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Settlers, target-earners, young professionals. Distinct migrant types, distinct integration trajectories?

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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' data set 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 is best described as educational target-earners: '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.

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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 & Zimmermann, 2013). During the 1950s and 1960s, migration to Germany was predominantly characterized 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, 2008a) as well as in so-called lifestyle migration – migration for individual growth and fulfilment (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009).

These new migration patterns may challenge previous conceptions of migration and integration for two reasons. First, 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, 2008a). 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 assesses 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, for example, in terms of 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 et al., 1988). So far, only a limited number of studies has tried to identify these types empirically (e.g. Constant & Massey, 2002; Drinkwater & 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, et al., 2013). In the few existing quantitative studies, these are characterized 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 (e.g. 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 data set 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 socio-economic 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 integration¹ 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 financial goals 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 (Engbersen et al., 2013). In general, sociocultural integration is supposed to be less relevant for target-earners that often lack permanent settlement intentions in the host country (cf. Massey & 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 & 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 when it comes to predicting early integration trajectories than the single variables that have been used to identify them.

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 & 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. Ganga, 2006; Luthra & Platt, 2016; 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 data set that includes a range of origin groups but at that point in time was dominated by former guest workers and their families.² 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 United Kingdom are 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 United Kingdom 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 United Kingdom, which opened its labour market immediately (Elsner & Zimmermann, 2013). Results from studies on migrant types in the UK thus cannot 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' sociocultural integration patterns, including their proficiency in the host country's language, social contacts with natives and identification with the host country.

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 maximise lifetime earnings (Harris & 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, that is, return is seen as 'mistaken immigration' (Duleep, 1994: 13). Polish migrants in the United Kingdom, 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 & 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 & Massey, 2002, 2003; Ette et al., 2016). Remittances do not play a crucial role in this concept since families are usually living together (Constant & Massey, 2002, 2003).

According to NE, migration is an investment and migrants also benefit from investments in their sociocultural integration, such as language skills (Chiswick & 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 & 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 & Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964).

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 & Yitzhaki, 1988). Target-earners try to diversify the household's income portfolio in order to minimize short-term risks (Stark et al., 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 & Massey, 2003). These, in turn, foster return and circular migration (Constant & Zimmermann, 2011) as the costs of separation rise with the duration of stay abroad (cf. Stark & Fan, 2007). Therefore, migrants remit, that is, they send their generated income surplus from the host country to their families in the country of origin (Stark, 1991). Once migrants' earning targets are met, they return home (Constant & Massey, 2002; Dustmann & 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 rather to be a failure 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 & Ryan, 2008) and in turn with low-host country identification (Vroome et al., 2014). To sum up, target-earners' adaptation process does thus not follow the logic of classical and neo-assimilation theory (Alba & 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 & 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 & 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 (cf. 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 socialize 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 & Erzene-Bürgin, 2013; Guveli et al., 2016).

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 & 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 (Destatis, 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 & Kristen, 2015). Further, salient and long-established ethnic boundaries contribute to decreasing identification with Germany over time (Diehl et al., 2016).

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 & 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 (Destatis, 2018: 61). With respect to their sociocultural 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., 2016), have more interethnic friendships (Schacht et al., 2014), and use German more often within their families (Strobel & Kristen, 2015).

DATA AND ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Our empirical analyses are based 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., 2015). 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 data set that was collected among recent migrants, who often start out with the plan to stay only temporarily. Also concerning their sociocultural 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 by definition be 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). 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.³ 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 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. 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 1, 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

TABLE 1 Descriptive statistics of variables used in latent class analysis (wave 1)

	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	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	30.4	2,471

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.

In a second step, we analyse these types with respect to their sociocultural 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 2, 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 sociocultural integration in greater detail than by just comparing wave 1 and wave 2 data. Table 2 reveals that the sociocultural 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.

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 sociocultural 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).

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 3).⁴ 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 labelling 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

TABLE 2 Descriptive statistics of sociocultural integration outcomes and controls (balanced panel)

	Min	Max	Wave 1	Wave 2	N
			Mean (SD)/ proportion (%)	Mean (SD)/ proportion (%)	
Time in Germany in months	0	43	8.78 (4.54)	28.70 (5.43)	897
<i>Sociocultural integration outcomes</i>					
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
<i>Migration motive</i>					
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
<i>Employment status</i>					
Working			41.1	54.1	896
In education			20.0	14.5	897
Other (e.g. unemployed, retired)			39.0	31.4	898
<i>Education</i>					
Primary or less			9.6	N/A	861
Secondary			49.3	N/A	862
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

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

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, that is, this type is much more frequent among Poles

TABLE 3 Characteristics of migrant types from latent class analysis

		Migrant type (column %)		
		(1) Settler	(2) Target-earner	(3) Young learner/professional
Whole sample				
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 2010–2013 (wave 1); $n = 2,045$.

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 (Bargłowski, 2019), but also to the development of 'new' mobile migration patterns in both groups. Turning to the sociocultural integration of migrant types, we start out with describing levels of sociocultural integration of target-earners, settlers and young learners/professionals (see

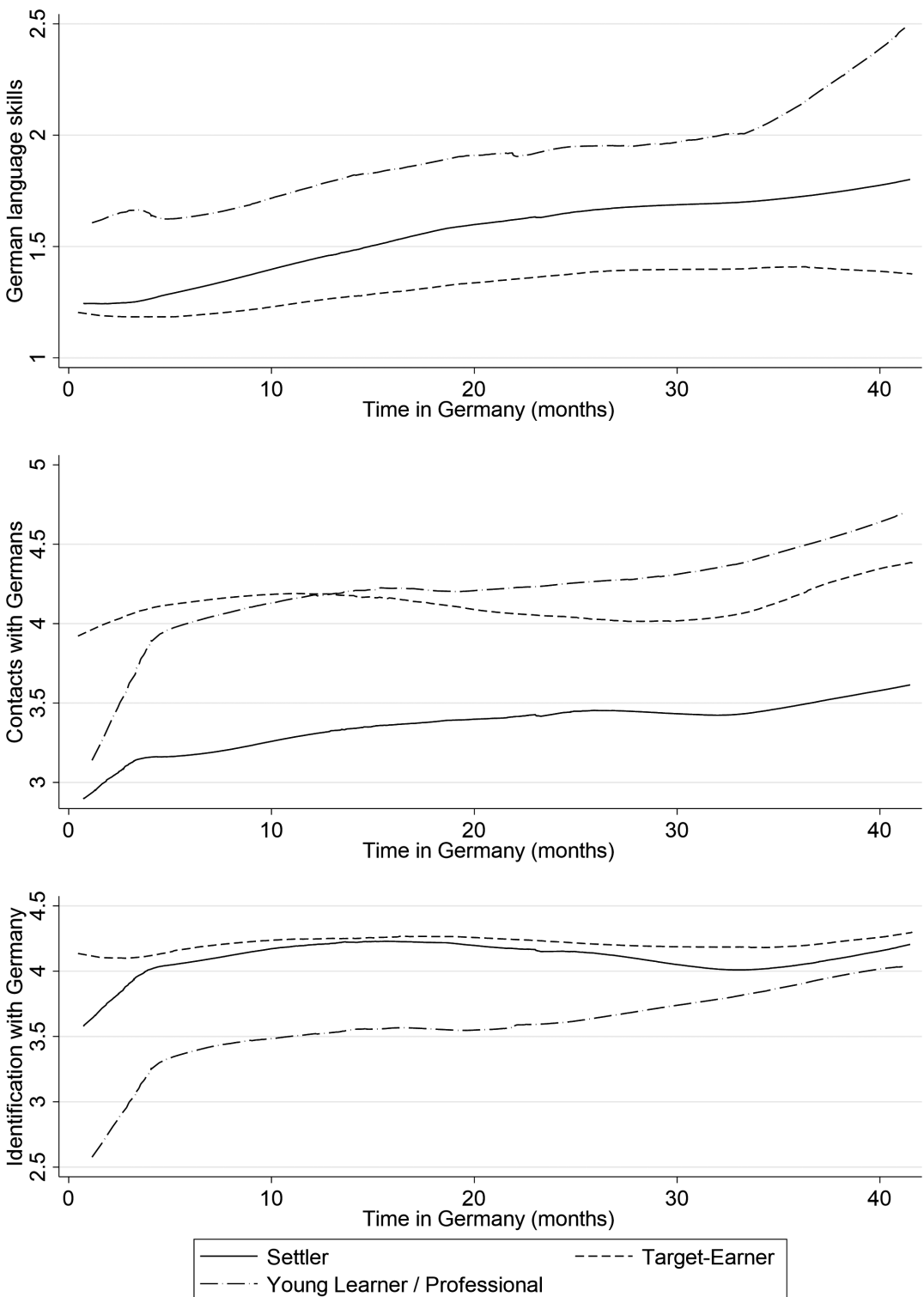


FIGURE 1 Migrant types' socio-cultural integration by time in germany in months (means)

Figure 1) by months spent in Germany.⁵ 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. 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 & Platt, 2016; Luthra et al., 2018).

It also suggests that no matter whether migrants are eager to integrate or not – and the low levels of identification upon arrival indicate, 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 1 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, attending 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 1 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 4). 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

TABLE 4 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 × time)				
Target-earner × time		−0.070**	−0.071**	−0.070*
Young learner / professional × 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

Note: Unstandardized effects; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: SCIP 2010–2013 (balanced panel).

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'.

Models on social integration show that recent migrants spend more time with Germans the longer they stay in the country (see Table 5). 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

TABLE 5 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 × time)				
Target-earner × time		−0.171*	−0.166	−0.118
Young learner / professional × 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

Note: Unstandardized effects; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: SCIP 2010–2013 (balanced panel).

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).

Unlike newcomers' cognitive and social integration, identification with Germany overall shows little change over time (see Table 6). However, models confirm that young learners/professionals follow 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/

TABLE 6 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 × time)				
Target-earner × time		0.019	0.017	0.014
Young learner / professional × 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

Note: Unstandardized effects; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: SCIP 2010–2013 (balanced panel).

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 re-orientation 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 sociocultural 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 A1 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 sociocultural integration analysed here, the role of other factors such as the family situation and previous stays in Germany depends on the dimensions of sociocultural integration under consideration.

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 maximise 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 & 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 sociocultural 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 the 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., 2015). 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.

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at <https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/imig.12904>.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available in the GESIS Data Archive at <https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12341>, reference number ZA5956.

ENDNOTES

- 1 In the following, we use the term integration as this expression evokes less normative connotations than assimilation.
- 2 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.
- 3 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).
- 4 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.
- 5 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.

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APPENDIX

TABLE A1 Random effect panel regression results for sociocultural 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 × time)			
Commute × time	–0.008	–0.033	–0.026
Return × time	0.008	0.161*	0.015
Move to another country × 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 × time)			
Family outside Germany × time	–0.065	–0.207	–0.228*
Family inside Germany × time	–0.030	0.026	–0.124
Family in different countries × time	–0.079*	0.080	–0.126

(Continues)

TABLE A1 (Continued)

	German language skills	Time spent with Germans	Identification with Germany
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**
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

Note: Unstandardized effects; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: SCIP 2010–2013 (balanced panel).