who come to work and therefore are active on the labor market establish more ties to natives than migrants holding other motives (Martinovic 2013; Martinovic et al. 2015; Martinovic, van Tubergen and Maas 2009b). Settlement intentions can also serve as an indicator for the willingness to invest in contacts to natives (Martinovic et al. 2015; Wachter and Fleischmann 2018). Likewise, in terms of preferences, homophily is a key concept which implies that cultural characteristics matching with the host society, such as religiosity, are relevant for migrants' social contacts to natives. Religiosity, for example, can also offer or reduce opportunities to get in contact with natives (e.g. Beek and Fleischmann 2020; Maliepaard and Schacht 2018). Opportunities to establish contacts to natives rise for higher-educated migrants (e.g. Martinovic et al. 2009b; Martinovic 2010; Martinovic 2013) and migrants who speak the host country language (e.g. Martinovic et al. 2009b; Martinovic et al. 2015; Schacht et al. 2014; Vervoort et al. 2011) as well as for migrants with a longer duration of stay in the host country (Martinovic 2010; Martinovic, van Tubergen and Maas 2009a) and a younger age at immigration (Martinovic et al. 2009b; Martinovic 2010; Martinovic 2013). Furthermore, existing ties to the host society facilitate the establishment of even more contacts (Martinovic, van Tubergen and Maas 2011), whereas an ethnic social environment reduces opportunities to get in contact with natives (Martinovic et al. 2009b; Martinovic 2010; Schacht et al. 2014).

1.2.4. Migration and identification with the host country

Ethnic identity can be conceptualized as varying degrees of identification with one's own and other groups and is essential to the self-concept of migrants (Phinney 1990). Angelini et al. (2015) show with data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) that identification with the host country positively influences the life satisfaction of immigrants. Many studies on migrants' identification with the host country rely on the Social Identity Theory proposed by the social psychologists Tajfel and Turner (1979). This theory argues that social identity consists of "those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging" (Tajfel and Turner 1979: 40). Further, it assumes that individuals strive for a positive self-concept. This positive self-concept can be accomplished by belonging to a certain group that is evaluated positively via favorable comparisons between the in-group and relevant out-groups. With regard to migrants, it can therefore be presumed that identification with the host country reflects a desire to become a full member of its society. Individuals may allocate themselves to more than one category (Phinney and Ong 2007). Feelings of belonging to different groups at the same time are, contrary to former research, not mutually exclusive, (e.g. Berry et al. 2006; Suchowitz and Fleischmann 2023; Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012a; Zimmermann, Zimmermann and Constant 2007). In such cases sociological researchers often speak of multiple identities (e.g. Martiny et al. 2017).

Unlike other dimensions of sociocultural integration, identification with the host country serves as a unique indicator of integration because it does not require particular skills or resources. It is a purely personal decision (cf. Brewer 1991) that neither depends on specific opportunities nor on the permission from the majority and only reflects individual feelings of closeness. Identity is complex as it may be associated with different meanings by each individual (Phinney and Ong 2007). Thus, a considerable amount of qualitative studies explores the identities of different migrant groups (e.g. Colic-Peisker 2010; Favell 2008a; Remennick 2005). Nevertheless, quantitative studies as well identify several factors that affect migrants' identification with the host country. The understanding of integration as a stepwise process which is finally completed by host country identification (Esser 2001; Nauck 2001) suggests that all other integration dimensions – structural, cultural, and social – promote host country identification. Having a job or training place, proficiency in the language spoken in the host country as well as social contacts to natives allow for participation in the host society. Thus, migrants get more familiar with host-country members, habits, and culture which in turn

facilitates identification with the host country (Diehl, Fischer-Neumann and Mühlau 2016a; Ono 2002; Vroome et al. 2014a; Walters, Phythian and Anisef 2007; Zimmermann et al. 2007).

Concerning migration intentions and behavior, the longer migrants intend to stay in the host country (Di Saint Pierre, Martinovic and Vroome 2015; Toruńczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska 2020) and the longer migrants actually stay in the host country (Diehl et al. 2016a; Vroome et al. 2014a; Walters et al. 2007) the more they identify with it. Naturalized and enfranchised migrants also identify more with the host country (Fick 2016; Ono 2002; Schneider et al. 2012; Walters et al. 2007). With regard to the social environment of migrants, having native friends promotes identification with the host country (e.g. Becker 2022; Fleischmann and Phalet 2018; Schulz and Leszczensky 2015). While Zimmermann et al. (2007), for example, find no direct effects of migrants' level of education on their identification, host country language skills are positively associated with migrants' host country identification (e.g. Hochman and Davidov 2014; Vroome et al. 2014a). Thus, individual religiosity as a cultural migrant characteristic can entail negative effects on migrants' identification with the host country – at least for Muslims (e.g. Maxwell and Bleich 2014; Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012a; Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012b).

Another important, but inhibiting, factor on migrants' host country identification in the literature is perceived discrimination. Several studies indicate that in-group norms or experienced rejection by the host society decrease migrants' identification with the host country (e.g. Diehl et al. 2016a; Holtz, Dahinden and Wagner 2013; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Solheim 2009; Martinovic and Verkuyten 2012). According to the literature on the 'integration paradox', this relationship is even stronger for higher educated migrants because they are more sensitive towards discrimination and negative experiences within the host society and therefore identify less with the host country (e.g. Genoni and Ruedin 2024; Geurts, Davids and Spierings 2021; Teije, Coenders and Verkuyten 2013; Vroome, Martinovic and Verkuyten 2014b). However, Careja and Schmidt-Catran (2018) as well as van Maaren and van de Rijt (2020) cannot find empirical evidence for the integration paradox. Higher educated migrants in their studies experience less discrimination and hence identify more with their host country.

1.3. Research gap

A glance at the existing literature on migration and migrants' integration shows that, in fact, there are numerous studies on the influence of the migration process or of migrants' individual characteristics on their host country integration. However, previous research suffers from several shortcomings which will be addressed in this dissertation.

First, the influence of migration aspects such as duration of stay or intention to stay in the host country has been theorized more extensively for labor market integration than for sociocultural integration dimensions. Especially, the role of intentions and their relevance for investments in host country integration is discussed in the literature on temporary labor migration (e.g. Dustmann 1999; Dustmann, Bentolila and Faini 1996). As language skills are a central requirement for economic integration in the host country (Chiswick and Miller 2010), several studies address the effects of intentions to stay and duration of stay for the acquisition of host country language skills (e.g. Chiswick 1991; Espenshade and Fu 1997; van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2009). Yet, the impact of intentions to stay and duration of stay on social contacts to natives or identification with the host country are understudied although these integration dimensions depend more on individual decisions and behavior and less on external (labor market) conditions. Intentions to stay and duration of stay are indeed considered in existing studies on social and identificational integration but often as standard 'control variables' and less as key independent factors.

Second, when determinants of sociocultural integration are analyzed, previous studies mostly focus on single dimensions of sociocultural integration (e.g. for language skills: Chiswick and Miller 2001; for identification: Diehl et al. 2016a; for social contacts: Martinovic 2010). As a consequence, these studies are clearly laid out but do not allow for the comparison of mechanisms for different integration dimensions. One of the few studies that examine more dimensions of sociocultural integration simultaneously is the study by Wachter and Fleischmann (2018) among newly arrived EU-immigrants in the Netherlands. It investigates the relationship between migrants' settlement intentions and Dutch language proficiency, contact to natives, as well as Dutch media consumption. Likewise, also for the Netherlands, Beek and Fleischmann (2020) examine the influence of Turkish and Moroccan migrants' religion on several aspects of their integration, such as their socioeconomic participation, Dutch friendships, and national identification. So far, a similar study for the German context does not exist.

Third, when the influence of characteristics of the migration process or of migrants' attributes on their sociocultural host country integration is studied, previous research considers various of these factors altogether in the same models but separately. Thus, to measure the influence of more complex migration patterns some scholars have labeled certain combinations of migration characteristics and migrants' attributes as 'migrant types' and analyzed their integration (e.g. Luthra et al. 2018; Luthra and Platt 2016 and see section 2.1). Yet, to the author's knowledge

there are no studies which test whether these migrant types have more explanatory power when it comes to predicting migrants' sociocultural integration than the single variables that have been used to identify them.

Fourth, while several existing studies argue that migrants deliberately invest in their host country integration (e.g. Akresh 2007; Chiswick 1978; Duleep and Regets 1999), the (neo-) assimilationist idea of migrants' integration proceeding successively over time is still prevailing in sociological migration literature. So far, there is no study which contrasts these two perspectives on migrants' integration on a sound theoretical basis and systematically analyzes which of these two mechanisms is in fact more pivotal.

Fifth, most of the research on migrants' host country integration is based on cross-sectional data (Teltemann and Schunck 2016). However, the analysis of migrants' integration employing cross-sectional data can only provide evidence on the level of integration at a single point in the integration process. So, it is not possible to draw conclusions on the influence of migration patterns on long-term sociocultural integration trajectories. Furthermore, causal effects of (retrospectively captured) pre-migration characteristics on post-migration integration (cf. Giesselmann and Windzio 2012; Schunck 2014) are difficult to identify within cross-sectional data as these effects cannot be disentangled from the consequences of post-migration dynamics.

Moreover, previous research lacks not only studies of longitudinal data that were collected among the same individuals at different stages of the integration process, but also research on longitudinal data that were collected among different arrival cohorts of the same migrant groups. Such data are required to observe how changing migration patterns within migrant groups influence their host country integration over time.

Sixth, as there are only few datasets available on recent immigrants, the research literature on migrants' host country integration is dominated by studies on migrants who are already living in the host country for a longer time. This is problematic when it comes to the analysis of effects of migration patterns on migrants' integration as the impact of migration-related aspects on migrants' integration may be stronger the less time has passed between the migration event and the time of the integration measurement. Furthermore, immigrant integration can be a lifelong endeavor but the time shortly after arrival in the host country represents a particularly critical period (Esser 2009) in which migrants are willing to make the largest investments in their integration (see for example Akresh 2007; Chiswick 1978; Chiswick and Miller 1994; Kosyakova et al. 2022). This early phase of host country integration is also supposed to be less

influenced by experiences in the host country, like discrimination or economic success, than later phases of the integration process.

1.4. Outline of this dissertation

Against this backdrop, each of the three papers of this cumulative dissertation uses a different approach to scrutinize the impact of migration on migrants' sociocultural integration: The first paper introduces two migrant types – theoretical concepts used by scholars to describe migrants who follow specific migration patterns – that are prominent in the sociological literature and examines their potential for empirically explaining migrants' integration trajectories. The second paper contrasts the (neo-)classical assimilationist notion of integration as a more or less automatic process with the rational choice approach, in which integration depends primarily on migrants' deliberate investments resulting from their intentions to stay in the host country. The third paper analyzes how a change in cohort composition regarding migration motives, education and individual religiosity among Turkish migrants in Germany affects sociocultural integration outcomes.

The theoretical frameworks of these three approaches will be explained and related existing empirical findings will be summarized in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. In view of the research gap described in these sections and in section 1.2.5, I will depict the aims of my dissertation in Chapter 3. To answer the question on the influence of migration patterns on integration processes, specific data are necessary. Early integration outcomes are the least affected by the conditions and migrants' experiences in the host country, like integration support or discrimination, and the most influenced by the migration processes that led them into the host country. Hence, data of newly arrived immigrants allow me to look at migrants' integration when their investments are the highest and their integration outcomes are not yet driven by the surrounding conditions in the host country. In measuring migrants' integration, it is also important to have a "benchmark" (OECD/ EU 2018: 19). Thus, for this doctoral dissertation I will use two data sets on newly arrived immigrants in Germany that contain information on several migrant groups at different points in time. So, I can compare these groups with each other and over time. Chapter 4 gives some background information on Germany's history as an immigration country in general and on the immigrant groups under study in particular. The data sets used in the analyses are described in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, I will provide brief overviews over the three journal articles which constitute my cumulative dissertation and expound my own contribution to these articles. The three articles follow in Chapters 7 to 9. Finally, I will

summarize the empirical findings of all three articles in Chapter 10. Chapter 11 will then provide a concluding discussion and implications for policymakers.[1]

[1] It should be noted that this dissertation is not written in a standard book format but rather represents a collection of articles. As all of the articles share the same superordinate research topic, there is some inevitable degree of overlap between the chapters, especially with regards to the theoretical sections.

2. Three approaches to study the impact of migration patterns on migrants' sociocultural integration: Theoretical framework and state of the art

As shown in section 1.2, the influence of single aspects of individual migration processes, such as age of arrival or intentions to stay in the host country, on migrants' sociocultural integration has been well studied, at least for some dimensions of integration. Yet, to figure out how the diversification of migration processes may have changed the pervasive understanding of immigrant integration as the inevitable endpoint of the migration process, more complex migration patterns have to be considered when analyzing migrants' integration. So far, research on how migration shapes migrants' integration particularly lacks in studies on the impact of such more complex patterns. In the following sections, I will present three different theoretical approaches to analyze the impact of complex migration patterns on migrants' sociocultural integration: (1) conceptualizing migration patterns as migrant types, (2) taking into account different integration mechanisms, and (3) considering the effects of migrant group composition.

2.1. Migrant types

Some scholars try to depict complex migration patterns by identifying different migrant types (e.g. Drinkwater and Garapich 2015; Luthra et al. 2018; Luthra and Platt 2016). Migrants who have a combination of specific attributes in common are thereby assigned to certain "migrant types" (cf. Lazarsfeld 1937). The methods used for the identification of such types range from qualitative methods like in-depth interviews to quantitative methods such as Latent Class Analysis (LCA) and Cluster Analysis. Also, the migrants' attributes that are used for the characterization of certain types vary considerably over previous analyses. Furthermore, while numerous studies provide detailed descriptions of certain migrant types, only few analyses additionally try to predict the integration outcomes of migrant types.

There is a substantial number of qualitative studies showcasing empirical details on migrant types and arguing that migrants' characteristics, motives, experiences, and behavior have diversified. In their early qualitative study based on face-to-face interviews, Düvell and Vogel (2006), for example, use migrants' intended duration of stay as well as their ties to their family and country of origin to deduce *Migrants oriented on returning*, *Transnational migrants*, *Settlement migrants* and *Global nomads*. Grabowska-Lusinska (2013) develops a typology including *Circular migrants*, *Liquid migrants*, *Migrants/emigrants*, and *Emigrants* from an analysis of several data sources on Polish migration across the EU. For instance, Nijhoff and Gordano (2017) provide an informative overview over the state of the art in research on migrant

types and, employing also qualitative data on Spanish and Polish migrants in London and The Hague, find several patterns from types that have already been characterized in former studies.

Different quantitative studies use different methods and also come to different migrant typologies. Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2007), for example, detect *Storks*, *Hamsters*, *Searchers*, and *Stayers* from migrants' duration of stay, settlement plans, and transnational networks in their mixed-methods study among Polish migrants in London. In a later mixed-methods study, Drinkwater and Garapich (2015) only use the intended length of stay in the host country at arrival and at the time of the interview to condense so-called *Undecided migrants* and *Changers*. By contrast, Engbersen et al. (2013) draw solely on attachments to the destination and to the home country in order to build four migrant types called *Circular/seasonal*, *Transnational*, *Settlement*, and *Footloose* migrants. The most recent studies explicitly on migrant types stem from Luthra and Platt (2016) on Polish migrants and Luthra et al. (2018) on Pakistani migrants in the UK. Both use LCA to identify migrant types. The former draws on several characteristics of migrant students like age, educational attainment, host country language skills, and engagement as well as social integration and intentions to stay to find *Middle-class middling*, *Networked middling*, and *Elite* migrants. The latter analyzes Polish migrants in different Western European countries and comes, also by applying LCA on migration motivation and duration of stay, to *Traditional circular migrants*, *Short-term accumulators*, *Committed expats*, *Living and learning*, *Followers*, and *Adventurers*. Speaking of migration patterns instead of types but describing *Traditional labor migrants*, *Career seekers*, and *Family settlers* Becker and Teney (2020) likewise employ LCA to distinguish different types of high-skilled intra-European migrants in Germany within a mixed-methods approach.

Previous studies also differ in the analyses of the migrant types they identified: Eade et al. (2007), for instance, solely conduct descriptive analyses of their migrant types by investigating, for example, how migrants belonging to each type perceive their own social class position. However, Drinkwater and Garapich (2015) as well as Engbersen et al. (2013) employ multivariate statistics to figure out how belonging to a certain migrant type is shaped by migrants' (socioeconomic) characteristics. So, the work by Luthra and Platt (2016) and Luthra et al. (2018) remains unique in predicting the integration trajectories of migrant types. While Luthra and Platt (2016) discover more differences in structural integration trajectories, but less differences with regard to sociocultural integration among students' migrant types, Luthra et al.

(2018) show that circular and short-term migrant types are more likely to be in employment than other (more permanent) types but less socioculturally integrated.

The variety of migrant types and their existing empirical evidence shows that they often result from explorative analyses of different characteristics that are not clearly derived from theory. There is even research literature referring to certain migrant types without explicitly testing them (e.g. Favell 2008c; Ganga 2006; White 2014). Explorative studies for the identification of migrant types are useful in specific research contexts. However, an empirical test of migrant types which are already described and extensively employed in sociological and economic theory will give more insights on the empirical prevalence of these types across different migrant groups and migration contexts. If these types do exist, the question arises, whether different types follow different integration trajectories. Yet, as shown in the previous paragraph, with the two studies from Luthra and Platt (2016) and Luthra et al. (2018) empirical evidence for this question exists only for migrants in the UK. Therefore, I will introduce two concepts of migrant types that feature prominently in the immigration literature – settlers and target-earners – and an additional type which represents a specific form of the target-earner. As migration scholars relate settlers and target-earners strongly to certain integration outcomes I will further highlight which integration trajectories can be expected for each type.

2.1.1. Settlers

The idea of migrants as settlers comes from Neoclassical Economics (NE). In his seminal work on the costs and returns of human migration Sjaastad (1962:: 83) proposes to "treat migration as an investment […] which has costs and which also renders returns". Following this reasoning, Todaro (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970) build a theory on migration within less developed countries which argues that wage differentials boost migration from low-wage rural regions to high-wage urban regions. Transferring this theory to the context of international migration, this means that migrants move from low-wage countries to countries with higher wages to maximize their lifetime earnings and increase their standard of living. Returning to their home country is only considered if the wage differential between home and host country decreases or if the employment situation prevents them from reaching their income goal. In this sense, return migration is a failure, not a success.

Regarding their characterizing attributes, settlers have, as their name suggests, an intention to stay permanently in the host country. As a permanent separation from the family would hold significant psychic costs of migration (Sjaastad 1962), settlers tend to migrate together with

their families (e.g. Constant and Massey 2003; Ette, Heß and Sauer 2016). Consequently, there is no need for them to send remittances back home (Constant and Massey 2002; Constant and Massey 2003; Dustmann and Mestres 2010). Furthermore, settlers are expected to lack previous migration experience to the host country because ideally, they migrate once but well prepared to the host country to stay there for good.

Concerning their sociocultural host country integration, settlers are supposed to undertake previous investments because they can benefit from these in the long run (Chiswick and Miller 2001). Therefore, they are not only positively self-selected in terms of their pre-migration human capital (Chiswick 1999). In her qualitative research on Lithuanian and Polish labor migrants in the UK, Parutis (2014) demonstrates that migrants who intend to stay in the UK are more willing to invest in their cultural capital after migration in order to get jobs which are better paid and correspond more to their own perceptions. Existing studies further show that migrants who intend to stay permanently in the host country learn the host country's language faster than migrants who plan to return to their home country (e.g. Dustmann 1999; Wachter and Fleischmann 2018) and have better host country language skills in general (Ette et al. 2016). Moreover, settlers are ascribed by classical and neo-assimilation theory to ultimately assimilate entirely to the host society in cultural and identificational terms (Alba and Nee 1997; Gordon 1964).

2.1.2. Target-earners

Target-earners, in contrast to settlers, are described by the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) as migrants who return to their home country after having attained, as the name suggests, specific earning targets in the host country (Constant and Massey 2002; Dustmann and Mestres 2010). Piore (1979) introduced this migrant type to the literature in the context of the Dual Labor Market Theory. According to this theory, labor markets in advanced industrialized economies comprise a primary and a secondary sector. Whereas the former is characterized by “skilled, stable, and well-paid jobs”, the latter comes up with “unstable, unskilled, poorly remunerated and often ‘3-D’ (dirty, dangerous and demanding) jobs” (Abreu 2012: 54). Following Piore (1979), natives prefer jobs in the primary sector while migrants, especially those who are target-earners planning to stay only temporarily and expecting better economic opportunities than in their home country, take up a significant share of positions in the secondary sector. Target-earners migrate because they experience relative deprivation in their country of origin (Stark and Yitzhaki 1988). Thus, target-earners take “employment of any kind” because they strive for immediate earnings rather than career progression (Dickey et al.

2018: 29). Initially, target-earners were depicted as single family members (Stark 1991) who have been sent by their family from rural to urban areas within one country (Stark 1984). Their task was to earn money in order to overcome times of crop failures, price fluctuations or unemployment in their original area of residence. This money, minus their cost of living in the host country, had to be remitted to their family back home (Stark 1991). Once they had met their target, they returned home (Constant and Massey 2002; Dustmann and Mestres 2010); otherwise they had to stay in their destination until they achieved their income goal and, unlike settlers, were considered to be unsuccessful because of their extended stay (Piore 1979).

Today, seasonal workers would be typical target-earners but so would other migrants who come to work in another country where they can earn more money than at home, or at least where the money earnt is worth more in their home country than what they would have earnt there. As migration, at least within Europe, got cheaper and easier over the last decades, target-earners tend to follow not only the 'classic' guest worker model of staying abroad to return after a certain period of time but also to commute on a regular basis or to migrate consecutively to different countries (e.g. Constant and Zimmermann 2011; Engbersen and Snel 2013; Favell 2008a). Hence, in contrast to settlers, target-earners tend to have more previous migration experience. Still, this migration behavior implies migrating without the family and remitting money to the family back in the home country. However, studying recent labor migrants from different countries to Germany, Ette et al. (2016) identify different patterns by region of origin: Migrants from Western industrialized countries have a significant lower probability to settle permanently if their partner lives abroad, while the settlement intentions of migrants from non-European countries remain unaffected by the partner living abroad.

Proponents of NELM also argue that the temporary nature of target-earners' migration indicates their persisting orientation towards their country of origin with regard to their social status (Piore 1979). Studying Polish migrants in London, Eade et al. (2007) show that the migrant types which they call *Storks* and *Hamsters* and which resemble target-earners regard their social and economic status primarily with reference to the situation in their home country. Parutis (2014: 48) further indicates that Polish and Lithuanian migrants with the intention to return after earning money in the UK focus on jobs with "immediate financial returns without the need to invest in skills" (see also Adda et al. 2022). So, target-earners are less likely to invest in host country specific human, social, or cultural capital (Dustmann 1999; Kalter and Kogan 2003; Massey 1986). Their sociocultural integration is supposed to be limited to areas that are relevant for reaching their earning targets. Moreover, working conditions themselves, like working in

the low-wage sector, can be detrimental to target-earners' host country language acquisition and their contacts to natives (cf. Carneiro, Fortuna and Varejão 2012; Ciupijus 2011; MacKenzie and Forde 2009).

2.1.3. Educational target-earners

The concept of target-earners can be extended by another type that is still missing in the theoretical literature on migrant types but seems to gain more relevance in empirical observations. In our increasingly international society, a growing number of (younger) individuals migrates to other countries to gain educational degrees or professional experience abroad (OECD 2020; OECD 2022). Motivations therefor are, for example, the acquisition of skills that are unobtainable in the home country (King and Sondhi 2018), expanding knowledge of other societies or the improvement of foreign language skills, particulary English (Sánchez, Fornerino and Zhang 2006; Wu 2014). While some of these migrants by doing so take the first step to live abroad in the long-term, others try to improve their employability on the home country's labor market (Crossman and Clarke 2009; Wintre et al. 2015). I will call the latter group educational target-earners.

Like 'classic' target-earners, educational target-earners also migrate only short-term and without their family. Though, as their earning target is not monetary but in the form of knowledge and skills educational target-earners do not send remittances back home. Educational target-earners, such as international students, tend to be relatively young, which implies that they have less prior migration experience. As moving on to further countries has been evinced as migration behavior of highly-skilled migrants (Colic-Peisker 2010; Luthra and Platt 2016), educational target-earners can also be expected to intend more often to move to another country.

This group may also differ from classical assimilation pathways (cf. Favell 2008a). At least for highly-skilled migrants, there is an emerging body of integration literature (e.g. Diehl and Trittler 2024; Föbker et al. 2016; van Bochove and Engbersen 2013). Investment in host country language skills often is required to attend educational institutions and the attendance of such institutions also provides the opportunity to socialize with natives (Schachner et al. 2015). Regarding the identification of educational target-earners, research on migrants who may belong to this group indicates that these are rather skeptical towards their host country (Diehl and Trittler 2024) and show bi-national or cosmopolitan orientations than identify with a single country (Bürgin and Erzene-Bürgin 2013; Geurts et al. 2021; Guveli et al. 2016).

2.1.4. The integration of migrant types

The idea of integration proceeding in a different vein for each individual is not new to migration research (cf. Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993), but (neo-) assimilation theory's assumption about a successive integration process over time is still a predominant claim in the literature (Drouhot and Nee 2019). However, the concepts of fundamentally different types of migrants, like settlers and target-earners, as well as of corresponding different integration trajectories as put forward by the theory of segmented assimilation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993) challenge this prediction. So far, only few studies try to analyze the (sociocultural) integration of migrant types (Luthra et al. 2018; Luthra and Platt 2016). Rather, some studies even use aspects of migrants' integration as additional factors for the classification of migrant types (Engbersen et al. 2013; Luthra and Platt 2016). Regarding settlers and target-earners, the sociocultural integration of the former should proceed in line with the assumptions of classical and neo-assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 1997; Gordon 1964), while this cannot be expected for (educational) target-earners.

2.2. Integration mechanisms: (Neo-)assimilation theory vs. theory of planned behavior

In the migration-integration nexus, the main drivers for integration are of special interest. According to (neo-)assimilation theory, time spent in the host country is key for successful integration, whereas individual effort to integrate matters less. This contradicts the theory of planned behavior which supports, from a rational choice perspective, the idea of migration as a well-considered act that is based on individual intentions.

2.2.1. (Neo-)assimilation theory: Time since migration

The (neo-)classical assimilation theorists Richard Alba and Victor Nee (1997: 827) describe assimilation "as a social process that occurs spontaneously and often unintendedly in the course of interaction between majority and minority groups." Thereby, they also refer to Robert Park's (1950: 138) early definition of assimilation in which he states that it is "apparently progressive and irreversible". This understanding of integration implicates that the mutual adjustment of migrants and host society simply happens over time inevitably without individuals putting particular effort into this process. Accordingly, classic assimilation theory emphasizes the importance of time migrants spend in the host country as units of exposure to host country culture (cf. Chiswick and Miller 1995). The approach is based on the idea that with migrants' exposure to the host country's society, habits, and language skills their integration levels increase. Not only struggles the concept of assimilation with a negative connotation (Glazer

1993), it also largely disregards migrants' potential active role in the integration process concerning their individual motivation and strategies for integration.

In empirical studies on migrants' integration, the time they have spent in the host country or time since migration is frequently introduced in statistical models as a control variable. However, a theoretical discussion of the mechanisms that link integration outcomes to the duration of stay is often missing, perhaps because the idea of assimilation over time is taken for granted. One exception is the literature on the acquisition of host country language skills, where time spent in the host country is argued as an indicator for migrants' exposure to the host country language and therefore as a factor that promotes integration (e.g. Chiswick and Miller 1995; Chiswick and Miller 2001). There is ample empirical evidence for this mechanism across different migration contexts (e.g. Akresh, Massey and Frank 2014; Espenshade and Fu 1997; Geurts and Lubbers 2017; Kristen and Seuring 2021). Regarding other dimensions of integration, the reasoning is also that of increasing opportunities to integrate with a longer duration of stay. At least for the United States, this rationale is also supported by studies on labor market integration (Akresh 2008; Chiswick 1978) and religious activity (Connor 2009). Some studies on migrants' life satisfaction also rely on the idea of migrants' assimilation over time by arguing that with the increase of cultural assimilation over time migrants' satisfaction in the host country should also increase (Angelini et al. 2015; Safi 2010)

2.2.2. Theory of planned behavior: Individual motivation

In his book on assimilation, Milton Gordon (1964) argues that cultural integration is likely to happen first, but may not necessarily be followed by other dimensions of assimilation. Consequently, successful assimilation may also depend on other factors than only time spent in the host country. Based on the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen 1985; Ajzen 1991), migrants' further intentions to stay may play a crucial role for their integration in the host country. This theory does not particularly refer to immigrants' integration, but to human behavior in general when assuming that intentions "capture the motivational factors that influence a behavior; they are indications of how much of an effort [people] are planning to exert, in order to perform the behavior" (Ajzen 1991: 181).

Applying this reasoning to migrants' integration, their early plans to stay in the host country (or not) represent a pivotal intention with implications for subsequent investments in host country-specific resources (based on Merton 1984; Roberts 1995). Migrants who intend to stay long-term in the host country, for example, foresee reaping the benefits of their investments in

integration for a long time (Duleep and Regets 1999). By contrast, migrants who intend to stay in the host country for a short time only, because they plan to return to their home country or want to move on to another country, can only benefit from their investments for a short period respectively. Labor market integration is directly related to earning money and making a living and therefore comparably important for migrants who intend to stay in the host country as well as for those who do not. However, as having native friends, speaking the host country's language, and identifying with the host country is not as essential as earning money (Piore 1979), sociocultural integration may be more subject to migrants' individual intentions and thus, willingness to invest.

With respect to language skills, Espenshade and Fu (1997) show, for example, that migrants with long-term commitments to the U.S., such as owning a home, bringing immediate relatives with them, or obtaining U.S. citizenship, are more proficient in English than migrants without these commitments. The findings by Dustmann (1999) for the German context and Kristen et al. (2016) for several European countries also indicate that migrants invest more in their host country language skills the longer they intend to stay. Geurts and Lubbers (2017) choose a dynamic approach by studying how changes in migrants' intention to stay affect their host country language acquisition. Their findings support previous research demonstrating that changes from temporary to more permanent intentions are reflected by improvement of host country language skills, while changes from permanent to more temporary intentions impede the host country language acquisition. For refugees in the Netherlands, van Tubergen (2010) also finds a positive relationship between intentions to stay permanently and Dutch skills while Kristen and Seuring (2021) identify the contrary effect for refugees in Germany.

Empirical studies on the relationship between intentions to stay and social ties to natives are all in all scarce but research on immigrants in Germany (Martinovic et al. 2015) as well as in the Netherlands (Wachter and Fleischmann 2018) supports the assumption that migrants who intend to stay in the host country build more ties to natives. Similarly, the few available studies on migrants' intention to stay and identification with the host country also underpin the integration promoting effect of migrants' permanent settlement intentions (Di Saint Pierre et al. 2015; Toruńczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska 2020). The study by Wachter and Fleischmann (2018) so far, remains singular in analyzing the effect of migrants' intention to stay on several aspects of integration simultaneously: host country language proficiency and media consumption, contact to natives, as well as working hours per week. All other studies focus on single dimensions of

integration and therefore make it impossible to compare the influence of migrants' intentions to stay across dimensions.

Haas et al. (2020: 42) describe migrants' intentions to stay in the host country as "poor predictors of actual behavior" because plans from the time of departure in the home country might be modified after migration (cf. Massey 1986; White and Ryan 2008). Certainly, from a methodological perspective, analyzing the impact of intentions at the time of departure on later integration outcomes may not lead to valid results. Still, investigating how migrants' initial intentions to stay influence their early integration may yield more valid empirical evidence on migrants' active role in their integration process, especially if the assimilation hypothesis, which is challenged by this perspective, is also considered systematically.

2.3. Migrants' pre-migration characteristics: Change in migrant group composition

When analyzing the impact of migration patterns on integration outcomes, not only migrants' decisions and behaviors during the migration process are relevant but also the decision to migrate in the first place. In other words, for migrants' integration it is not only important why they migrate and how long they intend to stay in the host country et cetera, the individual prerequisites for their integration also matter. Knowing the starting conditions of migrants' integration makes it easier to identify chances and challenges of their integration process so that measures can be taken to facilitate their integration. Particular sets of such prerequisites are often linked to certain migrant groups. Muslim migrants in Western Europe, for example, are regarded as facing considerable difficulties for their integration because Muslim religiosity is considered as conflicting with Christian culture and values (Glas 2023; Röder 2014; Verkuyten and Yildiz 2007), and they are likely to experience discrimination and rejection by majority groups (Holtz et al. 2013; McGinnity and Gijsberts 2016; Trittler 2019). However, in his study on immigrant labor market integration in the U.S., Borjas (1985) notes that the direction and inevitability of the labor market integration of certain migrant groups cannot be taken for granted as it is subject to changes in the cohort composition.

Studies on migrants' integration often focus on single groups of origin or compare different groups with each other. Depending on the receiving context, some groups from respective 'traditional' sending countries are studied frequently because of their long migration history to a receiving country or because the number of migrants from this group in a specific receiving context is high, for instance. Regarding immigration to the U.S., one of this 'traditional' groups are Mexican immigrants (e.g. Durand, Massey and Zenteno 2001; Massey 1986; Ono 2002;

Portes and Bach 1984; Wampler, Chávez and I Pedraza 2009). Concerning Germany, many studies refer to groups of origin with a guest worker background such as Polish or Turkish migrants (e.g. Diehl et al. 2016a; Diehl and Koenig 2013; Düvell and Vogel 2006; Lancee and Hartung 2012; Seibel 2020; Steinmann 2019). However, referring to the same groups of origin repeatedly over a long time span and applying or even presupposing certain prerequisites for their integration holds the pitfall of stereotyping these groups. In fact, the composition of these groups may change over time and thereby also their prerequisites for their integration. Concerning non-EU migrants to the EU, Diehl et al. (2016a: 161) argue that "recent migrant cohorts from 'traditional' migration countries differ strongly from established cohorts in terms of background, skill and life chances, as well as in the shifting contexts of reception".

To account for the change of migrant groups over time, scholars compare different arrival cohorts that belong to the same group of origin. With regard to migrants in Germany, several cohort comparisons investigate migrants' labor market integration (e.g. Berbée and Stuhler 2023; Granato 2014; Gundel and Peters 2007; Höhne 2016). Sprengholz et al. (2021), for example, use data from the German Microcensus to analyze the labor market performance of five arrival cohorts of non-German migrants from different countries ranging from 1964 to 2010. A recent cohort comparison of GSOEP data by Erman (2021) examines the fertility among female migrants from different countries who came to West Germany in three cohorts from 1955 until 2015. While Bijl et al. (2008) conducted a cohort comparison for several domains of migrants' integration in the Netherlands, to the author's knowledge there is no such study on migrants in Germany. In general, cohort comparisons require specific data which are not always easily available. Furthermore, the demands on the data are even higher if the aim is to measure the conditions for integration, since ideally cohort data on newly arrived immigrants are needed as the relevant information then is collected shortly after arrival and not retrospectively.

3. Aims of this dissertation

Against this backdrop, this cumulative doctoral dissertation aims to study how migration patterns influence the early sociocultural integration of newly arrived immigrants in Germany. I will analyze three dimensions of sociocultural integration – the acquisition of host country language skills, social contacts to natives, and identification with the host country – simultaneously to test whether there apply different mechanisms to different dimensions of integration. Further, sociocultural integration will be studied longitudinally at the individual and at the group level.

In the literature, various types of migrants are characterized in theory or derived from explorative studies. These types often link certain migrants' characteristics and behavior to specific integration outcomes – in most cases only theoretically, not empirically. So-called settlers and target-earners are largely developed in theory and prominent in the literature. Though, empirical evidence on their existence is scarce. Moreover, new trends in international migration suggest extending the concept of target-earners to educational target-earners. The existence of this type is also not yet sufficiently proven. Therefore, the first article of this dissertation investigates the empirical prevalence of settlers and (educational) target-earners and tests if these types add value to the explanation of migrants' early sociocultural integration trajectories.

The concept of assimilation over time still poses a scholarly paradigm in research on migrants' integration. However, it is challenged by the idea that migrants actively invest in their integration. While according to (neo-)classical assimilation theory time spent in the host country is crucial for migrants' integration, the theory of planned behavior suggests that migrants' integration in the host country strongly depends on their intentions to stay in the host country. Previous studies find that time spent in the host country as an indicator for exposure significantly boosts the host country language acquisition whereas there is less empirical evidence on the relevance of time for other dimensions of sociocultural integration. So far, only one study scrutinizes the influence of intentions to stay in the host country on several dimensions of integration (Wachter and Fleischmann 2018). While both time spent in the host country and intentions to stay, often serve as control variables in studies on migrants' integration, there is no study on the potentially conflicting relationship between these two perspectives so far. Hence, the second paper of this dissertation aims to test the concept of assimilation over time and the idea of migrants' deliberate investments in their integration simultaneously for several dimensions of sociocultural integration.

By comparing different cohorts of migrants, it is possible to observe the integration of migrants from the same group of origin who arrived in the host country at different times. This allows for the consideration of changes in group compositions due to changes in the origin and receiving contexts. In the German immigration context, Turkey represents a 'traditional' sending country of migrants (see Chapter 4) with the first larger immigration movement during the guest worker era in the early 1960s. The conditions of Turkish migration to Germany changed considerably over the past years which gives rise to the assumption that the group composition of newly arriving Turkish migrants to Germany has also changed. Thus, the leading question of the third research article of this dissertation is how the composition of two different cohorts of newly arrived Turkish migrants in Germany differs and whether changes in composition are reflected in different sociocultural integration outcomes.

4. The German case: Italians, Poles, Turks, and Syrians in Germany

Among all European countries, Germany is the destination country with the highest share of immigrant inflows (Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat and Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2024). Notwithstanding that Germany has a long history of immigration dating back to the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) (Oltmer and Hanewinkel 2021), policymakers officially acknowledged Germany as an immigration country not until the report of the Süssmuth-Kommission in 2001 (Unabhängige Kommission "Zuwanderung" 2001). From the mid 20st century to the labor recruitment stop in 1973 immigration to Germany was characterized by the inflow of guest workers from several South and Eastern European countries as well as Turkey and Morocco. These, mostly unskilled, labor migrants were recruited to do often strenuous and less paid work on a temporary basis. Contrary to the expectations of political actors, a considerable share of these guest workers did not return to their home countries but settled down in Germany together with their families. With the fall of the iron curtain in 1989, the number of Ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) and migrants who came to Germany as refugees from the former Soviet states, especially from the Balkan Wars, increased. Whereas migrants from Southern Europe enjoyed free movement within the EU early on, for migrants from Eastern European states which joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 this was not possible until 2011. With the civil war in Syria since 2011 and the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine since 2022 Germany again is an important destination for refugees from these countries.

4.1. Legal immigration conditions

In this dissertation I will focus on newly arrived migrants in Germany from four different countries: Italy, Poland, Turkey, and Syria. As origin groups of former guest workers, Turks and Italians have a long-standing immigration tradition to Germany. Turks, as non-EU immigrants, still rely on family reunification as an important migration channel to Germany and, besides work permits, the EU Blue Card or settlement permits after completing an academic degree or vocational training in Germany. Italians, as EU immigrants, enjoy free movement within the EU since 1958. Many Poles arrived in Germany as migrants after World War II or as *Aussiedler* from 1950 to the early 1990s. In 1990, Germany restricted the criteria to obtain *Aussiedler*-status with the *Aussiedleraufnahmegesetz* but granted limited access to the national labor market to Poles during the 1990s. Since 2011, seven years after Poland's accession to the EU, Poles have unrestricted access to the German labor market and can also move freely within the EU. This and the short geographic distance as well as low travel costs facilitate temporary and

circular migration between Poland and Germany (especially for temporary or seasonal employment and student mobility). Most of the Syrians entered in 2015 and 2016, along with a large number of co-ethnics. They are also non-EU immigrants and as refugees from a country without any other agreement on immigration to Germany, depend on immigration via asylum regulations.

4.2. Sociocultural integration context

Newcomers from Turkey and Poland find sizeable ethnic communities in Germany. Currently, Turks and Poles are the two largest immigrant groups in Germany counting 2.8 million and 2.2 million individuals with a migration background from these countries (Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat and Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2024). On the one hand, these groups' ethnic communities may provide supportive networks and organizations (cf. Easton-Calabria and Wood 2020; Svendsen, Nannestad and Svendsen 2008) to facilitate sociocultural integration, but on the other hand, they may reduce incentives to integrate into mainstream society (Chiswick and Miller 2001; cf. Crul, Schneider and Lelie 2012; Lazear 1999), for instance improving German language skills, or identifying with Germany. Another decisive factor for their sociocultural integration in Germany is their ethno-religious background. 88 per cent of the residents with a Turkish migration background in Germany identify as Muslims (Pfündel, Stichs and Tanis 2021) while 84 per cent of Poles are members of the catholic church (Hennig 2023). Some parts of Western societies associate Islam with religious fundamentalism and regard Muslim values as a cultural threat to Christianity (Helbling and Traunmüller 2018; Pickel and Yendell 2016; Rohmann, Florack and Piontkowski 2006). Kogan, Fong and Reitz (2020) summarize previous research indicating that migrants' affiliation with non-Western religions, including Islam, has more detrimental effects on their integration outcomes than affiliation with Western religions. According to Tillie et al. (2014), the media debate on Muslims in Germany is "relatively hard and negative". It is also shown that Turks in Germany perceive more discrimination than Poles (Diehl et al. 2016a) with negative consequences for their integration trajectories. Turkish migrants have fewer interethnic contacts (Ohlendorf 2015; Schacht et al. 2014), speak less German within their families (Strobel and Kristen 2015), and identify less with Germany than Poles over time (Diehl et al. 2016a).

The communities of Italians and Syrians living in Germany, are much smaller than the Turkish and Italian communities (only about 850,000 persons each). Regarding contact with natives, Italians do not differ from Turks because they also have a strong ethnic community which reduces incentives to socialize with natives (Martinovic 2010). The study on German language

acquisition on recently arrived Italians, Poles, Syrians, and Turks in Germany by Kristen and Seuring (2021) further reveals, that the initial language skill levels of these groups do not differ significantly – except for the fact that Italians, Poles, and Turks have higher initial German skills than Syrians. Furthermore, Italians identify significantly stronger with Germany than Turks (Hochman et al. 2017). Syrians have considerably different starting conditions for their sociocultural integration in Germany: Holding refugee status, their prospects of remaining in Germany are often unclear what makes them more hesitant to invest in their host country integration (Kosyakova and Brenzel 2020; van Tubergen 2010). Moreover, without previous ties to Germany, they lack migrant networks to support their integration. Therefore, compared to other migrant groups, they often have lower initial sociocultural integration levels (Chiswick and Miller 1995; van Tubergen 2010; Vroome et al. 2014b) and lower human capital endowments (Brell et al. 2020).

5. Data on newly arrived immigrants in Germany

Studying the relationship between migration patterns and migrants' integration requires specific data. First, data on individual migration and related integration biographies are needed – official register data in Germany from the *Ausländerzentralregister* lack this detailed information. Second, as integration outcomes can affect further migration plans and behavior (e.g. Carling and Pettersen 2014; Constant and Massey 2003; Massey and Akresh 2006), the analyzed integration outcomes should be captured shortly after migration to rule out problems of causality. Third, the phase immediately after arrival in the host country is a very dynamic one in migrants' integration processes and thus well suited to examine different effects of migration patterns on integration. Fourth, the investigation of integration trajectories and cohort effects requires longitudinal data, and fifth, to test whether predicted mechanisms operate differently for different groups, the data need be collected among several different migrant groups. Last but not least, change in composition of arrival cohorts can, as the name suggests, only be observed among newly arrived immigrants. Therefore, I will employ two mini-panel data sets that were collected among newly arrived immigrants in Germany. Table 1 gives a brief overview on the data used in each article of this dissertation. I will describe the two data sets in more detail in the following two sections (5.1 and 5.2).

Table 1. Data used in the three articles of this doctoral dissertation

	Data	Waves	Groups	N
Article 1: "Settlers, target-earners, young professionals. Distinct migrant types, distinct integration trajectories?"	SCIP	1+2	Poles, Turks	2,045
Article 2: "What matters more: intention to stay or duration of stay? – The sociocultural integration trajectories of new immigrants in Germany"	ENTRA	1+2	Italians, Poles, Syrians, Turks	2,254
Article 3: „Gebildeter, liberaler, säkularer – ‚integrierter'?Ein Kohortenvergleich türkischer Neuzugewanderter in Deutschland"	SCIP/ENTRA	1	Turks	2,209

5.1. SCIP – Causes and Consequences of Socio-Cultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe

The first article of this dissertation relies fully and the third article partly on the German sample of data from the international project on Sociocultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe (SCIP) funded by the NORFACE Research Programme on Migration (Diehl et al. 2016b). This project is the first cross-national survey among newly arrived immigrants in Europe and comprises unique two-wave data on about 7,000 recent migrants of selected origin groups in four destination countries: Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Ireland (Gresser and Schacht 2015).[2] Its main objective was "to describe the patterns and to explain the causes and consequences of early sociocultural integration trajectories of newly arrived immigrants across different ethnic groups" (Gresser and Schacht 2015: 1) in these countries. Respondents were asked in detail on their demographics and migration biography, integration policies and their sociocultural integration (home and host country as well as third language skills; identity and attitudes on acculturation and discrimination; religion; social integration and networks) as well as structural integration (education and employment histories).

In Germany, immigrants from Poland and Turkey who arrived in the years 2009 and 2010 were randomly sampled from the local registry offices in five large cities: Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Cologne, and Bremen. At the time of the first interview, they could have lived in Germany for a maximum of 18 months.[3] It cannot be ruled out that this group of recent migrants includes individuals who re-entered after an extended stay in their country of origin and excludes some short-term stayers who did not register in the municipalities, such as seasonal workers. The data collection for the first wave via Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI) in Polish and Turkish began in October 2010 and ended in August 2011. As many participants of wave 1 as possible were surveyed for a second time about one and a half years later from June 2012 to March 2013. For the second wave of data collection in Germany, CATI was still the preferred mode but was complemented by Computer Assisted Web Interviews (CAWI) and Computer Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI) within a sequential mixed-mode approach if the corresponding previous contact attempt was not successful. Overall, the SCIP project provides a unique data set on two large immigrant groups in Germany with 1,482 Polish and 1,162 Turkish respondents in wave 1 and 680 Poles and 518 Turks in wave 2.

[2] For the full methods report of the SCIP project also see Gresser and Schacht (2015).
[3] More than 98 per cent of the respondents have been staying in Germany no longer than 18 months.

5.2. ENTRA – Recent Immigration Processes and Early Integration Trajectories in Germany

The second article of this dissertation relies fully and the third article partly on data from the study on Recent Immigration Processes and Early Integration Trajectories in Germany (ENTRA) funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) (Diehl, Koenig and Kristen 2024). This survey was conducted among new immigrants from Italy, Poland, Syria, and Turkey who had lived in Germany no longer than five years (Seuring et al. 2023).[4] The ENTRA study is mostly aimed at collecting data on new immigrants in Germany, their "immigration and settlement dynamics, as well as their integration trajectories" (Seuring et al. 2023: 2). Maintaining the SCIP project's selection of groups and extending it by Italians, 'classic' intra-EU migrants to Germany, and refugees from Syria, the ENTRA project allows researchers to compare early integration patterns of four different new immigrant groups to Germany. Like the SCIP project, the ENTRA study covered the respondents' demography and migration biography and several aspects of their sociocultural integration (German and English skills; identity and perceived discrimination; acculturation and attitudes towards democracy and institutions; religion; social integration and networks) and structural integration (education and employment). Additionally, the ENTRA questionnaire included questions on the immigrants' physical and mental health as well as personality traits. The identical or at least similar wording of many questions in the ENTRA study to questions in the SCIP survey allows for comparative analyses of both data sets.

In the ENTRA study, respondents in each group were sampled from five out of eight cities: Berlin, Munich, Stuttgart, Cologne, Hamburg, Bremen, Dortmund, and Essen. They arrived in Germany between 2015 and 2019 and have not been staying in Germany longer than for about four years. The first wave of data collection took place in 2019, and the second wave was conducted 1.5 years later during the COVID-19 pandemic.[5] In both waves, respondents could choose between CAPI, CAWI, or CATI. In sum, the first wave of the ENTRA study contains data on 1,093 Italian, 1,089 Polish, 1,199 Syrian, and 1,067 Turkish new immigrants in Germany from which 878, 858, 826, and 804, respectively, also participated in the second wave.

[4] For the full methods report of the ENTRA project also see Seuring et al. (2023).
[5] An additional COVID-19 survey between wave 1 and wave 2 was administered as CAWI only from May 11, 2020 to June 22, 2020. The data from this survey are not used in this dissertation because the corresponding questionnaire included mainly new questions on migrants' living situation and (r)emigration tendencies during the pandemic.

6. Article overview

This dissertation consists of three empirical research articles. All of these articles study newly arrived migrants' sociocultural integration in Germany with regard to their acquisition of German language skills, their social ties to natives, and their identification with Germany. The first article identifies three different migrant types among newly arrived Poles and Turks in Germany and tests whether these types have more explanatory power for differences in migrants' early sociocultural integration trajectories than the single variables used to classify the types. The second paper contrasts two different theoretical perspectives on migrants' integration – assimilation over time and migrants' individual motivation to integrate – and tests empirically which mechanism is more relevant for migrants' early sociocultural integration trajectories. The third research article employs data on two cohorts of recently arrived Turkish migrants in Germany and investigates the effects of changing cohort composition on their sociocultural integration outcomes. In the following sections, I will give a brief overview over each of these articles.

6.1. Article 1: Settlers, target-earners, young professionals. Distinct migrant types, distinct integration trajectories?

This first article of my dissertation is co-authored with my first supervisor Prof. Dr. Claudia Diehl and has been published in 2021 as a peer reviewed contribution in a special issue of the international research journal *International Migration*. It is one of the few studies that try to empirically identify theoretically prominent migrant types based on survey data and to assess whether migrants resembling these types show distinct integration trajectories.

The integration processes of former guest workers and their descendants in Germany illustrate the substantial impact (political) categorizations of migrants, in this case as temporary migrants, have on integration policies and thus integration itself. Former guest workers' temporary perspective hampered for example their identification with Germany and decreased their children's educational achievement (Pagenstecher 1996). Although categorizations can be criticized for being rigid or having such severe consequences, for instance, they are "the most rudimentary tools in any attempt at generalization to offer an explanation of migration and as such are closely linked to theory" (Collyer and Haas 2012: 468). In this article, we refer to one kind of categorization of migrants, namely migrant types. We ask whether three different types derived from the literature in fact apply to empirical data and to what extent they are relevant

for the explanation of sociocultural integration. Thereby, we understand the concept of type as "a special combination of attributes" (Lazarsfeld 1937: 120).

We try to identify two classic migrant types which are frequently discussed in the literature: settlers as described by NE and target-earners as characterized by NELM. Additionally, we try to find a 'new' type which is an extension of the latter – educational target-earners. As these types theoretically differ in their migration patterns, family situation, and remitting behavior, we apply a latent class analysis (LCA) to SCIP data on recent Polish and Turkish immigrants in Germany (Diehl et al. 2016b) using these characteristics. The SCIP dataset has remarkable advantages for the study of migrant types and their integration. First, different migrant types should be more clearly identifiable in a dataset that was collected among recent migrants, as settlement processes of initial temporary migrants may evolve later on (cf. Friberg 2012). Second, by studying new immigrants, the focus is on a very dynamic phase of the integration process, so that major developments in host country integration which happen immediately after the migration event can be observed. Third, with Poles and Turks the dataset includes groups from an EU and a non-EU member state. This enables us to examine how different migration regimes and immigration contexts shape migrant types.

In our LCA, we find patterns for three groups, namely settlers and target-earners as depicted in the literature, while the third group is more appropriately described as young learners/professionals rather than educational target-earners as it also includes young and mobile professionals. Settlers in this study are less often economically motivated as described by NE. In fact, they are mainly Turks who came to Germany for family reasons. The target-earner group in our study consists mostly of Poles whose migration was economically motivated. As a 'new' migrant type we could identify the group of young learners/professionals who plan to return or to move onwards to another country. Many of them aim for an educational rather than a monetary target.

Results from multivariate analyses further reveal that differences in these types' sociocultural integration trajectories reflect variations in migrants' intention to stay, individual resources such as education, and opportunities for integration related to newcomers' involvement in the educational system or labor force. The integration trajectories of the different migrant types start from different levels for different reasons. They also do not occur at the same pace, for example, they tend to be overall slower for target-earners, but they do not look fundamentally dissimilar for the various migrant types.

As a last step of analysis, we tested whether using migrant types offers explanatory advantages in predicting integration trajectories as compared to using the single variables that we employed to identify these types, namely migrants' intention to stay in the host country, their family situation or previous stays in Germany. In sum, migrant types – no matter whether classic or 'new' – seem to have limited explanatory power when it comes to predicting newcomers' early integration compared to single "variables". Though, they can serve as a useful tool to make complex migration patterns more tangible.

6.2. Article 2: What matters more: Intention to stay or duration of stay? – The sociocultural integration trajectories of new immigrants in Germany

The second article of this dissertation is single-authored and has been submitted recently to the international research journal *Ethnicities*. It extends the literature on immigrant integration by contrasting two different theoretical perspectives on migrants' integration: migrants' integration as a process over time, propelled by (neo-)assimilation theorists, and the mechanism of migrants' individual motivation to integrate, based on the theory of planned behavior.

In this article, the logic of (neo-)assimilation theories (Alba and Nee 1997) that migrants' integration happens more or less automatically over time – regardless of individual effort – is contrasted with the idea that migrants have different motivations to deliberately invest in their integration which is based on Ajzen's (1985; 1991) theory of planned behavior . Thereby, this is the first study, alongside Wachter and Fleischmann's (2018) study of recently arrived EU migrants in the Netherlands, to theoretically discuss and empirically test the impact of migrants' investments on multiple dimensions of sociocultural integration. Further, it is – to the author's knowledge – the first article that puts a theoretical focus on the comparison of the two described perspectives.

Migrants' intention to stay serves as an indicator for their individual motivation to invest in their sociocultural host country integration: a longer intended stay in the host country should translate into a higher motivation to invest in sociocultural integration, since there are more opportunities to reap the rewards in the long run. Even if the early intention to stay changes over time, it is assumed to have an impact on individual integration investments. The cost-benefit analysis of investments in turn is supposed to be closely related to migrants' sociocultural integration outcomes. However, following the logic of assimilation "as a social process that occurs spontaneously and often unintendedly in the course of interaction between majority and minority groups" (Alba and Nee 1997: 827), immigrants' opportunities for

integration increase with their duration of stay. Thus, migrants' sociocultural integration should increase over time spent in the destination country, regardless of their early intentions to stay.

After spelling out the mechanisms of migrants' investments for three dimensions of sociocultural integration (language skills, social contacts, identification), these mechanisms are compared to the assimilation mechanism using two-wave panel data from the ENTRA study (Seuring et al. 2023). These data include information on newly arrived immigrants in Germany from four different groups of origin: Italians, Poles, Syrians, and Turks. Unlike other studies, the ENTRA study captures migrants' intention to stay at the very beginning of the integration process so that reverse causal effects of migrants' host country integration on their intention to stay can be ruled out (e.g. Anniste and Tammaru 2014; Constant and Massey 2002; Haas and Fokkema 2011; Haas, Fokkema and Fassi Fihri 2015). Using random effects panel regressions, I analyze how migrants' German language skills, contacts with Germans, and identification with Germany change over time.

The results indicate that migrants who intend to stay in Germany permanently start out at higher levels of sociocultural integration, but do not integrate faster than temporary migrants do. Migrants' duration of stay is – in line with previous literature on exposure – found to be crucial for migrants' German language skills but has no significant effects on contacts to natives and identification with Germany. Particularly, migrants with an intention to stay permanently in Germany initially identify more strongly with the host country than all other migrants. This finding shows that little time and effort is required to identify with the host country, but that individual motivation is crucial. In general, comparing the effects of both motivation and time on migrants' sociocultural integration reveals that motivation – as indicated by their intention to stay for good – turns out to be more relevant for differences in initial levels of integration than for trajectories over time.

6.3. Article 3: Gebildeter, liberaler, säkularer – ‚integrierter'? Ein Kohortenvergleich türkischer Neuzugewanderter in Deutschland

The third article of this dissertation is also single-authored and has been submitted to the German sociological journal *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* recently. In this article, I take advantage of the fact that there exist two similar datasets on recent immigrants in Germany which overlap in the immigrant groups and differ in the time periods they cover. By combining data from the SCIP and the ENTRA project, which I analyzed separately in the first and second paper of this dissertation, I will be able to compare the sociocultural integration of the largest immigrant

group in Germany, namely Turks, across two arrival cohorts. Thereby, I can examine how changes in the groups' educational level, migration motives and religiosity upon arrival influence their sociocultural integration.

Turks are of particular interest to integration research in Germany because they represent the largest immigrant group with 2.8 million individuals living in Germany. Compared to other migrant groups, they are considered as a rather disadvantaged group in Germany with regard to structural integration (e.g. Diehl and Granato 2018; Hunkler 2016; Siegert and Olszenka 2016) as well as social (e.g. Schacht et al. 2014; Schlüter 2012) and cultural integration (e.g. Becker 2006; Diehl et al. 2016a; Strobel and Kristen 2015). These group-specific disadvantages are often attributed to the recruiting strategy during the guest worker period when mainly less-skilled Turkish workers were hired to compensate shortages on the German labor market. However, since the end of the guest worker era in the 1970s and especially in recent years, immigration channels for Turks to Germany have diversified. Changes in the social and political landscape in Germany and Turkey, as well as in the conditions for legal migration from Turkey to Germany, suggest that the group composition of newly arrived Turkish migrants in Germany has also changed. However, few studies focus on the integration of newer arrival cohorts from Turkey (see for example Schieckoff and Diehl 2021; Seibel 2020).

Against this backdrop, in the third article of this dissertation, in a first step, I compare the composition of two cohorts of recently arrived migrants from Turkey in Germany with regard to their educational level, migration motives, and religiosity. In a second step, I examine whether differences in German language skills, social contacts and identification with Germany between these cohorts can be explained by differences in their composition. Therefor I conduct linear regression models based on the SCIP and ENTRA data which were collected among Turks, who newly arrived in Germany in the years 2009 to 2010 and 2015 to 2019, respectively.

The descriptive analyses of the two cohorts reveal that migrants belonging to the recent cohort are higher educated, less religious, and more often come to Germany for political reasons than migrants belonging to the earlier cohort. In terms of their sociocultural integration, migrants of the recent cohort have lower German language skills, but this fact is not related to the migrants' characteristics under study. However, their higher education and political migration motives correlate with more contacts to German natives. Furthermore, migrants of the recent cohort identify less with both Germany and Turkey but more with Europe than migrants of the earlier cohort. This fact cannot be explained by changes in the groups' educational level, migration motives, or religiosity. Muslim religiosity is almost irrelevant for the sociocultural integration

of both Turkish migrant cohorts in Germany indicating that the public debate in Western Europe on Islam as an impediment to migrants' integration is exaggerated.

7. Settlers, target-earners, young professionals. Distinct migrant types, distinct integration trajectories?[6]

Franziska Spanner and Claudia Diehl (published in "International Migration" 2021)

Abstract

In this article, we start out from theoretical concepts about different types of migrants that feature prominently in the immigration literature. By applying latent class analysis to a unique 'mini-panel' dataset on recent Polish and Turkish immigrants in Germany, we identify two types of migrants that are in line with the literature, namely settlers and target-earners. We label a third group that includes educational migrants as well as young professionals: 'young learners/professionals'. Regarding variation in these groups' early sociocultural integration patterns, results suggest that they reflect primarily differences in migrants' intention to stay, individual resources such as education, and opportunities for integration related to newcomers' involvement in the educational system or labour force. In sum, migrant types – though certainly more intuitively appealing and vivid than single 'variables' – seem to have limited explanatory power when it comes to predicting newcomers' early integration trajectories.

[6] This article was written in British English to conform to the style of the journal *International Migration*.

7.1. Introduction

Over the last decades, migration to Germany has become more diverse in terms of migrants' motives for coming, their socio-economic composition, and their mobility patterns (cf. Castles et al. 2014; Elsner and Zimmermann 2013). During the 1950s and 1960s, migration to Germany was predominantly characterised by economically motivated low skilled workers, a situation that changed with the recruitment stop in 1973. Afterwards, the country saw the inflow of family members of former 'guest workers', of a large number of 'Ethnic Germans' (*Aussiedler*) from the former Soviet Union, and of asylum seekers, including many that fled from the Balkan wars. Finally, the EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007 enabled migrants from Eastern Europe to engage in more temporary and circular labour migration (Engbersen et al. 2013; Favell 2008b) as well as in so-called lifestyle migration – migration for individual growth and fulfilment (Benson and O'Reilly 2009).

These new migration patterns may challenge previous conceptions of migration and integration for two reasons. Firstly, it has been argued that migration processes are less often resulting in permanent settlement, since migration decisions are increasingly non-permanent, especially for those groups that have the opportunities to move back and forth between origin and receiving country (Favell 2008b). Secondly, these new migration patterns may challenge the predictions that migration processes ultimately lead to host country integration or even assimilation. To be sure, these concepts are fuzzy themselves. Empirical integration research often starts out from prominent definitions such as the one by Richard Alba and Victor Nee, that assimilation is the "decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences" (2003: 14) and assess whether or not migrants and non-migrants become more similar over time, for example in terms of their inclusion in the labour market. Domains of sociocultural integration include proficiency in the language spoken in the host country, the share of majority members in migrants' social networks or identification as a member of the host society. Compared to classic accounts of assimilation theory, neo-assimilation theory emphasizes that the focus of assimilation is "on the process, not on some final state, and [that] assimilation is a matter of degree. Assimilation designates a direction of change, not a particular degree of similarity" (Brubaker 2001: 534). However, even starting out from such a non-normative and dynamic definition of assimilation it may no longer appropriately describe what happens *after* migration, e.g. in terms of the changes in migrants' sociocultural adaptation over time.

In order to grasp prevailing patterns of migration and integration, previous migration literature mainly differentiates between two types of migrants: while Neoclassical Economics (NE)

depicts migrants as settlers (cf. Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969), target-earners are the core concept of New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) (cf. Stark 1991; Stark, Taylor and Yitzhaki 1988). So far, only a limited number of studies has tried to identify these types empirically (e.g. Constant and Massey 2002; Drinkwater and Garapich 2015). Furthermore, regarding the growing diversity of migration flows to and within EU-countries, some authors argue that additional types need to be considered (cf. Glorius, Grabowska-Lusinska and Kuvik 2013). In the few existing quantitative studies these are characterised as transnationally mobile individuals (e.g. Engbersen et al. 2013; Luthra et al. 2018). The only, rather explorative, quantitative study on such new migrant types in Germany and other European destinations focuses on EU-migrants from Poland (Luthra et al. 2018).

Against this backdrop and inspired by the migrant types that have so far been described in the literature, we will conduct an empirical analysis of migrants from Poland and Turkey in Germany. In contrast to previous studies (cf. Engbersen et al. 2013), we do not only focus on EU labour migrants but also include migrants from a non-EU member state and with various migration motives. The *first* aim of this article is to assess which types of migrants can be empirically identified in a dataset that was collected among newly arrived Poles and Turks whose duration of stay in Germany did not exceed 18 months at the time of the interview. Starting out from Lazarsfeld's (1937: 120) understanding of types as individuals sharing "a special combination of attributes", we examine whether recent migrants can be typified across origin groups according to their family situation, intentions to stay, and ties to the country of origin.

Since the literature about migrant types also comes along with certain assumptions about these types' typical socioeconomic and sociocultural integration trajectories in the host country, we *secondly* analyse whether individuals belonging to these types differ with respect to their patterns of early integration[7] in the above mentioned sense. After all, the parameters known to shape integration patterns, such as migrants' motivation, resources and opportunities for doing so, differ between types. For example, those who want to return may not be willing to invest in language skills that increase long-term earnings but take time and effort to acquire in the short run (cf. Dustmann 1999). Likewise, "identificational integration" may no longer be valid for transnationally mobile migrants, who typically hold cosmopolitan attitudes and switch easily back and forth between home and host country contexts (Vertovec 1999). In general,

[7] In the following, we use the term integration as this expression evokes less normative connotations than assimilation.

sociocultural integration is supposed to be less relevant for target-earners that often lack permanent settlement intentions in the host country (cf. Massey and Akresh 2006). Settlers, in turn, should follow the predications of (neo-)assimilation theory more closely even though their trajectory may have become just one among others (Alba and Nee 1997; Gordon 1964).

We will proceed as follows. In a first step, we identify key variables that have been used in the literature to delineate different migrant types and conduct a latent class analysis (LCA) to assess whether empirical migrant types can be identified on this basis. In a second step, we analyse whether these types show distinct patterns of early integration in the host country and investigate whether these migrant types have more explanatory power than the single variables that have been used to identify them when it comes to predicting early integration trajectories.

7.2. Migrant types and their sociocultural integration: Theoretical arguments and empirical evidence

The few previous studies that have tried to empirically identify migrant types have done so in three different ways: They have identified types empirically rather than theory-driven by conducting explorative cluster analysis (e.g. Engbersen et al. 2013; Luthra et al. 2018), they distinguished migrant types on the basis of single characteristics such as intention to stay or migration motives (Drinkwater and Garapich 2015; Dustmann 1994), or they identified well-known types such as settlers and target-earners by conducting case studies, qualitative interviews and ethnographic work (e.g. Faist 2014; White 2014). All these approaches suffer from different problems: The first one remains under-theorized, the second one underestimates the complexity of migrant types, and the third strategy has yet to show the quantitative relevance of these types.

A further shortcoming in existing research on migrant types in the European context is that many scholars focus on the group of Poles in the United Kingdom as a receiving country (e.g. Trevena 2013; White 2014). Constant and Massey's (2002) study based on German data is a rare example of an empirical test of settlers and target-earners. However, it is based on a dataset that includes a range of origin groups but at that point in time was dominated by former guest workers and their families[8]. The second quantitative study on migrant types in the German context by Luthra et al. (2018) studies migrant types that have recently become more prominent in the literature but includes only one origin group, Poles. While both Germany and the UK are

[8] Note that ever since, several samples of recent immigrants have been added to the German socio-economic panel (SOEP) to ensure it represents the growing diversity of the immigrant population.

European countries with a long-standing immigration history which emphasize linguistic and cultural boundaries (Bail 2008), they differ in several respects: The UK compensated labour shortages in the past with workers from its former colonies (Joppke 1999), while Germany relied mainly on guest workers. Following the typology of Koopmans et al. (2005), the UK is a multicultural immigration country with civic codes of national identity and Germany promotes a more assimilationist regime. Moreover, after the Eastern enlargement of the EU in 2004 Germany restricted access to its labour market for migrants from the New Member States until 2011 unlike the UK which opened its labour market immediately (Elsner and Zimmermann 2013). Results from studies on migrant types in the UK thus can not be generalized to the German context.

In the following section, the variables that have been used to delineate different migrant types such as migrants' intention to stay, their family situation, and financial remittances are spelled out in greater detail. We also summarize the assumptions about these types' socio-cultural integration patterns, including their proficiency in the host country's language, social contacts with natives, and identification with the host country.

7.2.1. Settlers – Neoclassical Economics

According to NE, individuals react to wage differentials by moving from low wage countries to countries with higher wages in order to maximize lifetime earnings (Harris and Todaro 1970; Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969). They only return if the wage differential between the two countries decreases or if the employment situation prevents them from reaching their intended net earnings, i.e. return is seen as "mistaken immigration" (Duleep 1994: 13). Polish migrants in the UK for example, who know that their actual earnings do not meet their expectations or who are unsure about that stay shorter in the host country than those whose earnings meet their expectations (Drinkwater and Garapich 2015).

Settlers make the decision to migrate based on an individual calculation of costs of migration versus expected lifetime benefits (Chiswick 1999). Their families represent one parameter of these cost-benefit calculations since spatial separation from the family bears psychological costs (Sjaastad 1962: 83) that may lead to return migration if there is no chance of bringing their family along. Several studies confirm that migrants with a family or at least a partner in Germany are less likely to return to their country of origin than migrants leaving their family behind (e.g. Constant and Massey 2002; Constant and Massey 2003; Ette et al. 2016).

Remittances do not play a crucial role in this concept since families are usually living together (Constant and Massey 2002; Constant and Massey 2003).

According to NE, migration is an investment and migrants also benefit from investments in their socio-cultural integration, such as language skills (Chiswick and Miller 2002). Settlers are therefore not only positively self-selected in terms of their pre-migration human capital (Chiswick 1999). They can also be expected to learn the host society's language faster than migrants who plan to return to their home country (Dustmann 1999; Wachter and Fleischmann 2018) and ultimately can be expected to assimilate entirely and more or less automatically to the host society as described by classical and neo-assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 1997; Gordon 1964).

7.2.2. Target-earners – New Economics of Labour Migration

The proponents of NELM argue that return migration reflects the successful attainment of specific income goals in the receiving country rather than disappointed expectations. Migrants are target-earners (Piore 1979) that do not migrate primarily because of international wage differentials but because they experience relative deprivation in their country of origin (Stark and Yitzhaki 1988). Target-earners try to diversify the household's income portfolio in order to minimise short-term risks (Stark, Taylor and Yitzhaki 1986) related to market incompleteness such as crop failures, price fluctuations, or unemployment. Target-earners' families decide collectively about the migration of single family members (Stark 1991). The rest of the family typically stays in the home country so that target-earners maintain home country attachments through family ties (cf. Constant and Massey 2003). These in turn foster return and circular migration (Constant and Zimmermann 2011) as the costs of separation rise with the duration of stay abroad (cf. Stark and Fan 2007). Therefore, migrants remit, i.e. they send generated income surplus in the host country to their families in the country of origin (Stark 1991). Once migrants' earning targets are met, they return home (Constant and Massey 2002; Dustmann and Mestres 2010). Individuals who are not able to reach their financial goal and thus cannot return to their country of origin need to stay – which is why extended stays are considered a failure rather than a success as in NE (Piore 1979).

As the reference point for target-earners' social status remains the country of origin (Piore 1979), they are less likely to invest in host country language skills or other host-land specific human capital (Dustmann 1999). The same applies to investments in social capital or other activities exceeding their involvement in the labour market (Massey 1986). Moreover, working

in sectors with high shares of migrant workers (cf. Verwiebe et al. 2017) is associated with less contact to majority members (cf. White and Ryan 2008) and in turn with low host country identification (Vroome et al. 2014a). To sum up, target-earners' adaptation process does thus not follow the logic of classical and neo-assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 1997; Gordon 1964) but is limited to areas that are key to reaching their earning targets.

Over the last years, the number of young individuals who migrate for educational reasons has been growing (OECD 2020). Several countries such as Germany or France offer educational migrants the opportunity to obtain a residence permit in case they receive a job offer after completing their degree. As a consequence, educational stays are becoming increasingly important opportunities for more permanent forms of migration even though they often start out as temporary movements (cf. Sykes and Ni Chaoimh 2012).

Studying abroad is an investment in human capital and in one's own economic productivity (cf. Becker 1964) no matter whether educational migrants ultimately return home, move on to another country, or stay for good. NELM has so far neglected this kind of 'educational target-earner' even though one could argue that educational migrants differ from the target-earners described in NELM only with respect to the nature of their target – that is educational rather than financial. Similar to target-earners described in NELM, they are comparatively young and often single (cf. Favell 2008b) and may initially share classic target-earners' return intentions (cf. Wolfeil 2013). However, they may intend to migrate to a third country more often as part of a transnational elite (cf. Luthra and Platt 2016) and may also be less likely to send home remittances as they are not active in the labour market.

Educational target-earners' integration trajectories can be expected to differ from classical assimilation pathways (Favell 2008b). For successful educational attainment, investment in host country language skills is required and often desired by the migrants (Nowicka 2010; Wolfeil 2009). At the same time, educational migrants are by definition more highly skilled and thus can be expected to learn a new language fast and efficient (Esser 2006). Furthermore, the attendance of educational institutions not only comes along with exposure to the majority language, it also offers many opportunities to socialise with natives (Schachner et al. 2015). Yet, concerning their host country identification, they hold bi-national or cosmopolitan orientations rather than feelings of belonging to a single country (Bürgin and Erzene-Bürgin 2013; Guveli et al. 2016).

7.3. Poles and Turks in Germany

In our empirical analysis we use data from a survey among recently arrived Polish and Turkish migrants in Germany. Coming from an EU and a non-EU country, both groups are subject to different migration regimes which shape their migration and integration trajectories. After a recruitment stop in 1973 prohibiting the immigration of further Turkish guest workers who have been recruited in the 1950s and 1960s by the German government, family reunification increased, so the number of Turkish immigrants remained constant until the early 2000s (Berlin-Institut 2009: 16). For non-EU Turks, family reunification remains – together with more recent ways of entry such as a work permit, an EU Blue Card, or a settlement permit after completing an academic degree or vocational training in Germany – the most important option for legal entry in Germany. Given their migration history, family situation, and migration motives, we expect many Turks to resemble the settler type. However, an increasing number of young and more highly educated Turks arrives for educational reasons in Germany as well (Graf 2019). They may leave Germany after completing education (Bürgin and Erzene-Bürgin 2013) or decide to neither settle nor return but to live in both contexts. Today, the 2.8 million persons with Turkish migration background constitute the largest single immigrant group in the country (Bundesamt für Statistik 2018: 61). Thus, newly arriving Turks find large existing ethnic communities in Germany. This affects their integration trajectories. Many are shown, for example, to have comparatively few interethnic friendships (Schacht et al. 2014) and to speak less German within their families (Strobel and Kristen 2015). Further, salient and long-established ethnic boundaries contribute to decreasing identification with Germany over time (Diehl et al. 2016a).

A large number of Polish migrants arrived in Germany after World War II and in the post-communist period as 'Ethnic Germans' (*Aussiedler*). As soon as the criteria to obtain *Aussiedler*-status were restricted and limited access to the national labour market was granted to Poles during the 1990s, short-term labour migration of single persons from Poland increased. Since 2011, seven years after Poland's accession to the EU, temporary migration for seasonal employment as well as student mobility is facilitated for Poles by unrestricted access to the German labour market and free movement within the EU. Poles strongly engage in temporary or circular migration movements because of the short geographic distance and low travel costs, their economic or educational migration motives, and legal migration options (Fihel and Grabowska-Lusinska 2013; Miera 2008; Wolfeil 2013). Therefore, we expect many Poles to be (educational) target-earners. Currently, there are about 2.1 million people with Polish migration

background living in Germany (Bundesamt für Statistik 2018: 61). With respect to their socio-cultural integration, Poles in Germany are found to perceive comparatively less discrimination over time than Turks and – related to this – identify more strongly with Germany (Diehl et al. 2016a), have more interethnic friendships (Schacht et al. 2014), and use German more often within their families (Strobel and Kristen 2015).

7.4. Data and analytic strategy

Our empirical analyses are based on the German sample of data from the international project on Socio-cultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe (SCIP) funded by the NORFACE Research Programme on Migration (Diehl et al. 2016b). Using data that was collected among recent migrants has many advantages against the backdrop of our research questions. Migrants may arrive as target-earners and return home or settle down afterwards (Friberg 2012). The German 'guest workers' are a prominent example for this, since many individuals postponed their originally intended return and eventually stayed for good. In any case, studies based on samples among migrants who have been living in the destination country for years have to tackle problems of selective return migration of temporary migrants and ongoing settlement processes. Different types should be more clearly identifiable in a dataset that was collected among recent migrants, who often start out with the plan to stay only temporarily. Also concerning their socio-cultural integration, by studying new immigrants we observe a very dynamic phase of the integration process. In sum, given that initial migration intentions and actual behaviour change over time, migrant types can best be identified among newcomers. Among migrants with a longer duration of stay, settlers will be by definition the predominant type.

Immigrants from Poland and Turkey to Germany who have not been staying in the country for more than 18 months were randomly sampled from population registers in five large cities (Berlin, Bremen, Cologne, Hamburg, and Munich) and interviewed in Polish and Turkish (CAPI-interviews) from autumn 2010 to summer 2011. This group of recent migrants may include individuals who re-entered after an extended stay in their country of origin and exclude some short-term stayers who did not register in the municipalities such as seasonal workers[9]. As many participants as possible of wave 1 were surveyed for a second time about one and a half years later. SCIP provides a unique dataset on two large immigrant groups in Germany with

[9] In Germany, migrants who plan to stay for more than two months have to register in their municipality. This procedure implies that e.g. workers who stay in the country for a very short time are under-represented in this group (Gresser and Schacht, 2015).

1,482 Polish and 1,162 Turkish respondents in wave 1 and 680 Poles and 518 Turks in wave 2. It contains retrospectively collected information about their migration biography and the time before migration as well as information that was collected soon after respondents' arrival in Germany and again after they spent a few years in the country.

To identify settlers, target-earners, and educational target-earners as depicted in the literature, we estimate a LCA with wave 1 data employing the relevant variables that are commonly used in the literature to describe the different migrant types: Migrants' intention to stay as an indicator for their long-term commitment to the receiving country, previous stays of more than four weeks in the host country as a measurement for actual migration behaviour, sending remittances as an indicator for home-country involvement and their family situation.

As shown in Table 2, return intentions are most common among the respondents (40%), followed by plans to stay in Germany (36%), to commute between Germany and their home country (16%), and to move to a third country (8%). More than one third of the respondents have previous migration experience to Germany (34%), a majority has family in Germany (53%) and 30 per cent of the respondents send remittances.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of variables used in Latent Class Analysis (wave 1)

	Min	Max	Proportion (%)	*N*
Intention to stay				
Stay in Germany			36.4	2,370
Move between home country and Germany			16.0	2,370
Return to home country			40.1	2,370
Move to another country			7.5	2,370
Previous stays in Germany	0	1	33.7	2,531
Family				
Family in Germany			52.8	2,308
Family outside Germany			15.8	2,308
Family in different countries			10.0	2,308
No family			21.4	2,308
Sends remittances	0	1	30.4	2,471

Source: SCIP 2010-2011 (wave 1); GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341.

In a second step, we analyse these types with respect to their socio-cultural integration (self-assessed German language skills, time spent with Germans and identification with Germany) during their first months and years in Germany. As indicated in Table 3, respondents' mean

duration of stay in wave 1 was about 9 months and in wave 2 about 29 months so that there is substantive variation in the duration of stay. This enables us to analyse the relationship between migrant types and socio-cultural integration in greater detail than by just comparing wave 1 and wave 2 data. Table 3 reveals that the socio-cultural integration outcomes changing the most over time are German language skills, whereas the means of identification with Germany remain nearly constant and time spent with Germans increases somewhat.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics of socio-cultural integration outcomes and controls (balanced panel)

			Wave 1	**Wave 2**	
	Min	**Max**	**Mean (*SD*)/ proportion (%)**	**Mean (*SD*)/ proportion (%)**	***N***
Time in Germany in months	0	43	8.78 (4.54)	28.70 (5.43)	897
Socio-cultural integration outcomes					
German language skills (mean Index: not at all–very well)	0	3	1.39 (0.69)	1.69 (0.68)	875
Time spent with Germans (never–every day)	0	5	3.55 (1.80)	3.72 (1.67)	885
Identification with Germany (add. Index)	0	6	4.01 (1.42)	4.03 (1.46)	777
Migration motive					
Family			49.9	N/A	886
Work			27.9	N/A	886
Education			10.6	N/A	886
Lifestyle			2.4	N/A	886
Mixed			9.3	N/A	886
Employment status					
Working			41.1	54.1	898
In education			20.0	14.5	898
Other (e.g. unemployed, retired)			39.0	31.4	898
Education					
Primary or less			9.6	N/A	863
Secondary			49.3	N/A	863
Tertiary			41.1	N/A	863
Poles			54.6		897
Male			49.3	N/A	897
Age at immigration	18	60	31.14 (9.49)		897

Source: SCIP 2010-2013 (wave 1+2); GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341.

In the analyses, we include – along with the migrant types and time spent in Germany – education, employment status, and migration motive as explanatory variables since we expect them to have an important and independent impact on socio-cultural integration trajectories. Migration motive, as an intention that shapes behaviour (Ajzen 1991), and employment status affect the motivation and opportunities to acquire social and cultural capital. Likewise, levels of education are an important resource that renders integration easier in many areas, for example by increasing migrants' learning efficiency (Esser 2009).

7.5. Findings

A LCA of intention to stay, previous stays in Germany, remittances, and respondents' family situation suggests three latent classes of newly arrived Poles and Turks in Germany (see Table 4).[10] Migrants of type 1 predominantly plan to stay in Germany permanently (60%), have previously not spent time in Germany (80%), have their families in Germany (92%), and send no remittances (81%). They also came primarily to Germany for family reasons (75%) and include the highest share of unemployed (30%). Even if their main migration motive is not economic, like for the typical migrant described in NE, their intention to stay in particular justifies it to label them 'settlers'.

By contrast, 57 per cent of the individuals belonging to type 2 have a remigration intention and 29 per cent would like to commute between their home country and Germany. Unlike most settlers, they are not in Germany for the first time (66%) and many have their families outside Germany (69%). Furthermore, the majority of them sends remittances (74%). 82 per cent migrated for work reasons and an even higher share is employed (85%). Since most migrants in this group are economically motivated migrants that mostly work in Germany, they resemble the category of 'target-earners' as described in NELM.

Finally, type 3 is made up of young migrants (most are below the age of 30). About half of them plan to return to their home country (45%) and a comparatively large share plans to move on to another country (26%). Most of them are in Germany for the first time (64%), have no family (89%), and accordingly do not send remittances (85%). Almost half of them are enrolled in education in Germany (49%), many are working (40%), and only 11 per cent are for example

[10] The variables used in the LCA are statistically independent as is assumed by LCA. Model fit was assessed with Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC). As BIC is smallest for the three-class solution and as three classes seem more plausible than four, we choose to keep the number of classes at three.

unemployed or retired. Since a considerable share of them is working, we label them 'young learners/professionals' rather than educational target-earners.

Table 4. Characteristics of migrant types from Latent Class Analysis

		Migrant type (column %)		
	Whole sample	**(1) Settler**	**(2) Target-earner**	**(3) Trans-national**
Variables used in LCA				
Intention to stay				
Stay	39	60	12	17
Commute	16	12	29	12
Return	39	28	57	45
Move to another country	7	0	2	26
Previous stays in Germany	34	20	66	36
Remittances	31	19	74	15
Family				
Inside Germany	53	92	6	10
Outside Germany	16	0	69	1
In different countries	10	8	24	0
No family	21	0	1	89
Further characteristics				
Migration motive				
Family	44	75	9	7
Work	34	15	82	31
Education	13	3	2	45
Lifestyle	2	2	0	4
Mixed	8	6	7	13
Employment status				
Working	45	31	85	40
In education	20	15	4	49
Other (e.g. unemployed, retired)	34	54	11	11
Age group				
19-30	56	60	16	86
31-40	24	30	27	10
41-50	11	7	30	3
51-60	8	4	27	1
Poles	54	35	90	63
Proportion in group (row %)	100	54	23	24

Source: SCIP 2010-2011 (wave 1); N=2,045. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341.

Based on how likely it is that a respondent belongs to a certain latent class, they were assigned to a migrant type. We see that 90 per cent of target-earners are Poles, i.e. this type is much more

frequent among Poles than among Turks. The other types can be found more equally among both origin groups. 63 per cent of young learners/professionals are Poles, whereas 65 per cent of settlers are Turks. This corresponds to the established temporary migration behaviour among Poles (Barglowski 2020), but also to the development of 'new' mobile migration patterns in both groups. Turning to the socio-cultural integration of migrant types, we start out with describing levels of socio-cultural integration of target-earners, settlers, and young learners/professionals (see Figure 2) by months spent in Germany[11]. The graph thus depicts the *cross-sectional* relationship between time in Germany and the different integration indicators based on the balanced panel that contains information of those respondents that participated in both waves. Note that this is not yet a longitudinal analysis. We rather take advantage of the fact that different respondents have spent a varying number of months in Germany at the time of the interviews.

In terms of German language skills, young learners/professionals already have comparatively good language skills soon after their arrival and these are even better for those who have spent more time in Germany when they were interviewed. Both target-earners and settlers have initially lower German skills. In line with the theoretical assumptions spelled out above, these barely improve over time for target-earners whereas they show a more dynamic pattern for settlers.

Regarding time spent with Germans, we see again the most dynamic picture for young learners/professionals, in particular during the first few months. Target-earners start out with comparatively many contacts with Germans – as a reminder, many reported previous stays in Germany – but again this is rather independent from how long they have been in the country during their *current* stay.

[11] We smoothed the plots using locally weighted regressions on the socio-cultural integration outcomes for each migrant type separately including duration of stay in Germany as independent variable.

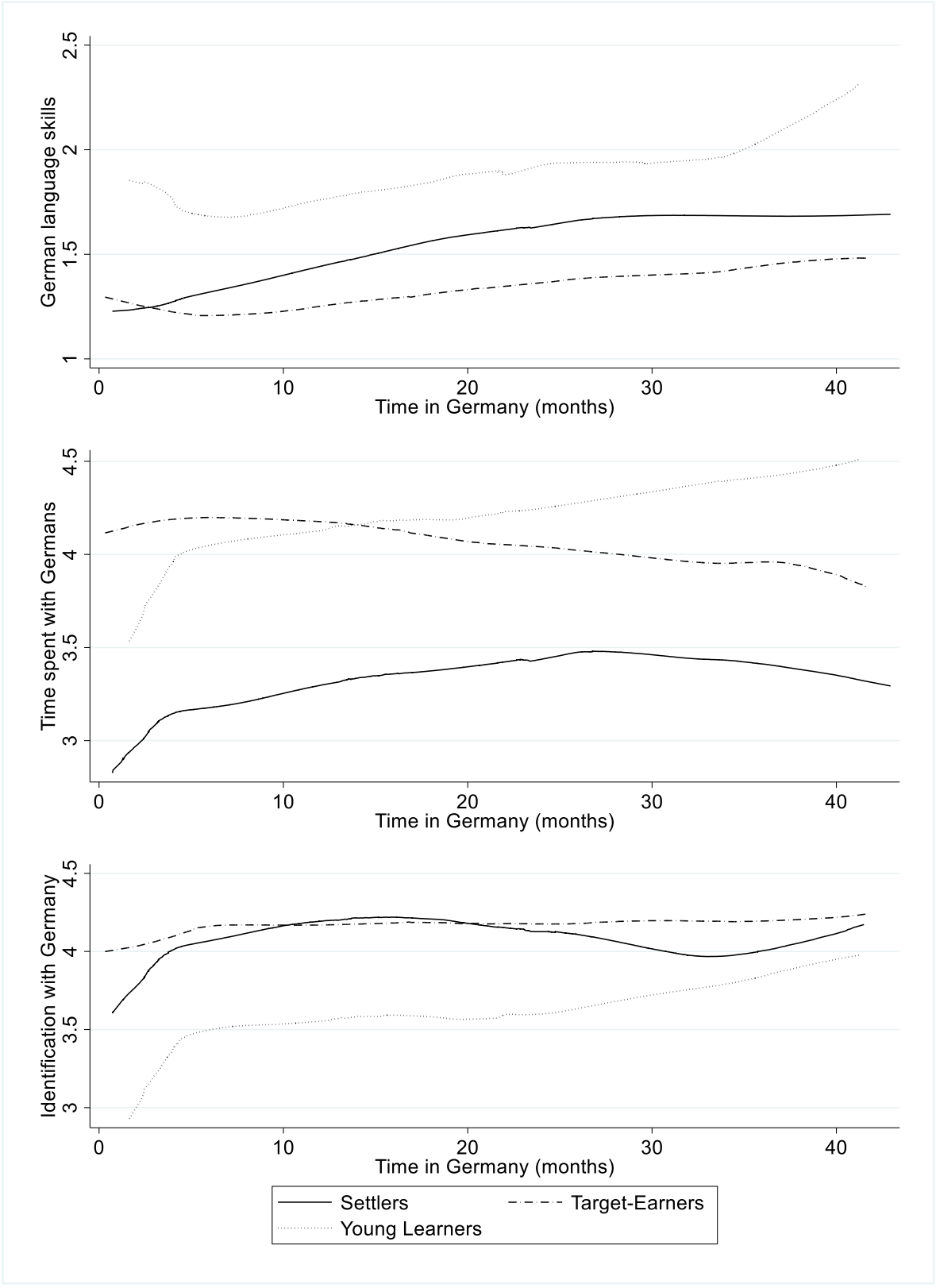

Figure 2. Migrant types' socio-cultural integration by time in Germany in months (means)

(Source: SCIP 2010-2013 (wave 1+2; balanced panel); N=777-885. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341.)

Settlers spend little time with Germans when they arrive, reflecting that few have spent time in the country before, but this seems to change slowly but continuously over time. In terms of their identification with Germany, young learners/professionals start again out at very low levels of identification, but their identification shows the most dynamic increase over time. This and the fact that those individuals in this group who have been staying in Germany for longer have better language skills and spend more time with natives corroborate previous findings on young and highly educated migrants in Europe (Luthra et al. 2018; Luthra and Platt 2016).

It also suggests that no matter whether migrants are eager to integrate or not – and the low levels of identification upon arrival suggest, above all, a low motivation to identify as German, since no particular resources are necessary to do so – "some assimilation often occurs as an unintended consequence of their efforts" to get along in the host country, as Richard Alba aptly puts it (2016: 190). Among those who have basically just arrived when they were first interviewed, settlers have higher levels of identification with Germany than young learners/professionals that further seem to increase during the first year or so. Target-earners start out again at higher levels but just like concerning their time spent with Germans, there seems to be little change over time.

The basic patterns displayed in Figure 2 provide at least some support for the idea that migrant types differ in terms of their early integration patterns that also start out from different levels. While an initially strong identification with the receiving country mostly reflects the motivation to do so, language acquisition and social integration reflect former investments, for example language classes back home or socializing with majority members during previous stays in Germany. Note that most target-earners have been in Germany before while settlers and young learners/professionals have not. Notwithstanding their high starting levels, target-earners' integration is rather independent from their length of stay. Being positively self-selected in terms of the relevant individual characteristics, young learners/professionals' cultural and social integration proceeds rather fast. Their initially lower levels of identification reflect most likely the lack of settlement intentions. By contrast and at odds with our expectations, target-earners' identification with Germany is comparatively high and settlers spend comparatively less time with Germans, which is most likely related to their embeddedness in ethnic networks.

We will finally present the results of a panel analysis. This not only allows us to take into account any compositional differences between those migrants who have been interviewed sooner or later after their arrival. We also assess whether the patterns depicted in Figure 2 reflect distinct migrant types *as such* or just differences in individual resources or opportunities of

migrants belonging to a certain type. The latter are related to levels of education, labour force participation, or migration motives. The models thus include both these individual characteristics and an interaction term between migrant type and months in Germany.

Results for language skills show that these generally improve over time (see Table 5). Young learners/professionals, individuals with tertiary education, females, and those who immigrated at younger ages start out with better German language skills (Model 2). Models including migration motive reveal that individuals who entered Germany with the goal to study here or "just to live there" learn the language faster. Once these individual characteristics are included in the model, the effect for young learners/professionals is no longer significant. However, as expected, target-earners' language skills improve ceteris paribus slower than those of other migrant types (Model 4). Note that in all models, Turks' language skills do not improve considerably slower or faster than those of Poles.

Table 5. Random effect panel regression results for German language skills (migrant types)

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
Time in Germany in months/10	0.139***	0.153***	0.152***	0.150***
Migrant type (ref.: settler)				
Target-earner		0.013	0.032	0.023
Young learner / professional		0.236**	0.039	0.032
Interaction effects of migrant type and time in Germany (ref.: Settler x time)				
Target-earner x time		-0.070**	-0.071**	-0.070*
Young learner / professional x time		0.004	0.003	0.003
Migration motive (ref.: family)				
Work			-0.088	-0.109
Education			0.532***	0.484***
Lifestyle			0.384**	0.381**
Mixed			0.167	0.149
Employment status (ref.: working)				
In education				0.026
Other (e.g. unemployed, retired)				-0.076*
Education (ref.: primary or less)				
Secondary	0.067	0.079	0.064	0.062
Tertiary	0.246***	0.242**	0.193*	0.191*
Ethnic Turk	-0.038	-0.014	-0.062	-0.055
Age at immigration/10	-0.164***	-0.102***	-0.079**	-0.077**
Female	0.177***	0.175***	0.139**	0.158***
Constant	1.599***	1.342***	1.321***	1.345***
Sigma (e)	0.372	0.370	0.370	0.371
Sigma (u)	0.532	0.525	0.502	0.490
r^2_overall	0.128	0.152	0.203	0.213
r^2_within	0.226	0.236	0.236	0.229
r^2_between	0.106	0.133	0.196	0.209
N	1,446	1,446	1,446	1,446
n	723	723	723	723

Source: SCIP 2010-2013 (wave 1+2; balanced panel). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341. *Note*: Unstandardised effects; *p<0.05.**p<0.01.***p<0.001.

Models on social integration show that recent migrants spend more time with Germans the longer they stay in the country (see Table 6). This process starts out from higher levels for young learners/professionals and target-earners even though again, the latter integrate at a slower pace (Model 2). The key determinant of social integration, however, are opportunities to socialize with Germans that come along with involvement in the labour market and educational institutions. Not working has a strong negative effect (Model 4). The migrant type does again not matter anymore once this is taken into account. The fact that Turks are ceteris paribus less likely to spend time with Germans corroborates existing studies which find that ethnic networks may reduce the motivation and the opportunities to socialize with majority members (e.g. Schacht et al. 2014).

Table 6. Random effect panel regression results for time spent with Germans (migrant types)

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
Time in Germany in months/10	0.076*	0.106**	0.103**	0.053
Migrant type (ref.: settler)				
Target-earner		0.747***	0.548*	0.383
Young learner / professional		0.441*	0.116	0.026
Interaction effects of migrant type and time in Germany (ref.: Settler x time)				
Target-earner x time		-0.171*	-0.166	-0.118
Young learner / professional x time		0.033	0.037	0.049
Migration motive (ref.: family)				
Work			0.447**	0.151
Education			0.709***	0.493*
Lifestyle			0.189	0.144
Mixed			0.535*	0.348
Employment status (ref.: working)				
In education				-0.241
Other (e.g. unemployed, retired)				-0.886***
Education (ref.: primary or less)				
Secondary	0.297	0.306	0.252	0.250
Tertiary	0.433*	0.427*	0.318	0.325
Ethnic Turk	-0.834***	-0.647***	-0.504***	-0.432**
Age at immigration/10	-0.083	-0.080	-0.067	-0.065
Female	-0.463***	--0.388***	-0.343***	-0.126
Constant	4.056***	3.689***	3.491***	3.931***
Sigma (e)	1.331	1.327	1.327	1.315
Sigma (u)	0.980	0.965	0.949	0.894
r^2_overall	0.083	0.099	0.111	0.156
r^2_within	0.010	0.018	0.018	0.037
r^2_between	0.115	0.133	0.152	0.208
N	1,446	1,446	1,446	1,446
n	723	723	723	723

Source: SCIP 2010-2013 (wave 1+2; balanced panel). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341. *Note*: Unstandardised effects;
*p<0.05.**p<0.01.***p<0.001.

Unlike newcomers' cognitive and social integration, identification with Germany overall shows little change over time (see Table 7). However, models confirm that young learners/professionals show a different pattern than the other groups: Just like individuals with tertiary education, they have much lower levels of identification at the beginning but they show the strongest increase over time (significant interaction effect for young learners/professionals and time across all models). This supports our argument that unlike migrants' social and language integration, identification with the receiving country reflects mostly the motivation for doing so. And while the young and internationally mobile cosmopolitans show little inclination to identify with Germany when they arrive, this seems to happen nevertheless once they spend more time in the country. Similar patterns of gradually reorientation have been identified by Friberg (2012) in a study among Polish migrants in Norway. Poles' and Turks' identification processes do not significantly differ over time.

We finally assess whether the explanatory power of migrant types for socio-cultural integration trajectories is higher when compared to the single variables that were used to identify them, namely intention to stay, remittances, family situation, and previous stays in Germany and the respective interaction effects with time in Germany. The models using single variables (see Table 8 in the Appendix) fit the data better than the models including migrant types (for language skills and time spent with Germans r^2_overall is slightly, for identification substantively higher). Whereas intention to stay significantly influences all dimensions of socio-cultural integration analysed here, the role of other factors such as the family situation and previous stays in Germany depends on the dimensions of socio-cultural integration under consideration.

Table 7. Random effect panel regression results for identification with Germany (migrant types)

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
Time in Germany in months/10	0.009	-0.026	-0.026	-0.025
Migrant type (ref.: settler)				
Target-earner		0.157	0.229	0.229
Young learner / professional		-0.768***	-0.638**	-0.641***
Interaction effects of migrant type and time in Germany (ref.: Settler x time)				
Target-earner x time		0.019	0.017	0.014
Young learner / professional x time		0.144*	0.145*	0.144*
Migration motive (ref.: family)				
Work			-0.228	-0.232
Education			-0.262	-0.319
Lifestyle			-0.406	-0.406
Mixed			0.055	0.044
Employment status (ref.: working)				
In education				0.067
Other (e.g. unemployed, retired)				-0.036
Education (ref.: primary or less)				
Secondary	-0.321*	-0.321*	-0.314*	-0.316*
Tertiary	-0.633***	-0.618***	-0.574***	-0.577***
Ethnic Turk	0.022	-0.034	-0.088	-0.083
Age at immigration/10	0.077	-0.037	-0.023	-0.020
Female	0.064	0.059	0.045	0.054
Constant	4.122***	4.633***	4.649***	4.644***
Sigma (e)	1.021	1.020	1.020	1.021
Sigma (u)	0.983	0.964	0.962	0.962
r^2_overall	0.023	0.046	0.052	0.053
r^2_within	0.000	0.004	0.004	0.004
r^2_between	0.031	0.060	0.068	0.069
N	1,446	1,446	1,446	1,446
n	723	723	723	723

Source: SCIP 2010-2013 (wave 1+2; balanced panel). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341. *Note*: Unstandardised effects;
*p<0.05.**p<0.01.***p<0.001.

7.6. Conclusion

This paper is one of the few studies that try to empirically identify theoretically prominent migrant types based on survey data and to assess whether migrants resembling these types show distinct integration trajectories. We were able to do this exercise due to the availability of survey data that were tailored to recent immigrants whereas data collected among the migrant stock population is heavily biased towards settlers.

Based on this data, we could identify migrants that can be described as settlers and those that resemble target-earners as depicted in the literature. However, settlers in this study are less often economically motivated as described by NE. In fact, many of those who plan to stay in Germany forever are Turks that came for family reasons. For this origin group, family migration is one of the few options to enter Germany legally and many Turks may immigrate as spouses even though working in Germany may be an important motive for coming. In our sample, most but not all economic migrants are target-earners and often come from Poland. While some will certainly stay in Germany for good and maximize their lifetime earnings as predicted by NE, most Poles start out as temporary migrants. They pursue the long-standing tradition of circular migration to Germany, as many of them have previous migration experience to the country. As a 'new' migrant type we could identify the group of 'young learners/professionals' who plan to return or to move onwards. Many aim for an educational rather than a monetary 'target'. Becker and Teney (2020) identified a similar type called 'mobile career seekers' among European physicians in Germany. Since these individuals have the chance to stay in Germany once they obtained their degree, many of them may end up as settlers. This group will gain importance in the future as inviting students and offering them the opportunity to stay after they finished their degree has become an important strategy for attracting the much sought-after skilled migrants in many countries (Sykes and Ni Chaoimh 2012). In sum, our study revealed once more how strongly 'old' and 'new' types of migrants are shaped by migration policies that require individuals to adapt their mobility patterns to the many legal restrictions they face.

At a first glance, these types show distinct patterns of socio-cultural integration over time. Notably, young learners/professionals learn German quickly and spend much time with Germans. For this group, acquiring human and social capital seems to be easier because they have the capability and the opportunities for doing so. However, this particular group identifies less strongly with Germany than settlers and target-earners, especially during their first two or so years in the country. Nevertheless, even for this group, levels of identification eventually rise and approach those of other groups. In sum, integration trajectories of the different migrant

types start out from different levels for different reasons. They also do not occur at the same pace, for example, they tend to be overall slower for target-earners. But they do not look fundamentally dissimilar for the various migrant types.

We finally tested whether using migrant types offers explanatory advantages in predicting integration trajectories as compared to using the single variables that we employed to identify these types, namely migrants' intention to stay in the country, their family situation, or previous stays in Germany. This exercise revealed that migrant types, though certainly more intuitively appealing and vivid than single 'variables', did not fit the data better and thus offered no substantial explanatory advantage. In this respect we conclude that domain-specific integration trajectories are shaped by newcomers' motivation, resources, and opportunities for integration, most importantly their intention to stay, their level of education, and their involvement in host societies' labour market and the educational system. When it comes to migrants' identification with the receiving country, their motivation matters and thus intention to stay is key. Acquiring a new language depends, in turn, on the efficiency to learn and thus partly reflects levels of education; and opportunities for meeting natives that are limited for those not involved on the labour market or in the educational system shape newcomers' social integration (Kristen et al. 2016). Once these individual level characteristics are taken into account, belonging to a certain 'type' of migrants, as described in the literature and identifiable in our data, offers no additional explanatory benefit.

Evidently, our analysis faces several limitations and challenges. Even though LCA helps us to identify complex theoretical migrant types in empirical data, its results still leave some space for interpretation and therefore cannot provide a definite classification of different migrant groups. Our study of three specific migrant types among immigrants from Poland and Turkey to Germany indicates that the number and composition of types, their prevalence in the migrant population, and their special characteristics vary across groups and contexts. Further analyses will also be required to assess whether the differences in early integration trajectories of different migrant types converge in the long run – or even become larger.

7.7. Appendix

Table 8. Random effect panel regression results for socio-cultural integration (single variables)

	German language skills	**Time spent with Germans**	**Identification with Germany**
Time in Germany in months/10	0.203***	-0.035	0.048
Intention to stay (ref.: permanent)			
Commute	-0.126	-0.131	-0.476*
Return	-0.203**	-0.849***	-0.763***
Move to another country	-0.003	-0.520	-1.085***
Interaction effects of intention to stay and time in Germany (ref.: permanent x time)			
Commute x time	-0.008	-0.033	-0.026
Return x time	0.008	0.161*	0.015
Move to another country x time	-0.035	0.119	0.054
Remittances	-0.001	-0.155	0.084
Interaction effects of remittances and time in Germany	-0.006	0.030	0.037
Family situation (ref.: no family)			
Family outside Germany	-0.131	0.462	0.855**
Family inside Germany	-0.000	-0.239	0.230
Family in different countries	-0.055	-0.039	0.721*
Interaction effects of family situation and time in Germany (ref.: no family x time)			
Family outside Germany x time	-0.065	-0.207	-0.228*
Family inside Germany x time	-0.030	0.026	-0.124
Family in different countries x time	-0.079*	0.080	-0.126
Previous stays in Germany	0.351***	0.203	-0.354*
Interaction effects of previous stays and time in Germany	-0.072***	0.006	0.148**

Table 8 (continued). Random effect panel regression results for socio-cultural integration (single variables)

	German language skills	Time spent with Germans	Identification with Germany
Migration motive (ref.: family)			
Work	-0.060	0.247	-0.125
Education	0.500***	0.580*	-0.182
Lifestyle	-0.392***	0.075	-0.490
Mixed	0.106	0.302	-0.002
Employment status (ref.: working)			
In education	0.030	-0.271	0.065
Other (e.g. unemployed, retired)	-0.084*	-0.923***	-0.047
Education (ref.: primary or less)			
Secondary	0.107	0.351*	-0.207
Tertiary	0.225**	0.471**	-0.386*
Ethnic Turk	-0.000	-0.364**	-0.042
Age at immigration/10	-0.067*	-0.103	-0.039
Female	0.167***	-0.093	0.100
Constant	1.222***	4.386***	4.634***
Sigma (e)	0.369	1.316	1.020
Sigma (u)	0.475	0.856	0.904
r^2_overall	0.254	0.183	0.113
r^2_within	0.242	0.043	0.014
r^2_between	0.256	0.246	0.146
N	1,446	1,446	1,446
n	723	723	723

Source: SCIP 2010-2013 (wave 1+2; balanced panel). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341. *Note*: Unstandardised effects; *p<0.05.**p<0.01.***p<0.001.

8. What matters more: Intention to stay or duration of stay? – The sociocultural integration trajectories of new immigrants in Germany

Franziska Spanner (submitted to "Ethnicities")

Abstract

Analyzing longitudinal data from newly arrived Italians, Poles, Turks, and Syrians in Germany, I examine the relevance of migrants' early intention to stay in the host country for their subsequent sociocultural integration trajectories. Two theoretical perspectives guide my research. The *"motivation perspective"*, based on Ajzen's theory of planned behavior, considers migrants' intention to stay as an indicator for their motivation to invest in their integration. The *"time perspective"* follows (neo-)assimilation theories and argues that migrants' integration happens more or less automatically over time – regardless of individual effort. Arguing that *"motivation"* and *"time"* may play different roles for different dimensions of migrants' sociocultural integration, I analyze how migrants' German language skills, contacts with Germans, and identification with Germany change over time. My results indicate that migrants who intend to stay in Germany permanently start out at higher levels of sociocultural integration, but do not integrate faster than temporary migrants do. I also find differences between dimensions of sociocultural integration. Time spent in the host country is – in line with previous literature on exposure – found to be crucial for migrants' German language skills, whereas their intention to stay in Germany matters most for their identification with Germany.

Keywords: assimilation theory, settlement intentions, host-country language skills, contacts with natives, identification, recent migrants

8.1. Introduction

Not all migrants plan to settle in the host country right from the beginning of their migration journey. Many intend to return to their home country, or even to circulate between the two countries because legal regulations and modern means of transport facilitate these movements (cf. Luthra et al. 2018). As an indicator for long-term settlement behavior, these early intentions are "notoriously unreliable" (Constant and Massey 2002: 23).[12] Nevertheless, migrants' own perceived settlement intentions are still important, as perceptions of situations affect individuals' behavior. As Thomas and Thomas (1928: 527) put it: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences." In this sense, early intention to stay (or not) can be expected to shape various aspects of migrants' efforts to acquire host-country specific skills and resources (integration investments), like learning the new language and establishing contacts with members of the host society. In the German context, guest workers from the 1950s and 60s are a prime example of this: both the migrants themselves and the majority members were initially under the "illusion" that the migrants would only stay temporarily (Pagenstecher 1996). But many guest workers ended up staying in Germany for the long run, and their investments in host-country-specific resources such as language skills, as well as efforts by German institutions to promote the migrants' integration, were considerably delayed.

In this article I examine the relationship between migrants' early *intention to stay* and their sociocultural integration. I thereby perceive integration as a process of adjustment that requires "the agency of both immigrants and natives" (Drouhot and Nee 2019: 79). However, this study focuses on the immigrants' role in sociocultural integration (cf. King and Skeldon 2010), in terms of their learning the host-country language, establishing ties to members of the host society, and perceiving themselves as members. Considering the intention to stay as a key factor (the *"motivation perspective"*), the extent of migrants' investments in their integration has been shown to depend on how long they intend to stay in the host country (e.g. Duleep and Regets 1999; Piore 1979). Migrants' intention to stay serves as an indicator for their individual motivation to invest in their sociocultural host country integration: a longer intended stay in the host country should translate into a higher motivation to invest in sociocultural integration, since there is more opportunity to reap the rewards of these investments in the long run. Even if the early intention changes over time, it is assumed to have an impact on individual integration investments. I compare the motivation perspective with the *"time perspective"*, which refers to

[12] However, for Switzerland, Wanner (2021) finds that at least 71 per cent of migrants who indicated an emigration intention in a survey actually left the country in the following two years.

migrants' host-country integration as simply a matter of *time spent in the host country*, mostly independent of migrants' intentions or considerations of "investments". Alba and Nee (1997: 827) depict this logic of assimilation "as a social process that occurs spontaneously and often unintendedly in the course of interaction between majority and minority groups." Thus, if time matters more, migrants' levels of sociocultural integration should rise over time spent in the destination country, regardless of their early intention to stay.

Many existing studies that look into the relationship between migrants' intention to stay in the host country and their sociocultural integration outcomes find a positive correlation (e.g. Anniste and Tammaru 2014; Haas et al. 2015; Wachter and Fleischmann 2018). Among these studies, the one by Wachter and Fleischmann on recent EU immigrants in the Netherlands stands out: its findings provide particular insights into the theoretical mechanisms relating settlement intentions to several dimensions of integration. Many other studies focus only on single integration dimensions, such as language proficiency (for Germany see: Dustmann 1999; for the Netherlands see: Geurts and Lubbers 2017; van Tubergen 2010; van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2009) or social integration (Toruńczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska 2020).

This paper aims to move beyond the existing research in several respects: First, by simultaneously observing migrants' host country language acquisition, establishment of social contacts to Germans, and identification with Germany, I provide a more comprehensive analysis of the *differential effect* of investment decisions on different dimensions of integration. Second, I analyze the impact of migrants' early intention to stay on multiple dimensions of sociocultural integration in the *German context*. And third, while previous studies are mostly based on cross-sectional data (except for Constant and Massey 2002; Wachter and Fleischmann 2018), I make use of a *longitudinal* (two-wave panel) dataset which facilitates the disentanglement of the effects of *"motivation"* and *"time"* on migrants' sociocultural integration.

Migrants' early intention to stay in the host country can change over time, and can be affected by the development of their integration process (e.g. Anniste and Tammaru 2014; Constant and Massey 2002; Haas et al. 2015; Haas and Fokkema 2011). Thus, when analyzing the impact of migrants' intention to stay on their integration at a later time, it is necessary to have a dataset that measures intention to stay at the very beginning of the integration process. Many datasets on immigrants and their integration do not contain this information, but two-wave panel data from the "Recent Immigration Processes and Early Integration Trajectories in Germany" study (ENTRA) (Diehl et al. 2024; Seuring et al. 2023) do include migrants' intention to stay shortly after arrival. To analyze these data, collected from newly-arrived Italians, Poles, Turks, and

Syrians between 2019 and 2021, I use random effects panel regressions. The results show that of the two determinants of interest in this study, migrants' motivation to invest in their integration (defined in terms of their early intention to stay) matters more for general levels of host-country integration than does the duration of their stay. However, the effects vary depending on the dimension in question: the impact of motivation is most pronounced for host-country identification, whereas time spent in the host country is mostly relevant for migrants' German language skills.

8.2. Motivation, time, and sociocultural integration: Theoretical background and empirical evidence

According to the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen 1985; Ajzen 1991), "intentions are assumed to capture the motivational factors that influence a behavior; they are indications of how much of an effort [people] are planning to exert, in order to perform the behavior" (Ajzen 1991: 181). Applying this reasoning to migrants' integration, their early plans to stay in the host country represent a pivotal intention with implications for subsequent investments in host-country-specific resources (based on Merton 1984; Roberts 1995). Consequently, migrants who plan to stay in the country will have more opportunities to benefit from their investments.

For a long time, migration research considered the typical migrants to be settlers. This assumption is based on Neoclassical Economics (NE). Because settlers plan long-term stays in the host country, they foresee reaping the benefits of their investments in integration for a long time (Duleep and Regets 1999). Hence, they are expected to strongly invest in their economic integration *as well as* their sociocultural integration. New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM), on the other hand, focuses on target-earners – migrants who intend to return to their home country after meeting a specific monetary target. This type of migrant can only benefit from their investments for a short time, and as a result, they are expected to focus on their labor-market integration which is directly related to their financial goals (Piore 1979). They therefore put only a minimal effort into establishing social ties to natives, for example, or learning the language properly. "From the perspective of the immigrant, work is essentially asocial" (Piore 1979: 514). Both – settlers and target-earners – have economic goals, such as the maximization of lifetime earnings (NE) (Harris and Todaro 1970; Sjaastad 1962) or earning targets (NELM) (Stark 1991; Stark and Yitzhaki 1988), for which they strive and to which they adapt their integration investments. Their sociocultural integration is closely related to a cost-benefit analysis of investments and depends on their intention to stay.

This logic of motivation is implicitly challenged by (neo-)assimilation theories, which consider integration less as an active process of investment and more as a time-consuming, unintended, and nearly inevitable process (cf. Alba and Nee 1997). Assimilation theories share the idea that immigrants' opportunities for integration increase with their duration of stay, as does their level of integration. This reasoning is, at least for the United States, supported by studies on several integration dimensions, such as employment (Akresh 2008), language acquisition (Akresh et al. 2014), and religious activity (Connor 2009).

This brief overview provides a backdrop for the two theoretical perspectives of interest in this study: the first emphasizes the role of *motivation*, and the second highlights *time* as a key factor for migrants' integration. The aim of this article is to empirically assess which of these is more relevant for shaping migrants' integration trajectories. As I spell out in the following section, the relevance of *motivation* and *time* can be expected to vary across different integration outcomes.

8.2.1. Language skills

Host-country language skills are an important precondition for migrants' labor-market entry, and bear considerable economic returns (e.g. Chiswick and Miller 2010; Dustmann and van Soest 2002; Kanas and Kosyakova 2023). But language skills can also be helpful for establishing social contacts with natives and fostering feelings of belonging (Esser 2006). Learning a new language requires considerable time and effort, so migrants' investments in language skills are expected to be strongly related to their settlement intentions and the prospective payoff. Thus, for settlers with long-term perspectives, the motivation to invest in this dimension of integration should be high. Target-earners, on the other hand, should be less intrinsically motivated to learn the language, and can be expected to acquire only the language skills they need to get a job that helps them reach their financial target (cf. Bonacich 1972; Duleep and Regets 1999). These motivation-related arguments are supported by previous cross-sectional studies which find that migrants who intend to stay in the host country have better host country language skills than migrants who plan to return or do not know about their future migration plans (e.g. Dustmann 1999; van Tubergen 2010; van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2009). Analyzing mini-panel data from new immigrants in the Netherlands, Geurts and Lubbers (2017) show that migrants who plan from the beginning to stay permanently (or revise their settlement intention into a permanent one after some time) have better Dutch skills over time than migrants who plan to stay only temporarily. Yet, Kristen et al. (2016) find no significant relationship, and Kristen and Seuring (2021) identify a negative correlation between migrants' settlement plans

and their host-country language skills. According to the theoretical arguments on the *motivation perspective* and to most of the related studies, permanent migrants[13] improve their German language skills faster over time than temporary migrants (H1a).

From the perspective of assimilation theory, on the other hand, language proficiency should simply improve with extended exposure to the host-country language (Chiswick and Miller 1995; Chiswick and Miller 2001), so immigrants' time of residence in the host country should be the most important determinant, whether or not they plan to stay for good. The longer migrants stay in the host country, the longer they are exposed to the host-country language via listening to natives speaking, for instance, or consuming host-country media, and the better they can develop their skills in the host country-language (e.g. Espenshade and Fu 1997; Kristen et al. 2016; Liebau and Romiti 2014). Hence, the *time perspective* assumes that all migrants improve their German language skills over time (H1b).

8.2.2. Social contacts

Migrants' social contacts have a labor-market payoff (Granovetter 1973; Kanas et al. 2012; Koopmans 2016; Lancee and Hartung 2012), but they also affect immigrants' individual life satisfactions and levels of stress (Walther et al. 2020). Settlers should be highly motivated to establish contacts with host-country members. First, they are interested in a long-term economic benefit, and contacts with natives can help them get higher-status jobs (Kalter and Kogan 2014). Second, they aim to become full members of the host society, which involves establishing social ties within that society. Target-earners, however, can be expected to concentrate mainly on earning their target as quickly as possible; therefore, they often "have little interest in social activities" (Massey 1986: 671; Piore 1979) in the host country. Due to their intention to return, they are expected to stay oriented towards their home country after migration, and to have "no real ties […] to the host society" (Massey 1986; 671). Existing research on immigrants in Germany (Martinovic et al. 2015) and the Netherlands (Wachter and Fleischmann 2018) confirms the positive impact of settlement intentions on social ties within the host country. Thus, the *motivation perspective* expects that permanent migrants have more contacts with natives over time than temporary migrants (H2a).

According to (neo-)assimilation theory, migrants' contacts with natives simply increase over time as they acquire more opportunities to interact with host-country members. Although Wachter and Fleischmann (2018), contrary to their expectations, find no time effect on

[13] I refer to migrants who initially intend to stay permanently, to stay temporarily, or to circulate as "permanent migrants," "temporary migrants," and "circular migrants," respectively.

immigrants' social integration in the Netherlands, Schacht et al. (2014) show an increase in migrants' interethnic friendships in Germany over generations. And Martinovic et al. (2009a; 2015) observe increases in interethnic contacts with time spent in the host country for Germany and the Netherlands. Following the *time* perspective, all migrants have more contacts with natives over time (H2b).

8.2.3. Identification

Identification with the host country is a unique indicator of integration because it does not require particular skills or resources. To identify with the host country is a purely personal decision (cf. Brewer 1991) that does not depend on permission from the majority, even though in-group norms or experienced rejection by the host society may dampen corresponding efforts (e.g. Holtz et al. 2013; Martinovic and Verkuyten 2012; for an overview, see Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012a). A migrant's identification with the host country reflects a desire to become a full member of that society. This should be more pronounced among permanent migrants because they already intend to stay for good. Furthermore, target-earners have lower incentives to identify with the host country, as identification increases the psychic costs of remigrating: to some extent, emotional attachments must be cut loose when leaving the country. Thus, even from the beginning of their stay, there should be differences between immigrants in their identification with the host country, based on their settlement intentions. The few available studies on the relationship between migrants' intention to stay and identification with the host country support the expected correlation (Di Saint Pierre et al. 2015; Toruńczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska 2020). So, the *motivation perspective* argues that permanent migrants identify more with Germany than temporary migrants already at the beginning of their integration process (H3a).

Following the *time* perspective, assimilation theories argue that migrants' identification with their host country happens only after they have made considerable progress in their economic, cultural, and social integration (Alba and Nee 1997). Since all these forms of integration take time, identification should only emerge after a longer time has been spent in the host country. "Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow" (Gordon 1964: 81). However, the literature on the 'integration paradox' suggests that migrants who stay longer in the host country get more sensitive towards discrimination and negative experiences within the host society and therefore identify less with the host country (e.g. Geurts et al. 2021; Vroome et al. 2014a). Several studies of different groups in different countries indicate that time spent

in the host country increases familiarity with host-country members, habits, and culture, and thus stimulates national identification (Diehl et al. 2016a; Ono 2002; Vroome et al. 2014a; Walters et al. 2007; Zimmermann et al. 2007). Hence, according to the *time perspective,* all migrants identify more with Germany the over time (H3b).

8.3. Italians, Poles, Syrians, and Turks in Germany

In this paper I focus on four groups of origin in Germany: Italians, Poles, Syrians, and Turks. These differ substantially with regard to their contexts of origin and immigration that also affect their sociocultural integration. To describe the context of my study; I provide a brief overview of these groups in this section (see Table 9).

Turks and Poles represent the two largest immigrant groups in Germany: respectively, there are 2.8 million and 2.2 million individuals with a migration background from these countries. Migrants from these groups thus encounter sizable ethnic communities upon their arrival. On the one hand, these communities may provide supportive networks and organizations (cf. Easton-Calabria and Wood 2020; Svendsen et al. 2008), but on the other hand, they reduce incentives to integrate (cf. Chiswick and Miller 2001; Crul and Schneider 2012; Lazear 1999). By contrast, the communities of Italians and Syrians living in Germany, are much smaller (only about 850,000 persons each). Most of the Syrians entered in 2015 and 2016, along with a large number of co-ethnics.

Turks, Poles, and Italians have a long history of migration to Germany. Many Italian and Turkish migrants came to Germany as guest workers in the 1950s and 1960s, followed by their families after labor recruitment stopped in 1973. Italians have enjoyed free movement within the EU since 1958. For Turks, family reunification remains an important migration channel to Germany. This channel of entry has fewer conditions, unlike labor migration, which requires an individual to hold a job offer or an educational degree from Germany to be authorized for immigration. Many Poles arrived as post-war migrants after 1945 or as *Aussiedler*[14] from 1950 to the early 1990s. Since 2011, they have mainly come to Germany as labor migrants and, like Italians, they are not subject to administrative immigration processes.

Immigrants from Syria, who are mostly refugees, belong to a comparatively new immigrant group. Without previous ties to Germany, they lack migrant networks to support their integration. Because the circumstances of forced migration are often chaotic, refugees invest

[14] "Ethnic Germans" from former Eastern bloc states such as Poland, Romania, and the former Soviet Union who came to Germany to settle.

less in integration in the destination country before migrating. Therefore, compared to other migrant groups, they often have lower initial sociocultural integration levels (Chiswick and Miller 1995; van Tubergen 2010; Vroome et al. 2011) and lower human capital endowments (Brell et al. 2020).

Table 9. Migration history and immigration context of research population

	Italians	**Poles**	**Syrians**	**Turks**
Number in Germany[a]	873,000	2,237,000	843,000	2,824,000
Migration movements	Guest worker migration (1955–1973) Family reunification (early 1970s–1993)	Post-war migration (after 1945) *Aussiedler* migration (1949–1990) Labor migration (2011–)	Refugee migration (peak in 2015/2016)	Guest worker migration (1961–1973) Family reunification (early 1970s–)
Migration motives	Work Education	Work Family Education	Political reasons	Family Work Education
Immigration framework	Free movement within EU since 1957	Free movement within EU since 2011	Application for asylum	Family reunification EU Blue Card Settlement permit after completing education

References: Berlinghoff (2018); Babka von Gostomski (2016); Constant and Massey 2002; Destatis (2020); Loew (2017).
[a] In 2019.

8.4. Data and analytical strategy

The analyses presented in the following section are based on two-wave mini-panel data from the ENTRA study (Diehl et al. 2024; Seuring et al. 2023). This survey was conducted among migrants from Italy, Poland, Syria, and Turkey who had lived in Germany no more than five years. The data give insights into the dynamics of new immigrants' integration shortly after arrival, when they tend to make the greatest investments (Chiswick and Miller 1994). Respondents in each group were sampled from five out of eight cities: Berlin, Munich, Stuttgart,

Cologne, Hamburg, Bremen, Dortmund, and Essen. The first wave was conducted in 2019, and the respondents were reinterviewed 1.5 years later. Note that the second phase of data collection took place during the COVID-19 pandemic; I return to the implications of this in the conclusion.

In each wave, respondents could choose between being interviewed in person, by telephone, or online. Since the target group comprises immigrants who had arrived in Germany only recently, the dataset captures information on their early intention to stay in Germany (before they have had time to revise this). Furthermore, the panel structure of the dataset enables me to investigate this article's key question, whether migrants' early intention to stay shapes their early sociocultural integration trajectories. The second wave of the data also includes a small number of remigrants (see Figure 6 in the Appendix) that I excluded from the analysis sample, as the focus of the study is on integration trajectories of migrants in the host country. After excluding 653 cases with missing information on the relevant variables, and only including migrants who participated in both waves of the survey, the balanced panel comprises 2,254 respondents.

8.4.1. Variables used in the analysis

Table 11 in the appendix gives an overview of the constructs used in the analyses and detailed information on the related questions. The first indicator for sociocultural integration, the level of German language proficiency, is operationalized by a mean index of self-assessed language skills. This index is composed of four questions: "How well would you say you can understand German when someone is speaking to you?" and "How well would you say you can speak/read/write German?" Respondents were asked to reply to each question using a six-point scale (from 0=not at all to 5=on a native speaker level).

For the second indicator, contacts with Germans, the question was: "Please think about the Germans in your address book or your phone contacts. With how many of them did you have a conversation - either by phone, messenger chat, or text exchange - in the last 4 weeks?" Since personal contacts with natives were also measured in the survey but were de facto occasionally restricted during the COVID-19 pandemic in Germany, this question represents a reasonable alternative. The answers were recorded in five categories (0=0, 1=1 to 2, 2=3 to 6, 3=7 to 14, and 4=15 or more).

Respondents' identification with Germany was measured by asking "How close do you feel to Germans?" Answers were ranked 0=not close at all, 1=not very close, 2=fairly close, and 3=very close.

The main explanatory variables are the respondents' early intention to stay and time spent in Germany. The early intention to stay was captured in wave 1, and differentiates between migrants who intend to stay permanently (0=stay), those who intend to circulate between their home country and Germany (1=circulate), those who intend to return to their home country (2=return), and those who plan to move to another country (3=other country). Evidently, migrants' intention to stay is not randomly assigned across migrants. However, with the data in use effects of migrants' integration on their intention to stay and vice versa cannot be empirically disentangled.

To test the time perspective, I investigate changes in migrants' sociocultural integration between wave 1 and wave 2 by controlling for wave. Migrants' duration of stay (in months) in the first wave is also considered in the random effects panel regressions so I can control for initial differences in migrants' levels of integration. Selectivity issues in general also apply to migrants' duration of stay but should be less pronounced within the data of newly arrived immigrants.

Besides the explanatory factors of interest, the models control for migrants' previous stays in Germany (as an indicator for earlier experience in Germany), individual level of education (in years), employment status, ethnic group, age at immigration, and gender.

8.4.2. Analytical strategy

Using the balanced panel, I calculate random effects panel regressions (Wooldridge 2020) for each of the three dimensions of sociocultural integration discussed above. To analyze how migrants' early intention to stay shapes their sociocultural integration trajectories over time and to capture faster or slower integration processes of migrants with different intentions to stay, I include interaction terms between the early intention to stay and wave in the models. The findings in the results section are presented as predictive margins that are based on the full models (see Table 12 in the appendix).

Table 10 shows a descriptive overview for the respondents included in the balanced panel. Regarding the three dimensions of sociocultural integration, the differences between time trends are clear. The mean level of German language skills increases for all groups between the first and second wave, but the number of Germans with whom the respondents had a conversation during the last four weeks develops differently across groups. Italians' and Syrians' contacts with Germans increase slightly between the two waves, but the number of contacts remains unchanged for Poles and Turks, or even decreases. The trajectories of identification with

Germany also vary for different groups of origin: whereas the mean levels for Italians, Syrians, and Turks do not change considerably between the two waves, Poles identify slightly more with Germany over time.

More than half of the respondents in each group intend to stay in Germany permanently. Among Syrian immigrants, the proportion is three quarters. The distribution of all other respondents across the temporary stay categories varies between groups. The respondents in the analysis sample have spent between one month and four years in Germany. On average, Italians, Poles, and Turks had spent about two years in Germany when surveyed for the first time. Syrians, by contrast, had already been staying in Germany for more than three years. This reflects the comparatively strong concentration of the inflow of Syrians to Germany in 2015 (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2019) – four years before the data collection for the ENTRA survey started.

About 30 per cent of each group had prior stays in Germany for more than four weeks before the current stay, with the exception of Syrians. All groups are relatively highly educated, with 14 to 16 years of education completed. As for employment status, different labor market integration policies that come along with different integration regimes are reflected in group differences. Syrians and Turks are less often employed than Italians and Poles, but the shares of working individuals in these groups increase between the first and the second wave. In general, the respondents in the sample are relatively young, with a mean age at immigration of 25 years (Syrians), over 26 (Italians), and 27 (Poles, Turks). While more than half of the respondents from Italy (53 percent) and Poland (66 percent) are female, women make up only 36 percent of the Syrians and 42 percent of the Turks.

Table 10. Descriptive statistics by country of origin (means(*SD*) and percentages)

	Italy (n= 560)		**Poland (n= 584)**		**Syria (n= 531)**		**Turkey (n=579)**		***N***
	Wave 1	**Wave 2**	**Wave 1**	**Wave 2**	**Wave 1**	**Wave 2**	**Wave 1**	**Wave 2**	
Sociocultural integration outcomes									
German language skills (mean index: 0 not at all – 5 native speaker level)	2.56 (*1.45*)	2.77 (*1.39*)	2.55 (*1.18*)	2.72 (*1.12*)	3.03 (*0.83*)	3.18 (*0.82*)	2.44 (*1.16*)	2.64 (*1.11*)	2.254
Number of Germans contacted in the previous four weeks									
0	10.71	8.93	18.66	16.95	15.82	12.24	19.34	18.13	2.254
1 to 2	31.25	31.61	34.59	34.08	35.59	34.09	32.12	34.20	2.254
3 to 6	36.61	36.61	32.02	34.93	25.05	26.55	29.02	31.43	2.254
7 to 14	13.21	16.43	11.13	9.25	14.12	16.95	11.57	9.67	2.254
15 or more	8.21	6.43	3.60	4.79	9.42	10.17	7.94	6.56	2.254
Identification with Germany (0 not close at all – 3 very close)	1.52 (*0.74*)	1.47 (*0.73*)	1.23 (*0.80*)	1.32 (*0.76*)	1.92 (*0.85*)	1.93 (*0.80*)	1.74 (*0.78*)	1.68 (*0.73*)	2.254
Independent variables									
Intention to stay									
Stay	50.89		53.94		74.58		50.60		2.177
Circulate	8.57		15.58		9.04		22.28		2.177
Return	17.32		16.44		8.66		13.82		2.177
Other country	23.21		14.04		7.72		13.30		2.177
Time spent in Germany (in months)	25.26 (*13.00*)	42.69 (*12.98*)	25.36 (*13.08*)	43.46 (*13.07*)	39.60 (*10.50*)	56.74 (*10.73*)	22.59 (*12.30*)	40.14 (*12.29*)	2.254

Table 10 (continued). Descriptive statistics (means(*SD*) and percentages) by country of origin

	Italy (n= 560)		**Poland (n= 584)**		**Syria (n= 531)**		**Turkey (n=579)**		***N***
	Wave 1	**Wave 2**	**Wave 1**	**Wave 2**	**Wave 1**	**Wave 2**	**Wave 1**	**Wave 2**	
Control variables									
Previous stays in Germany (0/1)	29.82		33.56		1.69		27.46		2.254
Education (years)	16.37		16.23		14.22		15.53		
	(*3.37*)		(*3.18*)		(*4.11*)		(*3.66*)		2.254
Employment status									
Working	81.25	78.93	77.74	80.14	38.42	48.78	54.06	61.14	2.254
In education	9.11	8.93	7.19	4.28	30.13	16.95	24.01	17.44	2.254
Other	9.64	12.14	15.07	15.58	31.45	34.27	21.93	21.42	2.254
Age at immigration	26.43		27.00		25.35		27.04		2.254
	(*5.15*)		(*5.21*)		(*5.65*)		(*5.92*)		
Female	52.86		66.10		35.59		41.97		2.254

Source: ENTRA 2019-2021 (wave 1+2; balanced panel). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014.

8.5. Results

The multivariate analyses reveal a different relevance of migrants' early intention to stay for different dimensions of their sociocultural integration. Figure 3 illustrates the development of recent immigrants' self-assessed German language proficiency between the first and second interviews. There is clear support for the time perspective, whereas this is not the case for the motivation perspective. Migrants who intend to stay permanently improve their German language skills at the same speed as migrants who intend to return or to move to another country, though the former start out at higher levels. Furthermore, circular migrants develop their German language skills on a similarly high level as permanent migrants. Thus, motivation does not seem to be decisive for new immigrants' language acquisition after arrival (H1a).

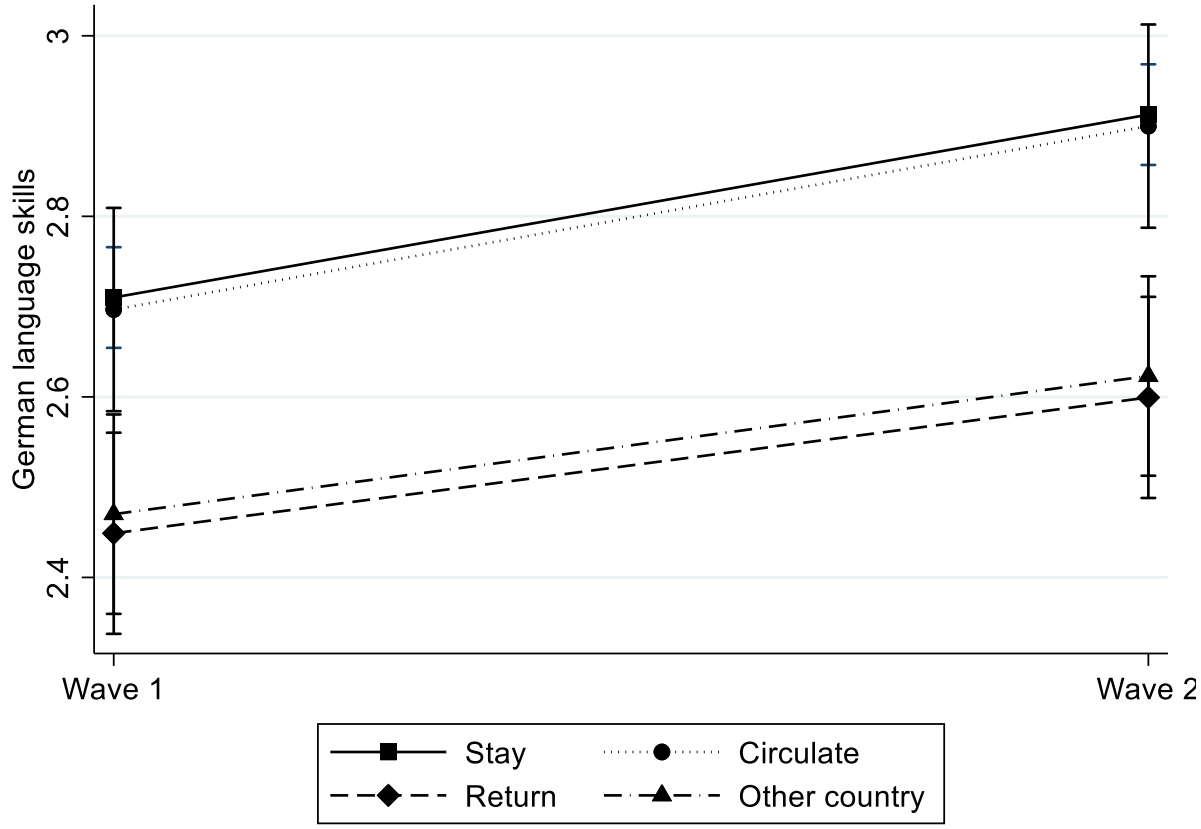

Figure 3. German language proficiency by early intention to stay and over time

(Source: ENTRA 2019-2021 (wave 1+2; balanced panel); N=2.254. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. *Note*: Predicted margins based on random effects panel regression model.)

The results do confirm that new immigrants increase their German language skills over time (H1b), irrespective of their early intention to stay. This corresponds with previous findings on immigrants' exposure (e.g. Esser, 2006), and indicates that the mechanism of exposure worked despite the reduced learning opportunities experienced during the COVID-19 pandemic. Taken

together, the findings on the motivation perspective are in line with the results of other studies that report counterintuitive patterns of the relationship between intention to stay and migrants' host-country language acquisition (Kristen et al. 2016; cf. Kristen and Seuring 2021).

To get a grasp on the individual preconditions of German language skill acquisition and concrete investments in German language skills, Table 13 in the appendix provides additional information differentiated by the intention to stay. It gives an overview of self-assessed German language proficiency before migration and investments in German language skills before and after migration. It indicates only small differences in language skill investments between migrants with different intentions to stay. Permanent migrants even report a lower German language proficiency and less investments in German language skills before migration than all other groups. And yet, after migration they invest more in German language skills than migrants who intend to stay only temporarily.

Figure 4 shows the differences in establishing contacts with Germans across groups with different early intentions to stay over time. The results support neither the motivation perspective nor the time perspective. Although migrants who intend to stay permanently have more contacts with Germans at the time of the first interview, their contacts with natives increase only marginally between the two waves. This contradicts the idea of migrants' motivation being decisive (H2a). However, this finding may also point to pandemic-related contact restrictions, an issue discussed in the conclusion. Moreover, the initial differences between permanent and temporary migrants may also reflect the tendency of migrants with more initial contacts with natives to stay permanently.

In wave 1, circular migrants' contacts with natives are lower than those of permanent migrants but increase slightly over time. The minimal and statistically nonsignificant increase of permanent migrants' contacts with natives, as well as the small drop in contacts of migrants who intend to move to another country, challenge the idea of social assimilation over time irrespective of the individual intention to stay (H2b). Although the dependent variable refers to contacts via phone, chat, and text exchange, the overall relatively low numbers of contacted Germans may still reflect the pandemic-related restrictions in personal social contacts. For data visualization reasons, I treated the categorical dependent variable as a metric one in the analysis. As a robustness check, I calculated ordered logistic regression models; these arrive at similar results, with the effects pointing in the same direction and with similar statistical significance levels.

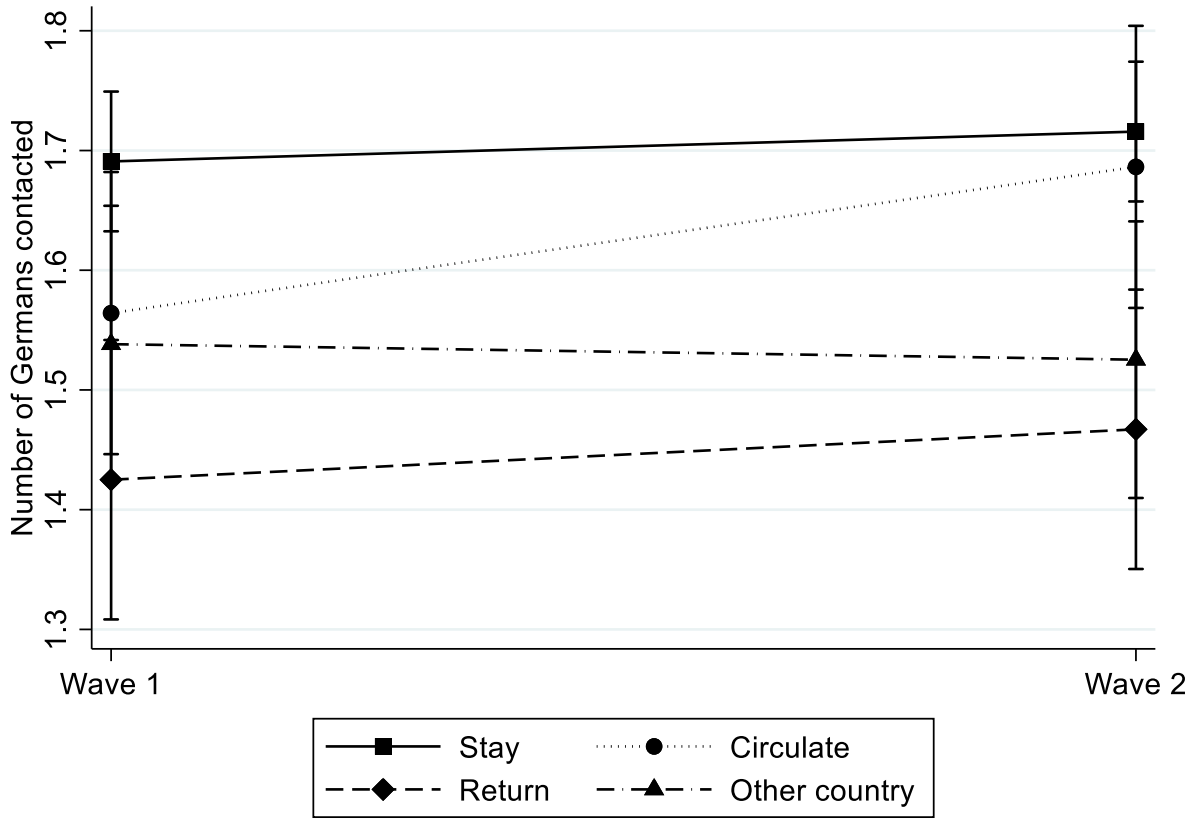

Figure 4. Number of Germans contacted in the previous 4 weeks by early intention to stay and over time

(Source: ENTRA 2019-2021 (wave 1+2; balanced panel); N=2.254. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. *Note*: Predicted margins based on random effects panel regression model.)

Figure 5 depicts differences in recent immigrants' identification with Germany over time by the early intention to stay. While time has less impact, strong initial differences in identification with Germany point to the relevance of motivation. Migrants who intend to stay permanently feel closer to Germans than migrants who only intend to stay temporarily (H3a), indicating that their commitment to the host country is already high shortly after their arrival. This result is also statistically significant.

The initial differences in identification with Germany between groups with different intentions to stay remain more stable over time, as compared to differences in other dimensions of sociocultural integration. Permanent migrants identify slightly less with Germany between wave 1 and wave 2, although they start out at relatively high levels of identification. This may reflect a disillusionment after some time in the host country, also known as a "honeymoon effect," which has also been identified in other spheres of migrants' host-country integration (e.g. Mühlau and Röder 2012). Only migrants who intend to go back to their home country identify more with Germany over time, whereas circular migrants and migrants who intend to

move to another country identify equally with Germany in wave 1 and wave 2. The full model (Table 12 in the appendix) even shows a small but statistically significant negative effect of the second survey wave, indicating that the time perspective finds no empirical support for host-country identification (H3b).

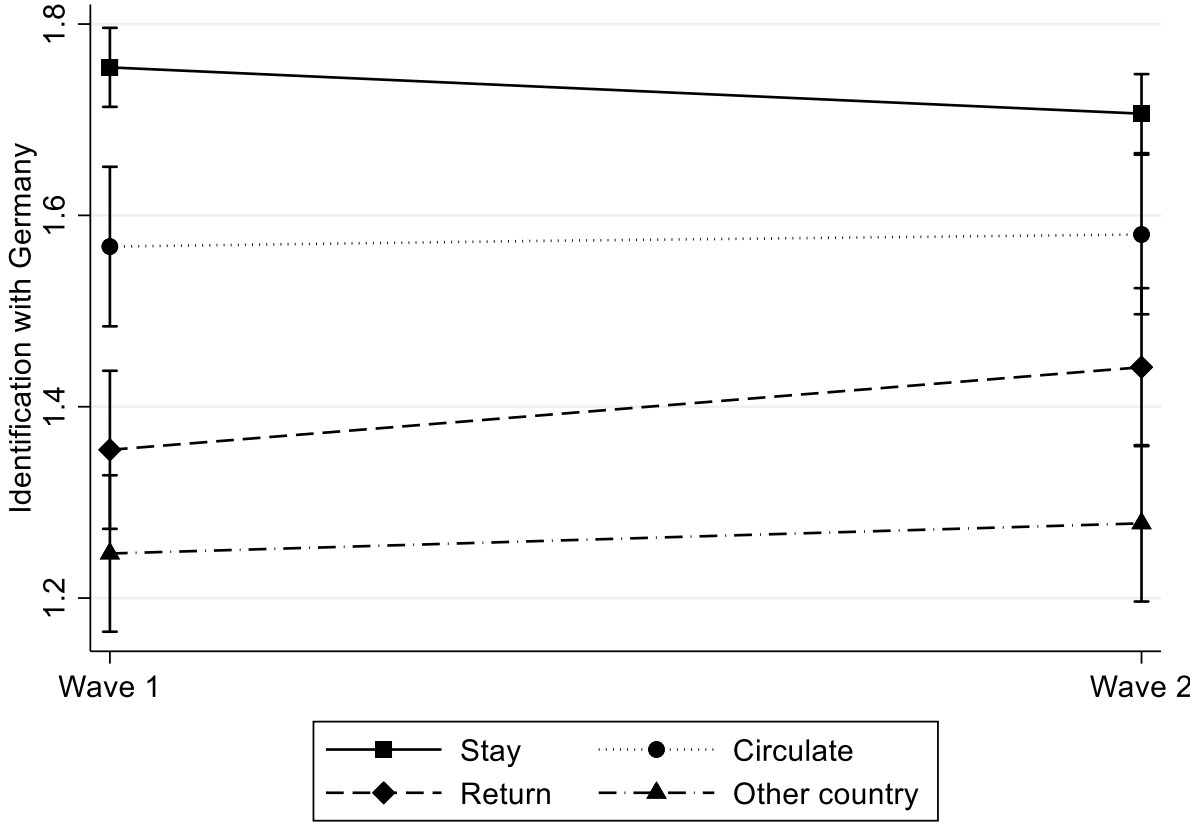

Figure 5. Feeling close to Germans by early intention to stay and over time

(Source: ENTRA 2019-2021 (wave 1+2; balanced panel); N=2.254. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. *Note*: Predicted margins based on random effects panel regression model.)

To ensure that the results of the analysis are not driven by the special characteristics and immigration contexts of refugees, or by revised settlement intentions in wave 2, all models were replicated once excluding Syrians, and once excluding respondents who changed their intention to stay. The main results are robust to these modifications. As migration motives can influence both intention to stay and duration of stay, and therefore can be decisive for migrants' further integration trajectories, the full models were also calculated including migration motives as a robustness check. To be able to visualize changes in migrants' sociocultural integration between wave 1 and wave 2, the time stamps for wave 1 and wave 2 were used as time indicators in the random effects regression models. However, duration of stay is a more precise indicator to test the time perspective and therefore was used as a time variable in further robustness checks. The addition of migration motives as explanatory variables as well as the replacement of the time

variable caused no significant changes to the main results. All robustness check analyses are available upon request.

8.6. Discussion

This article disentangles two perspectives on recent immigrants' sociocultural integration: first, the idea of migrants' integration as propelled by their motivation to integrate; and second, the (neo-)assimilationist concept of migrants' integration as a matter of time spent in the host country. Two drivers can be derived from these two explanations, namely immigrants' reported intention to stay (motivation perspective), and their actual duration of stay in the host country (time perspective). These factors are analyzed for three different dimensions of migrants' sociocultural host-country integration, namely the acquisition of the German language, the establishment of social contacts with Germans, and identification with Germany.

If the explanations from the time perspective hold, I would expect migrants' integration in all three dimensions to increase with the time they have spent in the host country. Following the motivation perspective, German language skills and social contacts with Germans should increase faster over time, and identification with Germany should already be higher shortly after arrival among those immigrants who plan to stay permanently, compared to those planning only a temporary stay.

Two waves of data that were collected among recently arrived immigrants enabled me to analyze these potential explanations for migrants' integration trajectories empirically and comparatively for the three different indicators. One advantage of these data is that they contain information about the intention to stay that migrants hold at the beginning of their integration process in Germany. Moreover, the panel structure of these data allows for an investigation of migrants' later integration trajectories for all three indicators.

Overall, the analyses reveal that, although migrants' settlement intentions may change over time (e.g. Constant and Massey 2002; Dustmann 2003; Massey 1986), the *early* settlement intentions matter for migrants' early sociocultural integration shortly after arrival. However, settlement intentions play a different role for various dimensions of sociocultural integration. Migrants who intend to stay permanently in Germany generally start out at higher levels of sociocultural integration than temporary migrants, but they do not proceed faster in any integration dimension under consideration. Differences between permanent and temporary migrants' integration levels are most pronounced in the initial levels of identification with Germany, with permanent migrants identifying from the start more strongly with Germany than all other migrants. This is

in line with the idea that identification strongly depends on individual decisions (cf. Fozdar and Hartley 2014) made early in the integration process which, at least for permanent migrants, can be hampered later on by negative experiences in the host country (cf. Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012a).

Time spent in the host country only has an overall positive impact on migrants' German language skills. This finding is in line with earlier empirical studies on host-country language exposure (e.g. Espenshade and Fu 1997; Geurts and Lubbers 2017; Kristen and Seuring 2021). For contacts with natives and identification with Germany, time is shown to be statistically nonsignificant and, for the latter, even negatively associated. The finding on identification contradicts assimilation theories by showing that identification requires little time and effort, similarly indicating that willingness is crucial.

When comparing the effects of both motivation and time on migrants' sociocultural integration, motivation – as indicated by their intention to stay for good – turns out to be more relevant for differences in initial levels of integration than for trajectories over time. This confirms the research of Wachter and Fleischmann (2018), who find differences over time only for language proficiency between new immigrants in the Netherlands with intentions to stay permanently and those with intentions to stay temporarily. The authors find no such differences for contacts with natives or consumption of Dutch media. More specifically, motivation is especially key for early commitments to the host society in terms of identification. Circular migrants' higher levels of integration, compared to those of other temporary migrants, could reflect their engagement and thus their integration investments in their home and host societies. Furthermore, even if their early intention to stay is short-term, their investments may pay off in the long run because of subsequent trips to Germany.

The COVID-19 pandemic, which started between wave 1 and wave 2 of the data collection, poses a limitation to the analyses, as the potentially negative effects of the pandemic on migrants' integration cannot be fully eliminated. Moreover, the pandemic makes it more challenging to interpret the results regarding social interactions with natives. Even though a measure of phone and virtual contacts was used as an indicator for contacts with natives, the argument that contact restrictions during the pandemic caused stagnation or even a decrease in social contacts cannot be entirely ruled out. However, the development of host-country language skills and identification over time is in line with findings on pre-pandemic data, indicating that the potential effects of the pandemic, such as reduced opportunities to learn the language, are at least not so strong that they distort the results. Despite the aforementioned

advantages of using the ENTRA panel data for the analysis, the two-wave structure limits the scope of this study to a snapshot of immigrants' very early integration trajectories. Scrutinizing the impact of migrants' early intention to stay on their long-term sociocultural integration remains a topic for further research. The analyses further highlight some significant differences in the sociocultural integration between the four included groups of origin suggesting that the importance of *motivation* and *time* varies across different migration contexts. Hence, future research might also further investigate the interplay between the two mechanisms and group-specific contexts.

In the context of the large-scale immigration of refugees to Western Europe in 2015 and 2016, the impact of migrants' settlement perspectives (*Bleibeperspektive*) on their host-country integration – not only in terms of intentions but also in terms of legal opportunities - has been discussed extensively among policymakers (for the Netherlands: Bonjour and Duyvendak 2018; for Germany: Dahmen et al. 2017). And this debate about how integration is shaped by settlement possibilities and intentions gains new relevance with the recent immigration flows from Ukraine. According to data from the Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat (2022), 42 percent of recent Ukrainian refugees plan to stay in Germany for the next few months, whereas 32 percent intend to return home "soon." My analyses reveal that migrants with shorter expected durations of stay do not integrate more slowly than migrants who intend to stay permanently, even though they often start out at lower levels. This indicates that the initial motivation to integrate in terms of intention to stay is not as decisive for migrants' integration as the public debate would have it. With the war in Ukraine ongoing for almost a year at the time of writing this article, it must be assumed that external circumstances do not necessarily allow for safe returns any time "soon." Therefore, it is important to support all immigrants in their host-country integration, whatever their intention to stay, to ensure equal participation for all.

8.7. Appendix

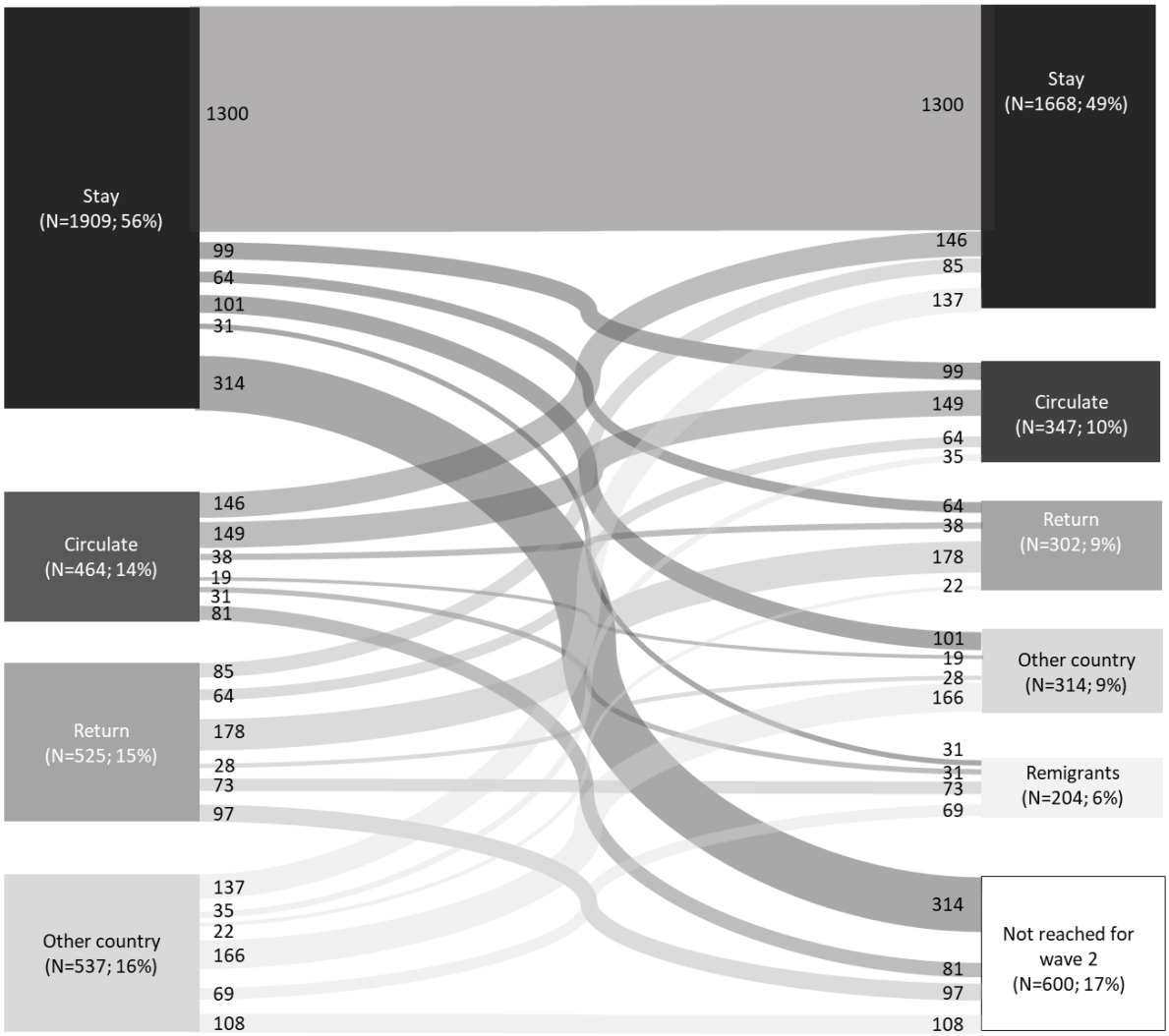

Figure 6. Changes in intention to stay between wave 1 and wave 2 (including remigrants; unbalanced panel)

(Source: ENTRA 2019-2021. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. *Note*: Figure was created with Excel Power-User. N=3.435)

Table 11. Constructs and measurements

Construct	**Question**	**Categories**	
		Value	**Label**
Sociocultural integration outcomes			
German language skills	How well would you say you can understand German when someone is speaking to you? How well would you say you can speak/read/write German?	0	not at all
		1	not well
		2	so and so
		3	well
		4	very well
		5	on a native speaker level
Contact to natives	Please think about the Germans in your address book or your phone contacts. With how many of them did you have a conversation - either by phone, messenger chat, or text exchange - in the last 4 weeks?	0	0
		1	1 to 2
		2	3 to 6
		3	7 to 14
		4	15 or more
Identification with Germany	How close do you feel to Germans?	0	not close at all
		1	not very close
		2	fairly close
		3	very close
Independent variables			
Intention to stay	What best describes your current situation or which comes closest?	0	I expect to stay in Germany.
		1	I expect to move between Germany and [CO] on a regular basis.
		2	I live here now but I expect to return to [CO] to live there in the future.
		3	I live here now but I expect to live in another country in the future.
Time spent in Germany	When did you arrive in Germany? (If this isn‘t your first trip please think about this current trip. Please name the month and year.) Date of the interview		XX/XXXX (mm/yyyy)

Table 11 (continued). Constructs and measurements

Construct	**Question**	**Categories**	
		Value	**Label**
Control variables			
Previous stays in Germany	Before you moved to Germany this time - have you ever spent a period of more than four weeks in Germany?	0	no
		1	yes
Education	In total, how many years of education did you complete? (Please include all years from primary school to university but exclude language classes.)		XX
Employment status	Are you currently working?	0	yes
		1	no
	Are you currently unemployed, in education, looking after children, or something else?	1	unemployed, actively looking for work
		2	unemployed, not looking for work
		3	in education
		4	doing an internship
		5	retired
		6	long term sick or disabled
		7	looking after the home or children
		8	on maternity or paternity leave
		9	something else
Age at immigration	How old are you?		XX(yy)
Sex	Are you male or female?	0	male
		1	female

Table 12. Random effect panel regression results for German language proficiency, number of Germans contacted in previous 4 weeks, and feeling close to Germans

	Language	**Contacts**	**Identification**
Intention to stay (ref.: stay)			
Circulate	-0.013	-0.127	-0.187***
Return	-0.261***	-0.266***	-0.400***
Other country	-0.240***	-0.153*	-0.508***
Wave 2	0.203***	0.025	-0.048*
Interaction effects of intention to stay and wave (ref.: stay x wave 1)			
Circulate x w2	0.001	0.097	0.061
Return x w2	-0.052	0.017	0.135**
Other country x w2	-0.050	-0.038	0.080
Duration of stay (months)	0.016***	0.006***	0.000
Previous stays in Germany	0.567***	0.275***	0.111***
Education (years)	0.045***	0.029***	-0.002
Employment status (ref.: working)			
In education	0.052	-0.115*	-0.089**
Other (e.g. unemployed, retired)	-0.081**	-0.286***	-0.062*
Group of origin (ref.: Italians)			
Poles	-0.034	-0.272***	-0.239***
Syrians	0.342***	-0.036	0.350***
Turks	-0.006	-0.166*	0.181***
Age at immigration	-0.078***	-0.023***	-0.001
Female	0.081	-0.170**	-0.153***
Constant	4.942***	1.889***	1.805***
Sigma (e)	0.406	0.738	0.554
Sigma (u)	0.916	0.753	0.502
r^2_overall	0.268	0.085	0.151
r^2_within	0.093	0.005	0.006
r^2_between	0.280	0.109	0.195
N	4,508	4,508	4,508
n	2,254	2,254	2,254

Source: ENTRA 2019-2021 (balanced panel). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. *Note*: Unstandardized effects; *p<0.05.**p<0.01.***p<0.001.

Table 13. Investments in language skills by intention to stay (means and percentages)

	Permanent		**Circulate**		**Return**		**Other country**	
	W1	**W2**	**W1**	**W2**	**W1**	**W2**	**W1**	**W2**
German language skills before migration (0–5)	1.28		1.86		1.44		1.55	
Investments in language skills before migration (0/1)	53.90%		69.35%		66.67%		66.25%	
Investments in language skills after migration (0/1)	88.41%	76.53%	83.06%	67.09%	79.34%	66.77%	75.48%	62.70%

Source: ENTRA 2019-2021 (wave 1+2; balanced panel); N=2.254. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014.

9. Gebildeter, liberaler, säkularer – ‚integrierter'? Ein Kohortenvergleich türkischer Neuzugewanderter in Deutschland

Franziska Spanner (submitted to "Zeitschrift für Soziologie")

Abstract

Angesichts geänderter Rahmenbedingungen türkischer Migration nach Deutschland, vergleicht dieser Beitrag zwei Ankunftskohorten türkischer Neuzugewanderter in Deutschland. Er betrachtet Kohortenunterschiede hinsichtlich des Bildungsstands, der Religiosität und der Migrationsmotive sowie deren Auswirkungen auf die soziokulturelle Integration. Daten zweier Surveys unter in den Jahren 2009 bis 2010 und 2015 bis 2019 nach Deutschland neuzugewanderter Türkinnen und Türken zeigen, dass der höhere Bildungsgrad sowie häufigere politische und wirtschaftliche Migrationsmotive der neueren Kohorte zu einer stärkeren sozialen Integration und Zugehörigkeit zu Deutschland beitragen. Eine stärkere Zugehörigkeit zu Europa lässt sich durch die identifizierten Kohortenunterschiede nicht erklären. Muslimische Religiosität, die in westeuropäischen Integrationsdebatten vielfach als Hemmschuh für Integration angesehen wird, spielt für die soziokulturelle Integration der beiden untersuchten türkischen Zuzugskohorten in Deutschland jedenfalls kaum eine Rolle.

Schlüsselwörter: Migration, Deutschland, Türkei, Kohorten, soziokulturelle Integration

9.1. Einleitung

2,7 Millionen türkische Zugewanderte und ihre Nachkommen bilden die größte Bevölkerungsgruppe mit Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland (Statistisches Bundesamt 2022). In der migrationssoziologischen Forschung gelten sie als Gruppe mit vergleichsweise geringem Integrationserfolg (Biedinger, Becker and Klein 2015). Sie sind nicht nur weniger erfolgreich auf dem deutschen Arbeitsmarkt und im Bildungssystem (z.B. Diehl and Granato 2018; Gries, Redlin and Zehra 2022; Schieckoff and Diehl 2021), sie sprechen auch seltener (z.B. Olzcyk et al. 2016; Strobel and Kristen 2015) und schlechter (Becker 2006) Deutsch, haben weniger Freundschaften zu Deutschen (Schacht et al. 2014; Schlüter 2012) und identifizieren sich weniger mit Deutschland als andere Herkunftsgruppen (Diehl et al. 2016a; Diehl and Schnell 2006). Diese herkunftsspezifischen Nachteile resultieren mitunter aus der gezielten Rekrutierung geringqualifizierter türkischer Arbeitskräfte (*Gastarbeiter*) in den 1960er- und 70er-Jahren (Kalter and Granato 2002; Kogan 2010), betreffen aber auch deren Nachkommen, denen eine geringe Ausstattung mit bildungs- und arbeitsmarktrelevanten Kapitalien oft weitervererbt wird (z.B. Kalter 2006; Nauck 2001; Nauck and Schnoor 2015).

Politische und gesellschaftliche Entwicklungen der letzten Jahre in der Türkei wie auch in Deutschland legen nahe, dass diese Integrationsnachteile bei neueren Zuzugskohorten nicht mehr derart ausgeprägt sind. Während der Bildungsgrad in der Türkei gestiegen ist, erleichtert Deutschland gleichzeitig den Zuzug und Verbleib Hochqualifizierter. Darüber hinaus provoziert die religiös-nationalistische Regierung der Türkei die Abwanderung liberaler und säkularer Bevölkerungsgruppen. In diesem Beitrag werde ich erstens zeigen, dass sich jüngst nach Deutschland zugewanderte Türkinnen und Türken von ihren Vorgängerinnen und Vorgängern in mehrerlei Hinsicht unterscheiden: Waren türkische *Gastarbeiter*, die ihre Angehörigen meist als Familienmigrantinnen und -migranten nachholten, eher niedrig gebildet und religiös-konservativ (Uslucan 2017), kommen nun höher gebildete, weniger religiöse Personen verstärkt aus politischen und wirtschaftlichen Gründen nach Deutschland (s. Abschnitt 9.2).

Vor diesem Hintergrund untersuche ich zweitens Unterschiede in der soziokulturellen Integration zweier im Abstand von fünf bis zehn Jahren neu aus der Türkei nach Deutschland zugewanderter Kohorten. Im Zentrum steht dabei die Frage, inwiefern Unterschiede in der kulturellen, sozialen sowie identifikativen Integration (vgl. Esser 2006; Kalter 2008) zwischen den Kohorten durch Unterschiede in ihrer Zusammensetzung hinsichtlich des formalen Bildungsstands, der Migrationsmotive und der Religiosität erklärt werden können.

Bestehende Analysen der Integration von Türkinnen und Türken in Deutschland beziehen sich vornehmlich auf die überwiegend bereits lange im Land lebende türkischstämmige Bestandsbevölkerung. Die individuellen „Startbedingungen" für ihren Integrationsprozess können diese Analysen daher nicht oder nur unzureichend abbilden. Ferner konzentrieren sich existierende Studien zur soziokulturellen Integration türkischer Neuzugewanderter bisher auf einzelne Zuzugskohorten (siehe etwa Seibel 2020; Spanner and Diehl 2023). Vergleiche von Zuzugskohorten sind selten (z.B. Höhne 2016; Seibert and Wapler 2020) und beschränken sich zumeist auf wenige verfügbare Merkmale. Sie stellen naturgemäß hohe Anforderungen an die zugrundeliegenden Daten, etwa vergleichbare Stichproben, Items und Skalen.

Die Daten, die dem vorliegenden Kohortenvergleich zugrunde liegen, erfüllen diese Anforderungen. Sie stammen aus zwei Erhebungen unter Neuzugewanderten, die in den Jahren 2009 bis 2010 bzw. in den Jahren 2015 bis 2019 nach Deutschland gekommen sind. Für die Analyse der frühen soziokulturellen Integration eignen sich Daten von Neuzugewanderten besonders gut, da die Investitionsbereitschaft von Zugewanderten in ihre Integration in der Phase kurz nach ihrer Ankunft im Aufnahmeland am größten ist (Chiswick 1978). Die jeweiligen Datensätze der Projekte „Causes and Consequences of Socio-Cultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe (SCIP)" (Diehl et al. 2016b) und „Recent Immigration Processes and Early Integration Trajectories in Germany (ENTRA)" (Diehl et al. 2024) beinhalten umfangreiche und teilweise identisch abgefragte Informationen zum soziodemografischen Hintergrund sowie zu den frühen Integrationsverläufen der Neuzugewanderten. Somit ermöglichen sie einen systematischen Vergleich von zu unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten nach Deutschland neuzugewanderten Türkinnen und Türken.

Für diesen Vergleich werde ich zunächst bisherige empirische Befunde und theoretische Argumente zur Rolle von Bildung, Migrationsmotiven und Religiosität für die drei zu untersuchenden Dimensionen von soziokultureller Integration skizzieren (Abschnitt 9.2). Anschließend werde ich auf den Wandel der Zuwanderung aus der Türkei nach Deutschland eingehen, insbesondere mit Blick auf die formale Bildung, die Migrationsmotive und die Religiosität früherer und neuerer Zuzugskohorten. Dabei werde ich auch darlegen, wie sich Unterschiede in diesen Merkmalen zwischen den Zuzugskohorten auf deren sozio-kulturelle Integration in Deutschland – ausgehend von theoretischen Argumenten aus der Integrationsforschung – auswirken könnten (Abschnitt 9.3). Nach einer kurzen Vorstellung der verwendeten Daten und Methoden (Abschnitt 9.4), beschreibe ich zuerst die jeweilige Zusammensetzung neuerer Zuwanderungskohorten aus der Türkei und zeige schließlich auf,

wie sich diese auf die soziokulturelle Integration der beiden Kohorten auswirkt (Abschnitt 9.5). Abschließend diskutiere ich diese Ergebnisse im Hinblick auf den aktuellen Stand der Forschung und zukünftige Forschungsansätze (Abschnitt 9.6).

9.2. Wie beeinflussen Bildung, Migrationsmotive und Religiosität die soziokulturelle Integration von Neuzugewanderten?

In den folgenden Abschnitten wird dargestellt, inwiefern sich der individuelle Bildungsstand, politische Migrationsmotive und die Religiosität von Migrantinnen und Migranten auf deren soziokulturelle Integration auswirken. Dabei werden als kulturelle Dimension die aufnahmelandspezifischen *Sprachkenntnisse*[15] (9.2.1) und als soziale Dimension die *Kontakte* zu Einheimischen und anderen Zugewanderten (auch der eigenen Gruppe) (9.2.2) betrachtet. *Zugehörigkeitsgefühle* zum Aufnahmeland, zum Herkunftsland sowie zu supranationalen Entitäten (9.2.3) werden im Sinne der identifikativen Dimension in den Blick genommen.

9.2.1. Soziokulturelle Integration: Sprachkenntnisse

Aufnahmelandspezifische Sprachkenntnisse sind wichtig für die Arbeitsmarktintegration (z.B. Chiswick and Miller 2001; Dustmann and van Soest 2002; Kalter and Kogan 2014), für das Knüpfen von Kontakten zu Einheimischen (Martinovic et al. 2009a; Schacht et al. 2014) sowie für die Identifikation mit dem Aufnahmeland (Hochman 2010; Hochman and Davidov 2014). Entscheidend für den Erwerb solcher Sprachkenntnisse sind Lernanreize, das alltägliche ‚Ausgesetzt-Sein' (*Exposure*) und die Effizienz beim Lernen (Chiswick and Miller 1995; Chiswick and Miller 2001).

Bildungsstand und Sprachkenntnisse Der Bildungsstand ist, bei gegebener Motivation und vorhandenem Zugang, neben dem Einreisealter der wichtigste Faktor für einen effizienten Spracherwerb (Chiswick and Miller 1995). Letzterer setzt kognitive Fähigkeiten und Lernkapazitäten voraus (Kristen and Seuring 2021). Neuzugewanderte mit höherer Bildung weisen schon zu Beginn des Integrationsprozesses bessere Deutschkenntnisse auf als solche mit niedriger Bildung, wie für die frühere der beiden nachfolgend untersuchten Zuzugskohorten bereits gezeigt wurde (Spanner and Diehl 2023). In einer länder- und gruppenvergleichenden Studie wird deutlich, dass höher Gebildete die Sprache des Aufnahmelandes auch nach ihrer Ankunft schneller erlernen als niedrig Gebildete (Kristen et al. 2016).

[15] Es werden ausschließlich die aufnahmelandspezifischen Sprachkenntnisse betrachtet, da die Kenntnisse der Herkunftssprache bei erwachsenen Migrantinnen und Migranten der ersten Generation insgesamt ein hohes Niveau aufweisen.

9.2.1.1. Bildungsstand und Sprachkenntnisse

Der Bildungsstand ist, bei gegebener Motivation und vorhandenem Zugang, neben dem Einreisealter der wichtigste Faktor für einen effizienten Spracherwerb (Chiswick and Miller 1995). Letzterer setzt kognitive Fähigkeiten und Lernkapazitäten voraus (Kristen and Seuring 2021). Neuzugewanderte mit höherer Bildung weisen schon zu Beginn des Integrationsprozesses bessere Deutschkenntnisse auf als solche mit niedriger Bildung, wie für die frühere der beiden nachfolgend untersuchten Zuzugskohorten bereits gezeigt wurde (Spanner and Diehl 2023). In einer länder- und gruppenvergleichenden Studie wird deutlich, dass höher Gebildete die Sprache des Aufnahmelandes auch nach ihrer Ankunft schneller erlernen als niedrig Gebildete (Kristen et al. 2016).

9.2.1.2. Politisches Migrationsmotiv und Sprachkenntnisse

Politische Gründe als Migrationsmotiv können als Indikator sowohl für Lernanreize vor und nach der Migration als auch für *Exposure* im Aufnahmeland angesehen werden. Die wohl am häufigsten untersuchte Gruppe aus politischen Gründen Zugewanderter sind Geflüchtete aus Kriegsgebieten, welche ihr Heimatland oftmals ungeplant verlassen müssen und somit vor ihrer Migration nicht (hinreichend) in den Erwerb aufnahmelandspezifischer Sprachkenntnisse investieren (Kogan and Kalter 2020). Aufnahmelandspezifische Sprachkenntnisse Geflüchteter sind daher oft geringer als diejenigen anderer Migrantinnen und Migranten (Kristen and Seuring 2021; van Tubergen 2010; van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2009). Inwiefern diese Ergebnisse auf andere politische Migrantinnen und Migranten übertragen werden können, ist bislang fraglich. Zumal beim Spracherwerb die Migrationsmotive selbst weniger eine Rolle spielen als die Selektivität der jeweiligen Gruppen mit spezifischen Motiven (Spörlein et al. 2020; Spörlein and Kristen 2019).

9.2.1.3. Religiosität und Sprachkenntnisse

Der individuellen Religiosität wird insbesondere bei Zugewanderten muslimischen Glaubens vielfach ein negativer Einfluss auf den Integrationserfolg zugeschrieben (vgl. kritisch dazu Diehl, Fick and Koenig 2017). So kann eine verstärkte Einbindung in ethnisch-religiöse Netzwerke, in denen vermehrt die Herkunftssprache gesprochen wird, Anreize zum Spracherwerb reduzieren (Warner 2007). Zwei qualitative Studien unter muslimischen Zugewanderten in Deutschland und Kanada (Lindner et al. 2020) beziehungsweise in Griechenland (Gogonas 2011), zeigen, dass stärker religiöse muslimische Familien zuhause eher (ausschließlich) die arabische Herkunftssprache verwenden. Dies muss den Erwerb

aufnahmelandspezifischer Sprachkenntnisse keineswegs negativ beeinflussen (vgl. Kempert et al. 2016). Gleichwohl stellt Hans (2010) fest, dass eine hohe Religiosität bei muslimischen Zugewanderten in Deutschland zwar nicht zu einem späteren Beginn, aber zu einem langsameren Verlauf des Spracherwerbs führt. Religiosität kann Anreize und Gelegenheitsstrukturen für den Erwerb der Sprache des Aufnahmelands jedoch auch positiv prägen (Esser 2006; van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2009). Religiöse Gemeinschaften können etwa aktiv zum Spracherwerb beitragen, indem sie Mitgliedern, etwa durch Sprachkurse, den Spracherwerb erleichtern.

9.2.2. Soziokulturelle Integration: Soziale Kontakte

Soziale Kontakte zu Einheimischen fördern die Integration in den Arbeitsmarkt (Kalter and Kogan 2014; Kanas et al. 2011), unterstützen den Erwerb aufnahmelandspezifischer Sprachkenntnisse (Chiswick and Miller 2001; Kristen and Seuring 2021; van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2009) und begünstigen die Identifikation mit dem Aufnahmeland (Becker 2022; Vroome et al. 2014b). Die Etablierung interethnischer Kontakte hängt von Gelegenheiten zur Kontaktaufnahme, den individuellen Kontaktpräferenzen der Beteiligten sowie den Einflüssen Dritter ab (Kalmijn 1998).

9.2.2.1. Bildungsstand und soziale Kontakte

Bildung gilt als einer der Hauptprädiktoren für soziale Kontakte zu Einheimischen (Drouhot and Nee 2019: 184). Im Sinne der Status-Homophilie (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1954) haben höher gebildete Zugewanderte aus Herkunftsgruppen mit niedrigerem durchschnittlichen Bildungsstand mehr Kontakte zu Einheimischen (van Tubergen 2015). Demnach sollten sie auch mehr Kontakte zu anderen höher gebildeten Migrantengruppen und weniger Kontakte zu Mitgliedern der eigenen Gruppe aufweisen. Höher Gebildete sprechen die Sprache des Aufnahmelands häufig besser als niedrig Gebildete (s. Abschnitt 9.2.1.1), haben in Bildungseinrichtungen und Jobs eher Kontakt zu Einheimischen und damit mehr Gelegenheit Beziehungen zu Angehörigen der Aufnahmegesellschaft zu etablieren (Kalmijn and Flap 2001; Martinovic et al. 2009a; Seibel 2020). Darüber hinaus verfügen sie oftmals über eine universellere Weltsicht (Kalmijn 1998) und sind gegenüber ethnisch oder kulturell Anderen toleranter (Emler and Frazer 1999), sodass für die Aufnahme interethnischer Kontakte weniger ethnische oder kulturelle Unterschiede überbrückt werden müssen.

9.2.2.2. Politisches Migrationsmotiv und soziale Kontakte

Auch politische Gründe als Migrationsmotiv können die sozialen Kontakte zu Einheimischen und anderen Migrantinnen und Migranten beeinflussen. Die soziale Integration Geflüchteter, einer spezifischen Gruppe politischer Migrantinnen und Migranten, nehmen inzwischen einige soziologische Studien in den Blick (z.B. Bernhard 2023; Kanas and Kosyakova 2023; Kristen and Seuring 2021). Jedoch existieren bislang kaum Literatur und empirische Befunde zum Einfluss politischer Migrationsmotive im weiteren Sinne auf interethnische Kontakte (vgl. Martinovic et al. 2011). Martinovic et al. (2009a) argumentieren, dass sich Zugewanderte abhängig von ihrem Migrationsmotiv nach ihrer Ankunft im Zielland in verschiedenen sozialen Kontexten wiederfinden, die wiederum ihre Integration unterschiedlich beeinflussen. In diesem Zusammenhang spielt die Werte-Homophilie (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1954) eine wichtige Rolle. Demnach entstehen Kontakte zwischen Personen mit gleichen oder ähnlichen Wertvorstellungen einfacher als zwischen Personen, die unterschiedliche Werte vertreten. Migrantinnen und Migranten, die ihr Herkunftsland verlassen, um in einem Land zu leben, das Werte repräsentiert, mit denen sie sich eher identifizieren können, teilen also mit einer hohen Wahrscheinlichkeit auch eher Einschätzungen zu bestimmten Themen mit Einheimischen. Dies sollte weniger Irritationen und Konflikte in der Kommunikation zur Folge haben und die Entstehung zu Freundschaften begünstigen. Im Gegensatz dazu könnte die soziale Integration Migrantinnen und Migranten, die etwa aus rein wirtschaftlichen Gründen oder familiären Gründen zuziehen, schwerer fallen.

9.2.2.3. Religiosität und soziale Kontakte

Individuelle Religiosität kann sich auf die sozialen Kontakte Zugewanderter kulturell wie strukturell auswirken (Traunmüller 2012: 56). In kultureller Hinsicht sind religiösere Menschen eher an sozialen Kontakten zu Personen mit gleichen religiösen Überzeugungen interessiert, da sie mit diesen gewisse Werte und Einstellungen teilen (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook 2001). Strukturell sind die Gelegenheiten relevant, während der Religionsausübung, beispielsweise beim Gottesdienstbesuch, soziale Kontakte zu knüpfen. In ihrer ländervergleichenden Studie zu muslimischen Zugewanderten in Europa weisen Tillie et al. (2014) bei zunehmender Religiosität eine Abnahme von Kontakten zu Einheimischen nach. Damit korrespondierend stellen Maliepaard and Schacht (2018) auf Grundlage von Daten für muslimische Zugewanderte in drei verschiedenen europäischen Ländern fest, dass häufigeres Beten mit mehr sozialen Kontakten innerhalb der eigenen Religionsgemeinschaft einhergeht. Hans (2010) zeigt darüber hinaus mit Daten des Sozio-oekonomischen Panels, dass religiösere

Musliminnen und Muslime in Deutschland langsamer Beziehungen zu Einheimischen aufbauen als weniger religiöse.

9.2.3. Soziokulturelle Integration: Zugehörigkeitsgefühle

Zugehörigkeitsgefühle zum Aufnahmeland tragen maßgeblich zum psychischen Wohlbefinden (Phinney 1990) und zur Lebenszufriedenheit von Migrantinnen und Migranten bei (Angelini et al. 2015). Bislang sind deren Zugehörigkeitsgefühle mit Blick auf die Herkunfts- und Aufnahmegesellschaft sowie auf supranationale Entitäten untersucht worden (z.B. Diehl et al. 2016a; Martinovic and Verkuyten 2012). Grundsätzlich schließen sich Zugehörigkeitsgefühle zu unterschiedlichen identifikativen Bezugsdimensionen, entgegen früherer Annahmen, nicht zwingend gegenseitig aus (z.B. Berry et al. 2006; Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012a; Zimmermann et al. 2007). Daher ist die Betrachtung mehrerer Bezugsdimensionen (hier: Deutschland, Türkei, Europa) sinnvoll, um ein umfassendes Bild der Zugehörigkeitsgefühle von Zugewanderten zu erhalten.

9.2.3.1. Bildungsstand und Zugehörigkeitsgefühle

Bildung kann die Zugehörigkeitsgefühle von Migrantinnen und Migranten auf unterschiedliche Weise beeinflussen. Wie bereits in Abschnitt 9.2.1.1 beschrieben, weisen höher gebildete Zugewanderte oft bessere aufnahmelandspezifische Sprachkenntnisse auf als niedrig gebildete. Diese können zu einem stärkeren Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zur Aufnahmegesellschaft beitragen (Walters et al. 2007). Diehl et al. (2016a) argumentieren etwa, dass Zugewanderte über Sprache eher mit Einheimischen einschließlich der Werte und Normen des Aufnahmelandes in Kontakt kommen. Sprachkenntnisse signalisieren nicht nur Zugehörigkeit und Identität (Miller 2000), sie können Zugewanderte auch der Mehrheitsgesellschaft ähnlicher machen bzw. die ‚Passung' der Zugewanderten erhöhen, sodass auch deren eigene Identifikation mit der Mehrheitsgesellschaft zunimmt (Hochman and Davidov 2014). Bestehende Literatur belegt für höher gebildete Zugewanderte zudem eine besondere Relevanz von Zugehörigkeiten jenseits nationaler Grenzen – unter anderem aufgrund ihrer erhöhten transnationalen Mobilität (Colic-Peisker 2010; Geurts et al. 2021; Kunst and Sam 2013; Plöger and Kubiak 2019).

9.2.3.2. Politisches Migrationsmotiv und Zugehörigkeitsgefühle

Migranten zur Herkunfts- sowie zur Aufnahmegesellschaft besonders prägen. Politische Gründe für das Verlassen des Herkunftslands können vielfältig sein und von Unzufriedenheit mit dem politischen System bis hin zur Gefahr durch Verfolgung reichen. Während mit der politischen Situation ihres Herkunftslands Unzufriedene ihr Zielland womöglich eher nach

politischen Vorlieben auswählen, können politisch Verfolgte im engeren Sinne dies nicht unbedingt tun und müssen häufig in das nächstmögliche sichere Land fliehen. Im ersten Fall kann das Teilen gesellschaftlicher Normen und Werte zu einem stärkeren Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zum Aufnahmeland führen. Im zweiten Fall ist ein stärkeres Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zum Aufnahmeland nicht zwingend die Folge, jedoch kann die Erfahrung von Schutz und einer positiven Aufnahme auch zu einem stärkeren Zugehörigkeitsgefühl beitragen. Auch politische Beteiligung, wie sie von politisch motivierten Migrantinnen und Migranten eher zu erwarten ist, kann das Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zu einer Gesellschaft stärken (Vroome et al. 2014b).

9.2.3.3. Religiosität und Zugehörigkeitsgefühle

Der Zusammenhang zwischen Zugehörigkeitsgefühlen von Migrantinnen und Migranten und individueller Religiosität wird in der soziologischen Theorie überwiegend normativ betrachtet. Das heißt, es werden weniger generelle Mechanismen diskutiert, sondern abhängig von der Glaubensgemeinschaft und deren ‚Passung' zum (im europäischen Kontext dominanten) christlichen Glauben unterschiedliche Erwartungen hinsichtlich der Zugehörigkeitsgefühle formuliert. Maxwell and Bleich (2014) kommen dagegen zu dem Schluss, dass sich Religiosität bei Zugewanderten christlichen und muslimischen Glaubens gleichermaßen negativ auf die Identifikation mit Frankreich auswirkt. Grundsätzlich stellen sie aber auch fest, dass andere Integrationsdimensionen, wie Sprachkenntnisse und soziale Einbindung, für die Zugehörigkeitsgefühle von Zugewanderten relevanter sind als deren Religiosität.

9.3. Zuwanderung aus der Türkei nach Deutschland in den letzten 20 Jahren

Wie aber hat sich nun die Zusammensetzung der aus der Türkei Zugezogenen im Hinblick auf Bildung, Migrationsmotive und Religiosität geändert? In den letzten 20 Jahren haben sich die Rahmenbedingungen der Zuwanderung aus der Türkei nach Deutschland fundamental gewandelt. Zum einen kam es in der Türkei zu tiefgreifenden politischen und gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen. Zum anderen haben sich die Zuzugsregelungen nach Deutschland und die Offenheit der Deutschen gegenüber Zugewanderten geändert.

9.3.1. Politischer und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in der Türkei

Der zunehmend türkisch-nationalistische und islamistische Kurs der Regierung unter Präsident Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (Babacan 2020; Taş 2022) gipfelte in der gewaltsamen Niederschlagung der Proteste im Gezi-Park im Jahr 2013 und in der radikalen Repression der Opposition nach dem (angeblichen) gescheiterten Putschversuch im Jahr 2016. Die aktuelle Propaganda des

politischen Islamismus unterdrückt zudem religiöse Minderheiten und führt zu einer ‚religiösen Ermüdung' bei jungen Menschen, während sie die wachsende Zahl von Atheisten und Areligiösen bestreitet (Hecker 2022; Kırbaşoğlu and Türkmen 2019).

Zugleich wurde auf Initiative der Regierungspartei Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) 2012/13 die Schulpflicht von acht auf zwölf Jahre erhöht und der Ausbau der Hochschullandschaft vorangetrieben, um mehr jungen Menschen ein Studium zu ermöglichen. Entsprechend vervierfachte sich in der Türkei der Anteil von Absolventinnen und Absolventen tertiärer Bildungsgänge in der Gruppe der 25- bis 34-Jährigen von 2000 bis 2021 (OECD 2022). Gleichwohl nahm die Beschäftigungsrate in dieser Altersgruppe im selben Zeitraum ab (OECD 2022), da die Türkei inzwischen mit einer schwachen Währung und einer hohen Inflationsrate zu kämpfen hat (Orhangazi and Yeldan 2021). Zusätzlich zur Wirtschaftskrise motiviert auch der vorherrschende Anti-Intellektualismus in der Türkei (Vatansever 2020) immer mehr Hochqualifizierte (Höhne 2016; Seibert and Wapler 2020) und (Aus-)Bildungsmigrantinnen und -migranten (Statistisches Bundesamt 2022) zur Abwanderung nach Deutschland. Darüber hinaus wandern vermehrt Türkinnen und Türken aus politischen Gründen nach Deutschland zu (Statistisches Bundesamt 2022). Dieser Trend weicht von der Familienmigration ab, die nach wie vor das Zuzugsgeschehen aus der Türkei dominiert (Statistisches Bundesamt 2022).

Türkmen (2019) zufolge besteht die Gruppe derer, die die Türkei aus politischen Gründen verlassen, unter anderen aus Gülen-Anhängerinnen und -anhängern, Studierenden, Links-Oppositionellen, Kurdinnen und Kurden sowie staatlich verfolgten Intellektuellen. Politisch motivierte Zugewanderte aus der Türkei unterstützen daher eher demokratische Werte, fordern einen säkularen Staat und stehen der türkisch-nationalistischen AKP und deren anti-westlichen Kurs kritisch gegenüber. Größere Wertekonflikte, die ihrer sozialen Integration in die deutsche Mehrheitsgesellschaft hinderlich sein könnten, sind für sie also in geringerem Maße zu erwarten.

9.3.2. Geänderte Zuzugsbedingungen in Deutschland

Auf deutscher Seite erleichtern das Zuwanderungsgesetz von 2005, das Arbeitsmigrationssteuerungsgesetz von 2008 und das Anerkennungsgesetz von 2011 Hochqualifizierten aus der Türkei Zuzug und Verbleib. Von den 10.600 türkischen Staatsangehörigen, die im Jahr 2018 in Deutschland einen Asylantrag gestellt haben, hatten 48 Prozent einen Hochschulabschluss (Türkmen 2019). Insgesamt ist die deutsche Bevölkerung Zuwanderung (auch aus Nicht-EU-Ländern) gegenüber offener eingestellt als noch vor 20

Jahren (Sachverständigenrat für Integration und Migration 2019). Hinsichtlich des Islams in Deutschland werden zudem Schritte zu einer institutionellen Gleichstellung befürwortet und teils bereits unternommen (Sachverständigenrat für Integration und Migration 2016).

Diese geänderten Rahmenbedingungen spiegeln sich auch in den Zuwanderungsraten nach Deutschland wider. Während Anfang der 2000er Jahre deutlich mehr Türkinnen und Türken zu- als abwanderten, war ab Mitte der 2000er bis Mitte der 2010er Jahre ein negatives Wanderungssaldo zu verzeichnen (s. Abbildung 7). Seit Ende der 2010er Jahre ist die Nettozuwanderungsrate wieder auf ein mit dem Jahr 2000 vergleichbares Niveau angestiegen, jedoch haben sowohl Zu- wie auch Fortzüge über die Zeit etwas abgenommen.

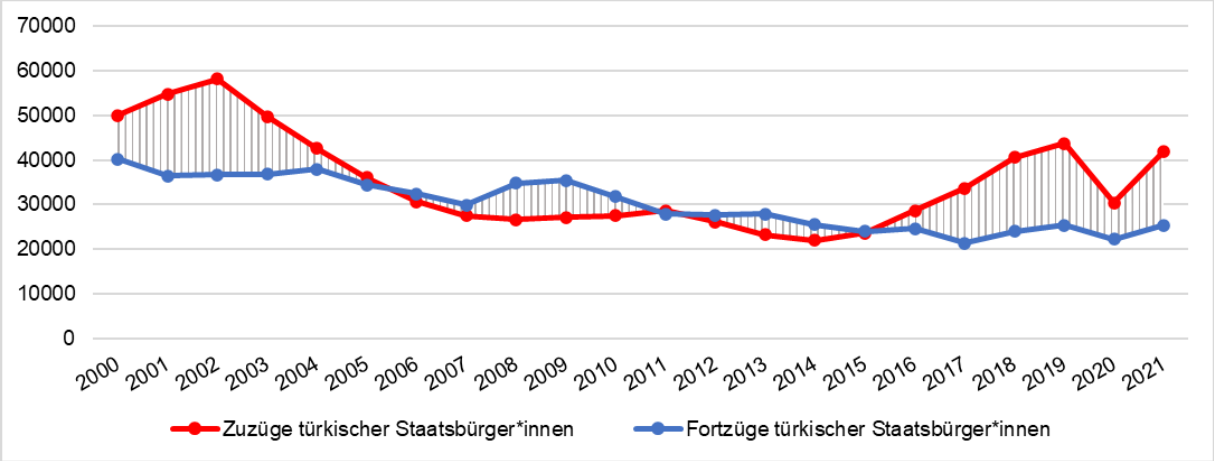

Abbildung 7. Nettozuwanderung aus der Türkei nach Deutschland
Quelle: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2022). Eigene Darstellung.

9.3.3. Türkinnen und Türken in Deutschland

Im Vergleich zu anderen Herkunftsgruppen treffen neuzugewanderte Türkinnen und Türken in Deutschland auf viele andere Zugewanderte aus ihrem Herkunftsland. Mehr als die Hälfte der Personen mit türkischer Staatsangehörigkeit und knapp ein Drittel der Türkischstämmigen mit deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit wohnt in Deutschland in überwiegend ausländischen Nachbarschaften (Schührer 2018). Dadurch reduzieren sich zwar einerseits Anreize, Kontakte zu Einheimischen zu knüpfen (vgl. Chiswick and Miller 2001; Crul et al. 2012; Martinovic 2010) und die Sprache zu erlernen, andererseits können bereits bestehende Brücken in die Aufnahmegesellschaft die soziale und kulturelle Integration von Neuzugewanderten erleichtern (Schoeneberg 1985). Auch Kontakte zu Migrantinnen und Migranten anderer Herkunftsgruppen sind zunehmend möglich, da der Anteil an Personen mit Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland in den letzten Jahren insgesamt gestiegen ist (Statistisches Bundesamt 2022).

Aufgrund der Gastarbeiter-Prägung ist die türkischstämmige Bevölkerung in Deutschland eher niedrig gebildet (vgl. Olzcyk et al. 2016). Demnach könnten höher gebildete Deutsche neuzugewanderten Türkinnen und Türken in der Tendenz kulturell und ökonomisch ähnlicher sein als andere Türkischstämmige in Deutschland, sodass die Neuzugewanderten den Kontakt zu Ersteren sogar bevorzugen könnten (vgl. van Tubergen 2015). In ihrer Untersuchung von *weak ties* muslimischer Migrantinnen und Migranten in Europa identifizieren Damstra and Tillie (2016) einen positiven Zusammenhang zwischen dem individuellen Bildungsstand und der sozialen Integration in die Aufnahmegesellschaft auch für türkische Zugewanderte in Deutschland. Hans (2010) zeigt darüber hinaus mit Daten des Sozio-oekonomischen Panels, dass religiösere Musliminnen und Muslime in Deutschland langsamer Beziehungen zu Einheimischen aufbauen als weniger religiöse.

88 Prozent der türkischstämmigen Personen in Deutschland fühlen sich dem Islam zugehörig (Pfündel et al. 2021). Schon länger in Deutschland lebende (selbst zugewanderte) Türkeistämmige identifizieren sich eher mit einer „starke[n] Türkei“ (Uslucan 2017) und unterstützen bei Wahlen in ihrem Herkunftsland die AKP (Partei des amtierenden Präsidenten Recep Tayyip Erdoğan) (Heller and Karakayali 2022). Dies wird in der deutschen Mehrheitsgesellschaft gelegentlich als Indiz für ‚mangelnde Integrationsbereitschaft‘ gesehen (Uslucan 2017). Vor diesem Hintergrund scheint unwahrscheinlich, dass sich die aus politischen Motiven Neuzugewanderten den Türkeistämmigen in Deutschland besonders nahe fühlen. Auch stellen Geurts et al. (2021) für höher gebildete Türkinnen und Türken in der Türkei fest, dass sich viele weniger national als supranational – konkret als Europäerinnen und Europäer – identifizieren.

9.3.4. Erwartete Ergebnisse

Angesichts der geschilderten Veränderungen in den letzten 20 Jahren ist davon auszugehen, dass die kürzlich zugewanderten Türkinnen und Türken, die im ENTRA Survey befragt wurden, höher gebildet und säkularer sowie häufiger politisch zum Zuzug nach Deutschland sind als diejenigen, die bereits früher nach Deutschland gekommen sind und am SCIP Survey teilgenommen haben.

Entsprechend kann angenommen werden, dass die neuere Kohorte türkischer Neuzugewanderter in Deutschland bessere deutsche Sprachkenntnisse aufweist als die frühere. Außerdem sollte sie mehr Kontakte zu Deutschen und anderen Zugewanderten haben als zu anderen zugewanderten Türkinnen und Türken. Hinsichtlich ihrer Zugehörigkeitsgefühle ist

ferner zu erwarten, dass sie sich stärker Deutschland, aber auch Europa zugehörig fühlt, die beide freiheitlich-demokratische Werte vertreten, als zu ihrem Herkunftsland.

9.4. Daten und Methoden

Um die ausgearbeiteten theoretischen Annahmen empirisch zu überprüfen, werden in dieser Studie zwei Kohorten neuzugewanderter Türkinnen und Türken in Deutschland miteinander verglichen. Die erste Kohorte wurde im Rahmen des internationalen Projekts SCIP (Diehl et al. 2016b) befragt, das sich Neuzugewanderten widmet, die in den Jahren 2009 bis 2010 nach Deutschland gekommen sind. Die Daten zur zweiten Kohorte wurden im Zuge des deutschlandweiten Projekts ENTRA (Diehl et al. 2024) erhoben, das sich mit Personen beschäftigt, die rund 5 bis 10 Jahre später nach Deutschland zugewandert sind. Beide Surveys adressierten Neuzugewanderte aus unterschiedlichen Herkunftsländern, die mithilfe von Zufallsstichproben aus dem Melderegister ausgewählt wurden. Befragt wurden Personen ab 18 Jahren, wobei das Höchstalter der Befragten im SCIP Projekt 60 Jahre und im ENTRA Projekt 41 Jahre beträgt. Die Befragung im SCIP Survey erfolgte via CAPI, im ENTRA Survey wahlweise via CAPI, CAWI oder CATI. Beide Projekte wurden als Mini-Panels mit je zwei Erhebungswellen durchgeführt. In diesem Artikel konzentriere ich mich auf insgesamt 2.229 Neuzugewanderte aus der Türkei – 1.162 aus dem SCIP Projekt und 1.067 aus dem ENTRA Projekt –, die jeweils in der ersten Erhebungswelle auf Türkisch befragt wurden. Über 98 Prozent der Befragten des SCIP Projekts hielten sich zum Zeitpunkt des Interviews maximal eineinhalb Jahre[16] in Deutschland auf, während die Ankunft der Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer des ENTRA Projekts beim ersten Interview bis zu vier Jahre zurücklag. Nach Ausschluss von Personen mit fehlenden soziodemografischen Angaben oder unplausiblen Angaben zum Zeitpunkt der Ankunft in Deutschland sowie zur Aufenthaltsdauer verbleiben 1.161 Türkinnen und Türken der ersten Zuzugskohorte und 1.048 Türkinnen und Türken der zweiten Zuzugskohorte im Sample.

9.4.1. Operationalisierung

Das ENTRA Projekt wurde so konzipiert, dass ein Vergleich mit den Daten aus dem SCIP Projekt möglich ist (Seuring et al. 2023). Die Migrationsbiografie sowie die Erfahrungen der

[16] 17 Befragte hielten sich bereits länger in Deutschland auf (maximal 46 Monate). Diese Befragten wurden nicht von den Analysen ausgeschlossen, da im ENTRA Projekt mehr als die Hälfte der Teilnehmenden zum Befragungszeitpunkt bereits länger als 18 Monate in Deutschland wohnte. Aufgrund der größeren Varianz in der Aufenthaltsdauer im ENTRA Projekt wird in den Modellen nach der Aufenthaltsdauer kontrolliert.

Befragten vor und nach ihrer Migration wurden in den beiden Surveys mit ähnlichen und teils identischen Fragen erfasst (s. Tabelle 15 im Anhang).

Die deutschen Sprachkenntnisse wurden in beiden Datensätzen durch vier Selbsteinschätzungsfragen zum Verstehen, Lesen, Sprechen und Schreiben erhoben. Während im SCIP Survey dafür eine 4-stufige Skala (0=überhaupt nicht; 3=sehr gut) verwendet wurde, kam im ENTRA Survey eine 6-stufige Skala (0=überhaupt nicht; 5=auf Muttersprachniveau) zum Einsatz. Daher wird für die beiden Datensätze jeweils ein Summenindex gebildet und durch das Maximum dividiert, sodass die Variable von 0 (keine Deutschkenntnisse) bis 1 (sehr gute Deutschkenntnisse/Muttersprachniveau) skaliert ist. Die sozialen Kontakte wurden für beide Zuzugskohorten identisch über die jeweils verbrachte Zeit mit Deutschen, Türkinnen und Türken sowie anderen Zugewanderten gemessen. Die Zugehörigkeitsgefühle zu Deutschland, der Türkei und Europa wurden jeweils auf einer 4-stufigen Skala mit etwas unterschiedlichem Fragewortlaut erhoben. Im SCIP Survey wurde nach der Wichtigkeit des Herkunftslands, des Aufnahmelands und des ‚Europäer-Seins' für die eigene Identität gefragt. Im ENTRA Survey sollten die Befragten angeben, wie nahe sie sich den Angehörigen der jeweiligen Gruppe fühlen.

Der Bildungsstand der Befragten wurde in beiden Surveys detailliert erfasst. Die nachfolgenden Analysen enthalten die individuelle Gesamtzahl an Bildungsjahren. Die Migrationsmotive – Arbeit, (Aus-)Bildung, Heirat, Familiennachzug, Migration mit der Familie, politische Gründe, unspezifische Gründe, andere Gründe – wurden einzeln abgefragt. Eine Mehrfachnennung war möglich. Um in diesem Fall einzelnen Personen ein eindeutiges Migrationsmotiv zuordnen zu können, werden zunächst familiäre (Heirat, Familiennachzug, Migration mit der Familie) sowie wirtschaftliche Motive (Arbeit, (Aus-)Bildung) zusammengefasst und sodann in Anlehnung an Diehl and Preisendörfer (2007) priorisiert[17]. Die Religiosität der Befragten wurde in beiden Surveys mit derselben Selbsteinschätzungsfrage (unabhängig von Gottesdienstbesuchen) auf einer 4-stufigen Skala (0=überhaupt nicht religiös; 3=sehr religiös) erfasst.

[17] Ein familiäres Migrationsmotiv erhalten all diejenigen, die familiäre Motive genannt haben, unabhängig davon, ob sie auch andere Gründe bejaht haben oder nicht. Damit wird der Tatsache Rechnung getragen, dass, wie in Abschnitt 9.2 ausgeführt, viele Türkinnen und Türken über den Familiennachzug als oft rechtlich einzig möglichen Zuwanderungskanal nach Deutschland kommen, auch wenn sie weitere oder andere Wanderungsmotive verfolgen. Ein politisches Migrationsmotiv wird allen zugeordnet, die politische, aber keine familiären Gründe angegeben haben. Ein wirtschaftliches Migrationsmotiv weisen all jene auf, die wirtschaftliche Motive, aber keine politischen oder familiären Motive genannt haben. Der letzten Kategorie gehören schließlich diejenigen an, die weder familiäre, politische oder wirtschaftliche Motive und stattdessen andere oder unspezifische Motive angeführt haben.

9.4.2. Methodisches Vorgehen

Anhand der Merkmalsverteilungen wird im ersten Schritt herausgearbeitet, inwiefern sich die beiden Zuzugskohorten hinsichtlich ihres Bildungsstands, ihrer Migrationsmotive und ihrer Religiosität sowie ihrer soziokulturellen Integration voneinander unterscheiden. Im zweiten Schritt werden basierend auf den eingangs diskutierten Ansätzen lineare Regressionsmodelle berechnet, die die Rolle einer veränderten Gruppenkomposition für Unterschiede in der soziokulturellen Integration zwischen den Zuzugskohorten näher beleuchten. Sie enthalten zunächst jeweils den reinen Kohorteneffekt, der über den Datensatz operationalisiert wird, sowie die Kontrollvariablen Aufenthaltsdauer, Einwanderungsalter und Geschlecht. Die diskutierten Gruppenmerkmale werden schließlich schrittweise in die Regressionsmodelle eingeführt (s. Tabelle 16 bis Tabelle 22 im Anhang). Als Robustness-Checks werden die Regressionsmodelle zudem getrennt für die beiden Zuzugskohorten berechnet. Auf relevante Ergebnisse wird an den entsprechenden Stellen hingewiesen.

9.5. Ergebnisse

Die Verteilung der Modellvariablen in Tabelle 14 zeigt, dass sich die zwischen den Jahren 2009 bis 2010 und 2015 bis 2019 in jeweils recht jungem Alter nach Deutschland zugewanderten Türkinnen und Türken in ihrer Zusammensetzung erheblich unterscheiden. Mit durchschnittlich 15,3 Bildungsjahren ist die 2015 bis 2019 zugewanderte Kohorte höher gebildet als die 2009 bis 2010 zugewanderte Kohorte (durchschnittlich 12,1 Bildungsjahre). Familiäre Migrationsmotive kommen, wie erwartet, in der neueren Zuzugskohorte nach wie vor häufig, doch deutlich seltener vor. Dafür nennt die neuere Zuzugskohorte häufiger wirtschaftliche und insbesondere politische Motive. Auch die unterschiedliche Religiosität der beiden Zuzugskohorten entspricht den Erwartungen: Türkinnen und Türken der neueren Zuzugskohorte sind weniger religiös als diejenigen, die der früheren Zuzugskohorte angehören.

Betrachtet man darüber hinaus die soziokulturelle Integration der Zuzugskohorten im Hinblick auf die deutschen Sprachkenntnisse, sozialen Kontakte und Zugehörigkeitsgefühle, fallen auch hier deutliche Unterschiede auf. Allein hinsichtlich der Deutschkenntnisse, die überwiegend mittelmäßig eingeschätzt werden, unterscheiden sich die beiden Zuzugskohorten nicht signifikant. Vergleicht man jedoch die Mittelwerte zur sozialen Integration, zeigt sich, dass die zweite Zuzugskohorte im Vergleich zur ersten mehr Zeit mit Deutschen und anderen Zugewanderten und weniger Zeit mit Angehörigen der eigenen Herkunftsgruppe verbringt. Eine Tendenz zur Abkehr von der Türkei lässt sich auch in der identifikativen Integration erkennen. So wird deutlich, dass sich die neuere Zuzugskohorte weniger zu Deutschland und

zur Türkei, dafür stärker Europa zugehörig fühlt als die frühere Zuzugskohorte. Insgesamt bleibt das Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zur Türkei aber weiterhin stärker als zu Deutschland.

Tabelle 14. Verteilung der Modellvariablen nach Zuzugskohorte (Prozent- bzw. Mittelwerte)

		Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010 (N = 1.161)		**Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019 (N = 1.048)**	
		M/%	N	M/%	N
Soziokulturelle Integration					
Deutsche Sprachkenntnisse (Index: 0=überhaupt nicht; 1=Muttersprachniveau)	M(*SD*)	0,44 (0,21)	1.145	0,46 (0,23)	1.030
Verbrachte Zeit mit Deutschen (0=nie; 5=jeden Tag)	M(*SD*)	**3,25** (1,90)	1.141	**3,57** (1,48)	1.032
Verbrachte Zeit mit Türk*innen (0=nie; 5=jeden Tag)	M(*SD*)	**3,83** (1,42)	1.140	**3,56** (1,28)	1.036
Verbrachte Zeit mit anderen Zugewanderten (0=nie; 5=jeden Tag)	M(*SE*)	**2,90** (2,05)	1.139	**3,26** (1,60)	1.014
Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zu Deutschland (0=überhaupt nicht wichtig/stark; 3=sehr wichtig/stark)	M(*SD*)	**2,00** (0,92)	1.123	**1,73** (0,80)	1.009
Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zur Türkei (0=überhaupt nicht wichtig/stark; 3=sehr wichtig/stark)	M(*SD*)	**2,38** (0,86)	1.136	**2,06** (0,78)	811
Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zu Europa (0=überhaupt nicht wichtig/stark; 3=sehr wichtig/stark)	M(*SD*)	**1,49** (0,99)	1.116	**1,94** (0,71)	1.007
Unabhängige Variablen					
Bildungsjahre	M(*SD*)	**12,12** (4,57)	1.094	**15,33** (3,96)	1.015
Migrationsmotiv					
familiär	%	**69,02**	791	**37,58**	392
politisch	%	**0,96**	11	**20,90**	218
wirtschaftlich	%	**29,49**	338	**39,31**	410
andere	%	**0,52**	6	**2,21**	23
Religiosität					
überhaupt nicht religiös	%	**20,17**	209	**58,64**	560
nicht sehr religiös	%	**30,98**	321	**19,37**	185
eher religiös	%	**34,56**	358	**17,49**	167
sehr religiös	%	**14,29**	148	**4,50**	43
Kontrollvariablen					
Aufenthaltsdauer (in Monaten)	M(*SD*)	7,83 (4,57)	1.143	21,98 (12,19)	1.048
Einwanderungsalter	M(*SD*)	28 (7,16)	1.143	27 (5,79)	1.046
Geschlecht (weiblich)	%	47,80	555	43,80	459

Daten: SCIP Projekt (Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010) und ENTRA Projekt (Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019).
Anmerkung: Signifikante Mittelwertunterschiede in den abhängigen und unabhängigen Variablen sind fett markiert.

Alles in allem bestätigen die deskriptiven Befunde die formulierten Erwartungen, dass die neuere Zuzugskohorte aus der Türkei höher gebildet, stärker politisch motiviert und weniger religiös ist als die frühere Zuzugskohorte. Sowohl bezüglich sozialer Kontakte als auch hinsichtlich des Zugehörigkeitsgefühls kehrt sich die neuere Zuzugskohorte eher von ihrem Herkunftskontext ab und zeigt sich dem Zuzugskontext gegenüber offener als die frühere Zuzugskohorte.

Für jede der drei untersuchten Dimensionen soziokultureller Integration werden die deskriptiven Befunde mithilfe linearer Regressionen überprüft und analysiert, inwiefern die Unterschiede in der soziokulturellen Integration zwischen den beiden Zuzugskohorten auf Unterschiede in deren Zusammensetzung nach Bildungsstand, Migrationsmotiven und Religiosität zurückzuführen sind.

Unter Kontrolle von Aufenthaltsdauer, Einwanderungsalter und Geschlecht schätzen die Türkinnen und Türken, die in den Jahren 2015 bis 2019 nach Deutschland gekommen sind, ihre Deutschkenntnisse signifikant schlechter ein als diejenigen, die 5 bis 10 Jahre vor ihnen nach Deutschland zuwanderten (Abbildung 8). Dies erscheint zunächst überraschend, da deskriptiv keine signifikanten Unterschiede in den Deutschkenntnissen festgestellt wurden. Hier mag die Tatsache eine Rolle spielen, dass bei vergleichbaren Sprachkenntnissen die erst kürzlich nach Deutschland zugewanderten Türkinnen und Türken zum Befragungszeitpunkt eine deutlich längere Aufenthaltsdauer im Land aufweisen als die frühere Zuzugskohorte. Somit müsste die neuere Kohorte mit schlechteren Sprachkenntnissen nach Deutschland gekommen sein oder langsamer Deutsch gelernt haben als die frühere. Auch türkische Neuzugewanderte mit einem politischen Migrationsmotiv sprechen, entgegen der Erwartungen, im Vergleich zu Personen mit anderen Migrationsmotiven schlechter Deutsch (s. Tabelle 16 im Anhang).

Den für die jeweiligen Zuzugskohorten separaten Analysen ist jedoch zu entnehmen, dass dies nur auf die neuere Kohorte zutrifft. In der früheren Kohorte unterscheiden sich aus politischen Gründen Zugewanderte hinsichtlich ihrer Deutschkenntnisse nicht signifikant von Familienmigrantinnen und -Migranten. Dies könnte entweder bedeuten, dass die aktuell aus politischen Gründen Zugewanderten schlechtere Deutschkenntnisse haben als ihre Vorgängerinnen und Vorgänger oder dass aktuell aus familiären Gründen Zugewanderte bessere Deutschkenntnisse aufweisen als vor einigen Jahren Zugewanderte. Religiosität wirkt sich ebenso negativ auf die deutschen Sprachkenntnisse aus, bei den sehr religiösen Personen aber nicht signifikant. Die negativen Effekte eines höheren Einwanderungsalters auf die Sprachkenntnisse decken sich mit bisherigen Studien zum Spracherwerb von Migrantinnen und

Migranten (Esser 2006). Da der Kohorteneffekt über die einzelnen Modelle hinweg stabil bleibt (Abbildung 8), scheinen andere Faktoren als eine unterschiedliche Zusammensetzung der Zuzugskohorten nach den diskutierten Merkmalen für den Unterschied in den deutschen Sprachkenntnissen verantwortlich zu sein.

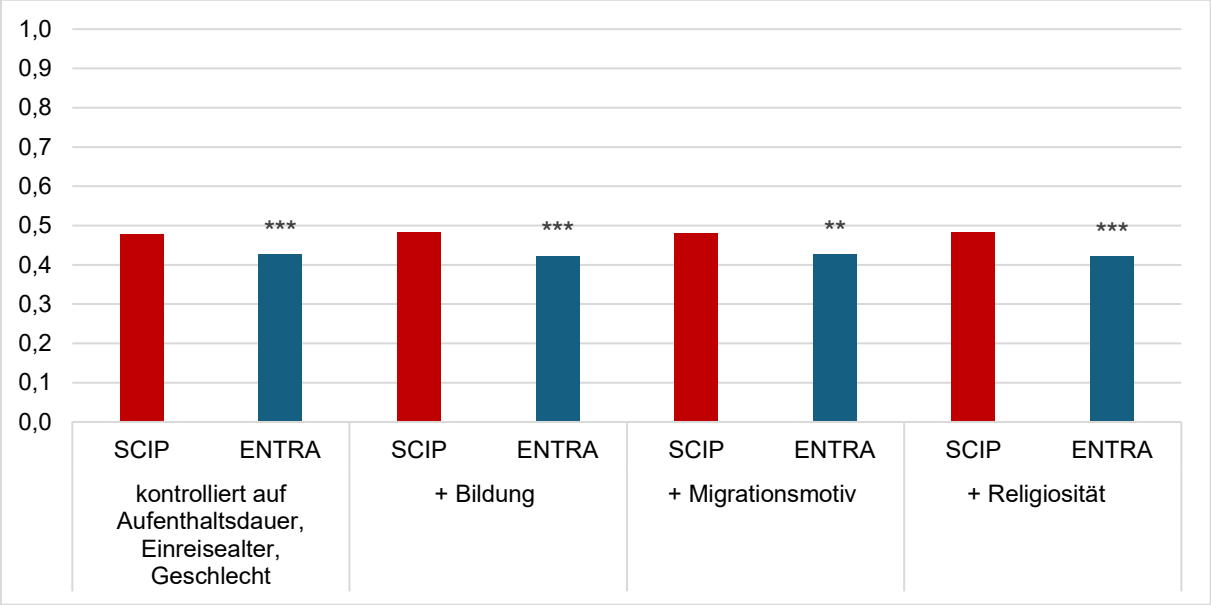

Abbildung 8. Sprachkenntnisse – Deutsch lesen, schreiben, sprechen und verstehen nach Zuzugskohorte unter Berücksichtigung von Bildung, Migrationsmotiven und Religiosität (predictive margins)

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. N=1.609. Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001.)

In den Jahren 2015 bis 2019 neuzugewanderte Personen aus der Türkei verbringen wie erwartet signifikant mehr Zeit mit Deutschen als 2009 bis 2010 zugewanderte Türkinnen und Türken (Abbildung 9). Dies ist maßgeblich auf die höhere Bildung der neueren Zuzugskohorte zurückzuführen. Im vollen Modell zeigt sich, dass auch politische wie wirtschaftliche Migrationsmotive eine wichtige Rolle spielen: Türkische Neuzugewanderte, die aus politischen oder wirtschaftlichen Gründen nach Deutschland gekommen sind, verbringen mehr Zeit mit Deutschen als solche, die aus familiären Gründen zugewandert sind (s. Tabelle 17 im Anhang). Sehr religiöse Türkinnen und Türken haben dagegen etwas weniger Kontakt mit Deutschen als solche, die überhaupt nicht religiös sind.

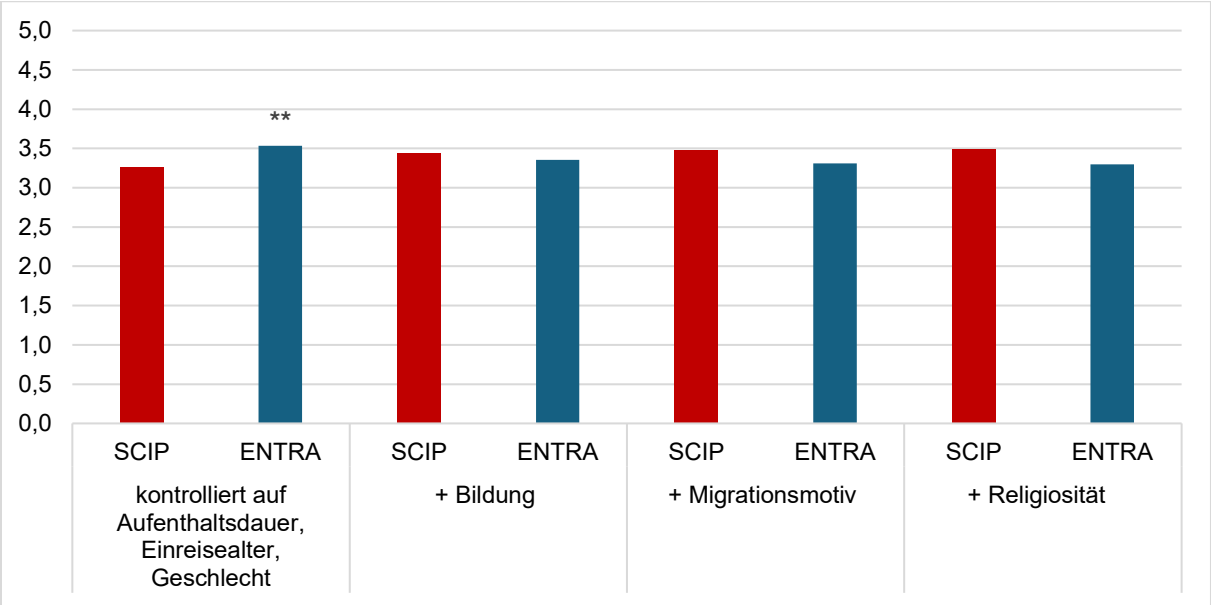

Abbildung 9. Soziale Kontakte – Mit Deutschen verbrachte Zeit nach Zuzugskohorte unter Berücksichtigung von Bildung, Migrationsmotiven und Religiosität (predictive margins)

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. N=1.609. Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001.)

Die Türkinnen und Türken der neueren Zuzugskohorte verbringen gemäß der Annahme weniger Zeit mit ihren Landsleuten in Deutschland als diejenigen, die der früheren Zuzugskohorte angehören (Abbildung 10). Dies hängt zum einen mit ihrer höheren Bildung und zum anderen mit ihrer geringeren Religiosität zusammen (s. Tabelle 18 im Anhang). Die Ergebnisse deuten auch darauf hin, dass aus politischen und wirtschaftlichen Gründen Zugewanderte mehr Zeit mit Türkinnen und Türken verbringen als Personen, die aus anderen Gründen zugewandert sind. Die kohortenspezifischen Modelle zeigen, dass dies nur für die neuere Zuzugskohorte statistisch signifikant nachweisbar ist. Vergleicht man die erklärte Varianz im vollen Modell (s. Tabelle 18 im Anhang) mit derjenigen im vollen Modell zur mit Deutschen verbrachten Zeit (s. Tabelle 17 im Anhang), fällt auf, dass das R^2 im Modell zur mit Deutschen verbrachten Zeit mehr als doppelt so hoch ist. Möglicherweise spielen also für die mit Türkinnen und Türken verbrachte Zeit noch andere, hier unberücksichtigte Faktoren, beispielsweise die Zusammensetzung des Wohnumfelds, eine wichtige Rolle.

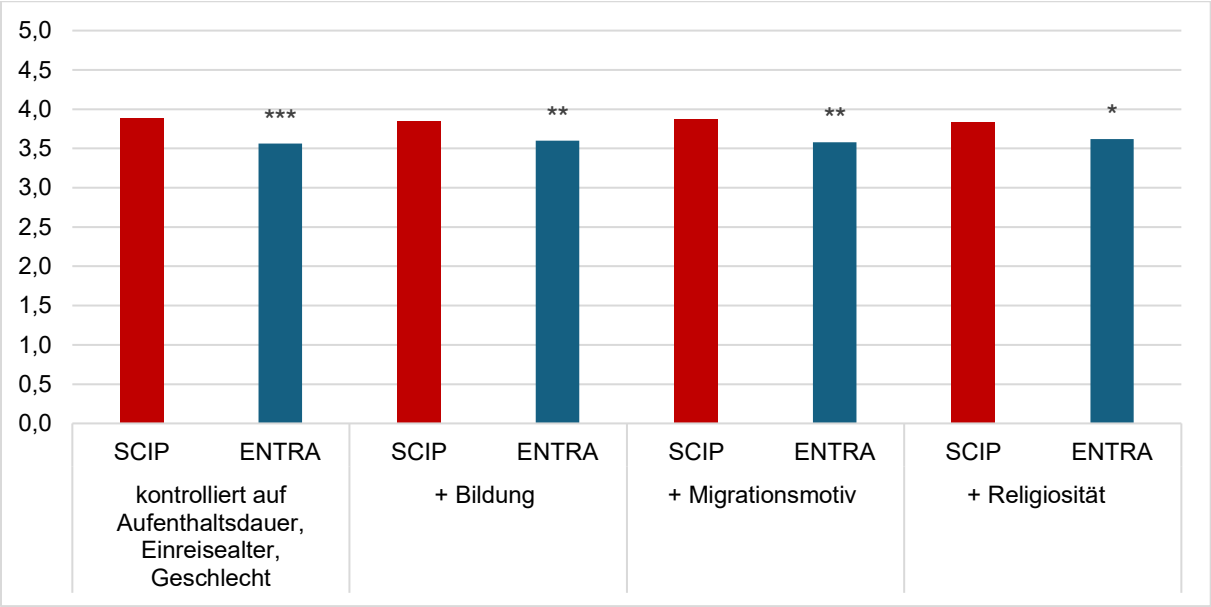

Abbildung 10. Soziale Kontakte – Mit türkischen Zugewanderten verbrachte Zeit nach Zuzugskohorte unter Berücksichtigung von Bildung, Migrationsmotiven und Religiosität (predictive margins)

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. N=1.609. Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001.)

Erst 2015 bis 2019 Zugewanderte aus der Türkei verbringen mehr Zeit mit anderen Migrantinnen und Migranten als 2009 bis 2010 zugewanderte Türkinnen und Türken. Auch dies liegt größtenteils am höheren Bildungsstand der neueren Zuzugskohorte (Abbildung 11). Ihre vermehrt politischen und wirtschaftlichen Migrationsmotive sowie ihre geringere Religiosität begünstigen ebenfalls den Kontakt zu anderen Zugewanderten.

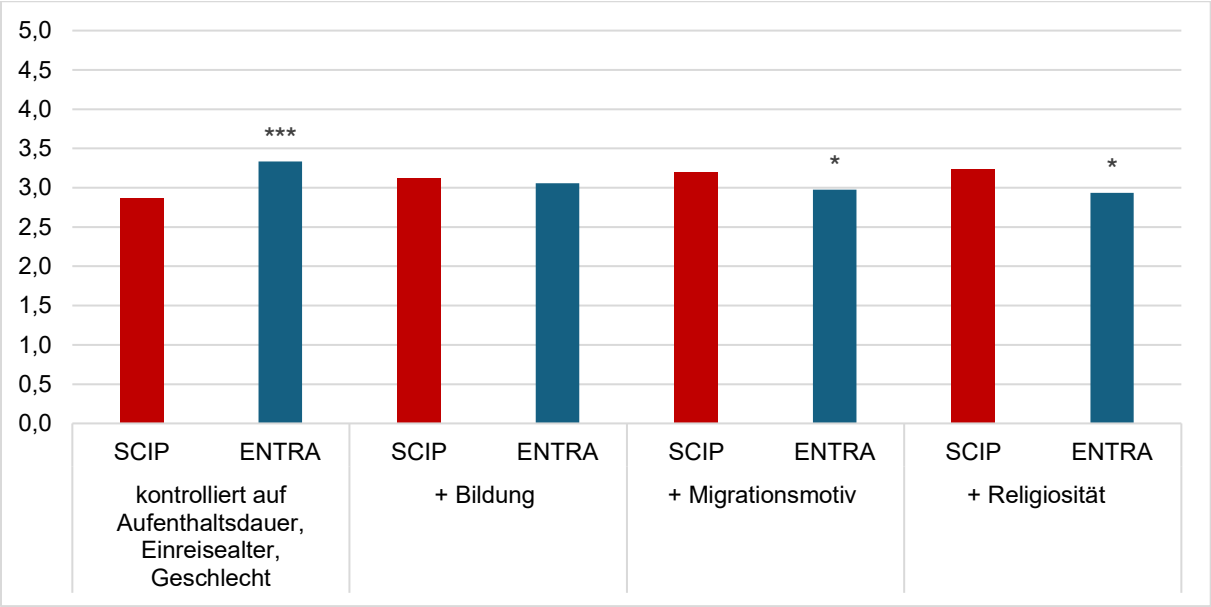

Abbildung 11. Soziale Kontakte – Mit Zugewanderten anderer Herkunftsgruppen verbrachte Zeit nach Zuzugskohorte unter Berücksichtigung von Bildung, Migrationsmotiven und Religiosität (predictive margins)

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. N=1.609. Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001.)

Entgegen der Erwartung fühlt sich die neuere Zuzugskohorte Deutschland nicht so stark zugehörig wie die frühere Zuzugskohorte (Abbildung 12). Dies hängt im Wesentlichen mit den Migrationsmotiven der neueren Kohorte zusammen (s. Tabelle 20 im Anhang). So fühlen sich Personen mit politischen oder wirtschaftlichen Migrationsmotiven Deutschland weniger zugehörig als Personen mit familiären Motiven. Dies könnte mit einer stärkeren wahrgenommenen Diskriminierung in den beiden erstgenannten Gruppen zusammenhängen (vgl. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2009; Vroome et al. 2014b). Denkbar wäre jedoch auch, dass bei politisch oder wirtschaftlich motivierten Neuzugewanderten im Vergleich zu familiär motivierten ein Mangel an persönlicher Bindung zu Deutschland eine Rolle spielt.

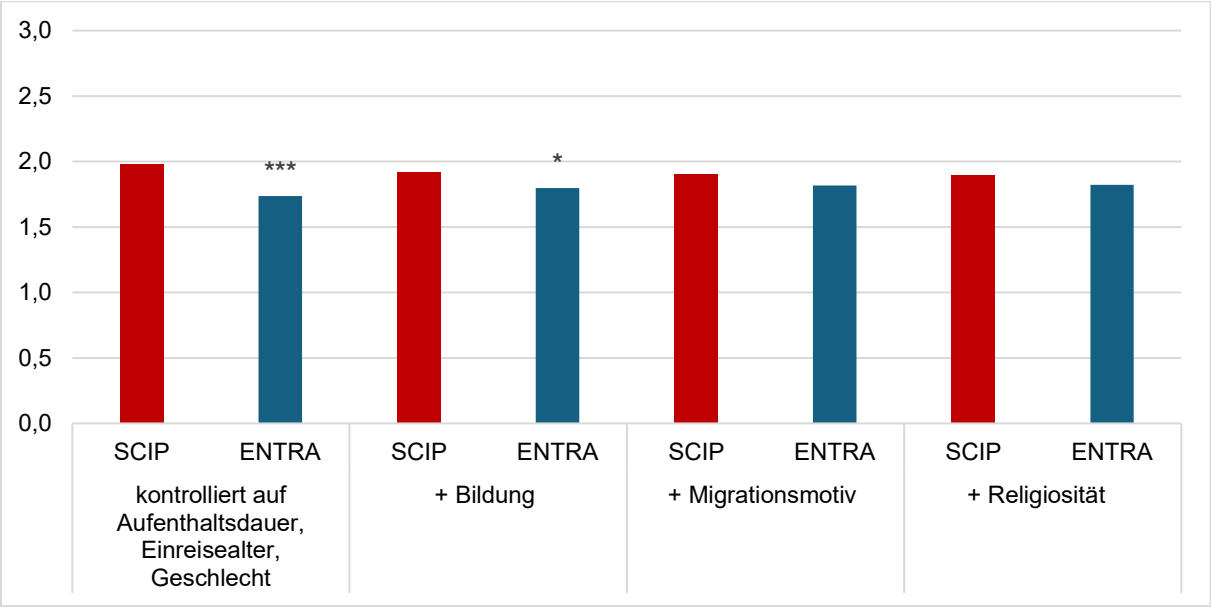

Abbildung 12. Zugehörigkeitsgefühle – Nähe zu Deutschen bzw. Bedeutung Deutschlands für die eigene Identität nach Zuzugskohorte unter Berücksichtigung von Bildung, Migrationsmotiven und Religiosität (predictive margins)

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. N=1.609. Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001.)

Die 2015 bis 2019 zugewanderten Türkinnen und Türken fühlen sich erwartungsgemäß auch der Türkei weniger zugehörig als ihre Vorgängerinnen und Vorgänger (Abbildung 13). Im vollen Modell (s. Tabelle 21 im Anhang) erweist sich neben einem politischen Migrationsmotiv nur die Religiosität als signifikanter Faktor: Politisch motivierte und weniger religiöse Neuzugewanderte fühlen sich der Türkei weniger zugehörig.

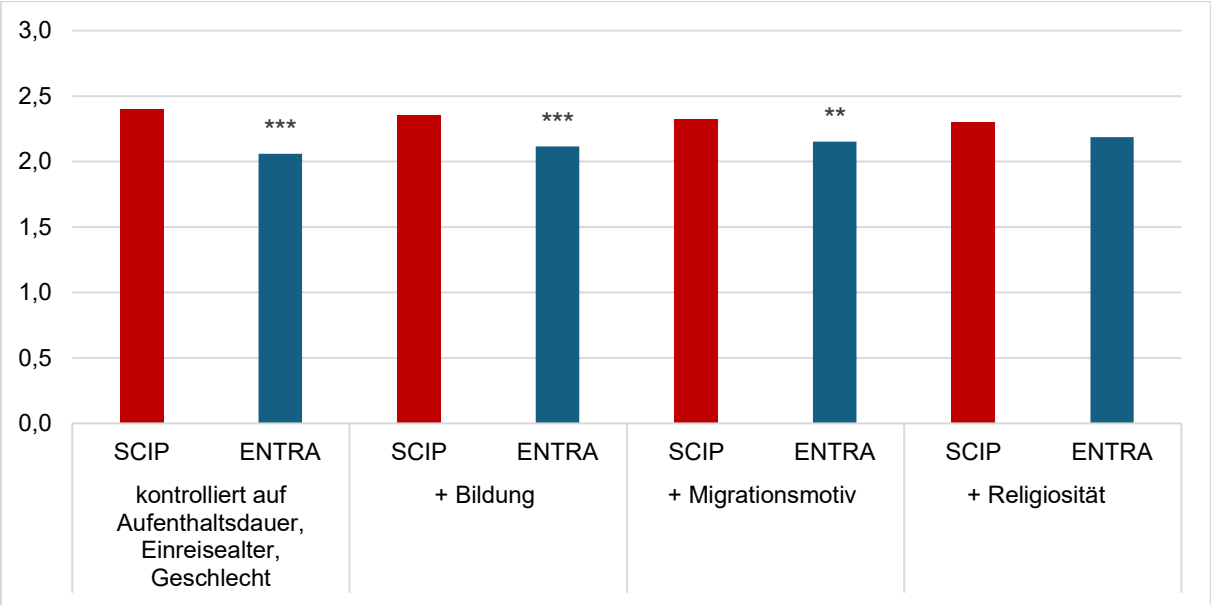

Abbildung 13. Zugehörigkeitsgefühle – Nähe zu Türkinnen und Türken bzw. Bedeutung der Türkei für die eigene Identität nach Zuzugskohorte unter Berücksichtigung von Bildung, Migrationsmotiven und Religiosität (predictive margins)

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. N=1.609. Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001.)

Ebenfalls der Annahme entsprechend fühlen sich Angehörige der neueren Zuzugskohorte Europa stärker zugehörig als jene der früheren Kohorte (Abbildung 14). Überhaupt nicht religiöse Neuzugewanderte empfinden eine stärkere Zugehörigkeit zu Europa als eher religiöse (s. Tabelle 22 im Anhang). Auch Neuzugewanderte mit familiären Migrationsmotiven fühlen sich Europa stärker zugehörig als jene mit wirtschaftlichen Motiven. Die für die jeweiligen Zuzugskohorten separaten Analysen zeigen jedoch, dass Letzteres nur auf die frühere Kohorte zutrifft. In der neueren Zuzugskohorte fühlen sich diejenigen mit einem wirtschaftlichen Migrationsmotiv Europa stärker zugehörig als diejenigen mit familiären Motiven

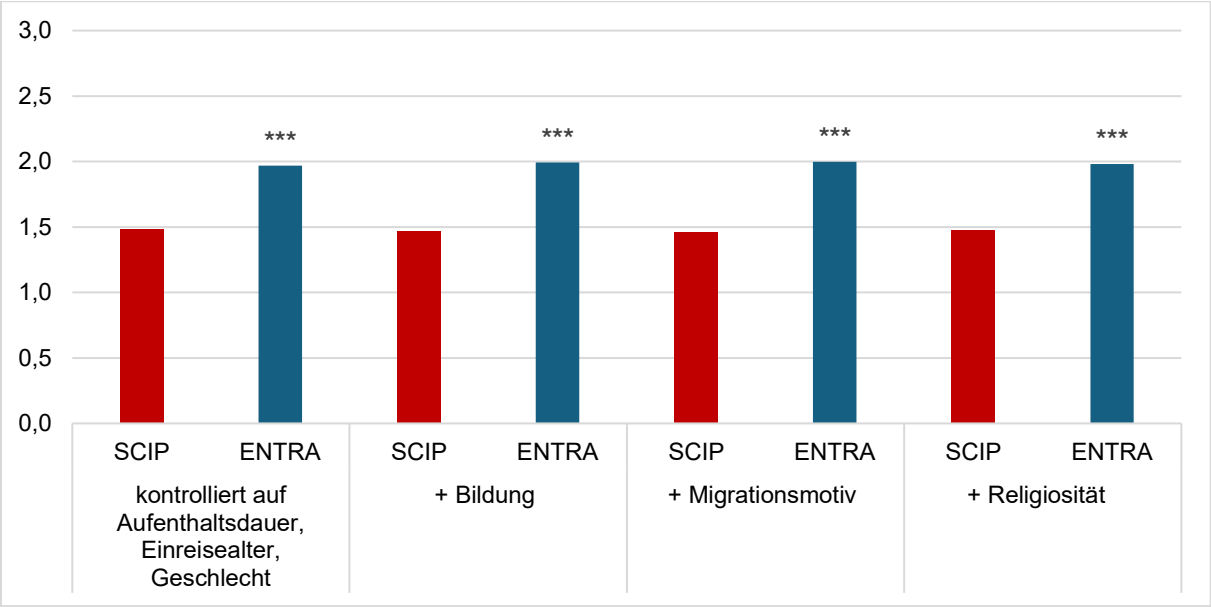

Abbildung 14. Zugehörigkeitsgefühle – Nähe zu Europäerinnen und Europäern bzw. Bedeutung Europas für die eigene Identität nach Zuzugskohorte unter Berücksichtigung von Bildung, Migrationsmotiven und Religiosität (predictive margins)

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014. N=1.609. Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001.)

9.6. Diskussion und Fazit

In diesem Artikel wurde die soziokulturelle Integration zweier unterschiedlicher im Abstand von fünf bis zehn Jahren neu nach Deutschland zugewanderter Kohorten von Türkinnen und Türken untersucht. Damit ergänzt er die bisherige Forschungsliteratur, die sich mehrheitlich auf die Integration der türkischen Bestandsbevölkerung in Deutschland bezieht, um eine Analyse der Ausgangsvoraussetzungen für die frühe Integration Neuzugewanderter. Diese Analyse berücksichtigt auch den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Wandel in der Türkei und geänderte Rahmenbedingungen für die Zuwanderung in Deutschland. Die verwendeten Surveydatensätze SCIP und ENTRA ermöglichten erstmals diesen detaillierten Vergleich von zu unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten nach Deutschland aus der Türkei zugewanderten Kohorten.

Zunächst wurde mit Bezug auf bisherige Forschungsarbeiten gezeigt, wie sozio-kulturelle Integrationsverläufe entscheidend von Bildung, politischen Migrationsmotiven und Religiosität der Zuwandernden geprägt werden. Anschließend wurden Veränderungen des Kontexts der Migration aus der Türkei nach Deutschland in den letzten 20 Jahren beschrieben und dessen Auswirkungen auf diese Merkmale bei kürzlich und früher neuzugewanderten Türkinnen und Türken aufgezeigt. Im Vergleich zu 2009 bis 2010 Neuzugewanderten verfügen 2015 bis 2019 Neuzugewanderte über mehr Bildungsjahre und sind viel häufiger nicht religiös. Außerdem

sind im Migrationsprozess eher politische und wirtschaftliche, statt familiäre Motive die treibende Kraft. Diese Unterschiede zwischen den Zuzugskohorten spiegeln geänderte politische und gesellschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen im Ziel- wie im Herkunftsland wider, die den Selektionsprozesse in der Zuwanderung aus der Türkei nach Deutschland prägen. Aus der geänderten Gruppenzusammensetzung leitet sich die entscheidende Frage ab, ob sich Angehörige der neueren, höher gebildeten, liberaleren und säkulareren Kohorte auch in ihrer soziokulturellen Integration von den Angehörigen der früheren Kohorte unterscheiden.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen ein differenziertes Bild: Die neuere Zuzugskohorte hat wider Erwarten im Vergleich zur früheren Kohorte signifikant schlechtere Deutschkenntnisse. Entgegen der Literatur zum Spracherwerb, die Bildung als besonders förderlich für das Erlernen einer Zweitsprache ansieht (Chiswick und Miller 1995), lässt sich dieser Unterschied nicht durch die Anzahl der Bildungsjahre erklären. Auch Migrationsmotive und Religiosität können dafür nicht verantwortlich gemacht werden. Eventuell müssten noch weitere *Exposure*-Faktoren, wie der Besuch von Sprachkursen, Kontakte zu Einheimischen und die Integration auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in den Modellen berücksichtigt werden.

Darüber hinaus hat die neuere Zuzugskohorte mehr Kontakt zu Deutschen und anderen Zugewanderten in Deutschland, jedoch weniger Kontakt zu den eigenen Landsleuten. Der häufigere Kontakt zu Deutschen und anderen nicht-türkischen Zugewanderten ist auf ihre höhere Bildung und verstärkt politische (sowie wirtschaftliche) Migrationsmotive zurückzuführen. Kontaktgelegenheiten mögen hierbei ebenso eine Rolle spielen wie gemeinsame Interessen. Höher Gebildete haben weniger Kontakt zu anderen Türkinnen und Türken, während aus politischen und/oder wirtschaftlichen Gründen Zugewanderte häufiger mit Co-ethnics in Deutschland in Kontakt stehen. Letztgenannter Befund kann hinsichtlich politischer Motive mit geteilten Ansichten oder einer größeren Offenheit der Zugewanderten für die Gesellschaft des Aufnahmelandes zusammenhängen und hinsichtlich wirtschaftlicher Motive Ausdruck eines segregierten Arbeitsmarktes sein (Glitz 2014; Willis 2023). Religiosität trägt zwar zu geringerem Kontakt mit anderen Türkinnen und Türken bei, für Kontakte zu Einheimischen hat sie jedoch keinerlei Bedeutung. Dies deckt sich mit bisherigen Befunden zu dualen Identitäten (Suchowitz and Fleischmann 2023).

Die neuere Zuzugskohorte fühlt sich zudem zwar entgegen den theoretischen Erwartungen Deutschland nicht weniger zugehörig als die frühere, identifiziert sich dafür aber stärker mit Europa – und weniger mit der Türkei. Entscheidend für das geringere Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zu Deutschland sind ihre höhere Bildung und ihre eher wirtschaftlichen statt familiären

Migrationsmotive. Dies könnte auch mit ausgeprägteren Rückkehrabsichten von Arbeitsmigrantinnen und -migranten einhergehen, was die Identifikation mit dem Zielland reduzieren dürfte . Gleichzeitig hängen eine höhere Bildung sowie politische und wirtschaftliche Migrationsmotive auch mit einem geringeren Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zur Türkei zusammen – möglicherweise steht diese Gruppe der aktuellen türkischen Regierung und den Auswirkungen ihrer Wirtschaftspolitik kritisch gegenüber. Religiosität spielt für das Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zu Deutschland und zu Europa kaum eine Rolle, das Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zur Türkei beeinflusst sie allerdings positiv. Das stärkere Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zu Europa kann weder durch eine höhere Bildung noch durch andere Migrationsmotive oder eine geringere Religiosität der neueren Kohorte maßgeblich erklärt werden. Zusammengenommen deuten diese Befunde jedenfalls auf eine geringere Orientierung der neueren Zuzugskohorte an Herkunfts- und Zielland zugunsten einer eher kosmopolitischen Orientierung (Geurts et al. 2021).

Es kann nicht endgültig ausgeschlossen werden, dass die aufgezeigten Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Zuzugskohorten auf unterschiedlich selektive Samples zurückzuführen sind, obschon sich die Sampling-Strategien im SCIP- und im ENTRA-Projekt weitgehend decken[18]. Des Weiteren ist zu beachten, dass das Migrationsmotiv die ausländerrechtliche Bleibeperspektive bestimmt und deshalb Angaben dazu an rechtlichen Vorgaben und weniger an den tatsächlichen Beweggründen orientiert sein können (Haas et al. 2020). Offen bleibt auch, wie sich das stärkere Zugehörigkeitsgefühl der neueren Zuzugskohorte zu Europa erklären lässt. In weiterführenden Untersuchungen müsste daher stärker auf das Verständnis der Neuzugewanderten von Europa und den potenziellen Wandel dieses Verständnisses eingegangen werden.

Trotz dieser Einschränkungen bietet die vorliegende Untersuchung einen detaillierten Überblick über das Profil zweier unterschiedlicher Zuzugskohorten von Türkinnen und Türken in Deutschland und zeigt auf, wie dieses ihre frühe soziokulturelle Integration prägt. Dass die gebildetere, liberalere und säkularere Zuzugskohorte aus den Jahren 2015 bis 2019 soziokulturell durchwegs besser integriert ist, kann so pauschal nicht bestätigt werden. Die untersuchten Charakteristika der beiden Kohorten sind für die soziokulturelle Integration türkischer Neuzugewanderter unterschiedlich (stark) relevant. Gebildetere Türkinnen und

[18] Beide Samples wurden in denselben deutschen Städten (Berlin, Hamburg, Köln, München) gezogen, lediglich wurden im Rahmen von ENTRA zusätzlich in Stuttgart wohnhafte türkische Neuzugewanderte kontaktiert. In beiden Surveys bestand darüber hinaus die Möglichkeit, das Interview als CAPI, CATI oder CAWI zu führen und die Interviewteilname wurde incentiviert.

Türken und solche, die aus wirtschaftlichen oder politischen Gründen nach Deutschland gekommen sind, haben mehr soziale Kontakte zu Deutschen. Unter Policygesichtspunkten ist relevant, dass die neuere Zuzugskohorte trotz höherer Bildung schlechtere Deutschkenntnisse aufweist. Dies zeigt, dass die sprachliche Integration auch bei einer langen Zuwanderungstradition kein ‚Selbstläufer' ist und einer gezielten Förderung bedarf, etwa durch Sprachunterricht als einfaches Mittel mit hohem Pay-off. Die Zugehörigkeitsgefühle der türkischen Neuzugewanderten zu Deutschland, der Türkei und Europa werden jeweils durch unterschiedliche Faktoren auf verschiedene Weise beeinflusst und können damit schwerer durch staatliche Maßnahmen gesteuert werden. Insgesamt wird deutlich, dass die türkische Migration nach Deutschland die Entwicklung Deutschlands als Einwanderungsland wie auch die Abkehr der Türkei von der Demokratie widerspiegelt. Die ersten anatolischen *Gastarbeiter* haben den Türkinnen und Türken, die heute nach Deutschland kommen, den Weg geebnet, sind mit diesen aber kaum vergleichbar.

9.7. Anhang

Tabelle 15. Verwendete Items aus den Neuzugewandertenbefragungen SCIP und ENTRA

	SCIP	**ENTRA**
Unabhängige Variablen		
Bildungsjahre	In total, how many years of education did you complete?	In total, how many years of education did you complete? (Please include all years from primary school to university but exclude language classes.)
Migrationsmotive	There are different reasons for moving to Germany. Why did you move? 1. for work (e.g., wanted to work and earn money in Germany, to do an internship or was sent here by your employer.) 2. married someone already living in Germany 3. joined other family members already living in Germany 4. moved together with family members 5. education (e.g., wanted to study there or take language classes etc.) 6. political reasons (e.g., felt not safe in CO) 7. simply wanted to live in another country/in Germany	There are different reasons for moving to Germany. Why did you move to Germany this time? 1. for work 2. education 3. married someone already living in Germany 4. joined other family members already living in Germany 5. moved as a family member 6. simply wanted to live in Germany 7. felt not safe in Turkey (e.g., political reasons) 8. other
Religiosität	Independently of whether you attend religious worship or not, how religious would you say you are …	Independently of whether you attend religious worship or not, how religious would you say you are …

Tabelle 15 (Fortsetzung). Verwendete Items aus den Neuzugewandertenbefragungen SCIP und ENTRA

	SCIP	**ENTRA**
Abhängige Variablen		
Deutsche Sprachkenntnisse	How well would you say you understand German when someone is speaking to you? How well would you say you speak German? How well would you say you read German? How well would you say you write German?	How well would you say you can understand German when someone is speaking to you? How well would you say you can speak German? How well would you say you can read German? How well would you say you can write German?
Soziale Kontakte	How often do you spend time with Turks? How often do you spend time with Germans? How often do you spend time with people who are neither Turks nor Germans?	How often do you spend time with people from Turkey? How often do you spend time with Germans? How often do you spend time with people who are neither from Turkey nor Germany?
Zugehörigkeitsgefühle	How important is the following to your sense of who you are: the country where you were born? … and your current country of residence? … and being a European?	How close do you feel to Turks? … and to Germans? … and to Europeans?

Tabelle 16. Wie beeinflussen Bildungsgrad, Migrationsmotiv und Religiosität die deutschen Sprachkenntnisse türkischer Neuzugewanderter? (lineare Regression, nicht-standardisierte Koeffizienten)

Abhängige Variable: Deutsche Sprachkenntnisse (Index aus Verstehen, Sprechen, Lesen, Schreiben)				
	Modell I	**Modell II**	**Modell III**	**Modell IV**
2015-2019 zugewandert (ENTRA)	-0,045*** (0,014)	-0,055*** (0,015)	-0,047** (0,015)	-0,057*** (0,015)
Bildungsjahre		0,002 (0,001)	0,002 (0,001)	0,001 (0,001)
Migrationsmotiv: *Familiär*				
Politisch			-0,037 (0,021)	-0,052* (0,021)
Wirtschaftlich			0,022 (0,014)	0,013 (0,014)
Andere			0,033 (0,047)	0,026 (0,047)
Religiös: *Überhaupt nicht*				
Nicht sehr				-0,039** (0,014)
Eher				-0,048** (0,015)
Sehr				-0,039 (0,020)
Aufenthaltsdauer (in Monaten)	0,004*** (0,001)	0,004*** (0,001)	0,004*** (0,001)	0,004*** (0,001)
Einwanderungsalter	-0,007*** (0,001)	-0,007*** (0,001)	-0,007*** (0,001)	-0,007*** (0,001)
Weiblich	-0,008 (0,011)	-0,007 (0,011)	-0,005 (0,011)	-0,006 (0,011)
Konstante	*0,623*** (0,025)*	*0,592*** (0,030)*	*0,584*** (0,030)*	*0,631*** (0,033)*
R^2	0,078	0,079	0,083	0,088
N	1.609	1.609	1.609	1.609

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014.
Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001; Standardfehler in Klammern.)

Tabelle 17. Wie beeinflussen Bildungsgrad, Migrationsmotiv und Religiosität die von türkischen Neuzugewanderten verbrachte Zeit mit Deutschen? (lineare Regression, nicht-standardisierte Koeffizienten)

Abhängige Variable: Verbrachte Zeit mit Deutschen (6-Punkte-Skala)				
	Modell I	**Modell II**	**Modell III**	**Modell IV**
2015-2019 zugewandert (ENTRA)	0,345*** (0,109)	-0,044 (0,114)	-0,134 (0,117)	-0,167 (0,119)
Bildungsjahre		0,092*** (0,010)	0,058*** (0,011)	0,052*** (0,011)
Migrationsmotiv: *Familiär*				
Politisch			0,563*** (0,162)	0,514** (0,166)
Wirtschaftlich			0,689*** (0,107)	0,650*** (0,109)
Andere			0,400 (0,365)	0,383 (0,365)
Religiös: *Überhaupt nicht*				
Nicht sehr				-0,020 (0,112)
Eher				-0,142 (0,117)
Sehr				-0,399* (0,160)
Aufenthaltsdauer (in Monaten)	-0,000 (0,005)	0,004 (0,005)	0,005 (0,005)	0,005 (0,005)
Einwanderungsalter	-0,017* (0,007)	-0,015* (0,006)	-0,004 (0,007)	-0,004 (0,007)
Weiblich	-0,608*** (0,085)	-0,558*** (0,083)	-0,545*** (0,082)	-0,529*** (0,083)
Konstante	*3,967*** (0,204)*	*2,777*** (0,238)*	*2,660*** (0,236)*	*2,804*** (0,260)*
R^2	0,042	0,089	0,112	0,114
N	1.609	1.609	1.609	1.609

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014.
Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001; Standardfehler in Klammern.)

Tabelle 18. Wie beeinflussen Bildungsgrad, Migrationsmotiv und Religiosität die von türkischen Neuzugewanderten verbrachte Zeit mit anderen Türkinnen und Türken? (lineare Regression, nicht-standardisierte Koeffizienten)

Abhängige Variable: Verbrachte Zeit mit anderen Türkinnen und Türken (6-Punkte-Skala)					
		Modell I	**Modell II**	**Modell III**	**Modell IV**
2015-2019 (ENTRA)	zugewandert	-0,333*** (0,083)	-0,231** (0,090)	-0,278** (0,093)	-0,200* (0,094)
Bildungsjahre			-0,024** (0,008)	-0,034*** (0,009)	-0,027** (0,009)
Migrationsmotiv: *Familiär*					
Politisch				0,265* (0,128)	0,383** (0,130)
Wirtschaftlich				0,203* (0,084)	0,288*** (0,086)
Andere				0,126 (0,289)	0,179 (0,287)
Religiös: *Überhaupt nicht*					
Nicht sehr					0,179* (0,088)
Eher					0,430*** (0,092)
Sehr					0,445*** (0,126)
Aufenthaltsdauer (in Monaten)		0,002 (0,004)	0,001 (0,004)	0,001 (0,004)	0,001 (0,004)
Einwanderungsalter		-0,030*** (0,005)	-0,030*** (0,005)	-0,027*** (0,005)	-0,027*** (0,005)
Weiblich		-0,064 (0,065)	-0,077 (0,065)	-0,074 (0,065)	-0,076 (0,065)
Konstante		*4,735*** (0,156)*	*5,046*** (0,186)*	*5,020*** (0,187)*	*4,621*** (0,205)*
R^2		0,030	0,035	0,038	0,051
N		1.609	1.609	1.609	1.609

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014.
Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001; Standardfehler in Klammern.)

Tabelle 19. Wie beeinflussen Bildungsgrad, Migrationsmotiv und Religiosität die von türkischen Neuzugewanderten verbrachte Zeit mit anderen Zugewanderten? (lineare Regression, nicht-standardisierte Koeffizienten)

Abhängige Variable: Verbrachte Zeit mit anderen Zugewanderten (6-Punkte-Skala)				
	Modell I	**Modell II**	**Modell III**	**Modell IV**
2015-2019 zugewandert (ENTRA)	0,531*** (0,118)	-0,077 (0,120)	-0,237* (0,120)	-0,307* (0,122)
Bildungsjahre		0,143*** (0,010)	0,082*** (0,011)	0,075*** (0,012)
Migrationsmotiv: *Familiär*				
Politisch			1,007*** (0,166)	0,898*** (0,170)
Wirtschaftlich			1,226*** (0,109)	1,155*** (0,111)
Andere			0,268 (0,374)	0,222 (0,373)
Religiös: *Überhaupt nicht*				
Nicht sehr				-0,202 (0,115)
Eher				-0,319** (0,120)
Sehr				-0,515** (0,164)
Aufenthaltsdauer (in Monaten)	-0,011* (0,005)	-0,005 (0,005)	-0,002 (0,005)	-0,002 (0,005)
Einwanderungsalter	-0,038*** (0,007)	-0,036*** (0,007)	-0,017* (0,007)	-0,017* (0,007)
Weiblich	-0,513*** (0,092)	-0,434*** (0,088)	-0,415*** (0,084)	-0,403*** (0,085)
Konstante	*4,282*** (0,221)*	*2,423*** (0,250)*	*2,214*** (0,242)*	*2,574*** (0,266)*
R^2	0,046	0,145	0,208	0,212
N	1.609	1.609	1.609	1.609

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014.
Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001; Standarfehler in Klammern.)

Tabelle 20. Wie beeinflussen Bildungsgrad, Migrationsmotiv und Religiosität das Zugehörigkeitsgefühl türkischer Neuzugewanderter zu Deutschland? (lineare Regression, nicht-standardisierte Koeffizienten)

Abhängige Variable: Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zu Deutschland (4-Punkte-Skala)				
	Modell I	**Modell II**	**Modell III**	**Modell IV**
2015-2019 zugewandert (ENTRA)	-0,241*** (0,055)	-0,231* (0,059)	-0,089 (0,061)	-0,080 (0,061)
Bildungsjahre		-0,028*** (0,005)	-0,010 (0,006)	-0,010 (0,006)
Migrationsmotiv: *Familiär*				
Politisch			-0,231** (0,084)	-0,213* (0,085)
Wirtschaftlich			-0,365*** (0,055)	-0,366*** (0,056)
Andere			0,020 (0,188)	0,028 (0,188)
Religiös: *Überhaupt nicht*				
Nicht sehr				0,135* (0,58)
Eher				-0,033 (0,060)
Sehr				0,072 (0,082)
Aufenthaltsdauer (in Monaten)	-0,001 (0,003)	-0,002 (0,003)	-0,003 (0,002)	-0,003 (0,002)
Einwanderungsalter	0,008* (0,003)	0,007* (0,003)	0,002 (0,003)	0,001 (0,003)
Weiblich	-0,094* (0,043)	-0,109* (0,043)	-0,115** (0,043)	-0,120** (0,043)
Konstante	*1,813*** *(0,104)*	*2,174*** *(0,123)*	*2,242*** *(0,122)*	*2,206*** *(0,134)*
R^2	0,027	0,044	0,068	0,072
N	1.609	1.609	1.609	1.609

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014.
Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001; Standardfehler in Klammern.)

Tabelle 21. Wie beeinflussen Bildungsgrad, Migrationsmotiv und Religiosität das Zugehörigkeitsgefühl türkischer Neuzugewanderter zur Türkei? (lineare Regression, nicht-standardisierte Koeffizienten)

Abhängige Variable: Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zur Türkei (4-Punkte-Skala)				
	Modell I	**Modell II**	**Modell III**	**Modell IV**
2015-2019 zugewandert (ENTRA)	-0,325*** (0,053)	-0,228*** (0,057)	-0,169** (0,059)	-0,100 (0,059)
Bildungsjahre		-0,023*** (0,005)	-0,014* (0,006)	-0,008 (0,006)
Migrationsmotiv: *Familiär*				
Politisch			-0,317*** (0,081)	-0,210* (0,082)
Wirtschaftlich			-0,161*** (0,054)	-0,089 (0,054)
Andere			-0,177 (0,183)	-0,128 (0,181)
Religiös: *Überhaupt nicht*				
Nicht sehr				0,204*** (0,056)
Eher				0,371*** (0,058)
Sehr				0,351*** (0,079)
Aufenthaltsdauer (in Monaten)	0,001 (0,002)	0,000 (0,002)	-0,000 (0,002)	-0,001 (0,002)
Einwanderungsalter	-0,001 (0,003)	-0,002 (0,003)	-0,004 (0,003)	-0,003 (0,003)
Weiblich	0,100* (0,042)	0,088* (0,042)	0,087* (0,041)	0,088* (0,041)
Konstante	*2,367*** *(0,100)*	*2,666*** *(0,118)*	*2,676*** *(0,119)*	*2,325*** *(0,129)*
R^2	0,035	0,047	0,056	0,079
N	1.609	1.609	1.609	1.609

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014.
Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001; Standardfehler in Klammern.)

Tabelle 22. Wie beeinflussen Bildungsgrad, Migrationsmotiv und Religiosität das Zugehörigkeitsgefühl türkischer Neuzugewanderter zu Europa? (lineare Regression, nicht-standardisierte Koeffizienten)

Abhängige Variable: Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zu Europa (4-Punkte-Skala)				
	Modell I	**Modell II**	**Modell III**	**Modell IV**
2015-2019 zugewandert (ENTRA)	0,482*** (0,056)	0,531*** (0,060)	0,537*** (0,063)	0,518*** (0,064)
Bildungsjahre		-0,011* (0,005)	-0,007 (0,006)	-0,009 (0,006)
Migrationsmotiv: *Familiär*				
Politisch			-0,041 (0,086)	-0,069 (0,088)
Wirtschaftlich			-0,091 (0,057)	-0,115* (0,058)
Andere			-0,136 (0,195)	-0,149 (0,195)
Religiös: *Überhaupt nicht*				
Nicht sehr				-0,009 (0,060)
Eher				-0,131* (0,062)
Sehr				-0,104 (0,085)
Aufenthaltsdauer (in Monaten)	-0,003 (0,003)	-0,004 (0,003)	-0,004 (0,003)	-0,004 (0,003)
Einwanderungsalter	0,008* (0,003)	0,007* (0,003)	0,006 (0,003)	0,006 (0,003)
Weiblich	0,021 (0,044)	0,015 (0,044)	0,012 (0,044)	0,011 (0,044)
Konstante	*1,315*** *(0,105)*	*1,464*** *(0,125)*	*1,482*** *(0,126)*	*1,584*** *(0,139)*
R^2	0,057	0,059	0,059	0,061
N	1.609	1.609	1.609	1.609

(Daten: SCIP Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2009-2010, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5956 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341; ENTRA Projekt, Zuzugskohorte 2015-2019, GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA7773 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14014.
Legende: * p<0,05, ** p<0,01, *** p<0,001; Standardfehler in Klammern.)

10. Summary

The diversification of migration processes over the last decades challenges (neo-)classical assimilation theory and raises the question, how complex migration patterns shape migrants' host country integration. Against this backdrop, in my doctoral dissertation I examined how migration patterns shape newly arrived migrants' early sociocultural integration in Germany in terms of German language proficiency, contacts to German natives, and identification with Germany. Three different approaches guided my research on the relationship between migration patterns and migrants' sociocultural integration. The first approach comprised the identification of popular migrant types derived from the literature in data on recent immigrants in Germany and the analysis of these types' explanatory power for migrants' early sociocultural integration trajectories. The second approach discussed and empirically tested two different theoretical perspectives on migrants' host country integration, namely the integration over time as stated by (neo-)classic assimilation theorists and integration depending on migrants' individual motivation as indicated by the theory of planned behavior. The third approach took another perspective by comparing the sociocultural integration outcomes of two different arrival cohorts of the same migrant group – Turks – in Germany, which were supposed to be different in their composition regarding educational level, religiosity, and migration motives.

In Chapter 7 of this dissertation the results of a LCA among newly arrived Poles and Turks in Germany based on data from the SCIP project were presented. The aim of the LCA was to identify settlers characterized by NE (cf. Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969) and target-earners described by NELM (Stark et al. 1988; cf. Stark 1991) – two migrant types that feature prominently in the migration literature but so far lacked empirical evidence. The pattern of educational target-earners – an extension of the classic target-earner created by the authors based on new trends in international migration– was also sought in the data. Results of the LCA of migrants' intention to stay, previous stays in Germany, remittances and family situation provided empirical evidence for both settlers and target-earners whereby a large share of target-earners are Poles while more Turks than Poles are settlers. An additional third type could also be identified but it was not the educational target-earner as expected. According to its characteristics – high motivation to return or to move to another country, less remittances, no family, and mainly educational or labor migrants – we called this type young learner/professional. It was also more prevalent among Poles who as EU-migrants enjoy more opportunities for temporary work or educational migration to Germany than Turks.

Differences in sociocultural integration trajectories between the types identified in the data were analyzed with random effects panel regressions in a second step. While target-earners improved their German language skills significantly slower than settlers and young learners/professionals and young learners/professionals identified significantly less with Germany than the other types, for contacts with Germans the migrant type was irrelevant. Instead, migrating for educational reasons, being employed and being Polish increased the contact to natives. Also, for the acquisition of German language skills the time spent in Germany, migration motives, and gender were more important than the migrant type. Besides the migrant type, migrants' educational level represented the only significant determinant for identification with Germany under study. At last, a comparison of these models on sociocultural integration including migrant types with models containing the single variables used to identify the migrant types indicated that migrant types themselves do not add further value to the explanation of sociocultural integration trajectories. With these findings we contribute empirical evidence on the existence of NE's settlers and NELM's target-earners to the existing literature on migrant types as well as add an additional type by establishing the young learner/professional. For scholars, migrant types provide the opportunity to capture complex migration patterns on a descriptive level. However, they are not suited to predict migrants' early sociocultural integration trajectories.

Chapter 8 showcases a theoretical and empirical comparison of two different perspectives on migrants' sociocultural integration. First, the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen 1985; Ajzen 1991) was outlined. It builds the basis for the idea that migrants' sociocultural integration depends on the individual motivation to integrate which in turn is indicated by migrants' intention to stay in the host country. Second, (neo-)assimilation theory's idea of migrants' integration being a more or less automatic process that happens over time regardless of individual efforts (Alba and Nee 1997; Gordon 1964) has been contrasted to the motivation perspective. After spelling out the expected effects of motivation and time on host country language acquisition, the establishment of social contact to natives as well as the identification with the host country, I tested both mechanisms using mini-panel data from the ENTRA survey.

The influence of migrants' intention to stay and migrants' duration of stay on their sociocultural integration was studied among newly arrived Italians, Poles, Syrians, and Turks in Germany. Results of the random effect panel models revealed that migrants with a permanent settlement intention started out at higher levels of sociocultural integration, but did not integrate faster – consequently were not more strongly motivated – than migrants with an intention to stay only

temporarily. Migrants' duration of stay turned out to conduce to migrants' German language skills which is in line with existing studies emphasizing the importance of exposure (e.g. Espenshade and Fu 1997; Geurts and Lubbers 2017; Kristen and Seuring 2021). Though, migrants' intention to stay – their individual motivation – mattered most for their identification with Germany, suggesting that willingness is crucial for this emotional aspect of integration. Summing up, compared to time since migration migrants' motivation was shown to be more reflected by differences in initial levels of integration than by trajectories over time.

The third article of this dissertation included in Chapter 9 is the first study to compare two cohorts of recently arrived Turks in Germany. It deals with the question how two different cohorts of newly arrived Turkish migrants in Germany differ in their composition and whether changes in their composition influence their sociocultural integration outcomes. Employing data on recently arrived Turks in Germany from both the SCIP and the ENTRA project allowed me to investigate two migrant cohorts who came to Germany from 2009 to 2010 and from 2015 to 2019. A descriptive cohort comparison illustrated that Turks belonging to the recent cohort were higher educated and less religious than Turks belonging to the earlier cohort. Furthermore, Turks from the recent cohort migrated more often to Germany for political or work reasons. Concerning their sociocultural integration outcomes, descriptive analyses also demonstrated that migrants belonging to the recent cohort spent more time with Germans and less time with Turks as well as more time with other immigrants than migrants belonging to the earlier cohort. In terms of identification, Turks who arrived between 2015 and 2019 identified less with both Germany and Turkey but more with Europe than those who came to Germany between 2009 and 2010.

Linear regression models shed more light on the relationship between the cohorts' characteristics and their sociocultural integration outcomes. A surprising finding, against the background of their higher education, was that migrants from the recent cohort had significantly less German skills than migrants from the earlier cohort. The migrants' characteristics considered in the analyses did not account for this fact. However, the migrants belonging to the recent cohort had more frequent contact to Germans and other immigrants because of their higher educational level and more political as well as economic migration motives. Whereas higher educated Turks were shown to have less contact to other Turks, Turkish migrants with political and/or economic migration motives had more contact to fellow Turks. Muslim religiosity had a positive impact on contact to other Turks but no relevance for contact to natives. The higher educational level and stronger economic migration motives of the recent

cohort also correlated with a lower identification with Germany, potentially indicating the remigration intentions of highly-skilled workers. At the same time, these attributes also had a negative effect on the identification with Turkey. The stronger identification of migrants from the recent cohort with Europe could neither be explained by their educational level nor by their migration motives or religiosity.

In a nutshell, this cumulative dissertation contributes to the state of the art in migration and integration research in various ways, especially concerning migrants' early sociocultural integration in the host country. From a theoretical perspective, it is one of the few contributions to link migration patterns with migrants' integration outcomes. My dissertation evaluates empirically the prevalence of settlers and target-earners – two migrant types often referred to in the sociological and economic migration literature – and shows that these migrant types indeed can be identified among newly arrived migrants in Germany. Moreover, considering new trends in European migration, the literature on migrant types is extended by an additional concept: young learner/professional. Though, I demonstrated that migrant types regarding their explanatory power as predictors for migrants' early sociocultural integration trajectories do not outperform the single variables used to identify them.

Another important contribution to integration theory is the detailed exemplification of time as a booster for integration versus integration as a result of migrants' individual motivation. A comparative analysis of the two perspectives across three different dimensions of sociocultural integration revealed that integration is not only a matter of time as suggested by (neo-)assimilation theory and that motivation is notably relevant for identificational integration.

Concerning Turks, the largest immigrant group in Germany, this dissertation adds to the literature a unique and comprehensive comparison of two cohorts of newly arrived migrants. This cohort comparison illustrated that which individuals in fact make the decision to migrate matters for the integration of certain groups of origin. The case of newly arrived Turks in Germany showed that a specific group of origin can change its composition over time, notwithstanding this groups' longstanding migration tradition to the host country. As a consequence, different cohorts of this group hold different prerequisites for their integration and thus feature different sociocultural integration outcomes.

From a methodological point of view, this dissertation contains rare research that examines multiple dimensions of integration simultaneously and one of the few studies that use quantitative methods to identify migrant types derived from the literature empirically. It benefits

from the application of two datasets of newly arrived immigrants in Germany for several reasons. First, these data contain extensive information on the immigrants' migration biographies, particularly migration motives and initial intentions to stay in Germany, as well as on their early steps in host country integration. This allows for the identification of more complex migration patterns and for the simultaneous analysis of several dimensions of host country integration. Second, the data were collected shortly after migration so that bias because of retrospective questions should be limited. Third, they cover a period of the integration process in which migrants tend to make the largest investments in their host country integration, and which therefore is decisive for the overall integration process. Fourth, the similarity of the two datasets facilitates the comparison of different arrival cohorts of the same migrant group. Fifth, the mini-panel structure of the data rules out problems of reverse causality when it comes to the relationship between migration and integration and enables, at least to some degree, the analysis of integration trajectories over time.

11. Discussion and implications for policymakers and further research

The results of the empirical studies presented in Chapters 7 to 9 of this cumulative dissertation will be discussed in this section with regard to previous research and limitations. To conclude, I will provide some recommendations for policymakers and further research into the migration integration nexus.

The first aim of this dissertation was to provide empirical evidence for three different migrant types and to determine their explanatory power for migrants' early sociocultural integration trajectories. The 'classic' settlers, depicted by NE (cf. Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969), as well as target-earners, characterized by NELM (Stark et al. 1988; cf. Stark 1991), were found in the data but also the 'newer' type young learner/professional indicating that changing trends in international migration can create new migration patterns. Similar 'newer' types have also already been discovered by Becker and Teney (2020) as *Career seekers* and Luthra et al. (2018) as *Living and learning*. Theoretically, non-monetary targets of migration may range for example from the 'simple' acquisition of living experience abroad to a PhD from an internationally prestigious university. Therefore, in further studies a more detailed recording of such non-monetary targets is desirable, particularly because the kind of target may have an impact on migrants' host country integration. By employing LCA, it was possible to identify complex migration patterns in empirical data and to provide quantitative empirical evidence for migrant types. However, despite being a quantitative statistical method, LCA still leaves some space for interpretation and, thus, like other methods used to detect migrant types, cannot provide a definite and comprehensive classification of different migrant groups. It was further highlighted that the prevalence and composition of migrant types varied across different groups of origin as the types' characteristics reflect the immigration conditions and contexts of these groups. More general, migrant types make more complex migration patterns vivid and easier to grasp. Yet, it seems important that researchers consider existing theoretically sound literature and agree on the denomination of migrant types instead of creating new labels for established types. For the prediction of migrants' early integration trajectories migrant types are not beneficial. Therefore, researchers as well as policymakers should rely on migrants' 'hard' attributes when trying to forecast their host country integration. However, migrant types can serve policymakers as a tool to get a grasp of more complex migration patterns.

The second aim of this dissertation was to put the (neo-)classical assimilation theory's idea of integration 'happening' over time into question and to contrast it to the concept of migrants' individual motivation for host country integration. The finding that time since migration is

crucial for migrants' host country language skills is in line with previous literature on migrants' exposure (e.g. Akresh et al. 2014; Espenshade and Fu 1997; Geurts and Lubbers 2017; Kristen and Seuring 2021). Though, for migrants' identification with the host country individual motivation is more relevant than time. Due to the emotional and non-economic nature of migrants' feeling of belonging this result seems unsurprising. Nonetheless, it shows that migrants' identification with the host country which often is a subject of public debate, especially in the context of cultural conflicts, does not proceed automatically. Rather, if migrants' identification with the host country is desired by the host society, the question arises how migrants' motivation to identify can be affected positively. From a methodological point of view, only data which cover a longer time period could show how time since migration influences migrants' sociocultural integration in the long run. Regarding investments in host country integration, a more detailed investigation of pre-migration investments could offer valuable clues on migrants' investment behavior and give information at which points migrants' investments should be more supported.

The third aim of this dissertation was to take Turkish migrants in Germany as an examplary migrant group with a long tradition of immigration and firstly, to investigate how the composition of two newly arrived cohorts of Turks has changed over time. In a second step, it was analyzed whether a change in group composition could explain different sociocultural integration trajectories. Indeed, the group composition of newly arrived Turkish immigrants in Germany did change, and this change is also reflected by the cohorts' sociocultural integration outcomes. This finding corresponds to the results of previous studies on migrants' labor market integration in Germany (e.g. Berbée and Stuhler 2023; Granato 2014). Moreover, it implies that ascriptions to certain migrant groups can become obsolete over time and therefore, that change in origin groups should be considered by integration scholars as well as policymakers in order to avoid the emergence of clichés on certain migrant groups. Particularly, the small effects of religiosity on contacts to Germans confirm previous findings on migrants' social integration in Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK indicating that establishing social ties to natives "is largely 'decoupled' from immigrant religiosity" (Maliepaard and Schacht 2018: 876). This fact has to be taken into account in continuously heated debates on the incompatibility of Muslims with Western societies.

Previous studies mostly aim to explain single dimensions of sociocultural integration as comprehensively as possible. This cumulative dissertation, by contrast, focused on the analysis of how migration, which necessarily precedes integration, shapes different aspects of migrants'

sociocultural integration in the host country. It shows on the example of newly arrived immigrants that migration has become a complex phenomenon over the last decades as is migrants' sociocultural integration in the host country. With innovations in transport and communication and modern forms of work, linking complex migration patterns to migrants' integration will remain a challenge for further research. For a "thick description" (Geertz 1973) of particular migration patterns and how they relate to migrants' integration, scholars will still rely on qualitative methods. However, applying methods like LCA or cluster analysis, migration researchers can at least provide some quantitative evidence on the composition and prevalence of certain migration-integration patterns. Mini-panel data, as used in this study, can only depict a section of migrants' integration processes but allow for the elimination of postmigration effects that may blur the 'pure' migration effects on migrants' host country integration. That is to say, the analysis of longitudinal data on migrants' integration in the host country, covering a longer period after migration, is subject to problems of reverse causality, as integration outcomes may also influence further migration behavior. (e.g. Adda et al. 2022; Carling and Pettersen 2014; Di Saint Pierre et al. 2015; Shelest-Szumilas and Wozniak 2024). Nevertheless, observing integration trajectories straight from arrival in the host country for a longer time would provide information on if, when, and why migrants' host country integration levels off. The lack of such data also is a problem of the German research funding system which tends to provide only short-term financing and as a consequence, impedes long-term projects.

Hence, if policymakers want to create empirically based measures and legislation on migrants' integration in Germany, one option is to supplement official immigrant data by detailed information on their integration. A pitfall of this strategy may be that migrants in this context tend to give socially desirable answers in order to influence administrative procedures concerning their residence status in their favor. Thus, another option is to fund independent longitudinal surveys on migrants' integration to capture migrants' integration trajectories over a long period or even generations as some scholars suggest that migrants' host country integration proceeds over generations (for an overview see Drouhot and Nee 2019). What policymakers can further learn from this dissertation is that while migrant types are appealing to illustrate more complex migration patterns, they tend to mix effects of single factors on migrants' host country integration, making correlations between migration and integration more fuzzy. Moreover, time spent in the host country is not a panacea for migrants' integration, as other aspects of the migration journey are also or even more relevant, depending on the dimension of integration. Yet, the composition of immigrant groups may change over time, which in turn may change their integration trajectories. Thus, migrant groups do not integrate

into a host society following always the same patterns so that measures which are targeted to certain groups have to be revised regularly. In the face of skilled labor shortage ('Fachkräftemangel'), German integration policymaking puts a special focus on the economic integration of immigrants (Hess and Green 2016). However, labor market integration represents only one of four dimensions of migrants' host country integration and, as German Turks supporting Erdogan (Adar 2020) or *Aussiedler* voting for the anti-democratic party AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) (Goerres, Mayer and Spies 2020; Spies et al. 2022) show, successful economic integration is no guarantee for the contribution to a democratic society. Therefore, integration policies in Germany should place greater emphasis on migrants' sociocultural integration, ensuring that those eager to become a part of the German society are not only brought into employment but get the opportunity to engage in the community as a whole.

Declaration of the personal contribution

My dissertation represents a cumulative doctoral thesis which consists of three research articles. The first article is co-authored with my first supervisor Prof. Dr. Claudia Diehl, whereas the second and third article are written by myself as a single author. Therefore, I will declare my personal contribution to the first article "Settlers, target-earners, young professionals. Distinct migrant types, distinct integration trajectories?" in the following.

The initial idea to test the empirical prevalence of popular migrant types is my own. Prof. Dr. Claudia Diehl added the second research question on whether the types identified in the data differ in their sociocultural integration trajectories. We were in a regular exchange during the writing process of the manuscript. A first draft goes back to me, but Prof. Dr. Claudia Diehl made significant contributions and adaptations to the text before submission. The data preparation, analysis and illustration of the empirical results was done by me under consideration of Prof. Dr. Claudia Diehl's advice. Especially regarding the statistical methods used in this article, I got helpful recommendations from my second supervisor Prof. Dr. Thomas Hinz. Furthermore, several stages of the working process of this article were presented and discussed at our colloquium for doctoral and postdoctoral researchers. The advice from participants of these colloquia as well as the comments and suggestions of two anonymous reviewers were implemented in the manuscript by me after discussing them with Prof. Dr. Claudia Diehl. This article has been published in 2020 as a peer reviewed contribution to a special issue of the international research journal *International Migration*.

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