Immigrants' Integration Experience in Seven EU Countries

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Abstract

The approach of academic literature on integration predominantly segregates objective integration outcomes from immigrants' integration experience and stands in stark contrast to the paucity of studies that jointly examine both. I bridge the two approaches by quantifying immigrants' integration experience via both subjective indicators: (i) overall life satisfaction and (ii) ease of applying for citizenship or permanent residence, and an objective indicator: (iii) employment status. By analyzing survey responses of 7,407 immigrants in seven EU member states, I assess the factors that correlate with more positive integration experience of immigrants and the magnitude of their relationship. The background factors I examine are (i) the historical ties between immigrants' countries of origin and residence, and (ii) the level of development of country of origin. The immigrant-specific factor I examine is (iii) the reason for migration. The results show positive and statistically significant correlations between background factors and all three indicators of immigrants' integration experience. However, the correlation between the humanitarian reason for migration, an immigrant-specific factor, and immigrants' integration experience is negative, with the exception of ease of applying for citizenship. This paper, thereby, contributes to the literature by examining subjective and objective indicators of immigrants' integration in conjunction. Further, I demonstrate that integration is a complex process that is correlated with a heterogeneity of factors, both background and immigrant-specific ones, that need to be examined jointly.

I. INTRODUCTION

Despite the universalistic value of equality that the European identity is built on, there is a strong sentiment that years of immigration are threatening previously cohesive European societies (Esipova et al., 2015). Immigrants are at the center of public debates in many EU member states but are hardly visible in them (Huddleston et al., 2012). Conservative parties have made electoral gains on the premise of immigrants eating away jobs from domicile populations even before the onset of the 2015 European refugee crisis. The most prominent example is the French Front National (Karaian, 2014). Yet, the EU directives state that immigrants' economic self-sufficiency is one of the three principles of positive integration, in addition to respect for human rights and social inclusivity (Joppke, 1998). This is the integration standard academic literature and policy makers should be achieving. However, it is hard to achieve because of two obstacles. Firstly, an inadequate understanding of a diapason of factors interacting with immigrants' experience is the first obstacle (Jong et al., 2002). Secondly, researchers generally approach integration by either studying objective integration outcomes or, more recently, immigrants' integration experience. This critical distinction informs policy, which leans toward only objective outcomes of integration, such as citizenship or employment (Joppke, 2007). The peculiar division between integration frameworks and burgeoning negative attitudes of European domicile populations illustrates this divergence that misses social inclusivity. Moreover, both sides lack an insight into immigrants' experience (Huddleston et al., 2012). I attempt to bridge both objective and subjective outcomes of immigrants' integration experience and examine the factors that correlate with positive integration. Hence, I attempt to achieve a more comprehensive approach to integration as a process.

I define immigrants as all those who leave their country of origin for a variety of reasons, including but not limited to work, family reunification and humanitarian reasons. The process of immigration—moving from one's domicile to a country of which one is not a citizen—is a context-dependent, social and economic process. The process of integration begins following the move from the origin to host country (Givens, 2007). It is important to note that integration is influenced by

a heterogeneity of factors (Hix and Noury, 2007), including the historical relationship between immigrants' countries of origin and residence, and their reason for migration. I define immigrants' integration experience as their opinion of the integration process in their host countries. Hence, both objective indicators of acquisition of citizenship and employment, and subjective indicators of encountering procedural problems in citizenship or job applications, embody immigrants' integration experience.

Literature on immigrant integration has mainly focused on either objective outcomes, such as attainment of citizenship (Hainmueller et al., 2015) that assist governments in devising policies; or subjective indicators, such as difficulty of obtaining citizenship or a job (Behtoui and Neergaard, 2009) that shed light on immigrants' view of integration. The rhetoric espoused by these approaches draws rigid lines. In the European context, the absence of and a growing opposition to an EU-wide integration framework further aggravates the two separate modi operandi. Hence, the selectivity of literature on integration (Jong et al., 2002) creates a gap that enables negative attitudes towards immigrants to grow (Esipova et al., 2015), despite immigrants obtaining citizenship (Hainmueller et al., 2015) or jobs in host countries. Therefore, conservative parties have ample space to advocate against immigration, especially on economic terms, without understanding the whole range of factors that influence integration of immigrants in their societies. The combined approach to both objective and subjective integration outcomes, in addition to assessing the factors that might be correlated with positive integration, might inform policy makers. Thereby, this consolidation might decrease the divide between and reconcile immigrants' experience, official policies, and negative attitudes towards immigrants. In this paper, I take a quantitative approach and analyze the relationship of immigrant-specific and background factors with immigrants' integration experience, as none have been quantitatively and jointly approached by literature (Jong et al., 2002). Examining the relationship of both factors is important because, as previous research demonstrates, they simultaneously influence integration prospects (Lee et al., 2014) and denote a more comprehensive approach to integration outcomes.

The results of this paper indicate that the correlation of both background and immigrant-specific factors with immigrants' integration experience is statistically significant. The correlation with background factors, such as historical ties between immigrants' countries of origin and residence, is positive. However, immigrant-specific factors, such as humanitarian reason for migration, have

a strong negative correlation with immigrants' integration experience, with the exception of ease of applying for citizenship. The findings point to a complexity of the integration process that is correlated with a heterogeneity of factors, some of which are acting incongruously. The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section two discusses theoretical perspectives on integration. Section three introduces my hypotheses and research methodology. In sections four through seven, I present and discuss my results and the contribution of this paper to the literature on international migration and integration.

II. Theoretical perspectives on international migration and integration

The greater part of research on international migration has dealt with the question of why people migrate and, to a lesser extent, the dynamics of migration (Faist, 2011). One reason might be that historically dominant theories on migration have been primarily concerned with economic factors, such as push-pull forces (Ravenstein, 1889), migration obstacles of geographical distance and socio-political barriers (Lee, 1966), neoclassical economic factors of the global supply and demand for labor (Sjaastad, 1962, Todaro, 1969), segmented labor-market influences (Piore, 1979), and world-systems factors of global capitalism (Sassen, 1988). Historically, studies on integration and immigrants' integration experience (Portes, 2007, Portes et al., 2014) have been peripheral to the mainstream research listed above and primarily situated within sociology (Lee et al., 2014). The two segregated approaches have later led to (i) objective integration outcomes, such as attainment of citizenship, being analyzed separately from immigrants' integration experience, and (ii) a diapason of factors influencing integration being examined in isolation to one another.

Recent (1994-2015) literature within political science has primarily focused on objective precursors of integration and institutional factors, including legal and constitutional definitions of migration and integration (Lambert et al., 2008, Barou, 2014), historical development of institutionalized integration systems across Europe (Givens, 2007), attainment of citizenship and immigrants' voting patterns (Hainmueller et al., 2015), rates of intermarriage with the domicile population (Coleman, 1994), comparison of institutionalized integration systems between the United States and Europe (De Zoysa, 2006), and the process of governmental provision of immigrants' vocational training (Chadderton and Edmonds, 2014). A small, but increasing number of re-searchers have examined more subjective integration

predictors, such as anti-immigrant sentiments within host societies (Quillian, 1995, Schneider, 2008), the relationship between immigrants' mental and physical state with their integration experience (Zlotnick et al., 2015, Borrell et al., 2015, Morton et al., 2014), the impact of perceived discrimination on employment (Behtoui and Neergaard, 2009, Agudelo-Suarez et al., 2011) and on the overall integration experience (Flores, 2015, Painter, 2013). Nonetheless, scant attention is given to background and immigrant-specific factors that influence both objective integration outcomes and immigrants' integration experience jointly (Jong et al., 2002), thus leaving the area ripe for further inquiry. Hence, the divergence of approaches might be a potential reason behind a lack of consensus within political science literature on what positive integration means and how it should be realized (Dancygier, 2014).

Within a very recent shift in literature, a survey and a subsequent report on seven thousand immigrants in the European Union conducted by the Migration Policy Group and the King Baudouin Foundation in 2012 attempted to bridge objective integration outcomes and immigrants' experience of integration (Huddleston et al., 2012). The survey has been quite valuable as a starting point of this paper, given that it is the first survey that focuses on providing immigrants with a voice on their integration experience. The study focuses on a cross-country analysis of immigrants' integration experience through employment, language acquisition, political and civic participation, family reunion, permanent residence and citizenship acquisition (Huddleston et al., 2012). One key finding of the survey points to a coexistence of immigrants' high life satisfaction and reported problems in obtaining permanent residence or citizenship, which immigrants see as a big part of their settlement and integration (Huddleston et al., 2012). The survey and the subsequent re-port, however, do not go beyond descriptive analysis of results. Hence, the authors do not assess background or immigrant-specific factors in an attempt to uncover why their results point to a divergence between objective integration outcomes and immigrants' experience of integration.

In this paper, I approach immigrants' integration experience as based on the survey (Huddleston et al., 2012) and the legally binding and mandated EU directives that have set forth the preconditions for immigrants' positive integration (Joppke, 2007). I evaluate immigrants' integration experience via three indicators: life satisfaction (rating of overall life satisfaction, education, job, accommodation, health, family and social life), ease of applying for citizenship or permanent residence, and employment status. I acknowledge that the EU directives I base the three indicators on are some-what

equivocal. However, due to a lack of consensus within political science on what positive integration denotes (Dancygier, 2014), I choose the above indicators for two reasons. Firstly, the EU directives that form the basis of the three indicators pose as a link between objective integration outcomes and immigrants' experience of integration. As an example, the EU directives emphasize social inclusivity and employment simultaneously. Secondly, the three indicators delineate methodical proxies of what the legally binding EU directives define as principles of positive integration. This further serves as an operationalization of both immigrants' integration experience and objective outcomes on which official policies primarily focus.

At an aggregate level, a heterogeneity of economic (Hollifield, 1992), cultural (Favell, 2016), and political-historical factors (Brubaker, 2009, Money, 1997, Joppke, 1999, Neumayer, 2005) shape migration patterns and integration processes across and within societies. When examining immigrants' integration, both background and immigrant-specific factors are important to analyze.

As one background factor, the existence of historical ties between immigrants' countries of origin and residence can influence immigrants' integration experience for two reasons. Firstly, previous studies show that countries with colonial pasts, such as France, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal, generally have developed more accepting policies towards immigration (Hix and Noury, 2007, Joppke, 1998, Hollifield, 1992). This, in turn, allows for more positive integration of immigrants overall (Hix and Noury, 2007). Secondly, historical ties between immigrants' countries of origin and residence, more often than not, signify a shared language that can influence immigrants' integration experience. Having the language skills is a significant factor in improving immigrants' integration experience (Guven and Islam, 2015), as it is often a pre-requisite for obtaining citizenship and acquiring employment (Huddleston et al., 2012). Further, the correlation between the existence of historical ties and unofficial language shared between immigrants' countries of origin and residence is high (see Appendix A). Hence, I argue that this historical legacy has a stronger spillover effect on integration experience of those from countries with historical ties to their host countries.

As another background factor, the level of development of immigrants' country of origin can influence their integration experience. According to one Swedish study, immigrants from more developed countries encounter less discrimination and are more integrated due to two reasons. Firstly, the general social discourse in their host society perceives them more positively. Secondly, they tend to occupy high-skilled jobs (Behtoui

and Neergaard, 2009). Further, a recent World Bank report shows that immigrants from more developed countries predominantly occupy high-skilled, non-manual jobs (Munz, 2008). The level of development of their origin country is more similar to the development of their host country, and thereby implies higher transferability of skills (Munz, 2008). There is also evidence that developmental factors influence migration decisions and are likely to shape developmental outcomes in migrant-sending countries (Taylor, 1999). Therefore, I argue that a higher level of development of immigrants' origin countries is associated with better integration.

In regards to immigrant-specific factors, I am interested in the integration experience of those who migrate for humanitarian reasons; namely, refugees and asylum-seekers, and those who migrate for work. On a general note, literature on work migrants has greatly focused on discrimination and employment (Agudelo-Suarez et al., 2011, Behtoui and Neergaard, 2009, Flores, 2015), whereas literature on humanitarian migrants has focused on governmental provision of asylum and vocational training programs (Neumayer, 2005, Chadderton and Edmonds, 2014). In other words, there is a scarcity of comparative literature on integration between humanitarian and work migrants. Within recent literature that studies the integration experience of both groups in conjunction, one study in the Netherlands shows that there is no difference between the two groups in the factors that influence their desire to return (Di Saint Pierre et al., 2015). In the context of the 2015 European refugee crisis, one study analyzes health problems of refugees and economic migrants in conjunction without distinguishing between the two groups and the problems they encounter (Pavli et al., 2017). I argue that the integration experience of humanitarian migrants does not differ from those who migrate for work. The latter group might be initially better off, given that they particularly migrate for employment and are, therefore, employed upon arrival. This implies economic self-sustainability that those who migrate for humanitarian reasons do not have immediately upon arrival. However, humanitarian migrants are assisted by various governmental programs (Carlzen et al., 2016), in coordination with the European Refugee Fund and the European Resettlement Network.

I also acknowledge that my assumptions do not address the fluid nature of reasons for migration that can change upon arrival, and this is done for two reasons. Firstly, I am interested in examining potential differences between the integration experience of the two groups in light of negative sentiments towards immigrants and refugees across Europe that have not necessarily distinguished between the two groups (Neu-

mayer, 2005). Secondly, the addition of other categories complicates my analysis in ways that require a richer set of data that goes beyond this paper.

As based on the two background factors and immigrant-specific factors I discuss above, I set forth my three hypotheses on immigrants' integration experience.

III. HYPOTHESES

This section presents and explains the three hypotheses on the relationship between background and immigrant-specific factors with both subjective and objective indicators of immigrants' integration experience in the European context. I analyze responses of immigrants from seven EU member states covered by the survey (Huddleston et al., 2012): France, Germany, Belgium, Hungary, Italy, Portugal and Spain. The choice of countries is restricted by the survey; however, a follow-up survey is currently being done on an EU-wide level that could be used for a future extension of this paper. I do not conduct a country-specific analysis because each country has a different integration system that would require a more extensive survey and research into the background of each country's historical development. Relevant descriptive variables can be found in Appendix A in the Supporting Information (SI) section.

Immigrants' integration experience: As a dependent variable for all hypotheses based on the survey (Huddleston et al., 2012) and EU integration principles (Joppke, 2007), I measure immigrants' integration experience via (i) overall life satisfaction, (ii) ease of application for citizenship or permanent residence, and (iii) employment status. immigrants' life satisfaction is key to understanding how immigrants evaluate their ability to manage employment, education, accommodation, family life, social life and health (Huddleston et al., 2012). Further, the ease of citizenship/permanent residence application is important to assess, as there is evidence that obtaining citizenship bolsters integration (Huddleston et al., 2012, Hainmueller et al., 2015). As employment provides immigrants with economic self-sustainability (Joppke, 2007) and is the only objective indicator of the three, I examine it in lieu of the two above stated subjective indicators of integration. The way I construct all three dependent variables is explained in the next section of the paper.

The following paragraphs provide a layout for the three hypotheses, where the first and the third analyze immigrants' integration experience in light of background factors, and the second analyzes immigrants'

Table 1: *The breakdown of all independent and dependent variables for all three hypotheses*

Hypotheses	Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
Hypothesis 1	Historical ties	
Hypothesis 2	Reason for migration	Immigrants' integration experience
Hypothesis 3	HDI Development level of origin country	

integration experience in light of the immigrant-specific factor.

The first hypothesis examines the relationship between historical relations, such as the existence of guest-worker programs and colonial legacies, between immigrants' countries of origin and residence and their integration experience. Given that countries with colonial pasts have generally designed more open policies towards immigration and asylum (Hix and Noury, 2007) and that the shared language, as a consequence of such ties, improves immigrants' integration prospects (Guven and Islam, 2015), I want to extend the impact of such systems to immigrants' integration experience. Hence, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1: *If immigrants' countries of origin and countries of residence have historical ties, such as colonial legacies and guest-worker programs, then immigrants' integration experience is more positive.*

There is, however, an alternative stream of thought that argues that historical ties can hinder integration in the society of immigrants' former colonizer or guest-worker receiving country. This can result in immigrants' integration experience being adversely influenced by the existence of historical ties, especially in employment (Behtoui and Neergaard, 2009). Consequently, immigrants might perceive more discrimination and low life satisfaction knowing they are migrating to the former colonizer or the country that wanted them exclusively for labor during the 1950s and 1960s guest-worker decades (King, 2016).

The second hypothesis examines the relationship between reasons for migration and the integration experience of those who migrate for humanitarian reasons; namely, refugees and asylum-seekers, and work migrants. On a general note, literature has greatly focused on studying separate integration outcomes of the two groups. Only recently has there been a shift to examining integration outcomes of both groups within a comparative approach. As mentioned in the previous section, within recent literature that studies integration experience of both groups in conjunction, there has been no evidence to show that there are differences between the two groups (Di Saint Pierre et al., 2015, Pavli et al., 2017). Hence, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2: *Immigrants who migrate for work should*

not have a more positive integration experience than immigrants who migrate for humanitarian reasons.

The third hypothesis examines the relationship between the level of development of immigrants' country of origin and immigrants' integration experience. Immigrants from more developed countries are generally more integrated in their host societies, encounter less discrimination (Behtoui and Neergaard, 2009), and predominantly occupy high-skilled, non-manual jobs (Munz, 2008). The seven host countries in this paper all have a very high development level (Malik, 2013). This proximity of development levels between immigrants' origin and host countries not only implies better chances of a more positive integration experience (Behtoui and Neergaard, 2009), but also a higher transferability of skills, especially in regards to employment. Hence, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 3: *Immigrants coming from more developed countries have a more positive integration experience in countries of residence when compared to immigrants who come from less developed countries.*

As an alternative argument, immigrants who come from more developed countries have higher expectations of their integration experience. They, therefore, have a more negative integration experience. Table 1 below represents the breakdown of all variables in all three hypotheses.

IV. DATA, RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

For the analysis of my hypotheses, I use data on 7,407 legally resident immigrants from the survey (Huddleston et al., 2012). In the following section, I first explain how I construct my dependent variables, followed by my independent and control variables. A more detailed description of all variables can be seen in Appendix A.

Immigrants' integration experience: I use Life Satisfaction Index, Citizenship or Permanent Residence Application Problems, and Employment Status as dependent variables for all three hypotheses. I construct the life satisfaction index both as a composite, manual index and with principal component analysis (PCA). For the manually constructed index, I give equal weight

Table 2: *The breakdown of the questions used for the life satisfaction index variable*

Composite Life Satisfaction Index and Components	
On a 0-10 scale, how is your life these days?	Q9a in the survey
On a 0-10 scale, how do you feel about your present level of education?	Q9b in the survey
On a 0-10 scale, how do you feel about your present job?	Q9c in the survey
On a 0-10 scale, how do you feel about your accommodation?	Q9e in the survey
On a 0-10 scale, how do you feel about your family life?	Q9f in the survey
On a 0-10 scale, how do you feel about your health?	Q9g in the survey
On a 0-10 scale, how do you feel about your social life?	Q9h in the survey

to all of the questions in Table 2 above. I construct the index as a 0-10 scaled variable where zero represents being "extremely dissatisfied with life" and 10 being "extremely satisfied with life". The average life satisfaction of immigrants is 7.441.

I assume that the survey responses of immigrants on their life satisfaction are skewed toward the higher end of the scale due to social desirability bias.

For the second dependent variable, I only look at immigrants who have applied for citizenship or permanent residence out of the total number of respondents, which is roughly 70% (5,185 respondents). Further, 40% of immigrants who have applied for citizenship or permanent residence encountered problems in the application, and only 36% obtained citizenship. Out of the subset of those who have applied for citizenship or permanent residence, I construct the dependent variable on procedural problems in the application process. I code Citizenship/Permanent Residence Application Problems as a binary variable where 1 signifies encountering procedural problems and zero signifies encountering no procedural problems in application.

I take the third dependent variable on employment status directly from the survey (Huddleston et al., 2012), where 1 signifies being in paid employment, and zero otherwise.

Independent variables: I construct the independent variable in hypothesis 1 as a binary variable, Historical ties, which I code as 1 if the country of origin and residence share historical ties, and zero otherwise. I obtain the list from the United Nations table on non-self-governing territories (UN, 2014). Roughly 48% (3,555 respondents) of immigrants in the survey come from countries that share historical ties with country of residence, whether its colonial or guest-worker ties.

For the independent variable in hypothesis 2, I use a binary variable, Reason for Migration, and include only people with humanitarian or work reasons for migration. I code 1 for humanitarian reason, and zero for work reason for migration. As the original survey has more categories, I disregard other categories, such as

educational reason or family reunification, by coding them as "NA". Being aware of this limitation, my analysis still includes 3,890 immigrants, which is sufficient to conduct analysis and derive meaningful, statistically significant conclusions.

Figure 1: *Life satisfaction distribution*
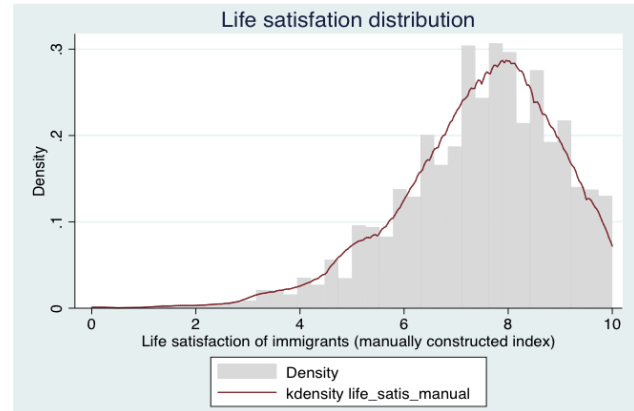
95% of responses are clustered between 5.9 and 8.9
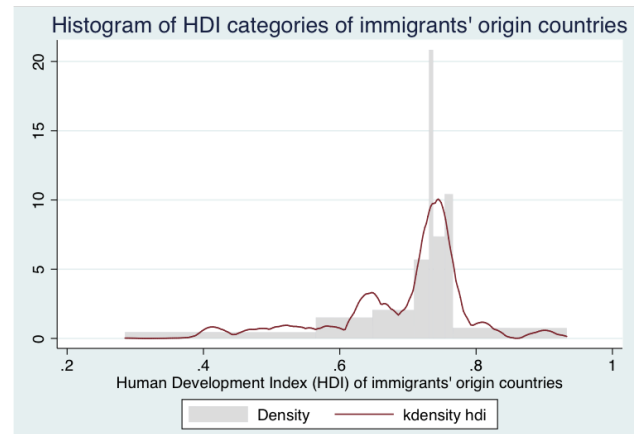
Figure 2: *Country of origin HDI distribution*

Table 3: *The breakdown of the HDI independent variable for hypothesis 3*

Human Development Index (HDI) tiers from the 2012 UNDP report			
HDI score	Tier name	N of observations	Example (HDI)
0-0.545	Low Human Development	844 (11.4%)	Tanzania (0.513)
0.546-0.699	Medium Human Development	1,849 (25.0%)	Botswana (0.693)
0.700-0.799	High Human Development	4,205 (56.8%)	Bulgaria (0.781)
0.799-1	Very High Human Development	530 (7.2%)	Norway (0.942)

I code the independent variable for hypothesis 3 as a Human Development Index score, HDI, for each immigrants' origin country, as based on the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (Malik, 2013). Most immigrants in the dataset come from countries with high human development, followed by countries with medium human development, as can be seen in table 3 and figure 2.

Control variables: I include immigrants' age, gender, time since arrival to the country of residence, years of education, being a native speaker, having obtained nationality of the country of residence, and being a minor upon arrival, as control variables. These fixed effects are at the country level. The choice of control variables is based on t-test results (see Appendix A). I measure age and education in years. Being a native speaker, having obtained nationality and being female are binary variables where 1 signifies a positive answer, and zero signifies a negative answer. I divide immigrants' time since arrival to country of residence into six categories, as per the original survey categories (Huddleston et al., 2012).

Most immigrants arrived between one and twenty years prior to their survey participation, with the mean of 14.5 years of residence since arrival (std. dev. 11.5 years). Even though the first category ranges from zero to ten, one precondition for taking the survey was legal residence in the respective EU country for at least one year prior to participating in the survey (Huddleston et al., 2012).

Figure 3: *Distribution of time since arrival*
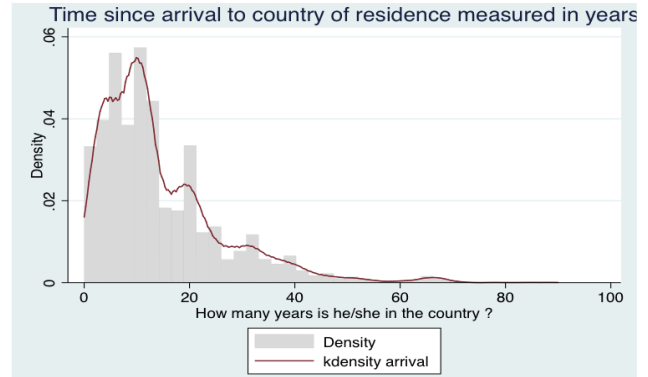
V. Results

I conduct a fixed-effects linear regression analysis on all three hypotheses. I also conduct t-test analysis and correlation analysis for all controls and independent variables (see Appendix A for results). I include regression results for each of the seven EU member states in Appendix B. As a robustness check for hypothesis 3, I also conduct a logit regression on the HDI categories of immigrants' origin countries, the results of which can be seen in Appendix B. Additionally, Appendix C shows all regression results and graphs with interaction terms.

The results for model 1 provide evidence that the coefficient between historical ties and immigrants' life satisfaction is positive and significant at conventional

Table 4: *The breakdown of the categories for the control variable of time since arrival*

Time since immigrants' arrival to country of residence		
Category name	Category explanation	N of observations
1	0 to 10 years since arrival	3,422 (46.1%)
2	10 to 20 years since arrival	2,307 (31.1%)
3	20 to 30 years since arrival	886 (12.0%)
4	30 to 40 years since arrival	501 (6.8%)
5	40 to 50 years since arrival	151 (2.0%)
6	51+ years since arrival	118 (1.6%)

Table 5: *Results for hypothesis 1*

VARIABLES	Life Satisfaction Index (manual)	Citizenship / permanent residence application problems	Employment status
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Historical ties	0.130***	0.015	0.016
	(0.039)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Age (years)	-0.015***	0.004***	-0.002***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.046	0.001	-0.086***
	(0.035)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Native speaker	0.227***	-0.002	0.008
	(0.040)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Arrival (categories)	0.001	0.010	0.006
	(0.024)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Obtained nationality	0.367***	0.136***	0.023*
	(0.042)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Education (years)	0.031***	-0.005***	0.009***
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Minor when arrived	0.209***	-0.108***	-0.180***
	(0.056)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	7.358***	0.261***	0.640***
	(0.081)	(0.026)	(0.027)
Observations	7,332	7,350	7,148
R-squared	0.061	0.047	0.034

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

levels (p<0.05), but not big in magnitude. Namely, immigrants coming from countries that share historical ties with their country of residence are, on average, more satisfied with life. Given that 95% of responses are clustered between 5.9 and 8.9, which is a three points range on a 0-10 scale, a simple calculation ((0.130/3) *100%) shows that life satisfaction rises by 4.3% with the existence of historical ties. The coefficient in model 2 and 3, however, are not statistically significant. Overall, the lack of statistical significance for models 2 and 3 and a small coefficient for model 1 provide evidence that the correlation between historical ties, as a background factor, and immigrants' integration experience is not strong.

In regards to interactions (see Appendix C), the difference in life satisfaction between immigrants from countries with historical ties and immigrants from countries without historical ties to their host country slightly decreases with age and years of education. However, the latter group is still less satisfied with life, on average. There are generally no differences between the two groups in likelihood of encountering problems in citizenship/permanent residence application.

Nevertheless, immigrants from countries with historical ties who have obtained citizenship are by 4.8% more likely to be in paid employment than immigrants from countries without historical ties. In regard to age on arrival (mean 24.2, standard deviation 11.9), immigrants from countries with historical ties who arrive as minors (one standard deviation below mean age on arrival) are 7.7% more likely to be in paid employment when compared to the same age group from countries without historical ties to their host country. However, the situation is reverse if the age on arrival rises one standard deviation above the mean.

In sum, the results demonstrate that the existence of historical ties is positively correlated with one aspect of immigrants' integration experience; namely, immigrants' life satisfaction. However, the coefficient for models 2 and 3 is only statistically significant when historical ties interact with immigrant-specific variables, such as age on arrival or acquisition of citizenship.

For hypothesis 2, the results for model 1 provide strong evidence that those who migrate for humanitarian reasons, namely refugees and asylum-seekers, are less likely to be satisfied with life, on average. Given that 95% of the responses are clustered between 5.9 and 8.9, a simple calculation ((0.468/3) *100%) shows that the drop of 15.6% is big in magnitude. This negative trend is statistically significant (p<0.05). Lower life satisfaction is also reasonable to observe, given the severe

Table 6: *Results for hypothesis 2*

VARIABLES	Life Satisfaction Index (manual) Model 1	Citizenship / permanent residence application problems Model 2	Employment status Model 3
Humanitarian reason for migration	-0.468*** (0.071)	-0.058*** (0.022)	-0.171*** (0.022)
Age (years)	-0.014*** (0.003)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Female	0.082 (0.050)	-0.029* (0.015)	-0.037** (0.016)
Native speaker	0.256*** (0.055)	0.052*** (0.017)	-0.014 (0.017)
Arrival (categories)	0.009 (0.037)	0.044*** (0.011)	-0.026** (0.012)
Obtained nationality	0.502*** (0.064)	0.162*** (0.019)	0.038* (0.020)
Education (years)	0.030*** (0.006)	-0.004** (0.002)	0.005*** (0.002)
Minor when arrived	0.237** (0.092)	-0.085*** (0.028)	-0.050* (0.029)
Constant	7.318*** (0.119)	0.167*** (0.036)	0.624*** (0.037)
Observations	3,817	3,826	3,725
R-squared	0.063	0.079	0.027

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

and traumatic conditions under which refugees and asylum-seekers migrate. These conditions might continue for years after they had migrated, thus admittedly affecting the evaluation of their integration experience in the host country. In interaction with age on arrival (mean 24.2, standard deviation 11.9), the life satisfaction index of humanitarian migrants who arrive to their host country at one standard deviation age above the mean decreases by more than half a point on a 0-10 scale, when compared to work migrants of the same age on arrival. The gap between the two groups widens with age. This increasing gap is reasonable to observe, given that older humanitarian migrants theoretically have more to lose upon migration from country of origin.

The results for model 2 suggest that that those who migrate for humanitarian reasons are, on average, 5.8% less likely to have procedural problems when applying for citizenship or permanent residence than those who migrate for work.

Additionally, humanitarian immigrants who are minors on arrival to their host country (one standard deviation below the mean age on arrival) are 15% less likely to encounter problems in citizenship/permanent residence application than work migrants of the same age. Female humanitarian migrants are also 7% less likely to encounter procedural problems when applying for citizenship/permanent residence, than female work migrants, whereas such a difference between men of the two groups is not statistically significant.

The results for model 3 suggest that humanitarian migrants are, on average, 17.1% less likely to be in paid employment, as opposed to those who migrate for work. However, the gap between the two groups decreases with citizenship acquisition. Those who migrate for humanitarian reasons and have obtained citizenship are, on average, 8% less likely to be in paid employment, when compared to those who migrate for work and have obtained citizenship. This result suggests that citizenship acquisition by humanitarian migrants is positively correlated with improved job prospects and a decrease in the gap between employment rates for both groups of immigrants. However, humanitarian migrants are still less likely to be in paid employment, when compared to work migrants. The difference in likelihood of being in paid employment between humanitarian and work migrants decreases from 19% to 13% with more years of education and is not statistically significant for those who migrate as minors (one standard deviation below mean age on arrival).

Additionally, figure 4 below shows that the likelihood of being in paid employment for humanitarian migrants remains stagnant and persistently lower relative to paid migrants, even two decades after migration.

Figure 4: *Marginal effects of humanitarian reason for migration on employment*
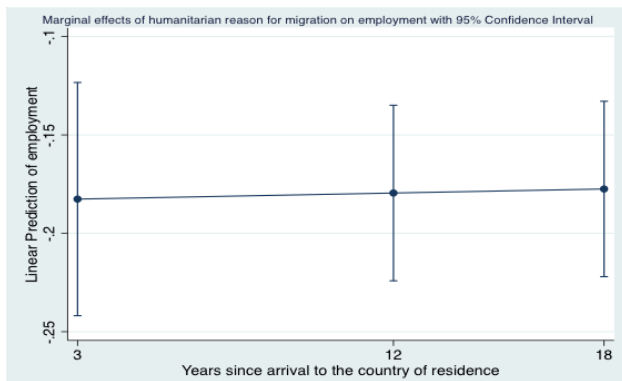

Overall, the correlation between humanitarian reason for migration and immigrants' integration experience is negative, with the exception of encountering problems in citizenship/permanent residence application. Given that, at times, obtaining citizenship and settling down in host country is the most appropriate and available choice to a large number of humanitarian migrants, this result is not surprising. However, it is compelling to observe that those who migrate for humanitarian reasons have less prospects for employment and lower life satisfaction, when compared to those who migrate for work, even years after they migrate.

The results for model 1 in table 7 show a positive coefficient and are statistically significant on conventional levels (p<0.05). Given that 95% of the responses are clustered between 5.9 and 8.9, a simple calculation ((0.149/3) *100%) shows that the jump of 5% per HDI category is modest. However, the difference between the lowest and the highest development category yields an increase of 15% in life satisfaction, a 5% increase per category. In other words, the higher the HDI category of origin country the higher the immigrants' life satisfaction. The four human development categories range from low HDI development level of undeveloped origin countries through medium and high development level to very high HDI development level of developed countries (see table 3 on page 12 for details). The example countries from each development category are Niger (0.341), Egypt (0.681), Bosnia (0.735), and Australia (0.933), respectively.

We can better understand the correlation's significance by examining variation in mean life satisfaction across the Human Development spectrum of immigrants' origin countries. This is shown in figure 5, the top graph. The mean life satisfaction (one standard deviation) is shown in the bottom graph. Example countries for each value are Somalia, Egypt and Australia, respectively.

The results for model 2 suggest that an increase in development of immigrants' origin country from low to very high is correlated with a decrease in encountering problems when applying for citizenship or permanent residence. However, the coefficient is small in magnitude. The results for model 3 show a difference of 12.3% in likelihood of being in paid work between immigrants' coming from countries with low and very high development, a jump from the lowest to the highest HDI category. The difference in likelihood of being in paid employment increases to a 4.9% jump per category with one standard deviation above the mean years of education (mean years of education 10.9, standard deviation 4.5). In short, the difference in immigrants' employment for highly educated immigrants (1 standard deviation above the mean) between countries with low development and very high development is 14.7%.

Figure 5: *Effects of HDI on life satisfaction*
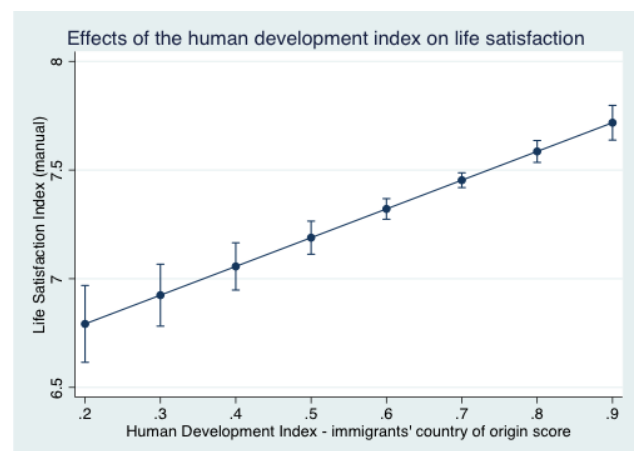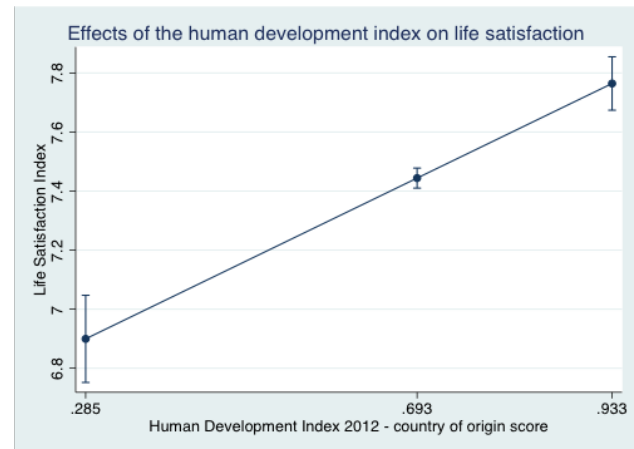
As a robustness check, I conduct a logit analysis of HDI as a categorical variable to determine whether

Table 7: *Results for hypothesis 3*

VARIABLES	Life Satisfaction Index (manual) Model 1	Citizenship / permanent residence application problems Model 2	Employment status Model 3
HDI index categories	0.149***	-0.015**	0.041***
	(0.023)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Age (years)	-0.017***	0.004***	-0.003***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.031	0.003	-0.091***
	(0.035)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Native speaker	0.280***	0.004	0.014
	(0.037)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Arrival (categories)	0.017	0.010	0.009
	(0.024)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Obtained nationality	0.378***	0.134***	0.026*
	(0.042)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Education (years)	0.028***	-0.004***	0.008***
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Minor when arrived	0.190***	-0.105***	-0.187***
	(0.056)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	7.221***	0.282***	0.600***
	(0.085)	(0.027)	(0.028)
Observations	7,332	7,350	7,148
R-squared	0.065	0.048	0.037

Standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

the correlation of HDI categories and life satisfaction is non-linear.

The logit regression analysis shows that, even when I allow for non-linearities with respect to my variables of interest, the marginal effects of the logit regression and the linear regression are identical (see tables 5B and 6B in Appendix B).

The correlation between the level of development of immigrants' origin country and their integration experience is positive and statistically significant. However, the biggest difference in integration experience across all three models for hypothesis 3 is seen between immigrants from countries with low human development and immigrants from countries with very high human development, the latter having a more positive integration experience.

On a general note, the results show some evidence in support of hypothesis 1, where the only statistically significant coefficient is found in model 1. The results show evidence in support of hypothesis 3. However, the results provide evidence to refute hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 1 shows that the existence of historical ties, a background factor, has a positive correlation with some aspects of immigrants' integration experience. However, the correlation increases in magnitude and statistical significance only in interaction with immigrant-specific factors, such as age on arrival, acquisition of citizenship and years of education.

The second hypothesis shows evidence that there are differences in integration experience be-tween humanitarian and work migrants. The former group has a more negative integration experience, with the exception of ease of applying for citizenship/permanent residence. The gap in employment between the two groups is reasonable to observe, given that work migrants move particularly for work.

The employment gap decreases if humanitarian migrants obtain citizenship, thus confirming the importance of citizenship in improving integration (Hainmueller et al., 2015). However, humanitarian migrants remain less employed than work migrants even if they obtain citizenship and even years after migrating. Further, humanitarian migrants who are minors on arrival encounter fewer problems in application for citizenship/permanent residence than adults. We see this for potentially two reasons. Firstly, minors might not be aware of the difficulty of procedure, as their parents or legal guardians apply on their behalf. This is a potential problem that is not reported in the survey. Secondly, host societies might be more open to naturalizing minors, as minors might be perceived as the most open to absorbing their values and learning their language.

The third hypothesis provides evidence that the development level of immigrants' country of origin, a background factor, and immigrants' integration experience are positively correlated. In other words, immi-

grants who come from countries that are in the same HDI category as their country of residence have a more positive integration experience, thus confirming previous findings within literature (Behtoui and Neergaard, 2009, Munz, 2008). The biggest difference in integration experience is seen between immigrants from undeveloped and highly developed countries. The difference in life satisfaction between the lowest and the highest HDI category further increases in interaction with immigrant-specific factors, such as age on arrival and years of education (see Appendix B for interactions).

In sum, higher life satisfaction is positively correlated with the existence of historical ties between immigrants' countries of origin and residence, and higher human development levels of immigrants' origin countries. Encountering fewer problems when applying for citizenship/permanent residence is positively correlated to higher human development level of immigrants' origin countries and humanitarian reason for migration. Higher likelihood of being in paid employment is negatively correlated with humanitarian reason for migration and positively correlated with higher human development level of immigrants' origin countries. The results of this paper, including both positive and negative correlations, signify the combined importance of assessing multiple factors when examining the extraordinarily complex phenomenon of immigrant integration. The following section discusses the implications of these results.

VI. Methodological Challenges

There are three challenges in my analysis. The most significant challenge is quantifying immigrants' integration experience as based on the three dependent variables that speak to its different aspects. I arbitrarily determine that greater life satisfaction, no problems in application procedure for citizenship or permanent residence, and being in paid employment signify positive integration experience. However, not being in paid employment, for example, may not necessarily be negative, as immigrants who receive subsidies from the host government might not want to give them up. Therefore, it is possible that their integration is not less positive than the experience of those who are employed.

Secondly, the Historical Ties independent variable for H1 is complex to quantify due to a number of immigrants' origin countries being colonized by multiple colonizers. The challenge lies in choosing which colonizing mandate has been more influential in terms of legacies, one being language persisting in the origin country post colonialism. I ultimately choose the country of residence with the longest control over im-

migrants' origin countries.

Thirdly, the construction of Historical Ties for countries that have no explicit colonial or guest-worker legacies, such as Hungary, I code the following Eastern European countries: Croatia, Romania, Ukraine, and the Russian Federation. The first three countries have historical ties with Hungary through the legacies of Austro-Hungarian Empire and subsequent guest-worker contracts. Although Croatia is an EU member state, its membership was made official in 2013, a year after the survey was conducted. The historical ties between Hungary and the Russian Federation stem from the historical influence of the Soviet Union on the former Hungarian Socialist State from late 1940s to late 1980s. Additionally, I do not include the guest-worker contract between Germany and Italy in this analysis, as the two countries have both been EU member states since its inception.

VII. Discussion and policy implications

My analysis provides evidence that the correlation between immigrants' integration experience and both background and immigrant-specific factors is statistically significant. Although the correlation of background factors and integration experience is not strong, it increases in statistical significance and magnitude when coupled with immigrants' age on arrival or years of education. The results also demonstrate that there is strong negative correlation between humanitarian reason for migration and integration experience, with the exception of model 2. Namely, life satisfaction and employment rates are lower for humanitarian migrants even years after arrival to host country. However, employment rates increase for humanitarian migrants who obtain citizenship. The importance of citizenship is supported by literature as well (Hainmueller et al., 2015). What is important to note is that my analysis combines the importance of citizenship with both back-ground and immigrant-specific factors, as citizenship alone is not a silver bullet.

In other words, measuring integration by citizenship rates is too simplistic for a process that is both objective and subjective in nature and expands over a course of many years that encompass both life satisfaction and employment, in addition to the attainment of citizenship or permanent residence in the host country. My analysis also shows the importance of historical connections between the host and the immigrants' country of origin in creating conditions for optimal integration in the long-run.

A country-specific analysis reveals some divergences from the overall results. The next two paragraphs dis-

cuss the examples of Italy and France to illustrate this point. The integration experience of immigrants whose origin countries share historical ties with Italy is negatively correlated with existence of such ties. The difference between Italy and overall results are systematic (see table 10B in SI). As an example, Eritrean immigrants are 19% less likely to be in paid employment and 22% more likely to encounter problems in citizenship/permanent residence application, on average, in comparison to Nigerian immigrants. The correlation between historical ties and life satisfaction is positive, however not statistically significant for Italy. In regards to employment, one potential explanation could be that Italy has high unemployment rates among its domicile population, an acute trend that has a spillover effect on immigrant opportunities.

This trend might affect all immigrants, regardless of shared historical ties. However, a low 5.4% respondents in Italy (43 out of 794) come from countries with historical ties to Italy, only half of whom are employed. Another potential explanation is shared language, as a legacy of historical ties, that can potentially bolster employment opportunities and ease of applying for citizenship (Guven and Islam, 2015). Such a legacy is generally absent among respondents in Italy as there are no native speakers of Italian, which might further explain the trend.

As a second example, France differs from the overall results of all three hypotheses, as no results are statistically significant on conventional levels. In other words, there is evidence in support of hypothesis 2 for France. One exception is the negative correlation of HDI categories and immigrants' employment status. In regards to employment for hypothesis 3, although a decrease of 4.7% per HDI category of the origin country is fairly small in magnitude, it rises to a difference of 14% between low developed and very developed countries of origin. One potential explanation might be the greater demand for low-skilled workers in France than in other six countries, as immigrants from countries with very high level of human development tend to occupy high-skilled positions (Munz, 2008). Another explanation might be the preference for native speakers of French in employment in regards to white-collar jobs, and there are no highly developed non-EU countries whose official language is French, with the exception of Canada. There are, however, no immigrants to France from Canada in the survey (Huddleston et al., 2012), which might explain the trend.

Across the three hypotheses, immigrants' integration experience varies between positive and negative in correlation to a heterogeneity of background and immigrant-specific factors. As an example, if we an-alyze employment rates or life satisfaction of humanitarian migrants, their integration experience is more negative, when compared to work migrants. However, if we combine these results with the ease of applying for citizenship/permanent residence for humanitarian migrants, when compared to work migrants, their integration experience is more positive. This is yet another instance where a variety of factors can be seen to influence the holistic integration experience of immigrants, depending on the combination that is analyzed. In other words, it is an imperative to assess the process of integration as a mosaic of multiple factors. In this particular case, I examine life satisfaction, citizenship acquisition and employment.

Moreover, immigrants' integration experience can be described as either positive (Huddleston et al., 2012), or negative (Flores, 2015), depending on what aspect of integration one examines. It is described as surprisingly positive in the survey on which I base this paper. Capitalizing on immigrants' life satisfaction, the authors of the survey state that "while the public debate focuses mostly on problems of integration and only little on the successes, the survey shows that immigrants are more positive about their experience" (Huddleston et al., 2012). However, one Spanish study observes that, "from the perspective of immigrants, (there has been) an emergence of race as the main symbolic boundary marginalizing non-European immigrants in Spain" (Flores, 2015). Furthermore, the results of this paper show that different aspects of immigrants' integration experience vary in correlation to a variety of factors. On a macro scale, where does this leave literature and policies on integration?

Within literature on integration, objective and subjective outcomes are generally analyzed separately, and a variety of factors influencing integration are examined in isolation. Even when objective and subjective integration outcomes are measured together, as is the case in the survey (Huddleston et al., 2012), they are not put in conversation with one another, especially when integration policies are being designed and discusses on an official level within the government of any one country in the European Union. Thus, the two examples above signify a selective approach of literature to integration. In other words, a myopically centered bifurcation only leads to partial analysis of immigrants' integration experience that might prove rather irrelevant to their wholesome lived experience. What further stresses the importance of a combined approach to the integration experience is that the results differ in each individual country of the seven countries encompassed by this paper.

Furthermore, the lack of consensus within literature

on integration perpetuates difficulties in agreeing what positive integration signifies (Dancygier, 2014). Hence, we need to be more careful in examining the factors that influence integration and in assessing different aspects of immigrants' integration experience. In particular, we need to be careful when concluding that integration of particular communities in the European Union failed or succeeded, solely based and measured on employment or attainment of citizenship.

Given these factors, I argue for a combined assessment of background and immigrant-specific factors on both objective and subjective integration outcomes. This approach provides an understanding of integration as a complex process that can be viewed from multiple angles in correlation to a heterogeneity of background and immigrant-specific factors.

Regarding policy, Huddleston designed an integration policy index (MIPEX) as an extension of the 2012 survey (Huddleston, 2012). The index measures policies promoted by governments to integrate migrants in areas such as labor market mobility, anti-discrimination and access to nationality. Based on 167 indicators, the index encompasses a small but growing number of new countries annually and might provide a good starting point in intertwining different areas of integration. In short, it functions as a cross-country scorecard with interactive maps and annual trends for changes in national integration policies. Although it might be a good starting point when combining objective with subjective measurements of immigrants' integration into European Union, as a drawback, the index still does not include immigrants' experience nor does it interrogate factors that influence integration beyond government policies. In line with the survey on which my paper is based, the integration policy index approaches integration in a descriptive way. What I particularly find useful for further inquiry and application to policies is that the index includes all EU member states and can serve as a starting point to a more comprehensive approach to integration.

On a general note, it is important to observe that there are striking differences in country-specific analyses and the overall analysis of this paper. The unique nature of each country's integration system is the reason why I do not focus on a country-specific analysis. However, the cross-country analysis of this paper is relevant, as negative sentiments toward immigrants in Europe surpass national borders (Esipova et al., 2015) and hint at negative integration phenomena that are shared between countries. Recalling the EU directives on positive integration, all three aspects of immigrants' integration experience that are analyzed in this paper can be of value to policy makers across Europe in designing more inclusive integration frameworks and tackling negative sentiments toward immigrants and integration. Nevertheless, national specificities that diverge from the overall results of this paper leave ample maneuvering space for policy makers to expand their approach to immigrants' integration experience in each individual country.

VIII. Conclusion

In this paper, I assess the relationship of background factors, such as historical ties and the level of development of immigrants' origin countries, and immigrant-specific factor - reasons for migration, with both objective and subjective integration outcomes. I convey the above mentioned outcomes through immigrants' life satisfaction level, ease of applying for citizenship and employment status. Overall, my findings are significant in comprehending the correlation of positive integration experience with both background and immigrant-specific factors.

For that reason, the results are especially noteworthy in the aftermath of the 2015 European refugee crisis, both within literature and policy circles. The year of 2017 is politically significant due to the rise of European countries' conservative parties, such as Marine Le Pen's Front National, which run on the agenda of anti-immigration and anti-integration. It is, thus, essential to examine both objective and subjective integration outcomes from multiple angles in order to combine official integration policies, growing negative sentiments of domicile population towards immigrants, and immigrants' experience of integration. Moreover, this paper provides a combinatorial approach to integration that can contract the space between the EU directives and immigrants' integration experience, better inform policy makers on factors that might improve existing integration frameworks, and address the negative attitudes toward immigrants.

Nevertheless, my analysis lacks two elements. Firstly, I cannot make causal claims due to data limitations. Given that the survey on which I base my paper was conducted before the onset of the 2015 European refugee crisis, the next step in making a causal claim could be associated with the structural break of the refugee crisis. Therein, I could make a causal claim by conducting a follow-up survey with the same set of respondents and assessing the impact of the refugee crisis on their integration experience.

Secondly, my analysis does not qualitatively include the voice of immigrants on their integration experience. Accordingly, the next step in researching immigrants' integration experience is to combine quantitative with

qualitative methods. I could conduct structured interviews on an EU-wide level in association with the follow-up survey to the 2012 survey that is currently being conducted on an EU-wide level. Interview material might provide data analysis with descriptive contextuality of different immigrant groups.

In sum, this paper contributes to literature on immigrant integration by assessing the relationship between background and immigrant-specific factors with both objective and subjective integration experiences. I, thereby, demonstrate that integration is a complex process that is interconnected with a diapason of factors, both background and immigrant-specific ones.

My results show that a more integrated approach to immigrants' integration experience needs to be taken in order to fully assess the extraordinarily complex phenomenon of immigrant integration. This might inform the revision of integration policies, which might eventually prove irrelevant to immigrants' lived experiences in their host societies, especially in the aftermath of the 2015 European refugee crisis.

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IX. Supporting Information (SI) Appendices

I. Appendix A: Descriptive statistics

Table 1A shows descriptive statistics of the survey dataset.

Country	Number of respondents	Gender: female	Age of respondents	Average years of education	Years since arrival to host country	Historical ties	Reason for migration: humanitarian	Average HDI of origin country	Average life satisfaction	Citizenship/ permanent residence application problems	Being in Paid Work
France	988	585	40.41	9.84	19.66	0.71	0.23	0.65	7.16	0.50	0.55
Belgium	1 027	413	37.98	11.09	15.34	0.22	0.48	0.64	7.42	0.36	0.45
Germany	1 202	643	38.75	11.35	16.05	0.64	0.34	0.75	7.48	0.36	0.54
Italy	797	414	38.72	12.21	10.77	0.05	0.09	0.70	6.85	0.30	0.76
Spain	994	544	38.44	9.31	10.74	0.36	0.04	0.71	7.73	0.72	0.70
Portugal	1 259	609	35.47	10.34	10.23	0.72	0.04	0.65	7.76	0.25	0.58
Hungary	1 201	585	41.13	12.45	17.78	0.49	0.13	0.7	7.44	0.56	0.56
Total	7 464	3 783	38.65	10.94	14.45	0.48	0.19	0.70	7.44	0.43	0.59

Table 2A shows descriptive statistics for independent and dependent variables.

Variables	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min. value	Max. value
Historical ties	7 468	0.48	0.50	0	1
Reason for migration	3 139	0.19	0.39	0	1
HDI of origin country	7 460	0.69	0.10	0.285	0.933
Life Satisfaction Index (manual)	7 447	7.44	1.53	0	10
Life Satisfaction Index (PCA)	4 716	0	1.74	-9.03	2.94
Procedural Problems	7 468	0.43	0.50	0	1
Being in Paid Work	7 260	0.59	0.50	0	1

Table 3A shows correlation coefficients for selected independent variables.

Variables	Correlation coefficients
The existence of historical ties and shared unofficial language between country of origin and residence	0.641
The existence of historical ties and reason for migration	0.004
Reason for migration and HDI of origin country	-0.155
The existence of historical ties and HDI of origin country	-0.028

II.   Appendix B: Regression results

Table 1B shows regression results for hypothesis 3 with HDI as a continuous variable.

VARIABLES	Life Satisfaction Index (manual) Model 1	Citizenship / permanent residence application problems Model 2	Employment status Model 3
HDI of origin country	1.323***	-0.157***	0.334***
	(0.179)	(0.057)	(0.059)
Age (years)	-0.017***	0.004***	-0.003***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.029	0.004	-0.092***
	(0.035)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Native speaker	0.286***	0.002	0.016
	(0.037)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Arrival (categories)	0.014	0.011	0.008
	(0.024)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Obtained nationality	0.380***	0.134***	0.0264*
	(0.042)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Education (years)	0.027***	-0.004***	0.007***
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Minor when arrived	0.193***	-0.105***	-0.185***
	(0.056)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	6.564***	0.363***	0.437***
	(0.138)	(0.044)	(0.045)
Observations	7,324	7,342	7,140
R-squared	0.066	0.048	0.038

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 2B shows regression results for hypothesis 1 including the PCA life satisfaction index.

VARIABLES	Life Satisfaction Index (manual) Model 1a	Life Satisfaction Index (pca) Model 1b	Citizenship / permanent residence application problems Model 2	Employment status Model 3
Historical ties	0.130***	0.018***	0.015	0.016
	(0.039)	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Age (years)	-0.015***	-0.001***	0.004***	-0.002***
	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.046	0.000	0.001	-0.086***
	(0.035)	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Native speaker	0.227***	0.020***	-0.002	0.008
	(0.040)	(0.005)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Arrival (categories)	0.001	0.003	0.010	0.006
	(0.024)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Obtained nationality	0.367***	0.036***	0.136***	0.023*
	(0.042)	(0.005)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Education (years)	0.031***	0.004***	-0.005***	0.009***
	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Minor when arrived	0.209***	0.006	-0.108***	-0.180***
	(0.056)	(0.007)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	7.358***	0.718***	0.261***	0.640***
	(0.081)	(0.011)	(0.026)	(0.027)
Observations	7,332	4,647	7,350	7,148
R-squared	0.061	0.051	0.047	0.034

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3B shows regression results for hypothesis 2 including the PCA life satisfaction index.

VARIABLES	Life Satisfaction Index (manual)	Life Satisfaction Index (pca)	Citizenship / permanent residence application problems	Employment status
	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 2	Model 3
Humanitarian reason for migration	-0.468***	-0.029***	-0.058***	-0.171***
	(0.071)	(0.009)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Age (years)	-0.014***	-0.001**	0.004***	0.002
	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.082	0.003	-0.029*	-0.037**
	(0.050)	(0.006)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Native speaker	0.256***	0.030***	0.052***	-0.014
	(0.055)	(0.006)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Arrival (categories)	0.009	0.004	0.044***	-0.026**
	(0.037)	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Obtained nationality	0.502***	0.044***	0.162***	0.038*
	(0.064)	(0.007)	(0.019)	(0.020)
Education (years)	0.030***	0.003***	-0.0039**	0.005***
	(0.007)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Minor when arrived	0.237**	0.014	-0.085***	-0.050*
	(0.092)	(0.011)	(0.028)	(0.030)
Constant	7.318***	0.717***	0.167***	0.624***
	(0.119)	(0.016)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Observations	3,817	2,600	3,826	3,725
R-squared	0.063	0.050	0.079	0.027

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4B shows regression results for hypothesis 3 including the PCA life satisfaction index.

VARIABLES	Life Satisfaction Index (manual)	Life Satisfaction Index (pca)	Citizenship / permanent residence application problems	Employment status
	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 2	Model 3
HDI index (categories)	0.149***	0.010***	-0.015**	0.041***
	(0.023)	(0.003)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age (years)	-0.017***	-0.001***	0.004***	-0.003***
	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.031	-0.001	0.003	-0.091***
	(0.035)	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Native speaker	0.280***	0.027***	0.004	0.014
	(0.037)	(0.004)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Arrival (categories)	0.017	0.005	0.010	0.009
	(0.024)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Obtained nationality	0.378***	0.037***	0.134***	0.026*
	(0.042)	(0.005)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Education (years)	0.028***	0.003***	-0.004***	0.008***
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Minor when arrived	0.190***	0.006	-0.105***	-0.187***
	(0.056)	(0.007)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	7.221***	0.712***	0.282***	0.600***
	(0.085)	(0.012)	(0.027)	(0.028)
Observations	7,332	4,647	7,350	7,148
R-squared	0.065	0.050	0.048	0.037

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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Table 5B shows the results for the logit regression for hypothesis 3.

VARIABLES	Life Satisfaction Index (manual) Model1	Procedural problems in citizenship/permanent residence application Model2	Being in paid employment Model3
HDI (categories)	0.504	-0.069**	0.173***
	(0.587)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Female	-1.233	0.014	-0.388***
	(1.163)	(0.049)	(0.049)
Native speaker	0.514	0.015	0.060
	(1.164)	(0.052)	(0.052)
Age (years)	0.095	0.016***	-0.011***
	(0.083)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Time since arrival	0.200	0.047	0.038
(categories)	(1.141)	(0.034)	(0.034)
Minor on arrival	0.705	-0.483***	-0.780***
	(1.506)	(0.081)	(0.078)
Education (years)	0.139	-0.018***	0.032***
	(0.096)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Obtained nationality		0.576***	0.111*
		(0.059)	(0.059)
Constant	2.308	-0.918***	0.418***
	(2.634)	(0.118)	(0.119)
Observations	5,032	7,350	7,148

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6B shows marginal effect of each of the variables from the logit model on the probability of being in paid work, life satisfaction and procedural problems, when all variables are at their means.

VARIABLES	Marginal effect of each variable on paid work Model 3	Marginal effect of each variable on life satisfaction Model 1	Marginal effect of each variable on citizenship/permanent residence application problems Model 2
HDI (categories)	0.038***	0.000	-0.016**
	(0.008)	(0.002)	(0.008)
Female	-0.094***	-0.000	0.003
	(0.012)	(0.001)	(0.012)
Native speaker		0.000	0.004
		(0.000)	(0.012)
Age (years)	-0.002***	2.87e-05	0.004***
	(0.001)	(2.64e-05)	(0.001)
Arrival (categories)		6.06e-05	0.011
		(0.000)	(0.008)
Minor upon arrival		0.000	-0.111***
		(0.000)	(0.018)
Education (years)	0.008***	4.20e-05	-0.004***
	(0.001)	(3.88e-05)	(0.001)
Age upon arrival	0.004***		
	(0.001)		
Obtained nationality	0.014		0.139***
	(0.014)		(0.014)
Observations	7,184	5,032	7,350

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

III.   Analysis results for regressions with interaction variables

Graphs 1C show the relationship between interaction term of age with H2 and H3 independent variables and procedural problems in citizenship/permanent residence application. The graph to the left shows results of interaction of humanitarian reason for migration and immigrants' age on arrival (mean age ± 1 std. dev) with encountering procedural problems. The graph to the right shows results of interaction of HDI categories and immigrants' age on arrival (mean age ± 1 std. dev) with encountering procedural problems.
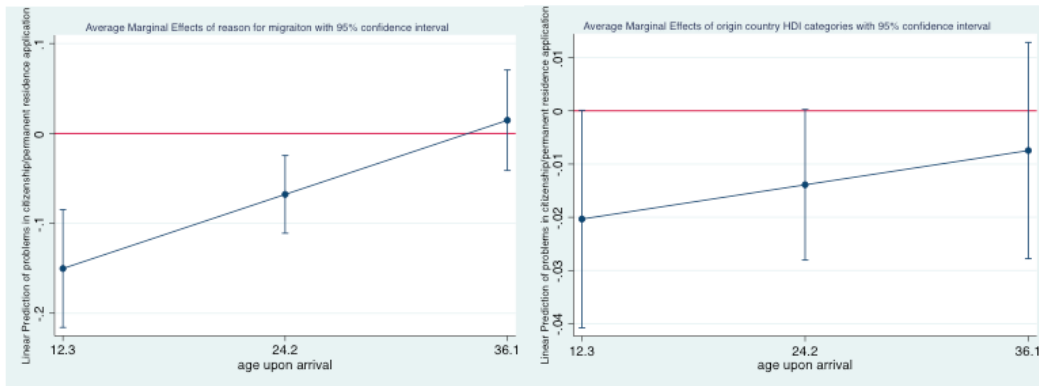
Tables 2C below and on the next page show the interaction between independent variables and citizenship, age on arrival, gender, age and years of education, respectively. Unless they are binary, all variables are divided according to the mean and the values of ± one std. dev.

VARIABLES	Marginal effect of historical ties on the three dependent variables for citizenship			Marginal effect of migration reasons on the three dependent variables for citizenship			Marginal effect of HDI categories on the three dependent variables for citizenship		
	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
Not obtained citizenship	0.172***	0.0259*	0.00122	-0.599***	-0.0343	-0.199***	0.158***	-0.000633	0.0436***
	(0.0460)	(0.0147)	(0.0152)	(0.0850)	(0.0259)	(0.0267)	(0.0268)	(0.00857)	(0.00882)
Obtained citizenship	0.0355	-0.00469	0.0481**	-0.235*	-0.0900**	-0.0976**	0.0702*	-0.0386***	0.0213
	(0.0650)	(0.0208)	(0.0212)	(0.126)	(0.0385)	(0.0394)	(0.0414)	(0.0132)	(0.0135)
Observations	7,340	7,358	7,156	3,820	3,829	3,728	7,340	7,358	7,156

Standard error in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

VARIABLES	Marginal effect of historical ties on the three dependent variables for age on arrival			Marginal effect of migration reasons on the three dependent variables for age on arrival			Marginal effect of HDI categories on the three dependent variables for age on arrival		
	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
Age on arrival: 12.3	0.106**	-0.00516	0.0771***	-0.255**	-0.150***	-0.0485	0.128***	-0.0203*	0.0400***
	(0.0527)	(0.0169)	(0.0174)	(0.109)	(0.0334)	(0.0342)	(0.0325)	(0.0104)	(0.0107)
Age on arrival: 24.2	0.120***	0.0170	0.0149	-0.441***	-0.0678***	-0.152***	0.144***	-0.0139*	0.0400***
	(0.0387)	(0.0124)	(0.0127)	(0.0721)	(0.0220)	(0.0226)	(0.0225)	(0.00722)	(0.00742)
Age on arrival: 36.1	0.133**	0.0392**	-0.0473***	-0.628***	0.0146	-0.256***	0.161***	-0.00745	0.0400***
	(0.0525)	(0.0168)	(0.0173)	(0.0932)	(0.0285)	(0.0292)	(0.0323)	(0.0104)	(0.0107)
Observations	7,332	7,350	7,148	3,817	3,826	3,725	7,332	7,350	7,148

Standard error in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Marginal effect of historical ties on the three dependent variables for female and male immigrants

VARIABLES	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
Male	0.187***	0.023	0.031*
	(0.053)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Female	0.073	0.010	0.003
	(0.052)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	7,340	7,358	7,156

Marginal effect of migration reasons on the three dependent variables for female and male immigrants

VARIABLES	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
Male	-0.484***	-0.037	-0.138***
	(0.093)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Female	-0.492***	-0.070**	-0.208***
	(0.108)	(0.033)	(0.034)
Observations	3,820	3,829	3,728

Marginal effect of HDI categories on the three dependent variables for female and male immigrants

VARIABLES	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
Male	0.131***	-0.011	0.070***
	(0.031)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Female	0.134***	-0.012	0.001
	(0.033)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Observations	7,340	7,358	7,156

Standard error in parentheses

***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Marginal effect of historical ties on the three dependent variables at different years of education

VARIABLES	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
6.4 years of education	0.134***	0.004	0.010
	(0.052)	(0.016)	(0.017)
10.9 years of education	0.128***	0.017	0.017
	(0.039)	(0.012)	(0.013)
15.5 years of education	0.122**	0.030*	0.024
	(0.054)	(0.017)	(0.018)
Observations	7,340	7,358	7,156

Marginal effect of migration reasons on the three dependent variables at different years of education

VARIABLES	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
6.4 years of education	-0.493***	-0.044	-0.193***
	(0.099)	(0.030)	(0.031)
10.9 years of education	-0.487***	-0.052**	-0.166***
	(0.071)	(0.022)	(0.022)
15.5 years of education	-0.481***	-0.059*	-0.139***
	(0.104)	(0.032)	(0.033)
Observations	3,820	3,829	3,728

Marginal effect of HDI categories on the three dependent variables at different years of education

VARIABLES	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
6.4 years of education	0.078**	-0.023**	0.025**
	(0.032)	(0.010)	(0.010)
10.9 years of education	0.132***	-0.012*	0.037***
	(0.023)	(0.007)	(0.007)
15.5 years of education	0.186***	-0.001	0.049***
	(0.032)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Observations	7,340	7,358	7,156

Standard error in parentheses

***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Marginal effect of HDI categories on the three dependent variables at different ages

VARIABLES	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
Age: 25	0.155***	0.004	0.068***
	(0.031)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Age: 38	0.149***	-0.016**	0.040***
	(0.023)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age: 51	0.143***	-0.036***	0.011
	(0.033)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Observations	7,332	7,350	7,148

Marginal effect of historical ties on the three dependent variables at different ages

VARIABLES	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
Age: 25	0.199***	0.057***	0.105***
	(0.052)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Age: 38	0.131***	0.016	0.019
	(0.039)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Age: 51	0.063	-0.025	-0.067***
	(0.051)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Observations	7,332	7,350	7,148

Marginal effect of migration reasons on the three dependent variables at different ages

VARIABLES	Life satisfaction	Procedural Problems	Paid work
Age: 25	-0.381***	0.017	-0.084**
	(0.106)	(0.033)	(0.034)
Age: 38	-0.453***	-0.045**	-0.154***
	(0.073)	(0.022)	(0.023)
Age: 51	-0.524***	-0.106***	-0.225***
	(0.088)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Observations	3,817	3,826	3,725

***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Graphs 3C show the effect of independent variables on the likelihood of immigrants being in paid employment for each of the three hypotheses for the mean age (38) of the respondent at the time of the survey, and for one std. dev. of age lower (25) and one std. dev. of age higher (51):
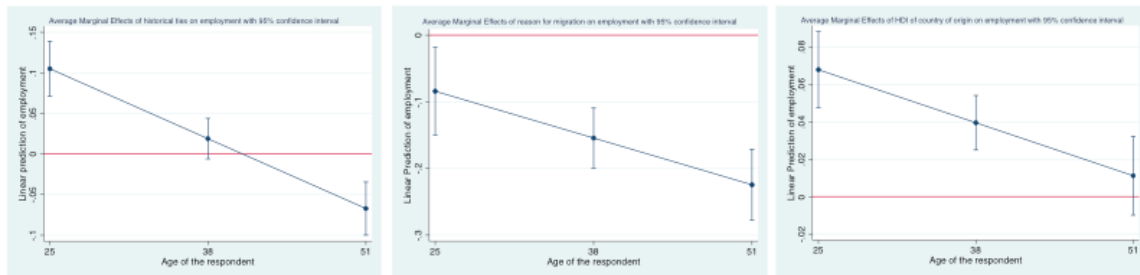
Graphs 4C show the effect of independent variables on the likelihood of immigrants encountering procedural problems when applying for citizenship or permanent residence for each of the three hypotheses for the mean years of education (10.9), and for one std. dev. lower (6.4) and one std. dev. higher (15.5).