MIGRANT HAPPINESS

Insights into the broad well-being outcomes of migration and its determinants

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ISBN: 978-94-6361-040-7

Layout and printed by: Optima Grafische Communicatie, Rotterdam, the Netherlands (www.ogc.nl)

Migrant Happiness

Insights into the broad well-being outcomes of migration and its determinants

Het geluk van migranten

Inzichten in de brede welzijnsuitkomsten van migratie en zijn determinanten

Thesis

to obtain the degree of Doctor from the
Erasmus University Rotterdam
by command of the
rector magnificus
Prof.dr. H.A.P. Pols
and in accordance with the decision of the Doctorate Board.
The public defence shall be held on
Friday, 19 January, 2018 at 13:30 hrs

by

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born in Tilburg

Erasmus University Rotterdam

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GLOSSARY

Glossary of well-being concepts

Well-being
The term 'well-being' applies at various levels in society, such as the individual level, group level, and societal level. In this dissertation, I focus on individual well-being, which can be broadly defined as how well a person's life goes for the person who lives it. The terms *quality of life* and well-being are strongly related and often used synonymously because people who are 'doing well' are considered to have a good quality of life. Well-being has objective and subjective components, and a notable divide exists in the study of well-being between objective and subjective accounts of well-being (Veenhoven 2000).

Objective well-being (OWB)
The overall state of an individual's objectively verifiable living conditions that are generally deemed valuable for having a good life. In this context, living conditions relate to the liveability of the environment and the life-abilities (or capabilities) of the person, which together form the chances for a good life (Veenhoven 2000). Evaluations of objective well-being are based on externally determined preferences and outcomes; hence, it is important to note that the importance and goodness of living conditions is subjective in nature. Examples of commonly used objective indicators of well-being are income, life expectancy, and education levels (see, e.g., the Human Development Index).

Subjective well-being (SWB)
In contrast to evaluations of objective well-being, subjective well-being focuses on how people feel about and evaluate their lives based on their internal preferences and experiences. Most people ultimately hope to have a happy and satisfactory life. Accordingly, subjective well-being is also known as *happiness* or *life satisfaction,* and these terms commonly refer to one's subjective enjoyment of life (Veenhoven 2012a). Subjective well-being has an affective and cognitive component. The affective component relates to the extent to which an individual experiences affectively pleasant feelings most of the time. The cognitive component relates to the extent to which one perceives oneself as obtaining what one wishes from life (i.e., contentment). Although life satisfaction taps more into the cognitive component and less into the affective component than happiness, these terms are closely related, both conceptually and empirically (Diener et al. 1999). Therefore, the theoretical and empirical insights of this dissertation hold for global happiness, life satisfaction, and subjective well-being (unless stated otherwise), and the dissertation follows the empirical well-being literature rooted in sociology,

economics, and social indicators research in using the terms subjective well-being, happiness, and life satisfaction interchangeably.

Glossary of migration-related concepts

Assimilation
In the migration literature, assimilation is broadly defined as "the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of an ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it" (Alba and Nee 1997; p. 863). From this definition, it follows that assimilation of immigrants and natives in subjective well-being/happiness (i.e., *happiness assimilation*) reflects the decline in happiness differences between these two groups. Assimilation is a loaded word in colloquial language and in public policy debates because it is often associated with the normative view that migrants must fully assimilate. This normative view was also dominant in the early academic assimilation literature (Warner and Srole 1945; Gordon 1964). Corresponding to modernized assimilation literature (e.g., Alba and Nee 1997), I use assimilation as a neutral (non-normative) term to assess the extent to which migrants *actually* assimilate, and, as illustrated by the definition above, I consider assimilation to not necessarily result from changes in migrants but it can also result from changes in the native population.

First-generation immigrant
A foreign-born resident who has relocated to the country of residence himself or herself.

Second-generation immigrant
The children of first-generation immigrants, born in the country to which their parents have migrated (based on Bartram et al. 2014).

Internal migration
The movement of people from one area to another within the same country, leading to temporary or permanent resettlement (based on Bartram et al. 2014). In contrast to the term 'residential mobility', internal migration refers only to movements over substantial, though not uniformly agreed, spatial distances. People who have relocated to another area within a country are referred to as 'internal migrants'.

International migration
"The movement of people to another country, leading to temporary or permanent resettlement" (Bartram et al. 2014, p. 4). People who have relocated to another country are referred to as 'international migrants'.

Voluntary migration
A form of migration whereby people move to another place by their own choosing, not because they are forced by external circumstances such as war or natural disaster. Given that most migration streams are not entirely voluntary or forced, voluntary migration should not be considered the opposite of forced (or involuntary) migration, but rather, as being one extreme along a 'forced vs. voluntary' continuum (Richmond 1994; Bartram 2015b).

Glossary of behavioural economics/social sciences-related concepts

Bounded rationality
The idea that in decision-making, the rationality of individuals is limited by the information they have, the cognitive limitations of their minds, and the finite amount of time they have to make a decision (Simon 1957).

Focusing illusion
Placing too much importance on certain aspects of an event or situation, causing the inaccurate prediction of the utility of a future outcome. The focusing illusion results from a cognitive bias (Schkade and Kahneman 1998).

Social comparison
Analysing one's own situation in relation to the situation of other people to develop accurate self-evaluations (Festinger 1954).

Frame of reference
The set of assumptions or criteria that a person or group uses to judge situations, ideas, actions and experiences. The frame can include beliefs, schemas, preferences, values, culture and other ways in which we bias our understanding and judgement (Helson 1964).

1 Introduction

"When I went to school, they asked me what I wanted to be when I grew up. I wrote 'happy'. They told me I didn't understand the assignment, and I told them that they didn't understand life." - John Lennon.

1.1 BACKGROUND

Human migration is potentially one of the most promising instruments for obtaining greater happiness for a greater number of people across the globe. Emblematic of the perceived importance of living in a better location are the countless Middle Eastern and African refugees risking their lives in the hopes of making it to Europe by paying smugglers excessive fees for a place on a shabby and overloaded boat. The many undocumented Latinos in the United States are another classic example of the major risks people take to live somewhere else. The vast majority of the 250 million people (3.4% of the world population) currently living in a country other than where they were born have voluntarily opted for migration and entered the host country legally, which suggests that people anticipate migration to be beneficial in less extreme scenarios as well (UN 2015). Most legal voluntary migrants have moved to more developed countries, although myriad people have also moved for personal reasons towards similarly or less developed countries such as expats moving for career opportunities. The diverse migration motives commonly referred to by these voluntary migrants, such as economic gain (economic migrants), living closer to family (family reunification migrants), or living in an environment that better fits one's lifestyle (lifestyle migrants) are not persuasively conceived as goals that are valuable primarily in their own right. On the most general level, these motives are different ways migrants attempt to achieve a more ultimate but less concrete goal: improving their own or their families' lives. The large number of international migrants moving to improve their lives suggests that people consider the location where they lead their lives to be a fundamental determinant of their quality of

life, and perceive having a better chance of living a good life in certain locations than in others. Migration is not only potentially beneficial to migrants; many countries also need immigrants, at least to some extent (Legrain 2014). For instance, high-skilled immigrants bring specialized knowledge while lower skilled immigrants perform the jobs the native population of Western countries does not want to do. Migration could thus potentially lead to a mutually beneficial situation for migrants and host societies.

Notwithstanding the high frequency and potential benefits of migration, there are deep concerns about the consequences of migration, both among migrants and within host societies. European Social Survey data show that the native population of European host countries believe, on average, that immigrants do not make their country a better place (Heath and Richards 2016). Consequently, a considerable proportion of natives and policy makers want to reduce immigrant inflows (e.g., 35% of US citizens; Gallup 2017). Natives' concerns about the negative impact of immigration on their personal well-being and society are major drivers of xenophobia (particularly islamophobia) and ethnic polarization, which are ubiquitous in host societies, as highlighted by Brexit, the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States, and the rise of populist parties in Europe. The migration literature also emphasizes many negative experiences from the migrant perspective, including stories about unsuccessful economic/educational assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993), migrant exploitation and human trafficking (IOM 2015), and homesickness and emotional suffering (Dreby 2010; Abrego 2014).[1] Humanity is thus a long way from maximizing the benefits of migration and positive outcomes of migration cannot be assumed. Given the concerns with and omnipresence of migration, making more out of human migration is one of the biggest challenges we face in our globalizing world that is expected to see its international migration population nearly double to 400 million by 2050 (UN 2015).

The possibility of non-positive outcomes for migrants is evident in view of the key insight from behavioural economics (as well as cognitive science and psychology) that human beings frequently mispredict the consequences of thoroughly evaluated life decisions because of their bounded rationality (Kahneman 2011). There is little reason to believe that migration decisions are exempt from bounded rationality issues, particularly because the migration decision is exceptional in its impact and complexity, as moving to another place disrupts almost all domains of life, including but going well-beyond one's job, social life, cultural environment, natural surroundings, and political environment. Migration affects some of these domains positively but others negatively, which implies that the migration decision inevitably involves difficult trade-offs. Often, one must choose between financial gains (e.g., a career opportunity) and social losses

1 Dutch people may also consider the television program "ik vertrek" in which emigrants tell about their migration stories and frequently conclude that their choice for emigration was not a success; however, of course, a significant proportion of migrants do find that moving abroad was a successful decision.

(leaving behind friends and family), between living in one's "comfort zone" and an adventure, and perhaps even between one's personal preferences and the preferences of other household members, amongst many other difficult trade-offs.

A first challenge in making these trade-offs is the correct estimation of domain outcomes, which is complicated in the context of migration by major information constraints. Most prospective immigrants have never previously lived in or travelled to the intended destination country but necessarily resort to the limited and often positively biased information gathered from their personal network (Mahler 1995; Sayad 2004) and the media (Mai 2005). Resorting to this information provides prospective migrants with a high degree of uncertainty about their outcomes in various domains, such as whether they can rebuild a satisfactory social network and will feel at home in their new environment. In essence, prospective migrants need to make one of their most impactful and difficult decisions in life based on very limited knowledge of its consequences.

A second challenge in making these trade-offs is weighing the importance of the anticipated advantages and disadvantages of migrating. Suboptimal migration decisions that result from placing disproportionate weight on certain aspects of the outcome (i.e., focusing illusions) may be common. For example, Schkade and Kahneman (1998) show that Americans living in the Midwest overestimate the happiness of people in California because they overestimate the benefits of easily observable and distinctive differences, such as the pleasant Californian weather. Similarly, Frey and Stutzer (2014) show that, when deciding where to live, people tend to place more importance on extrinsic attributes (e.g., monetary benefits) versus intrinsic attributes (e.g., commuting time to work) than would be optimal for their happiness. Migrants face similar post-migration issues. For instance, migrants may have difficulties in estimating which acculturation strategy (e.g., integration or segregation) will maximize their well-being because integration efforts generally pay off only in the long run (e.g., learning the host country's language is a major investment) and integration efforts can have unintended consequences, such as losing both one's own culture and being rejected by the dominant society (marginalization; Berry 1997).

Combining these challenges with the strong impact of migration on migrants' lives indicates that migration can be a powerful instrument for individuals and families to improve their lives, but it can be a source of severe disappointment and unhappiness if motivated by faulty expectations or the wrong reasons. Migration is thus a high-stakes, high-risk decision for the migrant. The abovementioned considerations suggest that migrants could benefit from unbiased information about what well-being outcomes they can expect from migration and how they can improve these outcomes. Accordingly, in this dissertation, I bring attention to migrants' broad well-being outcomes of migration and discuss its implications for the outcomes of migration for host societies.

The concept of happiness plays an important role in examining the well-being of migrants because being happy is a fundamental human goal that virtually all people share. Happiness, which can be defined as one's subjective enjoyment of life (Veenhoven 2012a), is commonly referred to as "subjective well-being" in the happiness economics literature to emphasize the strong link between happiness and one's subjectively experienced well-being (see glossary). Empirical research confirms that people often consciously or unconsciously choose the option that they think will make them or their families happiest when making impactful decisions such as migration decisions (Benjamin et al. 2014a). This finding suggests that most migrants move to improve their own or their families' lives in terms of happiness (except for "forced migrants" who primarily move to secure their lives). However, as the quotation attributed to John Lennon at the start of this chapter alludes to, people are not always aware that their actions are strongly motivated by happiness or well-being maximization, which explains why migrants refer to more specific and concrete motives (e.g., improving their income) than happiness or "a better life" when asked about their reasons for migration. In light of the strong relation between happiness and overall well-being, the seminal article of Frey and Stutzer (2002) suggests that "measures of subjective well-being [happiness] can thus serve as proxies for utility" (p. 405). Based on the abovementioned considerations, this dissertation explores migrant happiness as a way of evaluating the broad well-being outcomes of migration for migrants.

A controversial matter is to what extent policy makers and natives (should) care about migrant happiness. From a compassionate perspective, policy makers can be expected to care about supporting immigrants in reaching their happiness goals, particularly when considering that all citizens are equal by law. However, as Castles (2004) notes, many policy makers are reluctant to invest significantly in better lives for immigrants. They fear that natives perceive their well-being to be prioritized insufficiently and that greater immigrant well-being attracts more migrants who are considered undesirable in their own or natives' opinions, such as migrants who are low skilled, "take our jobs", or do not fit well into the culture. Contemporary examples are the reluctance of many countries to host large numbers of Muslim refugees and the unwillingness of many US citizens to host Latin immigrants. Initial empirical evidence does not support the scapegoating of immigrants. If anything, the general immigrant population positively affects the happiness of natives, at least in Europe (Betz and Simpson 2013; Akay et al. 2014). That observation by no means suggests that the contribution is positive for every migrant (group) or that there are no immigration-related problems, such as the overrepresentation of immigrants in crime and unemployment. However, many of these immigrant-related problems and social tensions may be direct consequences of immigrants' relatively deprived quality of life. A burgeoning literature shows that happiness deprivation introduces a range of social and economic disadvantages for individuals

and society (De Neve et al. 2013), such as less openness towards other values, ideas, and cultures (Fredrickson 2001). Although not investigated for migrants specifically, it can be reasonably assumed that the general advantages of greater happiness also apply to immigrant populations, ranging from greater productivity of migrant workers to reduced ethnic tensions and polarization in society (Johnson and Fredrickson 2005). This reasoning suggests that there may be strong negative consequences of not investing in migrant well-being. Accordingly, immigrant-receiving societies are at a crossroads. One can choose not to invest much in migrant happiness and thereby try to reduce immigrant inflows and "push" migrants out of the country. Alternatively, one can attempt to maximize the contribution of immigrants and do right by the happiness goals of these immigrants by investing more in stimulating immigrant happiness, possibly complemented by strict admission policies.

Against the background sketched in this section, research on migrant happiness and its determinants is an important field of study, with particular practical relevance for the migrants and for policy makers favouring the stimulation of migrant happiness.

1.2 THE STATE OF THE LITERATURE ON MIGRANT WELL-BEING AND HAPPINESS.

Migration scholars have a longstanding interest in the concept of well-being (and its close cousins: utility, quality of life, and happiness; see the glossary) because of the common presumption that voluntary migrants typically move to improve their own and/or their families' lives (Sjaastad 1962; Stark and Bloom 1985). Nonetheless, migrants' overall well-being outcomes of migration have rarely figured as an explicit object of research (Zuccotti et al. 2017), for two main reasons.

First, neoclassical economic thinking has long dominated migration research (Lewis 1954; Harris and Todaro 1970). A basic premise of neoclassic economic theory is that people behave as a homo economicus, i.e., people are utility-maximizing rational individuals. Another common assumption is that migrants have (almost) full and perfect information about their outcomes (Tiebout 1956). Together, these assumptions imply that, by definition, migrants' *expected* outcomes equal their *experienced* outcomes. In this framework, measuring well-being is unnecessary because migrants "vote with their feet": their migration decision (revealed preferences) provides all necessary information to conclude that migration is the "best possible" choice for a person who deliberately and voluntarily opts for migration. This reasoning implies that migrants do not require support in making accurate migration decisions or developing accurate post-migration orientations. However, as previously discussed, a growing body of evidence led by Kahneman and Tversky (1979) has shown that the assumption of perfect rational-

ity is frequently violated and that migrants typically have suboptimal and incomplete information available about their outcomes (Mahler 1995; Sayad 2004; Mai 2005). This evidence suggests that one cannot merely rely on readily available data on revealed preferences to evaluate migrants' broad well-being outcomes of migration but that the overall outcome of migration should be at the core of migration research to support migrants (and policy makers) in making better migration decisions.

A second reason for the scarcity of research on the broad well-being outcomes of migration and its determinants is the lack of a clear framework for examining all-encompassing outcomes of migration. Some studies have made inferences about the overall consequences of migration based on the impact of migration on a limited set of living conditions that are believed to drive migration (i.e., objective well-being indicators), particularly one's economic and educational achievements (e.g., Zuccotti et al. 2017). Making inferences about overall well-being/utility based solely on one's living conditions has various conceptual and empirical limitations. Conceptually, such objective well-being indicators cover one's chances for leading a good life but not one's actual perceived quality of life (Veenhoven 2000; cf. Sen 2001). For instance, income and education have little intrinsic value but are mostly instrumental to achieving more fundamental goals, a primary one being happiness. Empirically, objective measures are unable to capture mechanisms that are key to one's experienced well-being, including personal preferences, outcome evaluations, future expectations, past experiences, and adaptation mechanisms. Other studies have made inferences about the migrant's overall consequences of migration based on direct choice evaluations, particularly migrants' satisfaction with their choice (Sloan and Morrison 2016), and by asking migrants whether they perceive that their quality of life has improved by migrating (De Jong et al. 2002). However, direct choice evaluations have limited accuracy for this purpose because of their vulnerability to cognitive dissonance biases (Festinger 1957) and memory biases (Kahneman et al. 1993). Hence, even migration scholars interested in measuring overall well-being have been discouraged from doing so by the absence of a well-accepted well-being metric (see Chapter 2 for a more elaborate discussion). Instead, research has centred on the impact of migration in numerous separate well-being domains (discrimination, health, economic mobility, and so forth). Accordingly, the International Organization for Migration stated in the "Migration, Well-Being and Development" issue of the World Migration Report (IOM 2013) – released around the time this dissertation begun – that "additional research and better indicators of migrant well-being are also needed" (p. 27).

Social scientists increasingly recognize that subjective well-being (happiness) metrics allow researchers to comprehensively evaluate human well-being and overcome conceptual and measurement limitations of alternative (especially objective well-being) approaches. Subjective well-being metrics are focused on the person's own perceptions

and feelings of well-being. Typical subjective well-being metrics are a person's self-reported satisfaction with life and a person's self-reported feelings of happiness over a period of time (e.g., the Experience Sampling Method; Hektner et al. 2007). In contrast to objective well-being indicators, subjective well-being metrics capture a person's preferences and outcomes evaluations in an inclusive and integrated manner and allow for heterogeneous preferences and outcome evaluations across people (see Chapter 2 for an elaborate discussion on the unique qualities of subjective well-being metrics). The growing awareness of these qualities has led to the rapid emergence of the field of happiness economics, positive psychology, and the broader science of happiness over the past two decades (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000; Frey and Stutzer 2002; Stiglitz et al. 2010). Likewise, the authors of the World Migration Report (IOM 2013) state that, to better understand immigrants' broad well-being outcomes of migration, "there is a need for further enquiry into the factors that contribute to subjective well-being" (p. 38). Similar calls for research on migrant happiness have been made by Simpson (2013) and, in the context of open-border debates, Bartram (2010). Despite these calls, migrant happiness and the broad well-being outcomes of migration remain largely blind spots in the migration literature because most migration scholars have not yet embraced explorations of broad well-being outcomes via subjective well-being/happiness measures.[2] A likely explanation is that none of the abovementioned pioneering studies that made these calls have comprehensively discussed the exact contributions and limitations of a happiness angle in the distinct context of migration. Accordingly, the foundation (contributions and limitations) for investigating migrant happiness has remained unclear for migration scholars, which is particularly problematic because of the common scholarly hesitation to consider "soft" and superficially "vague" topics like happiness. By contrast, outside of the specialized migration literature, research on migrant happiness has grown quickly over the past few years, primarily drawing on insights from the positive psychology and happiness economics literatures (Hendriks 2015). Nonetheless, embedding investigations of migrant happiness in the migration literature is vital for enriching the insights into and contextualization of the findings of broader social scientists regarding migrant happiness. This effort requires a clear framework for determining what insights research on migrant happiness can provide for advancing the study of international migration. Hence, this first issue in building an understanding of migrant happiness/well-being can be summarized as follows:

2 Only three studies with acceptable subjective well-being measures according to Veenhoven's World Database of Happiness (Veenhoven 2017) have been published in the three major migration journals (*International Migration Review*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, and *International Migration*): those by Fozdar and Torezani (2008), Gelatt (2013), and Jones (2014). Instead, the burgeoning literature on migrant happiness features in newer migration journals (*Migration Studies* and *IZA Journal of Migration and Development*) or broader economic, sociological, psychological, and social indicators journals.

Issue 1: *The lack of clarity about the foundation for investigating migrant happiness impairs the development of a better understanding of migrant happiness/well-being.*

The foregoing discussion suggests that research on migrant happiness is in its infancy. Assuming the importance of investigating migrant happiness, much work remains to be done in developing a clear picture regarding migrants' happiness outcomes of migration and its determinants. To identify what type of research is particularly needed, I continue by sketching the current state of the migrant happiness literature and highlight some prominent literature gaps, although many more could be identified (see the suggestions for further research in the concluding chapter of this dissertation; Chapter 9).

Happiness outcomes of migration. Approximately a dozen studies have examined empirically whether (specific groups of) migrants become happier by migrating. These studies have featured in different academic fields, including the fields of migration studies (Bartram 2013a), economics (Nikolova and Graham 2015), psychology (Mähonen et al. 2013), social indicators research (Bartram 2015), development studies (Stillman et al. 2015), and demography (Erlinghagen 2011). The result has been a dispersed field in which few scholars build on each other's work and in which an integrated body of knowledge on migrants' happiness consequences of migration is absent. Thus, the dispersed literature on migrant happiness has not yet provided a unified answer to whether migrants generally gain happiness from migrating. Because of data availability, the bulk of research has focused on happiness assimilation, which in the context of this dissertation refers to the reduction, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of the happiness gap between immigrants and the host society's native population (see glossary). While a few studies show that immigrants in Europe generally do not become happier with their length of stay in the host country (Safi 2010; Obućina 2013; Stillman et al. 2015; Calvo and Cheung, forthcoming), the bulk of research has focused on how happy migrants are relative to the host country's native population. Studies examining these migrant-native happiness differences are also scattered over different sub-disciplines, including psychology (e.g., Sam 1998; Virta et al. 2004; Verkuyten 2008), sociology (e.g., Safi 2010; Bartram 2011; De Vroome and Hooghe 2014), and social indicators research (Bartram 2011; Obućina 2013; Olgiati et al. 2013). Hence, integrating the current research on migrants' well-being outcomes of migration would be at least as insightful as conducting new empirical studies on these topics. To summarize, the following is a second key issue in building an understanding of migrant happiness/well-being:

Issue 2: *Knowledge on migrant' happiness outcomes of migration is impaired by the lack of integration of the dispersed research on this matter.*

Determinants of migrant happiness. Moving to the *determinants* of migrant happiness, it follows from the early stages of the migrant happiness literature that knowledge

on the conditions that are imperative to migrants' happiness outcomes is limited. The current literature has concentrated on the *micro*-conditions that are important to the migrant's happiness, particularly the roles of (perceived) discrimination (Safi 2010), identity (Neto 2001), social capital (Hombrados-Mendieta et al. 2013), and especially, income (Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013; Calvo and Cheung, forthcoming). This body of work demonstrates that identity and social capital are key positive predictors of migrant happiness, that perceived discrimination is negatively associated with happiness, and that income also matters to migrant happiness but less than migrants (and people more generally) intuitively expect. Other important matters that undoubtedly deserve attention have received little or none. These include, but are not limited to, the following two matters. First, the relationship between the host country's *macro*-conditions and immigrant happiness has remained largely unexplored, although such research would be important for policy makers in forming migration policies and for migrants themselves in understanding in what type of country they will live happiest. Second, the literature has not yet linked migrants' overall happiness to their daily life experiences, i.e., how happy migrants feel in certain activities and social settings. A better understanding of daily life experiences is important to identifying the issues experienced by migrants in everyday life and to support migrants in making evidence-based decisions on effectively allocating one of their most precious and limited sources: time.

Concerning happiness assimilation, one literature stream has explored the factors that are associated with happiness differences between migrants and the native/local population of the destination. Main explanations for deprived happiness among immigrants are their economic disadvantages, the perception of belonging to a group that is discriminated against (Safi 2010; Obućina 2013; De Vroome and Hooghe 2014; Kóczán 2016) and culturally embedded happiness levels (Senik 2014; Voicu and Vasile 2014). However, a related issue – why immigrants barely become happier over time during their stay in the host country – has remained unexplored. This lack of happiness assimilation, however, is striking and certainly warrants further inquiry when considering that migrants, on average, do achieve *objective* progress in many important well-being domains, such as economic mobility (Chiswick et al. 2005), educational attainment (Zuccotti et al. 2017), social integration (Depalo et al. 2006), and acculturation (Manning and Roy 2010). Overall, a third key issue in building an understanding of migrant happiness/well-being can be summarized as follows:

Issue 3: *Research regarding the determinants of migrants' happiness outcomes is at an early stage, particularly concerning the role of macro-conditions, daily life experiences, and the conditions that improve happiness assimilation.*

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND SCOPE

In this dissertation, I aim to improve the understanding of the happiness outcomes of migrants and the conditions that stimulate migrant happiness by addressing the aforementioned issues. Specifically, I attempt to (1) lay the foundation for a happiness angle in the study of migration, (2) integrate the dispersed empirical findings on migrants' happiness outcomes from migrating, (3) and address various understudied matters regarding the determinants of migrant happiness, particularly the role of daily life experiences, the host country's macro-conditions, and reasons for why migrants barely assimilate in happiness. This foundation provides the basis for a fourth sub goal: identifying promising ways to improve migrant happiness. By developing a better understanding of migrant happiness, I intend to support prospective migrants and policy makers in developing better-informed (evidence-based) orientations to improve the outcomes of migration. Additionally, the findings of this dissertation can help native populations better understand the issues that migrants experience. Based on the four sub-goals discussed above, the four research questions presented in Figure 1.1 were formulated. The order of the questions illustrates that it is important to first understand the relevance of (research on) migrant happiness before proceeding to in-depth studies on migrant happiness. Next, it is important to assess migrants' happiness outcomes of migrating because explorations into the determinants of immigrant happiness would have little practical relevance if migrants already maximize their benefits of migration. Finally, if migrants have difficulties in making the most out of migration, knowledge on the determinants of migrant happiness is a prerequisite for exploring ways to improve migrant happiness.

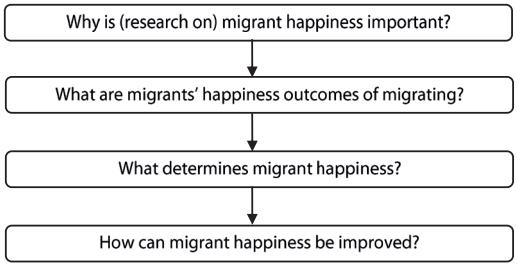

Figure 1.1 Research questions.

The two outcomes of interest are (1) the impact of migrating on the migrant's happiness and (2) the migrant's happiness assimilation (i.e., the post-migration happiness development). The framework shown in Figure 1.2 illustrates the relation between these two migration outcomes. Whether one becomes happier by migrating depends on two sub-outcomes. The first sub-outcome is the "happiness shock" that follows from migrating. I define this concept as how the migrant's per-migration happiness develops as a

direct consequence of the stress and all changes in one's life that come with migration (e.g., a changed social and political environment). The exact duration of this happiness shock is open to debate, but it involves at least the first few months after migration because the direct consequences of migrating are felt most strongly in this initial period. After this first stage, one's happiness gains from migration depend on one's happiness assimilation. Based on Alba and Nee (1997), I define happiness assimilation as the reduction, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of the happiness gap between immigrants and the host society's native population. This definition implies that happiness assimilation comprises two sub-outcomes: the extent to which migrants become happier during their stay in the host country (the 'progress' component of assimilation) and the happiness difference between migrants and natives (the 'relative position' component of assimilation).

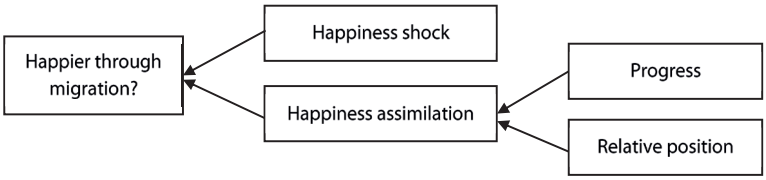

Figure 1.2 Framework of migrants' outcomes of migration.

Figure 1.3 presents the three components that determine these (sub)outcomes of migration. First, the happiness gained from migration strongly depends on a good *migration decision* (i.e., accurate ex-ante estimations of migration outcomes), for which the migrant requires a good understanding of both the direct effect of migration (the happiness shock) and the post-migration development/assimilation that can be reasonably anticipated (the happiness trend). Second, the migrant's *post-migration orientations* influence the migrant's actual happiness assimilation in the host country. While the first two components concern migrants' own orientations (internal factors), a third component comprises *external factors*, such as the host society's receptivity of immigrants, the host country's migration/integration policies, and other characteristics of the sending and receiving country. The dashed arrows show that external factors do not only directly affect migrants' outcomes of migration but also do so indirectly through their influence on migrants' migration decisions (e.g., via admission policies of host countries) and post-migration progress (e.g., via integration policies). In this dissertation, explanations for and possible improvements to migrant's happiness outcomes are sought in these three domains.

To address the research questions presented in Figure 1.1 concerning the outcomes of interest sketched in Figure 1.2, I build on and contribute to both the migration literature and happiness (economics) literature, particularly the intersection of these

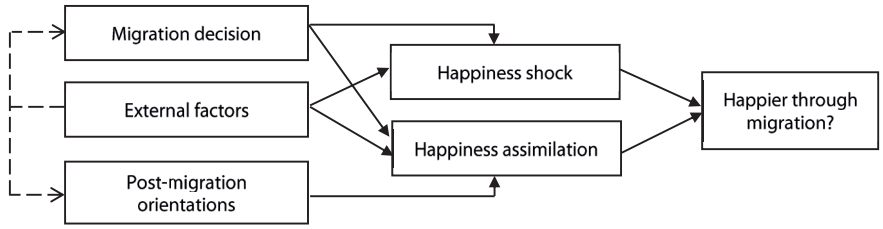

Figure 1.3 Antecedents of migrants' outcomes of migration.

two literatures. Accordingly, I use an interdisciplinary perspective, drawing on broader insights from particularly economics, sociology, and psychology. Notwithstanding the importance of disciplinary insights into the development of specialized knowledge on separate aspects of migrants' outcomes of migration, an interdisciplinary perspective is chosen because comprehensive answers to broad social questions, such as why immigrants do not assimilate in happiness, require the consideration of a wide range of factors that cross disciplinary borders.

The exact focus and scope of this dissertation is as follows:

Stakeholders of migration. This dissertation is specifically oriented toward migrants themselves. Other major stakeholders of migration, such as people in the host and home country (particularly the migrant's family left behind), are not of primary interest.

Types of migrants. The primary focus is on voluntary international migrants belonging to the first generation, although some chapters will additionally consider forced migrants or second-generation immigrants or concentrate exclusively on internal migrants. From the outset, all types of migrants are considered, regardless of their migration motive or personal characteristics, although I acknowledge that the voluntary international migration population is characterized by great diversity. This broad focus is chosen because it is more insightful at this early stage of the migrant happiness literature to identify the broad patterns of migrant happiness before attempting to fill in the details, such as exploring how certain subgroups differ from these general patterns. Nevertheless, in some empirical chapters, additional analyses are conducted that explore whether the general patterns hold for certain types of migrants.

Geographical scope. Following the same reasoning, the research questions posed in Figure 1.1 are addressed from a global perspective, considering all immigrants regardless of their home and host country. However, because of data availability, the quantitative studies of this dissertation will focus mostly on developed European destination countries.

Domains of interest. Migrating affects the migrant's life in many important well-being domains, such as one's health, economic welfare, and social capital. Nevertheless, the sole focus here is on happiness. Some chapters centre on the affective component of happiness (i.e., the extent to which an individual experiences affectively pleasant feel-

ings), whereas other chapters centre on the other major component of happiness: the extent to which one perceives oneself as obtaining what one wishes from life (i.e., the cognitive component; see glossary).

Migration issues. Although migrant happiness is potentially beneficial in explaining migration behaviour (Graham and Markowitz 2011) and instrumentally important for improving other migration outcomes, such as the migrant's health or societal polarization (Johnson and Fredrickson 2005), explorations into these issues are beyond the scope of this dissertation. The scope is limited to the migrant's *outcomes* in terms of *happiness*.

Type of research. This dissertation is a mix of quantitative studies and academic essay articles. The primary focus is on extending and conducting innovative applied research to answer the research questions posed in section 1.1. The secondary focus is reflecting on existing theories and presenting inventive methodologies to measure migrants' affective happiness. Theory building and qualitative research are outside of this dissertation's scope.

1.4 OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation is organized according to the schematic overview provided in Figure 1.4. Chapters 1 to 3 introduce the topic of this dissertation by outlining the importance of studying migrant happiness and summarizing the current body of knowledge on the happiness outcomes of migrants. Chapters 4 to 6 improve the understanding of migrants' happiness outcomes by highlighting various understudied determinants of migrant happiness. More specifically, Chapter 4 exposes factors that are both important for making accurate migration decisions and for stimulating migrants' happiness assimilation. Chapters 5 and 6 delve deeper into the factors that are associated with happiness assimilation. Chapter 7 discusses how accurate the actual orientations of migrants and policy makers are for optimizing the happiness outcomes of migration. Building on the first seven chapters, Chapter 8 discusses a solution direction for improving migrants' happiness outcomes of migration. Chapter 9 closes this dissertation by presenting the overall conclusions that can be drawn based on the first eight chapters and by discussing its implications for policy makers, researchers, and immigrants. Moreover, Chapter 9 presents the limitations of this dissertation and a research agenda. This introduction continues by outlining the content of each chapter in greater depth.

In *Chapter 2*, which is co-authored by David Bartram, we explore what migration scholars can learn by using subjective well-being (self-reported happiness or life satisfaction) as an analytical tool in examining the extent to which – and under what conditions – migrants benefit from migration. We review why immigrant happiness is worthy of

attention in this respect, what (immigrant) happiness entails, and how happiness can be measured. We engage with the scepticism we would expect to find among migration scholars regarding the consideration of happiness, and we show that the advantages

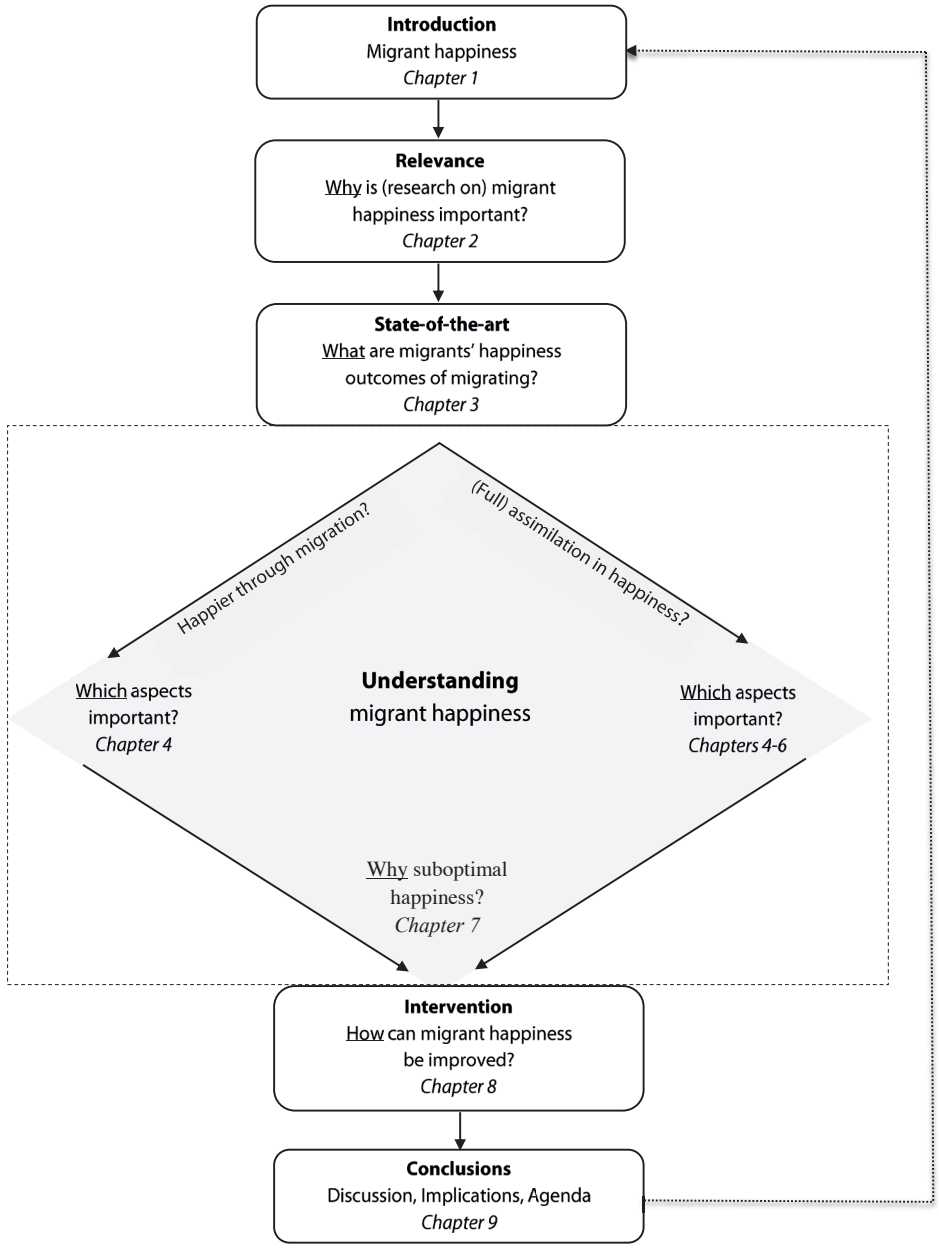

Figure 1.4 Schematic overview of the dissertation.

of considering happiness extend to other stakeholders (e.g., the receiving country) and contexts (e.g., migration behaviour). Chapter 2 thus lays the foundation for the study of immigrant happiness and paves the way for a better understanding of whether and under what conditions migration benefits the migrant (and other stakeholders).

Chapter 3 provides a state-of-the-art overview of the research findings on the following issues: (1) do migrants become happier by migrating and (2) do migrants become as happy as the native populations of host countries? This chapter integrates the interdisciplinary findings on these questions through a systematic review of the research findings (44 studies; migrant sample > 70,000). The review shows that (1) a significant proportion of migrants do not become happier by migrating and (2) migrants typically do not reach levels of happiness similar to those of natives.[3]

Chapter 4 explores in what type of country migrants will live happiest. This issue is addressed by empirically examining the impact of macroeconomic conditions and non-economic macro-conditions (good governance and a pleasant social climate) on immigrants' happiness in twenty European nations. Although many migrants aspire to move to wealthy countries, our empirical results reveal that immigrants' happiness depends both on economic and non-economic macro-conditions. The social climate is especially important, particularly in terms of a positive attitude in society towards migrants. These findings imply that the choice of destination country matters for migrants' happiness and that the discrepancy between migration motives and migration outcomes may constrain immigrants from maximizing subjective gains via migration.

Chapter 5 shifts the focus to internal migrants and reveals that the migrant-local happiness gap is also present among internal migrants in Germany. This chapter emphasizes the role of daily activities in explaining this gap based on a population that has generally been overlooked despite their high migration frequency: young adults. An innovative smartphone application is used that combines two techniques for multiple-moment assessment: the experience sampling method and the day reconstruction method. Based on the data obtained from the application, we examine whether internal migrants spend their time differently than locals and in which situations they feel noticeably less happy than locals. The data reveal that internal migrants distribute less time to happiness-producing activities such as active leisure, social drinking/parties, and activities outside home/work/transit. Internal migrants feel less happy than locals when spending time with friends and while eating. Possible explanations focusing on the role of social capital are discussed. Further analyses reveal that daily life experiences greatly enhance the explanation of the migrant-local happiness gap.

3 A review of research findings was preferred here over a meta-analysis because the number of studies is insufficient to conduct a meta-analysis that accounts for the many factors that cause contingent outcomes across migration streams.

Chapter 6 addresses the question concerning why immigrants in developed countries barely assimilate in terms of subjective well-being, meaning that their happiness and life satisfaction do not substantially increase with their length of stay or across generations and, therefore, that their subjective well-being remains lower than that of natives. This finding contrasts with the predictions of "straight-line" assimilation theory, along with the general improvement of immigrants' objective living conditions with their length of stay. Why does immigrants' happiness not improve over time? Using European Social Survey data, we show that immigrants' happiness assimilation is impaired by the gradual development of less positive perceptions of the host country's economic, political, and social conditions. We provide evidence that these faltering perceptions result from a shifting frame of reference, meaning that immigrants from less developed countries gradually evaluate the societal conditions in the host country through a more critical lens because they habituate to these typically better conditions and compare these conditions gradually less often with the inferior conditions in their country of origin.

Chapter 7 is an essay that provides an in-depth discussion of the inaccurate orientations of individual migrants and policy makers for gaining the most happiness out of migration. For individual migrants, this chapter discusses why migrants' orientations

Table 1.1 In-depth overview of the individual dissertation chapters.

Chapter	Title	Central question	Sub-questions	Theoretical perspective
1	**Introduction**			
2	**Bringing happiness into the study of migration and its consequences: What, why, and how?**	What can happiness research contribute to the study of migration and its consequences?	- Why is happiness important for migrants? - How can immigrant happiness be measured?	N.A.
3	**The happiness of international migrants: A review of research findings.**	What are the happiness outcomes of international migrants?	- Do migrants become happier by migrating? - Do migrants become as happy as natives in the host country?	N.A.
4	**Macro-conditions and immigrants' happiness: Is moving to a wealthy country all that matters?**	In what type of country will migrants live happiest?	- Do non-economic macro-conditions complement macroeconomic conditions in explaining immigrants' happiness? - Which specific macro-conditions are important?	- Adaptation theory - Livability theory

in migration decisions and integration decisions are suboptimal. Similarly, for policy makers, the inaccurate orientations concerning admission and integration policies are discussed. In line with Chapters 2 to 4, this chapter argues that human beings, including individual immigrants and migration policy makers, give undue weight to obtaining good living conditions, particularly economic welfare.

Chapter 8 presents a collaboration between researchers and migrant communities as a solution direction for stimulating greater migrant happiness. We developed and launched a tool called the *Migration Happiness Atlas* through which immigrants can build on each other's experience via bottom-up community participation. This tool provides important input for evidence-based choices, more accurate expectations, and the development of problem-solving resources among potential and existing immigrants. The first data collection wave, in collaboration with the German expat community, is currently in progress.

The chapters in this dissertation are based on articles published in or submitted to scientific peer-reviewed journals or books. Therefore, the chapters of this dissertation can be read independently, and some overlap between the chapters exists. *Table 1.1* presents an in-depth overview of the individual dissertation chapters.

Methodology	Data	Conclusions	Co-authors	Status & Outlet
N.A.	N.A.	- Investigating happiness enhances the study of the broad well-being outcomes of migration because of unique characteristics of both the concept and the measurement. - Happiness is a key concern of migrants and can be adequately measured.	- David Bartram	**Submitted to *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies***
Research synthesis	Quantitative analyses from research articles and professional reports	- Migration often, but certainly not always, benefits the migrant's happiness. - Migrants do not assimilate to natives' happiness levels.		**Published in *Migration Studies* (2015)**
- Multilevel analysis (three-level random intercept models) - Bayesian information criterion (BIC) model selection technique.	European Social Survey data linked to data from Eurostat, MIPEX, and the World Governance Indicators. Period: 2006-2012 N=18,439	- Moving to the wealthiest country does not necessarily result in the best happiness outcome. - The social climate, in particular natives' attitudes towards migrants, is a vital macro-factor for immigrant happiness.	- David Bartram	**Published in *Social Science Research* (2016)**

Table 1.1 In-depth overview of the individual dissertation chapters. (continued)

Chapter	Title	Central question	Sub-questions	Theoretical perspective
5	**Why are locals happier than internal migrants? The role of daily life.**	Do different daily life experiences help explain the migrant-local happiness gap?	- Does a migrant-local gap in *daily* life happiness exist? - If so, how does this relate to the migrant-native gap in *overall* happiness?	- Activity theory - Broaden-and-build theory
6	**Unsuccessful subjective well-being assimilation among immigrants: The role of shifting reference points and faltering perceptions of the host society.**	Why do immigrants not become happier during their stay in the host country?	- Do faltering perceptions of the host society impair migrants' happiness assimilation? - Is a shifting frame of reference the underlying mechanism for these faltering perceptions?	- Adaptation theory - Social comparison theory - Assimilation theory - Acculturation theory
7	**Happiness insights into migration policy and choice behavior of immigrants.**	What aspects of immigrants' and policy makers' orientations are inaccurate for optimizing the happiness outcomes of migration?	- What are the current orientations of immigrants and policy makers regarding migration? - Can considering happiness benefit decisions in the migration context?	- Aspiration level theory - Self-determination theory - Broaden-and-build theory - Livability theory
8	**International migration decisions and happiness: The Migration Happiness Atlas as a community development initiative.**	How can the immigrant community support prospective migrants in making more informed migration choices?	- What can be the role of the Migration Happiness Atlas in stimulating better migration outcomes?	N.A.
9	**Conclusions, implications, and a research agenda**			

Methodology	Data	Conclusions	Co-authors	Status & Outlet
- Micro-level analysis - MANCOVA - OLS regression analyses	Self-collected multiple moment assessment data on German young adults through a smartphone application. N=150	- A migrant-local gap in daily life happiness exists. - Migrants distribute less time to happiness-producing activities and feel less happy in various social settings. - Migrants' different experience of daily life is a major reason for their global happiness disadvantage.	- Kai Ludwigs - Ruut Veenhoven	**Published in *Social Indicators Research* (2016)**
- Multilevel analyses - OLS regression analyses with cluster-robust standard errors - Mediation tests	European Social Survey data. Period: 2002-2014 N=11,482	- Immigrants' faltering perceptions of the host society impair their subjective well-being assimilation. - The faltering perceptions follow from a shifting frame-of-reference.	- Martijn Burger - Thomas de Vroome	**Submitted to *Journal of Happiness Studies***
N.A.	N.A.	- Current migration policies and immigrant orientations are likely drivers of suboptimal happiness outcomes, particularly the undue weight given to objective (economic) living conditions. - Decisions/policies considering happiness have significant potential in promoting better outcomes for both immigrants and the native population.		**Published as a book chapter in *New dimensions in community well-being* (2017)**
N.A.	N.A.	- Immigrant communities are well placed to provide accurate information about migration outcomes to potential migrants. - The Migration Happiness Atlas supports immigrant communities in communicating more accurate information regarding the happiness outcomes of migration.	- Kai Ludwigs - David Bartram	**Accepted as a book chapter in *Handbook of Community Development* (2017)**

2 Bringing happiness into the study of migration and its consequences: What, why, and how?

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration scholars have a longstanding interest in migrants' well-being, an interest grounded in a conventional/common-sense view that people seek to migrate to improve their own and/or their families' lives. To what extent – and under what conditions – are migrants indeed better off as a result of migration? This question, alluding to the impact of migration at the broadest level of well-being, remains largely unanswered (Zuccotti et al. 2017) despite abundant research on various domain outcomes for migrants (e.g., economic gain). A primary reason for this blind spot, we argue, is that the study of migration generally lacks a clear vision regarding what sort of metric could be used to evaluate migrant well-being in a comprehensive manner.

In the broad social sciences, a rapidly emerging metric used to comprehensively evaluate human well-being is how people feel about and evaluate their lives (i.e., their *subjective well-being* or *happiness*), which is assessed via their self-reported happiness and/or life satisfaction.[4] But that framework has been used in migration studies only to a very limited extent, perhaps because its exact contributions and limitations in the unique context of migration remain unexplored.

4 This "subjective well-being" or "happiness" approach was embraced after pioneering studies illustrated its contributions. Such studies included Frey and Stutzer (2002) in economics, Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) in psychology, and Stiglitz et al. (2010) in public policy. The terms subjective well-being and happiness are often used as synonyms in the subjective well-being literature because these strongly overlapping concepts both emphasize the subjective experience of life-as-a-whole. For simplicity, we follow this common practice.

The current paper fills this void by exploring what insights the emerging happiness approach can provide for advancing the study of international migration, particularly in relation to the consequences of migration for migrants.[5] This study thereby contributes to the development of a clear framework that facilitates empirical evaluation of migration's consequences at the broadest level of well-being. This comprehensive evaluation of immigrant well-being should be at the core of migration research, to foster a better understanding of the overall outcomes of migration experienced by the migrants, as well as the *determinants* of those outcomes. Concerning those determinants, a broad measure of well-being can reveal the importance of each individual domain to the overall outcome (e.g., what economic aspects are most important?) and the merits of specific domains (e.g., what acculturation strategy benefits migrants most?), after which trade-offs between domain outcomes can be considered (e.g., how much extra income compensates for the migrant's reduced social status in the host country?). The resulting information will reveal which domains deserve priority and under what conditions positive and/or optimal outcomes are achieved. This knowledge is essential for prospective migrants in making informed and evidence-based migration decisions, for existing immigrants in developing accurate post-migration orientations, and for policy makers in developing policies to support immigrants in maximizing the benefits of migration.

In preparation for identifying how the use of subjective well-being (happiness) can specifically contribute to measuring immigrant well-being, we first provide a brief overview of the work typically done by scholars investigating the outcomes of migration (for the migrants), and we discuss its limitations. We then introduce the field of happiness studies by discussing *what* happiness is, *why* immigrant happiness is important to consider, and *how* happiness can be measured. We engage with the skepticism we would expect to find among migration scholars in particular, and we summarize some of the key findings of studies that have explored happiness among migrants. We continue by discussing the challenges to research on immigrant happiness and consider possible directions for research that transcend the question of happiness outcomes for migrants. We conclude by summarizing the value of a 'happiness' angle in migration research.

2.2 BLIND SPOTS IN RESEARCH ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

Analytically, there is a useful distinction to be made between research on the *causes* of migration and research on the *consequences* of migration (Kivisto and Faist 2009). The focus here is on consequences for the migrants themselves. Migration to another

5 More general introductions to the literature on happiness and migration are available elsewhere (Simpson 2013 and the 'Migration, Well-Being and Development' issue of the World Migration Report, IOM 2013).

country is likely to result in profound transformations in the migrant's life. The fundamental insight of core social science disciplines is that social factors (socialization in core institutions, work situation, culture, modes of political participation, national identity, etc.) help determine major aspects of one's life experience. Moving to live in a place where social factors are significantly different vis-à-vis one's country of origin inevitably results in a different life experience.

Migrants, of course, anticipate that the changes will be positive and lead to a significant improvement in quality of life, either for themselves or for family members who remain in the origin country (or both). That notion is also evident in earlier work grounded in neo-classical economic assumptions about rational decision-making and revealed preferences (Sjaastad 1962; Harris and Todaro 1970); it is superficially plausible insofar as one imagines that migration is generally a voluntary endeavor (if it did not make the migrants better off, then why would they choose it?) involving movement from poorer countries to wealthier countries (given the choice, who would not want to live 'here'?).

Of course, for a great many migrants, migration does in fact lead to significant improvements in their lives – and/or in the lives of family members and others in the origin country. To a significant extent, benefits come in a straightforward economic form: many economic migrants achieve significant economic success in the destination country (McKenzie et al. 2010; Nikolova and Graham 2015), their children often achieve educational success (Zuccotti et al. 2017), and family members or others remaining behind benefit primarily via remittances (Rapoport and Docquier 2006). Migrants moving for other reasons also often gain significant benefits: for instance, most migrants moving for family reunification satisfy an important social need by living closer to particular family members. Benefits relating to the macro-environment are often evident as well, such as positive changes in migrants' (perceived) freedom (Nikolova and Graham 2015) and gender relations (Pessar 1999).

There should be no surprise, however, in finding that a great many migrants do not achieve their intended outcomes and that migration proves not to be beneficial for them. Migration decisions are commonly based on incomplete information about the consequences of migration because most migrants have never previously lived in or travelled to the destination country. They sometimes receive overly positive information from the media (Mai 2005) or from immigrants in the destination country who are reluctant to reveal their disappointing outcomes to people in their home country (Mahler 1995; Sayad 2004). Imperfect decisions may also follow from the general human susceptibility to systematic deviations from a standard of rationality due to the numerous cognitive biases revealed by research in the fields of cognitive science, psychology, and behavioral economics (Schkade and Kahneman 1998).

The idea that migration can lead people into situations characterized by challenge and difficulty is deeply embedded in some of the core concepts used by migration scholars

– in particular, *integration*. To raise the question of integration is to admit the possibility that many immigrants will not achieve full membership in the destination society. Discrimination, lack of social acceptance, and inadequate knowledge can combine to limit immigrants' prospects for full participation in core institutions. Immigrants commonly participate less in politics (Jones-Correa 1998); they sometimes fail to become naturalized citizens despite eligibility (Bloemraad 2006). Their incomes are often lower than those of similarly qualified natives because their qualifications and previous experience are discounted by employers (Alba and Foner 2015). Immigrants often experience increased social isolation, at least temporarily (Morosanu 2013). Depending on the context, these disadvantages sometimes persist into the second generation (Portes and Rumbaut 1996).

Migration researchers do also consider consequences that involve aspects of migrants' subjective experiences. An important example has to do with migrants' perceptions of discrimination by natives (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007). Another stream of research shows that immigrants' perceptions of their living conditions sometimes deteriorates with their length of stay; for instance, immigrants experience declining political trust (Röder and Mühlau 2012) and declining satisfaction with the government (Maxwell 2010). There are also ethnographic and qualitative studies in which immigrants give voice to their pain and regret, e.g., for leaving children and other family members behind as well as concern about their well-being even given substantial remittances (Dreby 2010, Abrego 2014).

At a minimum, the discussion here shows that there are very significant *costs* associated with migration (e.g., separation from family and friends, lower socio-economic position in society, sense of dislocation, and homesickness); one can also easily perceive limits to the benefits of migration (e.g., unmet expectations and adaptation to better circumstances). Such research helps dispel what might be considered a 'common sense' assumption that migration is obviously beneficial for migrants, even for those moving to more developed countries. The possible discrepancy between expected and experienced outcomes of migration suggests a need to directly measure migrants' outcomes instead of merely relying on the information readily available via revealed preferences.

The literature reviewed above on the consequences of migration in separate domains (discrimination, economic mobility, etc.) is of course valuable on its own terms. However, as a means of evaluating the consequences of migration for migrants more broadly, it is also possible to perceive limitations. One might wonder: what do these various positive and negative domain outcomes add up to? Current research on migration contributes *components* of an answer, but it does not generally provide an answer that successfully integrates those components. Overcoming this blind spot requires a good understanding of the strengths and limitations of the approaches that could be taken – and that

some pioneering studies have taken – to the evaluation of outcomes at such an inclusive level.

2.2.1 Evaluating the overall outcome of migration

Direct choice evaluations. Some scholars have evaluated whether migration ultimately benefits the migrant by asking migrants themselves to evaluate their own migration decisions – do they feel satisfied with the way things have worked out (Sloan and Morrison 2016) and perceive their current quality of life to be better than their pre-migration quality of life (De Jong et al. 2002)? Similarly, one may argue that people experience positive migration outcomes when not regretting their move. This is a practical approach because it only requires post-migration data, but it also has serious limitations. Migrants are exposed to mechanisms of self-deception as they internalize the idealized image of their situation, which they then sometimes present to people in their origin country (Sayad 2004; Parreñas 2001). More generally, there is a human tendency to eliminate the discomfort of dissonance between one's choice and its outcome by developing overly favorable perceptions of one's outcome, which is known as self-serving bias or cognitive dissonance bias (Festinger 1957). While this might improve the well-being outcome of one's choice (e.g., reducing feelings of disappointment and self-blame), there is a long tradition of research showing that it also leads people to make overly favorable evaluations of their outcomes (Brehm 1956). The reliance of direct choice evaluations on people's memory introduces additional biases, such as people's tendency to give undue weight to intense and recent experiences, which can lead to divergences between evaluations (memorized well-being) and experienced well-being (Kahneman et al. 1993).

Objective situational changes. Another approach to assessing overall outcome of migration is to compare the migrant's post-migration situation to his or her pre-migration situation. A common issue in studies using such a framework is the rarity of panel data gained from individual international migrants before and after migration. Most existing research resorts to evaluating migration consequences by comparing immigrants' situations to those of their non-migrated counterparts from their home country ('stayers'), with statistical adjustment on relevant demographic characteristics. A limitation of this approach relates to 'migrant selectivity'; people become migrants in part by virtue of being quite different from others – for example, migrants tend to have a higher 'achievement orientation' and lower 'affiliation motivation' (Boneva and Frieze 2001) and a greater appetite for risk (Jaeger et al. 2010).

Another issue is the choice of an outcome measure. One could simply assess the *objective* conditions that now characterize a migrant's life situation, focusing specifically on the living conditions that motivated migration in the first place, such as economic mobility for economic migrants and the educational mobility of migrants' children (Zuccotti et al. 2017). It can be misleading, however, to make inferences about whether migration

has been successful based only on the achievement of the main goals of migration. For instance, people who migrate to escape economic deprivation base their expectations about well-being outcomes, and hence their migration decision, mostly on the gratification of economic needs. After migration, however, their main concerns typically come to include social factors such as social exclusion, cultural/identity issues, and status (Piore 1979). A potential consequence of these shifting preferences is that some migrants experience a negative migration outcome in terms of overall well-being despite having achieved a more specific migration objective (e.g., escaping economic deprivation).

Even if we consider a wider range of objective living conditions (e.g., objective health, housing, and safety conditions), it is easy to recognize some limitations. Scholars who make inferences about the overall outcomes of migration based on objective living conditions generally assume, at least implicitly, that people feel better and perceive themselves as having a better life when they enjoy better living conditions. Good living conditions indeed improve the likelihood that people will feel good. A significant body of research demonstrates conclusively, however, that a significant proportion of people with an objectively good life are dissatisfied with life (and vice versa) – a point that Graham (2009) illustrates via reference to the paradox of 'happy peasants and miserable millionaires'. Productive research might emerge via the following questions: Do discrepancies between objectively and subjectively experienced well-being also occur frequently for migrants? If so, how much weight should we put on migrants' objective outcomes relative to their subjective outcomes?

In addition to these conceptual issues, there are important empirical limitations to objective accounts of well-being. It would be difficult to conceive of a single or even a multidimensional measure of objective well-being that summarizes the level of one's overall well-being across all the various dimensions that might be relevant. Any index generated by the researcher would be incomplete and necessarily involve strong assumptions about which components are to be included and what weight they should have. Decisions of that sort are inevitably arbitrary – and while that concern is reasonably overcome at the level of countries (e.g., with the Human Development Index, HDI), it is a significant obstacle at the level of individuals, to such an extent that, to our knowledge, there is no widely used individual-level index of objective well-being. One obstacle has to do with the wide variation in individual preferences: the idea of an overall 'level' of well-being is surely incomplete insofar as it does not take account of the migrant's own preferences. Another obstacle has to do with individual differences in the experience and evaluation of objectively similar situations. For example, compared with more established immigrants, recent immigrants evaluate an objectively similar environment more positively because the lower reference points immigrants bring from their home country gradually recede.

In sum, the discussion above suggests the importance of considering what outcomes migrants ultimately care about (good living conditions or good feelings?) and, more generally, the exploration of alternative – or at least complementary – angles for evaluating the broad well-being consequences of migration (relative to objective indicators of well-being, direct choice evaluations, and re-migration patterns).

2.3 TOWARDS A HAPPINESS ANGLE IN EVALUATING MIGRATION CONSEQUENCES

Potentially, a broad *subjective* measure of well-being can overcome some of the limitations of objective metrics of well-being – in essence, allowing individuals to evaluate their own outcomes while taking into account their own preferences. Researchers in the broad social sciences increasingly consider the concept of happiness to be well positioned to evaluate people's subjectively experienced well-being (Frey and Stutzer 2002; Stiglitz et al. 2010). Migration scholars may be skeptical, however, about whether happiness really matters to migrants, especially those who could not meet certain basic needs in their home country. Given that the migration context is distinct in many respects, migration scholars may also wonder to what extent and how happiness can overcome the shortcomings of the approaches discussed above in capturing the overall outcome of migration (by means of the concept or the measure). In this section, we engage with this skepticism and make the case that a happiness angle also merits attention in evaluating migration consequences.

2.3.1 Concept

Happiness refers to a person's disposition to feel good, which includes the extent to which an individual experiences both affectively pleasant and cognitively satisfying feelings (Diener et al. 1999). The cognitive component relates to a person's contentment with life and is commonly referred to as life satisfaction. The affective component relates to the extent to which an individual experiences pleasant moods and emotions (e.g., excitement) as opposed to unpleasant ones (e.g., sadness). Happiness thus focuses on how people themselves feel and evaluate their lives on the whole; it is commonly referred to as subjective well-being because it captures well-being in a subjective and comprehensive way.

2.3.2 How important is happiness for 'voluntary' migrants?

For migrants whose basic survival needs were already met in the origin country, migration can be understood as a choice intended to result in a better life elsewhere (Ottonelli and Torresi 2013). Voluntary migrants typically refer to specific motives when asked

about their reasons for migration, such as improving their financial situation, living in a more 'livable' environment, or living closer to family members. But those commonly mentioned motives are not persuasively conceived as goals that are valuable primarily in their own right. Money, in particular, is best conceived as having instrumental value, not substantive value; skepticism about the contrary view is deeply rooted, extending back at least to the ancient Greek legend of Midas. Whatever specific goal is expressed by migrants, what matters is not only whether that goal is achieved but also whether it leads them to a better experience of life. Conceptually, then, happiness is well suited to provide information about the broader consequences of migration for well-being.

That perspective has merit even when migrants do not express their goals explicitly in terms of happiness. People do sometimes frame their goals with reference to happiness, however. The notion that people are strongly (even if not exclusively) driven by happiness maximization is confirmed in studies by economists who show that happiness expectations are major predictors of choice behavior when making important life decisions such as whether to migrate (see Benjamin et al. 2014a on residential choices). These findings are likely to be generalizable to international migrants from both developed and developing countries, given that feeling happy is a core goal in virtually all cultures (even if more in some cultures than in others and the road to happiness differs between cultures to some extent; Diener and Suh 2000).

In this light, some well-being scholars argue that good living conditions constitute individuals' *opportunities* to experience high well-being but are not well-being outcomes in themselves (Veenhoven 2000). Others argue that objective forms of well-being do have intrinsic value; Nussbaum and Sen (1993) show the deficiency of being content with the happiness of a 'hopeless beggar' who has somehow become reconciled to his/her fate. Even so, if migrants achieve success in an objective sense but feel less happy, caution may be warranted before concluding that migration has led to an overall successful outcome for the migrants. That observation by no means suggests that scholars' concern with immigrants' objective situations is somehow misplaced. But if we cannot dismiss objective gains (and losses) achieved via migration, we should likewise be reluctant to dismiss the consequences of migration for subjectively experienced well-being. By considering some common migration motives, we illustrate below that these types of scenarios may not be uncommon.

When migration is motivated mainly by (absolute) income gain, there are grounds for expecting that migration might not lead to increased happiness, regardless of objective income gains. When someone earns enough income to make ends meet, money matters for happiness mainly via the way it is connected with status (Easterlin 2003). If immigrants increase their incomes in an absolute sense but end up in a lower social position in the destination country (compared to their position in the origin country), the consequences of migration for their happiness might well be negative or at least

non-positive. From this perspective, the belief that one would be happier if only one were richer results from a 'focusing illusion', leading to potentially sub-optimal decisions (Kahneman et al. 2006). Migrants might be exempt from judgments of that sort if their main goal is to support, via remittances, the well-being of family members and/or others who remain in the origin country. To evaluate the migration outcome in this case, we would want to know about the actual consequences of migration for recipients' well-being. Regarding objective consequences, migration research is generally quite positive (Rapoport and Docquier 2006). However, ethnographic research can be read as suggesting that happiness losses caused by family separation might outweigh the happiness gained via the money sent as remittances (Smith 2006; Dreby 2010). At a minimum, positive well-being outcomes cannot be assumed even when remittances are substantial.

In family reunification migration, success with regard to the core motivation might seem obvious because the goal is achieved via the migration itself. There are, of course, secondary benefits (e.g., conditions in the destination might be more 'livable') as well as economic and non-economic costs (e.g., one might be separated from *other* family members and face inferior employment prospects). The complexity of the changes shows again that it would be hard for the researcher to add up positive and negative changes in an objective sense – thus, it would arguably be better to let the migrant give her/his own (subjective) evaluation of life after migration (in a way that circumvents cognitive dissonance biases as much as possible). The advantages of such an approach are apparent upon further consideration of the complexity associated with family reunification. Someone seeking to join a spouse living in another country is likely hoping to re-establish the relationship as it was prior to migration. That goal is probably achieved in many instances, at least to some extent. But living in another country – with different institutions, a different culture, etc. – is likely to change the relationship as well, in part by affecting gender relations (Pessar 1999). There is no need to assume that those changes would be negative, though migration may commonly put strains on the relationship, at least initially. But the possibility of negative impacts on the relationship, with consequences for one's happiness, is worth investigating. We can then consider: if family reunification via migration has led to unhappiness, does it count as successful? That question might answer itself, even if there are other aspects of well-being to consider (e.g., the well-being of children). At a minimum, we should not assume that family reunification migration generally enhances migrants' well-being; that question should be addressed empirically, in part via investigation of the migrants' happiness.

These examples show that to know whether migrants succeeded in achieving their goals, we need to consider not just success in an objective sense but also whether success (or indeed failure) in an objective sense brought positive (or negative) changes in one's subjectively experienced well-being. To this end, the authors of the 2013 World

Migration Report (IOM 2013) state that "there is a need for further enquiry into the factors that contribute to subjective well-being; what types of development are best for a population's well-being; and whether some forms of development make people less happy even if it increases their objective assets" (p. 38).

2.3.3 Is happiness relevant when migration isn't 'voluntary'?

The concept of 'forced migration' – a staple of migration studies – shows that in many instances migration is not plausibly seen purely as a matter of choice. When migrants meet the legal standards pertaining to refugee law (the Geneva Convention and its extensions), one should conclude that there was a substantial threat of persecution. But migration is sometimes 'forced' in ways that go well beyond the prevailing legal categories. Migration can be considered 'forced' insofar as one's 'vital subsistence needs' would otherwise be unmet (Gibney 2004; Betts 2010); the situations that constitute threats in this regard are quite diverse and include civil wars (especially when leading to economic collapse), severe environmental degradation, and perhaps even economic convulsions resulting from globalization processes (e.g., free trade agreements). One might also take the view that migration is reasonably considered forced in situations where people *could* meet their subsistence needs but only in ways that amount to violations of their human rights (e.g., via forced labor) – a scenario equivalent to the possibility that persecuted dissidents could avoid persecution not only via emigration but also by ceasing their dissent (Bartram 2015b).

To what extent is happiness a relevant concern in situations of this sort? The answer is facilitated in part by the fact that one cannot establish a dichotomy between voluntary and forced migration; the situations indicated above demonstrate that we must think in terms of a continuum (Richmond 1994). In some instances, migration is 'forced' in a very direct sense: if someone does not leave, he or she will die or face threats to basic components of well-being (starve, be shot, lose one's house in a bombing, etc.). In situations of that sort, happiness is probably not relevant to the question of whether migration led to a 'successful' outcome. What matters, at least in the first instance, is only whether the threats to survival are mitigated. Having said that, researchers and others surely care about the happiness of what Betts (2010) calls 'survival migrants' *after* their survival has been secured. Nevertheless, there is virtually no research at all that focuses specifically on the happiness of refugees/forced migrants (the only exceptions seem to be Fozdar and Torezani 2008 and Veronese et al. 2012).

Again, however, the scope of 'forced migration' extends beyond instances that fall at that end of the continuum. Some instances of migration are reasonably described as 'forced' (to some extent) despite not involving a direct threat to survival. Richmond uses the term 'economic refugees' and refers to 'persons forced to migrate as a result of bankruptcies, total economic collapse, chronic unemployment, and loss of livelihood

without safety-net social security measures' (1994: 69). In situations of this sort, people who migrate might be able to avoid migration by simply accepting a significant decline in their standard of living. The choice to migrate instead can be understood as resulting partly from the constraints introduced by distant powerful actors and partly from the individual's discretion, i.e., again, one could choose not to move and instead absorb the 'hit' to one's standard of living.

Situations like this are common: they form the basis for the well-known 'world-systems' theory of migration (Sassen 1988). Is happiness important when (potential) migrants face this sort of difficult choice? Insofar as the threat to basic well-being is severe (e.g., malnutrition), then perhaps not. But we can imagine less severe (though still quite difficult) situations where the happiness consequences of migrating (vs. not migrating) are indeed important – not least to the migrants. Trade-offs are likely here: someone might choose migration to avoid impoverishment, but they do so at the cost of experiencing a difficult (e.g., isolating and xenophobic) situation in the destination country that is not conducive to happiness. Migrant workers in Persian Gulf countries, originating mainly in Asian countries where they face very difficult economic situations, could constitute an example. Knowing (empirically) about happiness consequences in these situations seems desirable, even if they are not of primary importance. Dismissing happiness as irrelevant to this category of migrants seems an extreme and unwarranted position.

2.3.4 Measurement

The most common subjective well-being measures are survey questions asking how well one's life is going in the form of self-reported happiness or life satisfaction. Typical questions are "*All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?*" and *"Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?"*, with scales ranging from 0 (completely dissatisfied/unhappy) to 10 (completely satisfied/happy). The life satisfaction evaluation is more cognitively oriented than the happiness evaluation, which taps into both the affective and cognitive components. These life evaluations are strongly related, with correlations typically close to 0.70. A commonly used multi-item scale is the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al. 1985). Another set of measures focuses on the affective component of happiness. In its simplest form, research participants report how often in the past few weeks they have experienced various feelings (see, e.g., the PANAS; Watson et al. 1988). More intensive methods target people's daily life happiness by repeatedly asking research participants over a number of days or weeks to report their daily affective experiences via 'experience sampling' (Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003) or 'happiness diaries' (Kahneman et al. 2004), after which the scores of these momentary happiness levels are summed to reflect the person's general level of affective happiness. The findings from purely affective evaluations

and the more cognitively oriented life evaluations can diverge, which reflects the notion that happiness is not a unitary construct.

2.3.5 Qualities and limitations of subjective well-being measures

Survey questions about happiness or life satisfaction have a number of qualities that make them effective in capturing an individual's overall well-being.

Inclusiveness. Due to the open-ended design of subjective well-being measures, no domain is a priori excluded (see, e.g., the reference to 'all things considered' and 'life as a whole' in the life satisfaction question presented above). While research participants do not necessarily consider all relevant aspects of life when reporting their happiness, people do implicitly form overall life evaluations drawing on these accumulated feelings and thoughts (Schimmack and Oishi 2005).

Personal preferences. The self-report feature empowers individuals to weigh for themselves the importance of different aspects of life, which means that happiness measures take into account people's own preferences instead of using arbitrarily selected and weighed indicators. This feature thus allows for well-being functions that differ across individuals and change within these individuals over time and place (i.e., heterogeneous preferences). This is important because individuals and (cultural) groups have their own ideas about what a good life constitutes, and this may change depending on the situation. For instance, some people prefer living in close proximity to their relatives more than others do, and economic migrants may gradually care less about economic matters after achieving certain economic goals; other concerns may then become more prominent, such as status and social exclusion (Piore 1979).

Personal outcome evaluations. The self-report feature also empowers individuals to evaluate their own outcomes. This is important because objectively similar outcomes can be perceived in quite different ways (as previously illustrated by migrants' faltering enthusiasm about the host society). A key reason for this difference is that happiness measures implicitly capture adaptation processes.

In sum, survey questions about happiness or life satisfaction can function as a summary indicator of the way one feels about all the specific aspects of one's life; these measures allow research participants to consider, in an integrated manner, all subjective and objective aspects relevant to their own notion of a good life. Hence, a migrant's happiness evaluation reflects their experience of the objective and subjective benefits and costs of migration that truly matter to them. Accordingly, intuitively important dimensions in life, such as health, safety, economic security, and social relationships, tend to have the strongest correlations with happiness scores, which reduces the concern that happiness metrics concentrate merely on happiness but ignore other important values immigrants have. On this basis, estimated happiness functions can reveal the

relative importance and merit of each considered element with regard to a migrant's subjectively experienced well-being.[6]

One sometimes encounters concerns regarding the use of subjective measures in general and the methods used to measure happiness in particular. A vast literature testing the validity of happiness measures has emerged, which we briefly summarize below (for more extensive reviews and references, see OECD 2013 and Diener et al. 2013). Some concerns pertain to questionnaire design, such as question ordering, question wording, and the response format. Other concerns relate to the possibility of socially desirable answering (and self-serving biases) and interpersonal differences in interpretations of, and response styles to, happiness measures. These issues could indeed distort happiness self-reports at some level, but they can be largely managed via consistent approaches to survey design. More importantly, these distortions are likely to cancel out in large samples as they tend to be non-systematic, such that they are unlikely to significantly affect findings for specific and carefully selected research questions. A specific concern of migration researchers who compare migrants to the host country's natives may be the cross-cultural comparability of happiness measures (this is less of an issue when tracing migrants over time or comparing migrants to stayers). Potential sources of bias pertain to the imprecise translatability of happiness measures across languages, as well as cultural differences in response styles (e.g., people in conformist cultures generally avoid answers that are at the extremes of the scale). The literature testing this concern is at an early stage; initial evidence suggests that linguistic and cultural biases are in most cases small and have a marginal influence on happiness regressions, which allows for meaningful if cautious comparisons across most languages and cultures (Oishi 2010; Senik 2014; Exton et al. 2015). Yet, the current evidence cannot rule out cultural/linguistic biases in some specific cases.

Overall, subjective well-being metrics can act as an indicator of migrants' overall migration outcomes in a way that would not be feasible for objective metrics of well-being. However, subjective well-being measures have imperfections of their own. Nonetheless, in the context of migration, we do not see a reason to diverge from the consensus reached by well-being scholars that subjective well-being measures have a sufficiently high signal-to-noise ratio to contribute new insights to research and policy (OECD 2013; Diener et al. 2013).

2.3.6 To what extent does happiness work differently for migrants?

The happiness functions of migrants may differ from those of the general population for three reasons. First, due to 'migrant selectivity', migrants are likely to be quite dif-

6 Measures focusing on the affective component of happiness have similar qualities as life evaluations because the extent to which a person experiences certain feelings depends on the value attached to, and the subjective experience of, a certain situation.

ferent from people in general. Second, the migration event itself generates a different happiness function. Compared with non-migrants, migrants' happiness likely depends more on acculturation, discrimination, and the social skills needed to rebuild a social and economic network; other factors might thus become less important for happiness. Third, the happiness of migrants may depend more strongly on the specific reasons that instigated their move (i.e., income for economic migrants, the relationship with one's partner for family reunification migrants, etc.). Hence, it cannot be automatically assumed that findings from the general happiness literature apply to migrants (Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013): we need more fine-grained information on what matters most for the happiness of this quite distinct group of people.

2.3.7 Initial insights from the literature on migrant happiness

The insights that can be gained from considering migrant happiness appear readily in a number of contributions. Several studies help us understand the conditions under which immigrants are better off (for a review; see Hendriks 2015). Migrants moving to more livable countries often, but not always, become happier (Nikolova and Graham 2015), while non-positive happiness outcomes are observed particularly among migrants moving to less livable countries (IOM 2013; Bartram 2015a). Yet, there are notable exceptions to this general pattern. Stillman et al. (2015) analyzed the outcomes of a natural experiment in which Tongan residents hoping to move to New Zealand were entered into a migration lottery. The authors found that some years after migration, the 'lucky' migrants were less happy than the 'unlucky' stayers, even though the migrants had achieved sizeable gains in objective and material well-being, such as a tripling of their income. Other studies (though with weaker designs) reporting similar results include Bartram (2013) and, in the context of internal migration, Knight and Gunatilaka (2010). These findings confirm our proposition that one cannot *assume* that migrants – even those obtaining better living conditions – experience improved *subjective* well-being after migration (Wright 2012 is a rare instance of qualitative research exploring this connection).

Various studies have explored the determinants of migrants' happiness to examine what specific conditions are beneficial and important for migrants' well-being outcomes. At the individual level, studies report that income has only a modest association with migrant happiness, which means that migrants may be mistaken in placing great emphasis on economic gains in their search for a better (happier) life (Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013). Immigrants' relative income position in the host society may matter even more for their happiness than their absolute income (Gokdemir and Dumludag 2012). The determinants of immigrant happiness go well beyond the economic domain; perceived discrimination has a strong negative effect on immigrant happiness (Safi 2010), while acculturation has a modest but positive relation to happiness (Angelini et al. 2015). Similarly, Hendriks and Bartram (2016) show that the relation between the

macro environment and immigrant happiness goes well beyond a good economy; the social climate – especially the attitudes of natives towards migrants – is of particular importance for migrant happiness.

Other studies have focused on happiness assimilation. Safi (2010) shows that despite their objectively improving conditions migrants do not assimilate to the higher happiness levels of natives. A stream of research exploring why immigrants are generally less happy than natives (i.e., why they do not *fully* assimilate) observes that factors contributing to their lower happiness include discrimination as well as their disadvantaged socio-economic conditions and social capital (Safi 2010; De Vroome and Hooghe 2014). Another reason for pervasive happiness differences between migrants and natives lies in each group's culturally embedded happiness levels (Senik 2014). Hendriks et al. (2017) offer an explanation for why immigrants sometimes do not assimilate *at all* in terms of happiness by showing that the happiness assimilation of immigrants who migrated to more developed countries is suppressed by their faltering perceptions of the host society. These authors attribute this to immigrants' gradual development of higher aspirations and reference points as they habituate to the better conditions in the more developed host country and compare those conditions less to the typically inferior conditions in their country of origin (see also Gelatt 2013). This suggests that happiness depends not only on one's *actual* living conditions but also on one's *interpretation* of these living conditions; the former would remain uncaptured when using objective metrics of well-being.

2.4 CHALLENGES, OTHER APPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The literature on migrant happiness discussed above demonstrates original insights into the degree of, and conditions for, successful migration. Even so, researchers are at an early stage in generating a clear picture of the overall consequences of migration – and the determinants of these consequences – for migrants. Overcoming certain challenges would enable further progress.

A first challenge is to establish a better understanding of how happiness measures perform in contexts that specifically pertain to migrants. One pressing need is to test the cross-cultural comparability of happiness evaluations (e.g., not answering in one's mother tongue) in specific cases (e.g., Mexicans in the US) and to identify which happiness measure introduces the lowest cultural bias. Promising approaches include vignette studies and experimental techniques (Lolle and Andersen 2016).

A second challenge is the collection of better survey data concerning immigrants' outcomes in general and their happiness outcomes in particular. Studies lacking pre-migration data have limited leverage in estimating the causal effects of migration because

the 'migrant selectivity' problem is only partially solved by methods intended to mitigate bias rooted in potential self-selection issues – such as instrumental variable techniques (Safi 2010), two-stage 'treatment-effects' models (Bartram 2013) or matching procedures (IOM 2013; Nikolova and Graham 2015). Another limitation is that these types of studies typically use general social surveys, which rarely include specific questions on the issues migration scholars are typically concerned with (e.g., identity and acculturation) and only represent the migrant population in a limited fashion. Concerning happiness, this issue could be resolved by incorporating a happiness measure into migration surveys that have a panel structure or involve comparisons between migrants and stayers (e.g., the Mexican Migration Project). Yet, inferences need to be made cautiously even when using panel designs covering both the migrant's pre- and post-migration happiness. Migrants may experience a happiness dip in the years before migrating followed by a temporary peak shortly after migration (Melzer and Muffels 2017). Preferably, therefore, panel data collections on migrant happiness need to cover a range of years before and after migration, while cross-sectional data collections should include measures that are strongly associated with migrant selectivity (e.g., risk propensity).

2.4.1 The happiness of natives and stayers

The notion of happiness consequences of migration is also relevant in connection with other migration stakeholders, not just the migrants themselves. Happiness regressions can isolate the impact of remittances and social costs (and more) on the happiness outcomes of those who remain in the origin country. Remittances are important for happiness (Joarder et al. 2016), but two small-scale studies observe non-positive happiness outcomes among families remaining in Ecuador and Bolivia, respectively, as the negative consequences of family separation outweigh the economic welfare gains from remittances (Borraz et al. 2010; Jones 2014).

At the societal level, destination countries commonly benefit economically from immigration (Dustman et al. 2010) even if there are worries about the cultural, social, and security costs of migration. Subjective well-being evaluations can estimate the overall outcome of immigration for the host country's natives, as natives' life evaluations implicitly capture and weigh the various economic and non-economic costs and benefits of migration. Initial evidence suggests that immigration in general has a positive though marginal impact on the well-being of the native population in various European countries (Betz and Simpson 2013; Akay et al. 2014). To better understand the consequences of migration for these migration stakeholders, research using better designs in a greater variety of contexts is needed – in particular, via explorations that consider the impact on particular groups (beyond the average impact for an entire society). Another stakeholder group for whom happiness has remained unstudied but which deserves attention is the

broad population of the sending society; i.e., equivalent to the notion of a brain gain/drain, the presence of a 'happiness gain/drain' merits exploration.

2.4.2 Happiness and migration behaviour

Castles (2010) notes that "we still lack a body of cumulative knowledge to explain why some people become mobile while most do not" (p. 1566). We have argued that attaining greater well-being and happiness is a key overarching goal for the various types of migrants who migrate at least partly voluntarily (economic migrants, 'lifestyle' migrants, family reunification migrants, etc.) and that people often seek to maximize their happiness when making important life decisions. By implication, one way to increase understanding of migration behavior is to consider happiness expectations: to what extent do migrants seek to maximize their happiness by migrating, and, what factors drive these happiness expectations?

Moreover, people's pre-migration happiness *levels* are important predictors of migration intentions. Studies of various populations consistently show that relatively unhappy people, given their socio-economic conditions, are more willing to migrate (e.g., Graham and Markowitz 2011; Cai et al. 2014). Lovo (2014) demonstrates that happiness is also a useful predictor of the migration destination preferences of those with an intent to migrate. It remains unclear, however, whether the role of happiness levels extends from migration intentions to actual migration behavior.

2.4.3 The instrumental role of happiness

Subjective well-being research shows that greater happiness stimulates a range of advantages for individuals and society, such as economic, social, and health benefits (for a review; see De Neve et al. 2013) as well as openness towards other values, ideas, and cultures (Johnson and Fredrickson 2005). It would be valuable to explore whether these and/or other advantages hold for migrants specifically, potentially ranging from greater productivity of migrant workers to reduced social tensions and polarization in society. Alternatively, greater immigrant happiness may lead to greater inflows of immigrants. Whether and how happiness can be used to stimulate better outcomes of migration for the migrants and the host society is thus an important question for future research.

2.5 CONCLUSIONS

This paper seeks to lay the foundation for investigating the happiness of immigrants and other stakeholders in migration. To maximize the benefits that migrants (and others) can gain from migration, it is essential to know more about these *overall* outcomes of migration and to understand the conditions that foster positive outcomes; this knowledge

can provide important input for migration decisions, migrant orientations, and policies targeting the well-being of migrants. However, research on the overall outcomes of migration and the determinants of these outcomes is scarce because a clear framework to study these broad outcomes has been missing.

Investigating happiness can enhance the study of migration's consequences due to the unique characteristics of both the concept and the measurement. Conceptually, it is important to target how the immigrants themselves feel about and evaluate their lives (i.e., their subjective well-being or happiness) because feeling good is a fundamental goal for all types of migrants (even if the migration of 'forced' migrants is not motivated by greater happiness). Hence, happiness is a vital part of well-being. Empirically, because happiness measures capture well-being in an integrated manner based on people's own preferences and outcome evaluations, they are valuable in estimating the broad consequences of migration and in discerning the relative importance of specific domains to the overall consequences of migration. Accordingly, research on immigrant happiness can stimulate discussions among migration scholars about whether – and under which conditions – migration benefits (or undermines) human well-being. Overall, then, this exploration leads us to conclude that happiness should be at the core of a framework evaluating the overall consequences of migration for migrants.

We have focused here on the happiness outcomes of immigrants. The value of the happiness approach extends to the study of consequences for other migration stakeholders (e.g., the host country's natives), types of migration (e.g., internal migration), types of evaluations (e.g., the effects of migration-related policies), and migration issues (e.g., causes of migration). In closing, a happiness angle is an important new frontier in understanding the consequences (and causes) of human migration.

3 The Happiness of International Migrants: A Review of Research Findings

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Human migration has been a ubiquitous phenomenon since the beginning of humanity. A wide variety of people perceive the opportunity to choose one's place to live as a valuable tool for improving one's life. Migration to another country is one of the most impactful decisions in life as migration breaks the systematic patterns in which people lives their lives. Changes can occur in the work sphere, in social life, and in the external environment, among others. Reflecting its importance, the decision to emigrate is typically a thoroughly evaluated choice that is driven by principal motivators in life. Recent research has shown that migrants have little worry over guaranteeing basic survival needs; they move because they feel relatively unhappy compared to people with similar socio-economic characteristics and feel restricted in offsetting this gap when staying in their country of origin (Graham and Markowitz 2011; Otrachshenko and Popova 2014; Chindarkar 2014). This finding concurs with well-being studies that argue that a satisfactory and joyful life becomes a powerful behavioural driver when the survival motive is satisfied (e.g. Diener 2000). Correspondingly, the IOM (2013, p.175) concluded in the 2013 World Migration Report that 'The most fundamental questions they (i.e. migrants) must ask themselves, therefore, are whether they will be happier if they migrate and whether their life will be better than it is now'. An interesting query is whether it is realistic for migrants to expect greater happiness due to emigrating.

This query has become more prominent in recent decades as geographical mobility has increased. The number of people living outside of their home-countries rose from 75 million in 1975 (representing 2.2% of the world population) to 150 million in 2000, reaching

214 million in 2010 (representing 3.1% of the world population), and an estimated 405 million people will have migrated by 2050 (IOM 2010). This upward trend promotes the expectancy that migration is a viable strategy to improve one's life. Millions of people would not have opted for emigration if they had not expected it to fortify their happiness, right?

This is an ostensibly sound question that challenges the value of studying individuals' migration-outcomes. However, people face difficulties in predicting the outcomes of choices and therefore frequently make suboptimal decisions (Kahneman 2011). Even the most important and thoughtful choices in people's lives are not immune to these forecasting biases (Frederick and Loewenstein 1999), of which the migration decision is no exception (Schkade and Kahneman 1998). The most prominent cause of the forecasting bias among migrants is the failure to anticipate that the improved circumstances lose their effect over time after the initial 'migration-honeymoon period'. Particularly, comparison groups and aspiration levels gradually adapt to the new circumstances. An interesting paradox conveyed by Bălţătescu (2007) is that immigrants who experience improved objective well-being do not by definition experience improved subjective well-being, and vice versa. This paradox concurs with the findings in broader well-being literature that satisfying strong external drivers often does not result in the aspired increase in happiness. Due to forecasting biases, people are overly driven to improve external (often pecuniary) circumstances (Frey and Stutzer 2014). Ironically, non-pecuniary factors are the ones that lastingly affect happiness (Headey 2010). This implies that migrants undervalue the negative effects of relinquishing intrinsic factors such as social capital and cultural identity (Portes 2000). A final issue is that following migration, a sizeable portion of migrants conclude that they had been overly optimistic about their chances of obtaining their desired living conditions in their place of settlement (Benson and O'Reilly 2012; Mähönen et al. 2013). They mistakenly believed that the grass is greener on the other side 'of the border', which is frequently combined with overconfidence in their abilities to exploit potential advantages. Taken together, the forecasting biases can result in fruitless, or even backfiring, attempts at migration.

3.1.1 The present study

This paper evaluates whether migrants' biases in decision-making processes lead to suboptimal decisions, or whether the increasing migration streams reflect the positive outcomes experienced by migrants. Concurrently, a related issue that has been debated in previous literature is tested; The debate is whether migrants completely progress towards the happiness levels of natives in the destination country over time, as assimilation theories suggest (Esser 2010), or whether differences remain as suggested by recent studies, for instance because of the ongoing influence of one's heritage (Senik 2014; Voicu and Vasile 2014).

Briefly stated, the current paper addresses the following two questions:

(1) Do migrants become happier?
(2) Do migrants become as happy as natives in the host country?

A number of empirical studies have addressed these questions. However, the field has remained exceptionally data-driven and multidisciplinary, which has resulted in a dispersed field in which scholars scarcely build on each other's work. The current paper conducts a systematic review of research findings that unites findings on this topic in, among others, two specific fields (subjective well-being and migration) and three broader disciplines (psychology, sociology, and economics). A systematic review is preferred over a meta-analysis because the number of studies is insufficient to conduct a meta-analysis that accounts for the factors that cause contingent outcomes across migration streams. The two focal questions addressed in this article have been raised in a valuable book chapter of Simpson (2013). The current paper extends Simpson's work in two ways. First, whereas Simpson discusses only a subset of papers, I use a systematic and interdisciplinary approach in which, to my knowledge, all relevant scientific publications are included that remain within the boundaries of the review (see section 3.3.2). The comprehensive overview of the literature allows for evidence-based inferences. The second contribution is the provision of a schematic and detailed overview of the included studies and their features. For each study, features of the researched migration stream and the utilised methodology are presented.

Section 3.2 defines the constructs of interest and discusses methodological issues in studying the outcomes of migrants. Section 3.3 presents the review strategy. Section 3.4 presents and discusses the findings of the review. Finally, Section 3.5 concludes the paper and discusses avenues for future research.

3.2 CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

3.2.1 The concept of happiness

The following two sources of information are used to assess one's happiness: (1) how well one feels most of the time and (2) to what extent one perceives to obtain what one wishes from life. The first component is affective in nature and is commonly referred to as the 'hedonic level of affect'. The second component is cognitive in nature and is known in academics as 'contentment'. Happiness is measured by various self-report questions that are diverse in their main focus. The three main categories of self-reports comprise one or multiple questions about (1) satisfaction with life-as-a-whole (in which contentment with life plays a primary role), (2) experienced emotions (the balance of experienced positive and negative affect), and (3) general happiness (which combines the cognitive and affective components). The way happiness is measured impacts the outcome, for

instance because contentment is stronger related to one's personal circumstances than affect (Lucas et al. 1996). To promote accurate inferences, the exact measure used by each study is listed when presenting the results.

3.2.2 Methodological issues in assessing the effect of migration on happiness.

The measurement of *changes* in happiness implies that it would be optimal to utilise longitudinal data. However, longitudinal data on international migration are sparsely available. Therefore, the literature has largely resorted to cross-sectional methods that compare the post-migration happiness of migrants to the happiness of external comparison groups at the same point in time. To answer whether migrants have become happier upon migration, migrants have been compared to people who have a similar country of origin but who did not emigrate; these people are hereafter referred to as 'stayers'. Hence, the happiness of stayers serves as a proxy for pre-migration happiness. To assess whether migrants obtain similar happiness levels as natives sometime after migration, migrants have been compared to individuals in the host country, hereafter referred to as 'natives'. Cross-sectional studies and longitudinal studies face methodological issues that deserve a discussion to enable accurate inferences on the happiness of migrants.

3.2.2.1 Self-selection. Cross-sectional studies have limited explanatory power regarding causality because migration is a selective phenomenon (e.g. McKenzie et al. 2010; Polgreen and Simpson 2011). The selection problem can be diminished by the inclusion of covariates that lower omitted variable bias. However, at least 30% of happiness is genetically determined, which implies that a substantial degree of unobserved variance remains present (Lykken and Tellegen 1996). The practical implication of this issue in migration research is that, even after controlling for personal characteristics, migrants have lower happiness (Graham and Markowitz 2011; Otrachshenko and Popova 2014; Chindarkar 2014) or higher happiness (Bartram 2013a) than natives. To downgrade self-selection, matching samples (Hunter et al. 2008; IOM 2013; Bartram 2015a), instrumental variables (Safi 2010), two-stage "treatment-effects" models (Melzer 2011; Bartram 2013a; Bartram 2015a) and multilevel models (Voicu and Vasile 2014) have been used. However, these methods cannot completely rule out self-selection problems; therefore, it must be acknowledged that cross-sectional studies have limited leverage in answering whether and how much migrants gain happiness.

3.2.2.2 Inclusion of covariates. Most studies have controlled for a range of (semi-) *time-invariant factors* such as age, gender, education level, marital status, religion, and household size to lower omitted variable bias. It is advisable to additionally control for a broad range of personality traits and life values, because migrants are typically more extrinsically oriented (e.g. more oriented toward work, achievement, and power) and less intrinsically oriented (e.g. valuing family and friends) compared to stayers (Boneva and Frieze 2001). A second group of incorporated covariates are categorised as *time-*

variant covariates. These factors include inter alia, income, employment status, health, social network, and socio-economic status. The inclusion of time-variant covariates can be useful to diminish unobserved heterogeneity, but these covariates are tricky. They are often affected by the act of emigration and one can therefore throw the baby out with the bathwater when incorporating these covariates because vital paths that cause changes in happiness are blocked. The inclusion of time-variant factors also offers the possibility to assess whether migrants become (un)happier regardless of a set of time-variant covariates. Therefore, the inclusion of multiple models can be valuable, beginning with a model that only includes time-invariant covariates and gradually adding time-variant factors in subsequent models (see e.g. Bartram 2013b).

3.2.2.3 Longitudinal studies. The comparison of changes within individuals offsets many causality issues. Nonetheless, caution is required when making inferences based on longitudinal models; a bias towards happy migrants is present in longitudinal studies because unhappy migrants are more likely to enter the attrition group as they have a higher tendency to re-migrate (Erlinghagen 2011; Krause 2013). Note that this issue may also apply to cross-sectional studies; the probability of interviewing a 'successful' migrant can be greater than that of interviewing 'unsuccessful' migrants because re-migration rates can be assumed to be higher among unsuccessful migrants. A second issue that longitudinal studies must take into account is that the significant life changes caused by migration cause high volatility in happiness in the few years before and after migration. Migrants experience a decrease in life satisfaction that begins approximately three years before migrating (e.g. Melzer and Muffels 2017), followed by a peak shortly after migration (e.g. Obućina 2013).[7] Therefore, longitudinal studies should compare migrants several years before and after migration to get around the dip and peak.

3.2.2.4 Inferences. The discussed issues clarify that cross-sectional studies in particular skate on thin ice when answering a question that is longitudinal in nature. Therefore, the current review gives relatively greater attention to methodologically stronger studies. Hazardous inferences have been made in some prior studies given the quality of the data. For instance, some cross-sectional studies have claimed to compare the actual migration outcome to how migrants' lives hypothetically would have been if they had not emigrated (e.g. IOM 2013). Even when including the discussed methods to diminish selection issues, this counterfactual question cannot be answered by cross-sectional studies. Specifically, merely considering migration positively affects individuals who finally did not move because of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957), or alternatively, it can have a negative effect on these people because the greater awareness of the relatively unfavourable conditions in their country of origin can lead to deprived feelings.

7 It has not been examined to date whether the potential pre-migration dip in migration is caused by the future act of migration or by the fact that people who experience decreases in happiness tend to opt for migration to restore their happiness.

3.3 METHOD

The present review of research findings aims to provide insights into the two study questions. A systematic literature search, based on set boundaries, was conducted to avoid the cherry-picking of studies. All eligible papers were included based on the reported analyses, unless otherwise indicated.

3.3.1 Literature Search Strategy

Papers that relate migration to happiness are published in the journals of multiple disciplines, including journals that focus on migration, subjective well-being, economics, psychology, and sociology. Therefore, the first step (was to conduct a broad literature search in databases of various disciplines, as follows: EconLit, ERIC, PsycInfo, SocINDEX, and the World Database of Happiness. English-language articles were searched using migration-related keywords (i.e. international migration, emigration, immigration, and immigrants) in various combinations with three well-being-related keywords (i.e. happiness, subjective well-being, and life satisfaction). This search yielded 28 studies. The following step was to examine (1) cited articles in the already included papers and (2) other articles that cited the already included articles. This snowballing technique yielded an additional 16 studies.

3.3.2 Eligibility of studies

The following boundaries were formulated to isolate relevant studies:

Academic literature. Strictly scientific articles (with the exception of the World Migration Report 2013)[8] are included to guarantee minimal levels of reliability and validity regarding the analysis.

Data-structure. Merely quantitative studies are incorporated.[9]

Groups of interest. First and second generation emigrants are the experimental groups of interest because the common goal of migration is to provide a better life for oneself, one's relatives, and one's descendants.

Meaningful benchmark. Studies are only incorporated when the sample of migrants is meaningfully compared to a valid benchmark. Migrants' pre-migration happiness (in

8 The World Migration Report 2013 is included because it uses the qualitatively strong Gallup World Poll data, which is combined with high-quality analysis.

9 An interesting body of research has studied the happiness of movers from former East Germany to former West Germany, and vice versa. This is perceived to be a semi-international migration stream. Findings on this migration stream are excluded from our analysis but are worth briefly mentioning. Longitudinal and cross-sectional data show that East Germans who moved to West Germany gained life satisfaction. In contrast, West Germans who moved to East Germany experienced losses in life satisfaction (Frijters et al. 2004; Fuchs-Schündeln and Schündeln 2009; Melzer 2011; Melzer and Muffels 2017). Concerning the comparison to natives, East German migrants did not reach the life satisfaction levels of West Germans, and West German migrants remained more satisfied with life than East Germans (Melzer and Muffels 2012).

longitudinal data) and the happiness of stayers (in cross-sectional data) are valid benchmarks to assess whether migrants become happier upon migration. Natives are a valid benchmark to assess whether migrants become as happy as natives over time. Studies are excluded that compare groups of migrants mutually or that make comparisons based on different surveys/measures.

Appropriate measure of happiness. Only studies that utilised a valid measure according to the World Database of Happiness are included (Veenhoven 2017). There are two exceptions: The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) and the Student's Life Satisfaction Scale (SLSS) are not accepted in the World Database of Happiness but are incorporated in this review because they are well-accepted by others in the field.

3.3.3 Incorporated studies

Ultimately, 37 publications, 3 forthcoming papers, and 4 valuable working papers are included.[10] The booming recent interest in the happiness outcomes of migration becomes clear in the temporal disproportional spread of the published papers, as depicted in Figure 3.1. The upward trend occurs mainly due to the rising attention in sociology and the advent of journals that focus on explaining subjective well-being. Contributions to the literature can, to a lesser extent, also be found in economic and psychological journals. Exploring migrants' happiness has been a less considered theme in migration journals than one would expect given the specific interest of migration journals in improving migrants' lives.

3.4 RESULTS

Table 3.1 summarises the 64 comparisons that were made in the 44 included studies. The table confirms the limited number of longitudinal studies. The longitudinal comparison and the comparison of migrants to stayers reveal scattered findings on the first question of whether migrants become happier after migration. Finally, most of the studies that compare migrants to natives indicate that migrants do not reach similar happiness levels to natives. Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 discuss the incorporated studies in greater detail.

3.4.1 Do migrants become happier?

A detailed overview of studies that address migrants' increase in happiness levels is depicted in Table 3.2. Experimental and longitudinal studies have a qualitatively superior design relative to cross-sectional studies and are therefore separately discussed. Studies

10 Qualitative studies are not incorporated because of the absence of statistical tests. However, qualitative studies can contribute greatly to quantitative studies in getting a more detailed grasp on the experiences of migrants.

that use datasets and studies that use their own data are additionally distinguished because the data collection procedures and sample designs are inherently different.

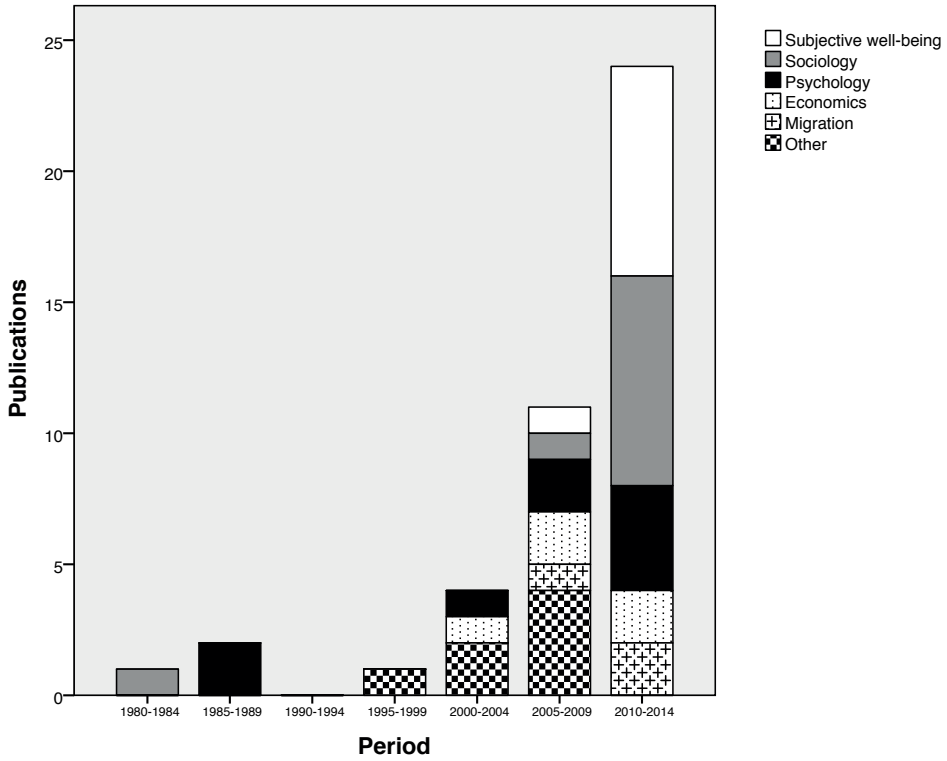

Figure 3.1 Number of published papers over 5-year periods per scientific field

Table 3.1 Overview of research findings on the happiness of migrants.

Post-migration subjective well-being of international migrants (versus comparison group)				
Study design	*Benchmark*	*Positive*	*Neutral*	*Negative*
Longitudinal	Pre-migration happiness	1*	0	0
Cross-sectional	Happiness of stayers	5	2	4
	Happiness of natives	4	17	30

Note: 'Positive' implies a higher level of post-migration happiness relative to the benchmark, 'neutral' indicates a similar level, and negative indicates a lower level.
*Both the study of Mähönen et al. (2013) and the study of Lönnqvist et al. (2014) have analyzed the same longitudinal migration-stream and arrived at similar conclusions.

3.4.1.1. Cross-sectional. The IOM (2013) and Bartram's study (2015a) match migrants to stayers based on age, gender, and (parents') education. The IOM reveals that migrants who moved towards or between developing countries become, in general, less satisfied with life. In contrast, those who moved to or between developed countries become more satisfied with life.[11] Bartram's finding is in line with this pattern. He observes that Western Europeans who moved to the less developed Southern Europe were less happy than their non-migrating counterparts. This difference remains when controlling for a range of time-invariant and time-variant personal characteristics. By applying a two-stage treatment-effects model, Bartram (2013a) found that Eastern Europeans positively selected into migration to Western Europe but that there was no positive effect of the move itself. Similarly, Bartram (2013b) found no difference in happiness between Romanian immigrants in West-Europe and Romanian stayers. The other cross-sectional studies in Table 3.2 are methodologically less innovative. However, they show interesting results, such as gains in life satisfaction for German emigrants.

3.4.1.2. Experimental. Stillman et al. (2015) derived high-quality data from a survey among Tongan participants in a random ballot lottery; the desired 'prize' was the allowance to migrate to New Zealand. From a scientific view, this 'natural experiment' randomly assigned the participants to one of the two compared groups: migrants or compulsory stayers. The 'lucky' movers from Tonga to New Zealand were similarly happy during the post-migration peak (one year after arrival) as their counterparts who had to stay in Tonga. However, the emigrants became less happy over time and were significantly less happy 33 months after their move compared to the stayers (eight-tenths lower on a five-point scale). Interestingly, emigrants' objective well-being greatly increased; for instance, emigrants' wages nearly tripled relative to stayers' wages. A second interesting discrepancy is between mental health and happiness. Tongan emigrants experienced decreases in happiness even though their mental health increased by approximately three points on a twenty-point scale.

3.4.1.3. Longitudinal. The related studies of Mähönen et al. (2013) and Lönnqvist et al. (2014) illustrate that Russian diaspora migrants who moved to Finland reported higher life satisfaction in the years after migration than a year before migration. Pre-migration life satisfaction was only measured one year before migration, which is problematic because migrants may experience a pre-migration dip (see section 3.2.2.3). Hence, caution is required in making strong inferences on these results because the positive effect may be driven by the pre-migration dip.

11 Caution is required in interpreting these results because Eastern and Southern European countries were incorporated into the group of developed countries. The positive outcome of migration within developed countries may be driven by the sizeable migration streams in recent years from Eastern and Southern Europe to more developed European countries.

Table 3.2 Overview of studies on differences in happiness due to migration

Migration stream	Who?	When migrated?* *Length of stay*	N of sample *n migrants*	Measure
Longitudinal and experimental studies				
Russia → Finland	Diaspora migrants	2008 - 2010 *$\bar{\chi}$ = 0.5 years*	*143*	General happiness *1-item*
		2008 - 2014 *$\bar{\chi}$ = 3 years*	*85*	Life satisfaction *4-item SWLS*
Tonga → New-Zealand	Adults	2002-2005 *< 3 years*	185 *110*	General happiness *1-item*
Studies using datasets for comparing migrants to stayers				
Germany → Europe	Adults	1944 – 2009 *85% >5 years*	11,096 *1,010*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Developing countries → Developed countries	Adults	1946 - 2011	*+- 10,000*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Developed countries → Developed countries	Adults	1946 - 2011	*+- 5,500*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
East-Europe → West-Europe	Adults	1945 - 2010	42,380 *1,071*	General happiness *1-item*
Romania → mainly West-Europe	Adults	1943 - 2009 *< 10 years*	1,595 *153*	General happiness *1-item*
West-Europe → South-Europe	Adults	1944 -2009	56,733 *338*	General happiness *1-item*
Developing countries → Developing countries	Adults	1946 - 2011	*+- 8,250*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Developed countries → Developing countries	Adults	1946 - 2011	*+- 1,250*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Studies creating own surveys for comparing migrants to stayers				
North India → UK	45-55 aged women	1951 - 2006	103 *50*	General happiness *1-item*
Worldwide → Portugal	Adolescent returnees	1990 - 2010 *$\bar{\chi}$ =8.5 years*	832 *217*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*

Notes: All studies consider first-generation migrants. *When migration history is derived from country of birth, it is assumed that the surveyed individuals have migrated while in the range of zero and sixty-five years, as surveys mainly consist of people below sixty-five years. **The reported analysis in the paper uses the 6-item GWBI-scale. This measure is no well-accepted measure for well-being. Yet, one item in this scale is

3.4.1.4. Concluding remarks. Whereas there seems to be some evidence that the state of development of migrants' country of origin relative to their host country plays a role, several high-quality studies present findings that do not correspond to this trend (Bartram 2013a; Bartram 2013b; Stillman et al. 2015). Hence, there is more to migration

Methodology	Covariates	Effect on migrants	Survey	Study
Paired samples T-test		**Positive**	INPRES	Mähönen et al. (2013)**
Latent growth model		**Positive**	INPRES/LADA	Lönnqvist et al. (2014)
Local average treatment effect-estimates (LATE)	age - education - pre migration employment and income - gender - marital status - region - religion	**Negative**	PINZMS	Stillman et al. (2015)
OLS regression	age - education - employment - gender - health - social capital	**Positive**	ESS *wave 1-4*	Erlinghagen (2011)
Matched stayers	age - education - gender	**Positive**	Gallup World Poll *2009-2011*	IOM (2013)
Matched stayers	age - education - gender	**Positive**	Gallup World Poll *2009-2011*	IOM (2013)
OLS regression & 2-stage model	age - education - employment - gender - health - income - marital status - religion - social capital	**No difference**	ESS *wave 4-5*	Bartram (2013a)
OLS regression	age - employment - gender - health - marital status - religion - social capital	**No difference**	ESS *wave 4*	Bartram (2013b)
Matched stayers & 2-stage model	age - (parental) education - friends - gender - health - income - partner - region - religion	**Negative**	ESS *wave 1-5*	Bartram (2015a)
Matched stayers	age - education - gender	**Negative**	Gallup World Poll *2009-2011*	IOM (2013)
Matched stayers	age - education - gender	**Negative**	Gallup World Poll *2009-2011*	IOM (2013)
ANCOVA	education - employment - marital status	**Positive**	Own survey	Hunter et al. (2008)
Bivariate		**No difference**	Own survey	Neto and Neto (2011)

a valid happiness-item, as follows: 'How happy, pleased or satisfied have you been with your personal life?. Upon request, the authors have rerun their analysis. The paired samples T-test revealed a positive migration effect on this happiness-item: $t(142) = -5.33$, $p < .001$.

than just moving to a well-developed country; substantial roles may be attributed to specific characteristics of the host country, the country of origin, and/or the migrants themselves. There are no clear patterns of other potential moderators such as time since migration and the methodology of the study.

3.4.2 Do migrants become as happy as natives in the host country?

Table 3.3 illustrates that lower happiness among migrants compared to natives is present in diverse migration streams and migrant generations. The findings of Ullman and Tatar (2001) are particularly interesting; they found that Russian migrants had lower life satisfaction than Israeli natives despite higher socio-economic status and better education. However, several studies do not find lower happiness among migrants and thus deviate from the general pattern. Four explanations can be given for these deviations. First, it is likely that migrants already had higher or similar pre-migration happiness relative to natives (may apply to Shields et al. 2009; Easterlin and Plagnol 2008; Bartram 2011; Rasmi et al. 2012; IOM 2013). However, pre-migration levels cannot explain the deviation in every instance (e.g., Turks to Scandinavia in Virta et al. 2004). Second, some studies include time-variant controls (e.g., income, employment, and health) that are also determinants of happiness (see Obućina 2013; Sander 2011; Dittmann and Goebel 2010). Hence, it remains unclear whether these migrants truly have similar happiness or the time-variant controls block vital pathways to happiness. Third, some sample sizes are too limited to reasonably expect that the happiness levels reach significance (Sam 1998; Hirschi 2009; Bartram 2011). Fourth, migrants have truly reached similar happiness. Palisi and Canning (1983), Virta et al. (2004) and Neto and Barros (2007) convincingly show that the immigrants under study reached the happiness levels of migrants. Some other studies found that only specific subgroups within a sample exhibited similar happiness to natives. These contrasting findings were observed for first- versus second-generation migrants (Van Praag et al. 2010; Krause 2013) and for males versus females (Frijters et al. 2004). These results highlight the importance of examining factors that cause contingent outcomes. Finally, the IOM (2013) observed disparate findings on the life satisfaction measure and the affect balance scale, which illustrates the value of identifying the exact happiness measure.

3.4.2.1. Concluding remarks. It can be concluded that only a small set of migrants bridged the complete gap when taking into account that some studies found no gaps because (1) there was already no pre-migration gap, (2) the included covariates offset the potential gap, or (3) the sample sizes were too limited to detect significant differences. The gap remained present in various populations and for various happiness indicators.

3.4.3 Theoretical explanations for findings

3.4.3.1. *The change in happiness.* A majority of migrants move to countries that provide better economic conditions, a more effective government, and/or a more constructive society. They often pay a high psychosocial price for these gains, including, among others, the absence of significant others, cultural disparities, linguistic limitations, and social degradation. Hence, a trade-off often must be made. A substantial subset of the migrant population makes suboptimal decisions because of the hardships migrants face in fore-

casting the outcomes of migration. The four most prominent biases are that migrants often have excessive expectations that are not met by reality (Benson and O'Reilly 2012), overweigh the effect of extrinsic (often economic) factors at a cost of intrinsic (psychosocial) factors (Frey and Stutzer 2014), adapt sooner than expected to better extrinsic circumstances (Frederick and Loewenstein 1999), and do not foresee the experience of deprived feelings that are caused by the change of a single frame of reference (natives in the country of origin) into a dual frame of reference that additionally includes the often objectively better off natives in the home country (Gokdemir and Dumludag 2012; Gelatt 2013; Obućina 2013). However, there is also a substantial subset of migrants that have accurately forecasted that the advantages of migration would outweigh the costs and thus became happier by migrating.

3.4.3.2. *The happiness-gap to natives*. The gap is grounded in several factors. First, the objective circumstances of immigrants are typically worse than those of natives. Obvious examples are income and unemployment rates. However, less obvious factors also play a role, such as lower job security rates and higher rates of people who work in jobs that do not match their skills (Kozcan 2016). Second, as discussed, the dual frame of reference results in deprived feelings. Third, cultural factors of the heritage country continue to have an effect on migrants (Senik 2011; Voicu and Vasile 2014). Fourth, hardships such as discrimination and linguistic limitations are specific to the immigrant population. Two additional suggested explanations deserve more research. Bobowik et al. (2011) suggest that the gap is partly caused by migrants' life values. Their reasoning draws on the observation that psychological threats increase the priority that people give to extrinsic goals (Sheldon and Kasser 2008). Immigrants commonly experience suboptimal conditions and threats such as the need to integrate into an unfamiliar culture and prejudices. Consequently, immigrants tend to become more extrinsically oriented, whereas intrinsically oriented people are typically happier (Boneva and Frieze 2001). This reasoning is in line with the robust observation that integrated migrants, who generally feel less threat, are happier than less integrated migrants (e.g. Virta et al. 2004). The second suggestion is based on the argument of Veenhoven (2000) that people's life ability plays a vital role in happiness. The lower education of migrants may result in lower knowledge and skills to make optimal decisions and to make the best out of life. However, both suggestions are currently not much more than speculations and therefore need to be researched further.

3.5 DISCUSSION

The aim of the review is to advance the understanding of the happiness outcomes of migration. The review illustrates that migrants reach greater happiness in only a subset of migration streams. Immigrants do not simply become happier when moving to more

Table 3.3 Overview of studies comparing the happiness of migrants and natives

Migration stream	Who? *(migration generation)*	When migrated?* *Length of stay*	N of sample *n migrants*	Measure
Studies using datasets for comparing migrants to natives				
East-Europe → Germany	Adults (1)	1944 - 2009	+- 15,000	Life satisfaction *1-item*
English speaking countries → Australia	Adults (1)	1936 - 2001	13,903	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Developed countries → Developing countries	Adults (1)	1946 - 2011	*+- 10,000*	Life satisfaction *1-item* Affect balance *6-item*
Europe → West-Germany	Adults (1)	1939 - 2004	230,340 *24,930*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
South- & West Europe → Germany	Adults (1)	1944 - 2009	+- 15,000	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Portugal → Switzerland	Adolescents (1/2)	1988 - 2006 $\bar{\chi} = 7$ *years*	280 *93*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*
Europe & Canada → US	Adults (1)	1930 - 1995	1,339 *120*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Worldwide → US	Adults (1)	1941 - 2006	6563	General happiness *1-item*
Worldwide → West- and East Germany	Adults (1)	1941 - 2006	27,249	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Worldwide → Developed countries	Adults (1)	1949 - 2011	51,004 *4,772*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Worldwide → Germany	Adults (1)	1990 - 2000 *< 10 years*	4,100	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Worldwide → Israel	Jews (1/2)	1941 - 2006	5,114 *4,173*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Worldwide → Germany	Unemployed adults (1/2)	1944 - 2009	2,542 *432*	Life satisfaction *1-item*

Methodology	Covariates	Effect on migrants	Survey	Study
OLS random effects	age - education - employment - gender - housing - income - marital status - relative deprivation	**Positive**	GSOEP *wave 11-26*	Obućina (2013)
Ordered probit with fixed effects	age - education - employment - health - children - housing - income - marital status - religion	**Positive**	HILDA *wave 1*	Shields et al. (2009)
Adjusted means	age - education - gender	Life satisfaction: **Positive** Affect balance: **Negative**	Gallup World Poll *2009-2011*	IOM (2013)
Bivariate		**No difference**	GSOEP *wave 1-18*	Easterlin and Plagnol (2008)
OLS random effects	age - education - employment - gender - housing - income - marital status - relative deprivation	**No difference**	GSOEP *wave 11-26*	Obućina (2013)
Bivariate		**No difference**	ICSEY	Neto and Barros (2007)
Ordered logit regression	age - employment - health - income - income*migration - children - marital status	**No difference**	WVS *wave 3*	Bartram (2011)
Ordered probit model	age - education - employment - gender - health - children - income - marital status - religion - region	**No difference**	GSS *2000-2006*	Sander (2011)
OLS regression	age - education - gender - health - life conditions - personality - social capital - relative deprivation	**No difference**	GSOEP *wave 17-23*	Dittmann and Goebel (2010)
OLS regression	age - religion - gender - health - children - income - income*migration - marital status - employment	**No difference**	Gallup World Poll *2006-2011*	Olgiati et al. (2012)
Ordered probit model with random effects	age - employment - health - children - income - life changes - marital status - political vote - region - year controls	(♂) **Negative** (♀) **No difference**	GSOEP *wave 8-17*	Frijters et al. (2004)
OLS regression including POLS-operationalization	age - education - employment - gender - health - children - income - marital status - religion	1st generation: **Negative** 2nd generation: **No difference**	Israeli Social Survey *2006*	Van Praag et al. (2010)
OLS regression	age - education - employment - gender - health - children - income - marital status	1st generation: **No difference** 2nd generation: **Negative**	IZA evaluation dataset S *2007-2009*	Krause (2013)

Table 3.3 Overview of studies comparing the happiness of migrants and natives (continued)

Migration stream	Who? *(migration generation)*	When migrated?* *Length of stay*	N of sample *n migrants*	Measure
Developed countries → Developed countries	Adults (1)	1946 - 2011	+- *5,500*	Life satisfaction *1-item* Affect balance *6-item*
Developing countries → Developing countries	Adults (1)	1946 - 2011	+- *8,250*	Life satisfaction *1-item* Affect balance *6-item*
Developing countries → Developed countries	Adults (1)	1946 - 2011	+- *1,250*	Life satisfaction *1-item* Affect balance *6-item*
Developing countries → US	Adults (1)	1930 - 1995	<1,339	Life satisfaction *1-item*
East-Europe → West-Europe	Adults (1)	1939 - 2004 $\bar{\chi}$= *18.5 years*	88,029 *7,482*	Life satisfaction & general happiness *1-item*
Morocco/Turkey→ The Netherlands	45-aged adults (1/2)	1963 - 2008	3,925 *1,697*	Life satisfaction *4-item SWLS*
Turkey → West-Germany	Adults (1)	1939 - 2004	230,340	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Turkey → The Netherlands	Young adults (2)	Born between 1968 - 1990	273 *141*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*
Turkey → Germany	Adults (1)	1944 - 2009	+- 15,000	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Non-English speaking countries → Australia	Adults (1)	1936 - 2001	13,903	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Worldwide → UK	Adults (1)	1944-2009 *50% <10 years*	32,025 *4,175*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
East-Europe → West-Europe	Adults (1)	1945 - 2010	42,380 *1,071*	General happiness *1-item*
Worldwide → Canada	Disabled adults (1)	1926 - 1991	24,036 *4,375*	General happiness *1-item*
Worldwide → Germany	Adults (1)	1939 - 2004	12,006 *1,890*	Life satisfaction *1-item*

Methodology	Covariates	Effect on migrants	Survey	Study
Adjusted means	age - education - gender	Life satisfaction: **No difference** Affect balance: **Negative**	Gallup World Poll *2009-2011*	IOM (2013)
Adjusted means	age - education - gender	Life satisfaction: **No difference** Affect balance: **Negative**	Gallup World Poll *2009-2011*	IOM (2013)
Adjusted means	age - education - gender	Life satisfaction: **No difference** Affect balance: **Negative**	Gallup World Poll *2009-2011*	IOM (2013)
Ordered logit regression	age - employment - health - income - income*migration - children - marital status	**Negative**	WVS *wave 3*	Bartram (2011)
Bivariate		**Negative**	ESS *wave 1-2*	Bălțătescu (2007)
Multilevel model	age - children - education - gender- partner	**Negative**	NELLS survey	De Vroome and Hooghe (2014)
Bivariate		**Negative**	GSOEP *wave 1-18*	Easterlin and Plagnol (2008)
Hierarchical regression	age - gender – SES	**Negative**	Own survey	Verkuyten (2008)
OLS random effects	age - education - employment - gender - housing - income - marital status - relative deprivation	**Negative**	GSOEP *wave 11-26*	Obućina (2013)
Ordered probit with fixed effects	age - education - employment - health - children - housing - income - marital status - religion	**Negative**	HILDA *wave 1*	Shields et al. (2009)
OLS-regression	age - gender - education - marital status - children - employment - hh income - housing - urban/rural -health - religion - length of stay - neighbourhood	**Negative**	UKHLS 2009/2010	Knies, Nandi, and Platt (2016)
Own calculation		**Negative**	ESS *wave 4-5*	Bartram (2013a)
Ordered logit model	age - gender - marital status - region - religion - SES	**Negative**	HALS *1991*	Uppal (2006)
Bivariate		**Negative**	GSOEP *wave 22*	Haisken-De New and Sinning (2010)

Table 3.3 Overview of studies comparing the happiness of migrants and natives (continued)

Migration stream	Who? *(migration generation)*	When migrated?* *Length of stay*	N of sample *n migrants*	Measure
Worldwide → Germany	Adults (1/2)	1940 - 2005 *$\bar{\chi}$ = 25 years*	21,079 *2,971*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
South-Europe → Germany	Adults (1)	1940 - 2010 *$\bar{\chi}$ =34 years*	71,779 *2,837*	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Worldwide → North-Italy	Adolescents (1)	1991-2006	6,276 *481*	Contentment *1-item Cantril*
Within Europe	Adults (1/2)	1941 - 2006	56,338 *6,077*	Life satisfaction & general happiness *1-item*
Within Europe	Adults (1/2)	1943 - 2008	66,697 *11,771*	Total happiness *1-item*
Within Europe	Adults (1/2)	1947 - 2012	32,275	Life satisfaction *1-item*
Studies creating own surveys for comparing migrants to natives				
European Canadians → Egypt/Libanon	Students (1)	1982 – 2010	260 *129*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*
Arab Canadians → Egypt/Libanon	Students (1)	1982 – 2010	260 *129*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*
South-East Europe → Switzerland	Adolescents (1)	1943 - 2007	330 *57*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*
Developing countries → Norway	Adolescents (1/2)	1979 - 1997 *$\bar{\chi}$ = 9.5 years*	715 *506*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*
Turkey → Scandinavia	Adolescents (1/2)	1985 - 2003 *$\bar{\chi}$ = 9.5 years*	822 *391*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*
Worldwide → Londen/Los Angeles/ Sydney	Adult men (1)	1915 - 1980	752 *140*	Affect Balance *10-item*
Developing countries → The Netherlands	Adolescents (1)	1969 - 1985	261 *157*	Contentment *1-item Cantril*
Developing countries → The Netherlands	Adolescents (1)	1972 - 1988	3,228 *518*	Contentment *1-item Cantril*
Developing countries → Portugal	Adolescents (1)	1990 - 2009 *$\bar{\chi}$ = 8 years*	676 *313*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*
Bulgaria → Turkey	Forced migrants (1)	1989 *$\bar{\chi}$ = 15 years*	183 *85*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*
Former Sovjet-Union → Israel	Adolescents (1)	1982 - 2000 *$\bar{\chi}$ = 5.5 years*	254 *119*	Life satisfaction *7-item SLSS*
Worldwide → Spain	Adults (1)	1967 - 2012	1,646 *700*	Life satisfaction *5-item SWLS*

Methodology	Covariates	Effect on migrants	Survey	Study
ANCOVA	age – gender	**Negative**	GSOEP *wave 23*	Nesterko et al. (2013)
OLS regression	age - education - employment - gender - marital status	**Negative**	GSOEP *wave 1-27*	Kozcan (2016)
OLS regression	age - bullied - gender - SES - social capital	**Negative**	HBSC	Vieno et al. (2009)
OLS regression	age - education - employment - gender - health - income - marital status - religion	**Negative**	ESS *wave 1-3*	Safi (2010)
Bivariate but robustness checks included	age - gender - marital status	**Negative**	ESS *wave 1-4*	Senik (2014)
Ordered probit model	age - bullied - education - employment - ethnic minority - gender - health - housing - income - marital status - political vote - religion	**Negative**	ESS *wave 6*	Kirmanoğlu and Başlevent (2014)
ANOVA		**Positive**	Own Survey	Rasmi et al. (2012)
ANOVA		**No difference**	Own Survey	Rasmi et al. (2012)
Hierarchical regression	age - gender	**No difference**	Own survey	Hirschi (2009)
ANOVA		**No difference**	Own survey	Sam (1998)
ANCOVA	age - SES	**No difference**	Own survey	Virta et al. (2004)
SEM	age - education - housing - marital status	**No difference**	Own Survey	Palisi and Canning (1983)
ANOVA		**Negative**	Own survey	Verkuyten (1986)
ANOVA		**Negative**	Own survey	Verkuyten (1989)
ANOVA		**Negative**	Own survey	Neto (2001)
Bivariate		**Negative**	Own survey	Yenilmez et al. (2007)
Bivariate		**Negative**	Own survey	Ullman & Tatar (2001)
ANOVA	sense of community	**Negative**	Own survey	Hombrados-Mendieta et al. (2013)

developed country, because migrants commonly face several psychosocial hardships in the host country, such as the absence of significant others, cultural disparities, linguistic limitations, and social degradation. The differences in happiness outcomes between migration streams signify that characteristics of the receiving and sending country, as well as personal capabilities and characteristics, play a substantial role. The review additionally reveals that immigrants only occasionally reach similar happiness to natives in the host country. Several factors that contribute to the gap are worse objective circumstances, deprived feelings, cultural features, and migration-specific hardships such as discrimination and linguistic limitations. Notably, these conclusions are based on aggregated outcomes for migration streams; a subset of migrants within a migration-stream may deviate from the general trend.

Additional data and research are needed to give a more detailed and reliable answer to the question of whether migration fosters happiness. The range of migration flows that have been researched is limited and selective. Consequently, some major migration-flows are not yet studied (e.g. Latinos to the USA). Additionally, the mixed findings suggest that it is valuable to further examine the determinants of happiness at both the individual level and the country level. The greater knowledge would improve the accuracy of migrants' decision making processes and allow policymakers to promote migrants' happiness through the implementation of more effective policies.

I will now provide a research agenda to stimulate further research on this topic. Qualitatively superior data (preferably longitudinal) are of great importance to overcome most of the methodological limitations this field currently faces. These data do not always have to come from datasets. Studies using self-collected samples can have a sizeable role in advancing the field because they can reveal specific contingent mechanisms that are addressed by contemporarily available datasets. These studies can incorporate factors associated with (1) specific migration streams (e.g. cultural distance between the countries), (2) the country of origin (e.g. internalised culture), (3) the host country (e.g. immigration policies), and (4) the individual migrant (e.g. expectations and aspirations, personality, and migration motives). Considering the measurement of happiness, all studies are based on self-reported happiness, which is typically based on the memorised self. The memorised self generates aggregated and selective data, which distorts information (Kahneman 2011). Trending methods that question the more accurate experience of the self are now available, such as the Experience Sampling Method and the Day Reconstruction Method. Finally, future studies should investigate the destinations for which specific migrant groups can potentially experience the greatest gain in happiness. Only Olgiati et al. (2012; p. 20) touched upon this topic by showing that 'It is Australia, Belgium, The Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden where economic migrants seem to get it right: they migrate to a place where income translates easily into well-being'.

A limitation of the current study is that it only focuses on migrants themselves. A subset of migrants moves to provide better futures to significant others who remain in the host country. A body of literature has suggested that significant others suffer in happiness from the absence of a loved one and that this suffering is not completely offset by higher economic well-being due to received remittances (Guo et al. 2009; Borraz et al. 2010; Jones 2014). In contrast, a positive effect has been found in the Gallup data (Cárdenas et al. 2009). Gartaula et al. (2012) observed that households that faced economic hardship experienced somewhat increased happiness, whereas those that met their basic needs prior to the husband's departure did not experience increased happiness. Another group of stakeholders who are not addressed in the current paper are the natives in the host country. Akay et al. (2014) and Betz and Simpson (2013) observed a weak positive influence of the immigrant population on natives' happiness. Notably, the more the migrants were integrated into the country, the more positive was their influence. A topic that has received disproportionally little attention is the effect of outgoing migration streams on the happiness of stayers.

A final question is why only a small number of migrants who did not become happier after the move return to their country of origin. Several reasons apply. First, people are typically optimistic about their future; migrants perceive the first few years after migration as investments in their future (Knight and Gunatilaka 2010). Second, cognitive dissonance causes migrants who do not experience an increase in happiness to believe that they are in a better position than they would have been if they had stayed in the place of origin (Stillman et al. 2015). Third, some migrants are embarrassed that they have not obtained what they were looking for, and they are reluctant to reveal this to people in their home country (Mahler 1995).

The occurrence of suboptimal migration decisions and the reluctance of unsuccessful migrants to re-migrate highlight that policymakers and scholars need to help migrants make optimal decisions to develop a society that incorporates thriving immigrants.

4 Macro-conditions and immigrants' happiness: Is moving to a wealthy country all that matters?

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The choice of destination country affects a migrant's happiness outcome (Hendriks 2015). For instance, self-reported average happiness among immigrants in Spain (7.6 out of 10) is considerably higher than among immigrants in Italy (7.2 out of 10).[12] Moving to a country with a more livable environment creates significant potential for migrants to enjoy and develop better personal conditions and, in turn, greater happiness. Thus, migrants and policy-makers would benefit from knowing which macro-conditions contribute to a livable environment. This knowledge would enable migrants to evaluate possible destination countries more accurately so that better informed choices can be made regarding whether and where to move. For policy-makers, it provides input for the right allocation of resources and the development of accurate policies for improving immigrants' well-being. However, current research has bypassed the role of macro-conditions in the happiness of immigrants. The goal of this paper is to provide a better understanding of immigrants' happiness outcomes by exploring the macro-conditions that determine their happiness. Various economic, governmental, and social factors are considered. Jointly, these macro-conditions form a comprehensive basis for understanding the potential happiness levels that immigrants might obtain in the settlement country.[13]

12 Calculation is based on the sample used in this paper. Mean is adjusted for migrants' country of origin, age, and gender. The difference is statistically significant at the 1% level.

13 Other macro-conditions such as the natural environment are found to play a less prominent role for migrants' happiness and are not considered in this paper for reasons of brevity (e.g. Schkade and Kahneman 1998).

The practical importance of this article would be marginal if in general migrants and policy-makers accurately estimated how macro-indicators relate to happiness. However, people (and migrants in particular) commonly suffer from forecasting biases that result in suboptimal beliefs and decisions (Schkade and Kahneman 1998; Gilbert 2006). A crucial bias is that one tends to overestimate the impact of extrinsic and economic desires on happiness. In contrast, the role of intrinsic needs, such as trusting others, is underestimated because these needs are less tangible (Frey and Stutzer 2014). Voluntary migrants often give economic reasons for their move – and perhaps the concept of "economic migration" thus exemplifies this tendency to give undue weight to factors that actually bring little happiness. Stillman et al. (2015) show how migrating for primarily economic reasons can result in suboptimal happiness: in a natural experiment among Tongans moving to New Zealand, they found that voluntary migrants achieved significant increases in income of up to 300% but experienced a decrease in happiness even so. Moreover, the revealed difference in happiness between Italy and Spain cannot be explained by macroeconomic circumstances because the economic situation in these two countries is very similar.

Therefore, the key questions this article hopes to answer are:

1. Do non-economic macro-conditions (good governance and/or a pleasant social climate) complement macroeconomic conditions in explaining immigrants' happiness?
2. Which specific macro-conditions within these three domains are particularly important to immigrants' happiness?

Using longitudinal comparative data from the European Social Survey, individual happiness scores are linked to externally derived macro-indicators via multilevel models. Diverse robustness checks are performed to test the accuracy of our findings.

Three points are worth mentioning before proceeding. First, this paper does not assert that a migration decision should be made with happiness as the sole criterion. Nonetheless, migrants' happiness deserves close study because a key goal of migration (as with choices in general) is to have a better life – a notion that surely includes a subjective facet. Second, there is not a single country that fits all migrants best. Differences among individuals (e.g. culture, language abilities, migration motives, and skills) imply heterogeneous happiness outcomes for individual migrants: one country might be "better" in general but not better for migrants whose characteristics don't constitute a good fit (however, the relation and interaction between micro- and macro-conditions is outside the scope of this article and is left for future research). Third, a country with the highest happiness for the general population is not necessarily the best choice to optimize migrants' happiness; part of happiness is genetically and culturally determined, and factors

such as ethnic discrimination and language barriers are additional factors that affect migrants' happiness distinctively.

The paper continues in Section 4.2 with defining the concepts and discussing previous research on which this paper builds, resulting in testable hypotheses. Section 4.3 presents the data and methodology, while results are reported in section 4.4. Section 4.5 discusses and concludes.

4.2 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

4.2.1 Concepts

A conceptual clarification of happiness, immigrants, and the three macro-domains is in order because they can be interpreted and measured in various ways. Happiness is the degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of his/her own life-as-a-whole favorably (Veenhoven 1984). Evaluations of happiness comprise two components: (1) how good one feels most of the time (i.e. hedonic level of affect) and (2) a cognitive evaluation of the extent one perceives to have obtained what one wishes and expects from life (i.e. life satisfaction). Happiness assessments are typically based on a single-item self-report question, such as "Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?". Alternatively, researchers with a particular interest in the cognitive component use a life satisfaction measure, such as "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?". Although self-reports on happiness and life satisfaction tend to be highly correlated (typically above 0.60), life satisfaction tends to relate slightly more to environmental and economic conditions than the affective component (Lucas et al. 1996).

Immigrants are defined as people born abroad (the first generation) or who have both parents born abroad (the second generation). Three *macroeconomic conditions* are typically considered in the field of happiness-economics. These include average income (GDP per capita), the labor market situation (unemployment rates), and economic uncertainty (inflation rates) (Di Tella et al. 2003). *Governmental conditions* incorporate both the concepts 'governance' and 'government', which are often used interchangeably (e.g. Helliwell and Huang 2008). Key aspects include the democratic process by which the government operates and the delivery of qualitatively good government services that support the efforts of people and enterprises to achieve their goals and enhance their well-being (Kaufmann et al. 2011). *Social conditions* represent how citizens relate to each other. Key aspects include public trust, attitudes, and behavior (Putnam 2000). The aspects listed in each of the three domains above can be extended when specifically considering migrants, which we will do further on in this article.

Evidently, economic, social, and governmental macro-conditions are interrelated. However, the interrelationships are only partial. Over time, the government has for instance a limited influence on the business cycle of economic expansion and contraction (Hemming et al. 2002). Cross-nationally, countries with abundant natural resources have greater wealth than can be expected based on the quality of the government; various countries in the Middle East are obvious examples. Concerning the interrelationship between economy and the social environment, a stable economy promotes trust, altruism, and safety, which in turn promote economic growth. However, as with governmental factors, social factors are only one of the many factors that affect a country's economy and vice versa. Concerning the interrelationship between government and the social environment, good governance promotes civic participation and trust between citizens. However, the government can nudge citizens' behavior but cannot completely shape it. Empirical tests including all three macro-conditions confirm that each condition uniquely relates to the happiness of citizens (Bjørnskov et al. 2008; Çule and Fulton 2013; Rode 2013). The differentiation is also important because different countries top the rankings on different dimensions. Worldwide, Qatar has the highest GNI per capita and the lowest unemployment rate, the quality of education is highest in Australia, the quality of health care is highest in Switzerland, and social trust is highest in Denmark; looking within Europe, the top countries are Norway (GNI per capita), Ireland (education), and of course Switzerland (health care) and Denmark (social trust) (UNDP 2014). Thus, migrants and policy makers can make suboptimal decisions when not assigning accurate weights to macro-conditions.

4.2.2 Macro-conditions and the happiness of immigrants

4.2.2.1 The economic domain

Standard economic theory and analysis holds that migrants choose migration as a means of improving their well-being, often conceived primarily in economic terms (e.g. Borjas 1989). So-called "gravity models" highlight migrants' assessment of alternatives as if in a market: migration is likely to take place when one can improve one's material well-being by an amount greater than the costs of migration itself (assuming, among other things, that migration to the chosen destination is in fact possible, e.g. via visas for legal entry). Econometric analysis shows that these economic models can be extended to include non-economic matters such as opportunities for greater political freedom (Karemera et al. 2000). This "gravity" perspective has been rightly critiqued for failing to understand migration more broadly as a *social* phenomenon: migration flows are sometimes rooted in "wage gaps" (and other differences) between origin and destination countries, but wage gaps and other differences often exist without leading to migration (a more satisfactory perspective, then, additionally requires attention to historical and structural factors e.g. former colonial ties, viz. Portes and Böröcz 1989). But

gravity models do describe some migrants' motivations reasonably well. The question then becomes whether (and where) migrants' expectations or hopes for improvement in well-being are *achieved* – especially when well-being is considered in its subjective form. Specific knowledge on the impact of macro-conditions on migrants' happiness is scarce. However, valuable insights are provided by happiness economics literature and migration literature that relates micro-level conditions to happiness.

The most debated topic in happiness economics is the impact of absolute income on happiness. This discussion is initiated by Easterlin (1974) as he argued that economic growth and happiness are not positively correlated on the long term, which is known as the Easterlin paradox. Although scholars disagree about whether higher absolute income contributes to happiness (Stevenson and Wolfers 2008), they do agree that the impact is limited at best (Graham 2011). The dominant explanation for the limited role of economic growth is that, given that an individual has satisfied one's basic economic needs, happiness mostly depends on one's relative economic position instead of one's absolute income level (Clark et al. 2008). This can be explained by adaptation level theory (Helson 1964; Brickman et al. 1978) and social comparison theory (Festinger 1954). Adaptation level theory suggests that individuals quickly adapt their aspirations to a changing macroeconomic environment. Given that a change in circumstances is quickly followed by a change in aspirations, an individual's changed level of satisfaction and affect largely returns to the set-point over time. Social comparison theory argues that a substantial part of people's happiness is based on comparisons to 'people like me'. This reference group typically includes people who are geographically or emotionally close to the individual. Macroeconomic changes often have a similar impact on the individual and one's relevant reference group. Therefore, an improved situation for all people would not result in much higher happiness (Easterlin 1995). Unemployment rates and inflation rates are additional macroeconomic conditions that explain unique variance in happiness because they relate more to mental aspects of the individual, such as optimism, uncertainty, and self-esteem. Nevertheless, the explanatory power of economic aspects remains limited (Di Tella et al. 2003).

Immigrants may be more sensitive to economic conditions than natives because an increased income was for many migrants the key motive for migration. Additionally, via the social comparison mechanism, migrants might gain some happiness from comparing their often improved situation relative to their reference group in their country of origin. Indeed, Bartram (2011) finds that the impact of personal income is slightly stronger for immigrants in the USA than for natives, though Olgiati et al. (2013) do not confirm this finding in a more comprehensive cross-national sample. Hence, the difference seems not to be sizeable at the individual level, if there is a difference at all. Several micro-level studies confirm that the happiness of immigrants is only partially determined by one's personal monetary welfare. Bartram (2013a) finds that eastern-European migrants living

in western-European countries are happier than stayers in the origin countries even after controlling for employment status and income; the finding suggests a positive effect of migration on happiness beyond economic conditions (while also raising the question of whether migrants were happier already before migration). Relatedly, Bartram (2015a) finds that economic factors are only a partial explanation to happiness decreases for northern European emigrants who move to southern Europe. Initial evidence for a limited role of macroeconomic conditions comes from Melzer (2011). She observes that regional economic conditions have no added value in predicting migrants' happiness over the limited impact of personal economic conditions. Following adaptation theory and comparison theory, migrants' relative income might be an important variable for consideration. Indeed, relative income seems to dominate absolute income in explaining the happiness of migrants; even so, its predictive power remains limited (Gokdemir and Dumludag 2012; Bartram 2015a).

Importantly, the adaptation and comparison mechanisms are less strong for intrinsically motivated endeavors (which often relates to non-economic domains) because these endeavors are more salient as compared to externally motivated actions (which often relates to the economic domain; Frey and Stutzer 2014). Accordingly, there is more to happiness than living in an economically thriving nation, and we should therefore look beyond macroeconomic conditions.

4.2.2.2 The governmental domain

Radcliff (2013) convincingly shows in a recent book that the government has a substantial impact on the happiness of citizens, which also goes beyond its facilitation of an economically successful environment. The book builds on the theory of Veenhoven (2000), who argues that the key to happiness is combining a *livable environment* with the *personal life-abilities* to benefit from that environment. A qualitatively good government promotes both elements. The livability of the environment can be promoted by policies and services such as the creation of a stable and safe environment. Life-abilities can be promoted by a good education system and the provision of support to citizens in making well-informed choices. Cross-country analysis find that happiness is particularly determined by *what* a government does and *how well* it does so rather than by *how much* a government does (Bjørnskov et al. 2008; Helliwell and Huang 2008; Ott 2010, 2011). Diverse cross-national analyses reveal that governmental quality complements macroeconomic factors in predicting happiness (Helliwell and Huang 2008; Kim and Kim 2012; Rodríguez-Pose and Maslauskaite 2012). Living in a country that enjoys good government is a concern for natives and migrants alike, because good health care, a good education system, and peace and stability in the country are universal conditions for a good life. Empirical evidence comes from a micro-level study in which the satisfac-

tion with democracy was an important predictor of the happiness gap between German emigrants and stayers (Erlinghagen 2011).

The government additionally plays a significant role in the integration process of immigrants, which can be deemed important because integrated immigrants are considerably happier than their non-integrated counterparts (Berry et al. 2006). The impact of integration policy depends on its qualitative and quantitative content as well as whether it is efficiently implemented. Better integration policies, as defined by the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), are associated with important conditions for happiness, such as better majority attitudes towards immigrants (Schlueter et al. 2013) and more political participation (González Ferrer and Morales 2013). However, MIPEX is unrelated to social trust (Dinesen and Hooghe 2010), allegiance to the host country (Reeskens and Wright 2014), and confidence in public institutions (Röder, & Mühlau 2011). Taken together, further investigation is needed to assess whether the current integration policies positively contribute to immigrants' happiness. Based on these insights, we derive the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Governmental characteristics, particularly in terms of the overall quality of the government and possibly by the quality of integration policies, complements macroeconomic conditions in determining the happiness of immigrants.

4.2.2.3 The social domain

A classical criticism of sociologists to economists is that economists fail to sufficiently consider the social context in which people participate (Coleman 1988). People are social animals for whom the need for belonging or relatedness is a primary concern (Maslow 1943; Ryan and Deci 2000). In his seminal book, Putnam (2000) convincingly argues that taking part in an agreeable social environment is a universal condition for happiness. Social trust is at the heart of social capital literature because interactions and transactions do not take place when trust is lacking (Coleman 1988). There is consensus that higher trust contributes to aspects such as social integration, co-operation, empathy, harmony, and eventually, the overall social climate. Social trust tends to dominate other facets of social capital, such as community involvement and social norms, in explaining happiness (Bjørnskov 2006; 2008). Moreover, recent studies have found that social trust tends to dominate macroeconomic conditions in explaining happiness (Helliwell and

Huang 2008; Bjørnskov 2008; Kim and Kim 2012). Migration literature confirms that, at the individual level, immigrants also benefit in happiness from trusting others (Erlinghagen 2011).

Ultimately, the consequences of social trust and other aspects of the social climate are reflected in the attitudes and behaviors people reveal towards each other in society. A key determinant of the social climate in the migration literature is the attitude in society towards immigrants. A more positive attitude in society towards immigrants stimulates integration, a sense of belonging, and the formation and maintenance of social networks among migrants (Bourhis et al. 1997), which in turn leads to greater happiness (Safi 2010; Herrero et al. 2011). A meta-analysis on perceived discrimination, which is strongly related to attitudes towards immigrants, confirms the important role of majority attitudes for the happiness of immigrants (Schmitt et al. 2014). Following the migration literature on social capital, we derive the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: The social climate, in terms of social trust and the attitude in society towards migrants, complements macroeconomic conditions in determining the happiness of immigrants.

4.3 MATERIAL AND METHODS

4.3.1 Data

We aim to test the hypotheses by linking aggregate data on macro-conditions in diverse countries to the self-reported happiness of immigrants in these countries. Individual happiness scores of immigrants are derived from pooled data of round 3-6 of the biannual and cross-national European Social Survey (ESS; 2006-2012). This implies that we use longitudinal comparative survey data (i.e. the data have a repeated cross-national structure where each cross-section includes a new sample of respondents drawn from a consistent set of European countries). The 20 considered countries are the EU-15 countries excluding Luxembourg, four later EU members (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, and Slovenia), and two EFTA-countries (Norway and Switzerland). It results in a sample of 12,506 immigrants, including 2,115 second generation migrants, with origins in 205 different countries and islands across the world. This is the largest sample we could construct without missing key variables. Further descriptive statistics of the sample are presented in appendix A. The dependent variable is composed of individual responses

to the conventional self-report question on happiness: "Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?". The numeric response scale ranges from 0 (extremely unhappy) to 10 (extremely happy).

4.3.1.1 Explanatory variables

Data that specifically relate to the immigrant population are used to obtain a close match between the happiness-scores as reported by immigrants and the macro-conditions they experienced, rather than assuming that the general conditions for the country apply equally to immigrants there.

Economic domain. We follow happiness economics literature by including measures to assess the absolute welfare level (i.e., income), the labor market situation, and economic uncertainty. When considering the general population, happiness economics literature typically includes GDP per capita, the national unemployment rate, and inflation rate as macroeconomic indicators Di Tella et al. (2003).[14] A closer match to migrants can be obtained by using immigration population equivalents of GDP per capita and the national unemployment rate. These are respectively *immigrants' median income* and *immigrants' unemployment rate.* The specific measures are respectively immigrants' median equivalised net income at Purchasing Power Parities (scaled by 1,000) and the proportion of unemployed immigrants in the immigrant labor force. Economic uncertainty is captured by the national inflation rate (measured at consumer prices). Additionally, a squared term for inflation rate is included because the mean inflation rate in our dataset (2.1%) is very close to what is generally considered to be the optimal inflation rate in European countries (2%; European Central Bank 2015). All measures in the economic domain come from Eurostat.

Social domain. The two incorporated variables are *immigrants' social trust* and *the attitude (of natives) towards immigrants*. In previous literature, social trust is generally aggregated from individual trust scores because no objective measures for social trust exist (Putnam 2000). We specified social trust to *immigrants' social trust* by aggregating the individual trust scores from the immigrant population on the following ESS-item: "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?", which is answered on a 10-point scale (0 = you can't be too careful; 10 = most people can be trusted).[15] The attitude (of natives) towards im-

14 In more advanced models, Di Tella et al. (2003) include economic security against unemployment (by means of the benefit replacement rate). This variable strongly overlaps the governmental and the economic domains (the government can choose the exact level of monetary compensation for job loss); in addition, non-reported models (available on request) revealed only a marginal role for the benefit replacement rate. To keep the model parsimonious, we do not consider this variable here.

15 In small samples, internal data aggregation can positively bias the relation between social trust and happiness. In our data, the aggregated values are based on a sizeable sample (on average, 179 observations per country-time point); therefore we can reasonably assume that internal aggregation does not affect the relation.

migrants is measured by internally aggregating the average of the following three ESS-items: "Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries?"; "Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?"; "Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries?". All three questions are answered on a 10-point scale.

Governmental domain. Two explanatory factors are considered; a first measure pertains to the *overall quality of government* while a second measure zooms in on *integration policy*. Following the political literature on subjective well-being (e.g. Helliwell and Huang 2008; Ott 2010), the overall quality of government is measured by the World Governance Indicators (WGI) from the World Bank. The WGI includes six equally weighted indicators: political stability, voice/accountability, government effectiveness, regulatory power, rule of law, and control of corruption. The scores reflect the views of survey respondents and public, private, and NGO sector experts (Kaufmann et al. 2011). The *quality of integration policy* comes from the Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX; Niessen et al. 2007; Huddleston and Niessen 2011).[16] MIPEX includes the following eight policy areas for integration: Labor market access, family reunion, long term residence, political participation, access to nationality, and anti-discrimination. Data collection methods are similar as for the WGI.

4.3.1.2 Control variables

A set of exogenous individual-level control variables is included in the models to prevent distinct characteristics of immigrants being wrongly ascribed to the influence of macro-conditions on happiness. These controls include *age (squared), gender,* and *migration phase* (captures dissimilar needs of recent immigrants, established immigrants and second generation immigrants). 'Recent immigrants' are classified as those first-generation immigrants who immigrated less than five years ago, while 'established immigrants' are those whom immigrated more than five years ago. Additional controls are *country of origin dummies* (eliminates the impact of the country of origin), and *time dummies (*captures changes in happiness that are common to all countries in a given year). The inclusion of endogenous controls, such as an individual's education level, health status, and relationship status, could further diminish selection issues. However, we initially restrict our models to the inclusion of exogenous control variables because the inclusion of endogenous micro-level controls can block pathways of the explanatory macro-variables to happiness. For instance, the inclusion of relationship status in the model could block a pathway from a more agreeable social climate to greater happiness

16 Information is available for 2007 and 2010; the 2007 country score is related to rounds 3 (2006) and 4 (2008) and the 2010 country score is related to round 5 (2010) and 6 (2012).

because people are more likely to find a partner in a more agreeable society. Similarly, citizens can be expected to be healthier and better educated when the health- and education system in the country is better. In a robustness check, we will test whether our findings hold true when including a more stringent set of covariates.

4.3.2 Estimation strategy

When ignoring the clustering in the data, downward biased standard errors can occur because the error term is likely to be positively correlated within a country and thus violates the iid-assumption.[17] A three-level random intercept model is a viable strategy to overcome this problem while simultaneously modeling the between-country variance and the within-country variance. The 12,506 individuals (level 1) are treated as nested into 70 country-time points (level 2) as nested into 20 countries (level 3).[18] A Mundlak correction is included to control for the correlation between the exogenous variables and the error term; it is applied by including the cluster means of age, gender, and migration-phase. A series of multilevel models is estimated, starting with only economic factors and incrementally expanding this baseline-model with variables relating to the governmental and social domain. The Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) is used as a model selection technique to examine whether the inclusion of non-economic variables leads to more effective models. Carrying out deviance statistics, such as the BIC, on the fixed part of the model requires the use of Maximum Likelihood (ML) instead of Restricted Maximum Likelihood (REML) (Snijders and Bosker 1999; p.60). For this reason, ML-estimations are used although we want to stress that the variance parameters might be downward biased due to our small number of higher-level units. On the contrary, REML estimates tend to be more conservative and are presented as a robustness check. Also note that we implicitly presume cardinality for the happiness-variable. This assumption has become common practice in estimating happiness because linear and ordinal estimation techniques are shown to produce similar results in most cases while linear models are easier to interpret (Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters 2004).

4.4 EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

Collinearity diagnostics and descriptive statistics of all explanatory variables are presented in appendix B. Although our explanatory variables have the expected strong positive

17 The between-countries intraclass coefficient is 0.18 and the likelihood ratio test-statistic is $\chi 2 = 720.80$, p=.000. The between-time within-countries intraclass coefficient is 0.25 and the likelihood ratio test-statistic comparing the three-level model versus a two-level model is $\chi 2 = 58.02$, p=.000.

18 Not all countries participated in all ESS-rounds. Missing rounds are for Italy (round 3-5), Austria (round 4-6), and Greece (round 3 & 6).

correlation, all Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) values remain below five, which indicates that the collinearity remains in an acceptable range. Nevertheless, we acknowledge that the present collinearity might slightly inflate the standard errors.

4.4.1 Main model

Table 4.1 presents the results of our main model in three steps. First, we estimated a baseline model including only macroeconomic predictors. As expected, the median income of immigrants is positively related to happiness, while the inflation rate has an inverted-U curve relation to happiness. Although the unemployment rate of immigrants has no statistically significant impact on happiness, it has the expected negative sign. Predictors of governmental quality are added in the second estimation. A qualitatively better government has a statistically significant positive influence on immigrants' happiness. This finding indicates that the impact of a good government on happiness goes beyond the facilitation of good macroeconomic conditions. The shared variance between the quality of government and immigrants' median income is reflected in the decreasing coefficient for income. In contrast, integration policy is unrelated to immigrants' happiness. One might argue that the absence of an effect occurs because integration policy mostly facilitates a better macroeconomic situation. However, the exclusion of macroeconomic indicators from the model would not lead to a positive effect of integration policy on immigrants' happiness.[19] The lower BIC in the model including governmental predictors indicates that the consideration of the governmental domain improves the effectiveness of the model, which can be specifically ascribed to the consideration of the overall quality of the government.[20] The third estimation additionally includes predictors for the quality of the social climate. The attitude in society towards migrants is the dominant predictor in the social domain, while social trust has little contributory value to other variables in this model. However, this should not be interpreted as that immigrants' social trust is not a good predictor of the happiness of immigrants. Non-reported results reveal that when excluding other non-economic variables, immigrants' social trust relates positively to happiness and adds to the explanatory power of the model as compared to the model with only economic indicators (B=.174, SE=.088; p<.001; BIC=51142.81). Hence, this means that a part of the effect of trust runs through the other non-economic variables, particularly a better attitude in society towards immigrants. Similarly, the positive impact of the quality of the govern-

19 Results are available on request.

20 The political literature on happiness often distinguishes between the democratic and technical quality of the government (see Helliwell and Huang 2008; Ott 2010). We have conducted separate estimations for technical and democratic quality of the government and find that the technical quality of the government is particularly important for the happiness of immigrants. This is in line with the findings concerning the general population (Ott 2010).

Table 4.1 Main results

Estimation	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Dv= happiness						
Country-year variables						
Median income of immigrants	.062	(.017)**	.034	(.013)**	.034	(.013)**
Unemployment rate of immigrants	-.017	(.011)	-.019	(.010)	-.017	(.006)**
Inflation rate	.117	(.037)**	.114	(.032)**	.084	(.034)*
Inflation rate^2	-.014	(.007)*	-.013	(.007)	-.012	(.007)
Overall quality of government			.646	(.266)*	.068	(.227)
Integration policy			.002	(.003)	-.002	(.004)
Attitude towards migrants					.348	(.062)**
Immigrants' social trust					.060	(.062)
Individual-level controls						
Age	-.043	(.006)**	-.043	(.006)**	-.043	(.006)**
Age squared	.039	(.007)**	.039	(.007)**	.040	(.007)**
Male	.051	(.048)	.051	(.048)	.051	(.048)
Migration-phase (ref: established)						
Recent	.003	(.034)	.007	(.034)	.009	(.034)
2nd generation	-.057	(.071)	-.056	(.071)	-.059	(.070)
Country-of-origin dummies	YES		YES		YES	
Year dummies	YES		YES		YES	
Mundlak correction	YES		YES		YES	
Variance components						
Individual-level variance (level 1)	1.819	(.037)	1.819	(.038)	1.818	(.038)
Within-country between-round variance (level 2)	.049	(.063)	.000	(.013)	.000	(.000)
Between country variance (level 3)	.287	(.051)	.253	(.047)	.197	(.045)
Deviance statistics						
Log pseudolikelihood	-25253.07		-25248.07		-25239.65	
BIC	51144.24		51140.22		51129.38	
N individuals	12,506		12,506		12,506	
N country-time points	70		70		70	
N countries	20		20		20	

a) Unstandardized coefficients and robust standard errors are reported; all regressions include a constant term.

b) * p<.05, **p<.01.

ment disappears when including the social climate.[21] This indicates that a substantial

21 Additionally, non-reported BIC-values also suggest that the inclusion of the governmental domain would not improve a model containing economic and social predictors.

degree of the positive impact of a good government flows into happiness via the provision of a good social climate. The BIC further decreased in model 3, which suggests that the model is significantly improved when considering the social climate, particularly the attitude in society towards migrants. Models using REML estimates confirm the statistically significant role of the overall quality of the government (estimation 2) and attitude towards migrants (estimation 3).

4.4.2 Robustness checks

The results of the main model confirm the two hypotheses. However, the role of several limitations in our main model has to be tested to assess the adequacy of the answer that model gives to the hypothesis.

4.4.2.1 Controls

In a first series of robustness checks, we test whether the findings depend on the exact specification of the control variables. As discussed in section 4.3.1.2, self-selection bias might be introduced in our main model if immigrants with certain personal characteristics have migrated to certain countries (e.g. when unhealthier people are unhappier and move more often to countries with a good health system). In Table C.1 of Appendix C, we include additional individual level controls (personal education level, health, having a partner, and religiosity) to test the robustness of our findings to self-selection bias. These individual controls mostly relate to the governmental domain (i.e. individual health and education might be dependent on the quality of the health and education system in the host country) and social domain (i.e. it is easier to find a partner in a good social climate). The more inclusive estimations confirm that the governmental and social domains add to the economic domain in explaining immigrants' happiness. Moreover, the overall quality of the government (model 2) and the attitude towards migrants (model 3) remain key predictors.[22]

A potentially undesirable consequence of the origin-dummies is that some of these 205 origin-dummies might pick up variance from personal or macro-level characteristics when they are based on few observations (e.g. only nine people have their origins in Jordan) or when the majority of immigrants have settled in a certain country (e.g. 260 of the 325 Algerian immigrants reside in France due to their colonial history). As a robustness check, we replaced these origin dummies by more global region dummies. Although the replacement leads to slight differences in the coefficients, the main conclusions remain the same (see Table C.2).

22 We additionally estimated regressions including two microeconomic controls: personal income and one's employment status. The impact of macroeconomic indicators become insignificant in these specifications, which indicates that happiness is mostly influenced by macroeconomic conditions through its effect on personal welfare.

4.4.2.2 Between-country unobserved heterogeneity

A second series of robustness checks examines the possibility that the results are driven by endogenous between-country differences. Due to the limited higher-level sample size, we could only include a restricted number of level 2-predictors to guarantee accurate estimates of the regression coefficients and variances. Therefore, our effects might be driven by omitted macro conditions. Moreover, the interpretation and answering of subjective questions, such as happiness, social trust, and attitude towards migrants, might differ across countries because of cultural and linguistic differences (Davidov et al. 2014). Previous literature suggests that, although these measurement biases are to a limited extent present among western European countries, meaningful but cautious cross-national comparisons can be made on the ESS self-report measures for attitude towards migrants (Meuleman and Billiet 2012; Davidov et al. 2015), social trust (Reeskens & Hooghe 2008; Allum, Read, and Sturgis 2011; Van der Veld & Saris 2011; Uslaner 2012; Freitag and Bauer 2013), and happiness (Helliwell et al. 2010; Oishi 2010; Veenhoven 2012b). We explicitly test whether unobserved heterogeneity affect our results by including country-of-residence dummies in our estimation so that the estimations are only based on within-country variance (i.e. the overall constant is replaced by country-specific intercepts). However, we want to stress that the modest panel structure in our data warrants cautious inferences concerning this alternative model. The results are presented in Table C.3 and suggest that our main model is not driven by endogenous between-country differences as the findings of our main model remain unchallenged. The most salient difference is that social trust uniquely contributes to happiness when only considering variance over time.

Additionally, within countries, the interpretation of subjective questions might change over time. We can test whether the interpretation of subjective questions, as well as other unobserved country-specific time-variant effects, substantially affect our results by including country-specific time-trends along with country dummies and time dummies (see Di Tella et al. 2003). In these estimations, the macro-predictors explain happiness changes around a country-specific linear time trend. The results are presented in Table C.4. Although the inclusion of the two governmental predictors (estimation 2) and the two social predictors (estimation 3) does not improve the model fit, several non-economic predictors significantly relate to immigrants' happiness beyond economic predictors. Moreover, the model fit would improve considerably when only including the attitude towards migrants (ΔBIC=1.30). Therefore, in this demanding model, some

findings of our main model are challenged but our core result persists, i.e., that happiness is not only determined by macroeconomic conditions. Future research with richer data on the macro-level is needed to test the impact of unobserved country-specific time-variant effects.

4.4.2.3 Subpopulations

In a third series of robustness checks, we examine whether small effects in certain subpopulations disguise important effects in other subpopulations. First, immigrants coming from richer or happier countries might have different needs than those coming from poor or unhappy countries. Separate estimations are conducted for immigrants who originate from western countries and non-western countries because western countries are generally both richer and happier. Moreover, the specific demographic characteristics of the individual might affect one's needs and wants. Therefore, separate estimations are also conducted on subgroups categorized by age, gender, and phase of migration. The reported results in Table C.5 indicate that social conditions play an important role regardless of the specific subgroup. The point is true even for immigrants from non-Western countries (who are commonly seen as 'economic' migrants). Nevertheless, as can be expected from a needs-perspective, macroeconomic conditions play a relatively more important role for immigrants from non-western countries.

4.4.2.4 Alternative model specifications

In a final series of robustness checks, we test the robustness of our findings by using slightly different specifications for the predictors in the three considered domains and the dependent variable. A first concern is that the happiness measure is sensitive to measurement error because it is based on a single-item question. This issue is less acute given our large sample size and because previous studies find that single-item subjective well-being measures have acceptable validity (although these studies mostly test life satisfaction measures; Cheung and Lucas 2014; Schimmack and Oishi 2005). Nevertheless, we replace the happiness question by a single-item question on life satisfaction from the European Social Survey to explicitly test whether our results are driven by the dependent variable. Although these measures share some measurement error (e.g. mood-effects), it removes unique measurement error (e.g. the effect of question ordering as the life satisfaction question is asked closer to the beginning of the questionnaire than the happiness question). However, as discussed in section 4.2.1, happiness and life satisfaction are typically highly correlated. The major difference is that the cognitive component of happiness tends to have a stronger relation to economic conditions than the emotional component. Therefore, taking life satisfaction as the dependent variable offers a more stringent test to our hypotheses. Table C.6 confirms that economic predictors relate more strongly to immigrants' life satisfaction than to their happiness and that

the social domain also plays a crucial role for life satisfaction. The inclusion of both governmental predictors does not improve the model. However, this does not mean that the governmental domain does not contribute to the explanation of life satisfaction. A model including only the overall quality of government (thus, dropping migration policy) improves the model fit as compared to the model with only economic predictors (ΔBIC=1.61). Therefore, the measurement and specification of the dependent variable does influence our results, but it does not have a substantial impact on the answering of our hypothesis.

Following social comparison theory, people tend to compare themselves to others. Therefore, it might be possible that the relative position of the immigration population contributes to the explanation of their happiness (Gokdemir and Dumludag 2012; Bartram 2015a). Discrepancies between the immigrant population and the general population might influence happiness in several domains, such as via discrepancies in income, unemployment rates, trust, and attitude towards migrants. Therefore, Table C.7 presents a model including diverse indicators for the relative position of immigrants. Indeed, relative income and relative unemployment rate have a statistically significant relation with happiness in some estimations.[23] Nevertheless, the additional effect of non-economic predictors remains.

While some element of reverse causality is perhaps plausible (e.g. reverse causality may occur because happier migrants are more trusting and more productive), it seems reasonable to assume that concerns in this respect would be minor. Reverse causality appears not to be a significant problem when predicting happiness by governmental indicators (Bjørnskov et al. 2007) and social indicators (Bjørnskov 2008). We can reduce potential reversed causality by relating immigrants' happiness to macro-conditions pertaining to the general population instead of the macro-conditions specified to the immigrant population. This approach offers a less close link because the underlying subjects of both sides of the happiness-equation are different. On the other hand, it also offers a check on whether our findings are dependent on the exact specification of the model. Note that variables relating to the general population could not be simultaneously included in one estimation with variables specified to the immigrant population due to the high collinearity (e.g. the correlation between GDP per capita and immigrants' median income is 0.86). Therefore, we replace the median income, unemployment rate and trust of the immigrant-population by the more general macro-indicators: GDP per

23 A greater income disadvantage of migrants has a positive association with happiness. These findings are surprising finding given a perspective drawing on a 'social-comparison' frame. Clark and Senik (2010) suggest that relative income can have an 'information effect' as well: applied here, it implies that if one's own income is relatively low, perhaps other migrants' higher incomes make one happier by suggesting a brighter future for oneself. Although an elaborate examination is out of the scope of this paper, this finding deserves further research.

capita, the national unemployment rate, and social trust within the general population. The results are presented in Table C.8 and present a similar story as our main model.

Finally, good macro-conditions do not guarantee happy individuals. The diminishing influence of changes in macro-conditions is explained by a changing perception and satisfaction with these conditions due to adaptation and social comparisons. Therefore, a closer match between happiness and the influence of macro-conditions can be obtained by considering individuals' perceptions of macro-conditions. In Table C.9, the actual macro-level predictors are replaced by perceptions about macro-conditions. Perceptions about non-economic indicators appear to play a vital role for the happiness of immigrants (perhaps even a more important role than perceptions about macroeconomic conditions).

4.5 DISCUSSION

The findings in the main model and the diverse robustness checks provide considerable evidence for the confirmation of our hypothesis that social conditions add to macroeconomic conditions in explaining migrants' happiness. Moreover, the hypothesis about the additional value of governmental conditions is also confirmed in most empirical specifications, although the additional value of governmental quality runs mostly through improved social conditions. The happiness of immigrants in Europe, then, is not only determined by macroeconomic conditions but also by social and governmental macroconditions. Coming back to the comparison made in the introduction of this article between immigrants in Spain and Italy, a valuable explanation for the higher happiness of immigrants in Spain is the more positive attitude of natives towards immigrants in Spain as compared to Italy, which is known for its relatively widespread anti-immigrant sentiments. Indeed, the average attitude towards migrants is significantly more positive in Spain (4.91 out of 10) than in Italy (4.33 out of 10), while immigrant's median income is even slightly higher in Italy than in Spain. The findings of this article are in line with previous research showing that personal economic shifts have only a limited influence on the happiness of immigrants (Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013); migrants' sensitivity to qualities in the governmental and social environment is also apparent (Erlinghagen 2011).

By the same token, our findings indicate grounds for skepticism regarding a view rooted in conventional economic perspectives (and indeed the "gravity" model) holding that migrants who move to wealthier countries are concerned primarily with economic matters. That view feeds a "common-sense" perception about immigrants in many wealthy destination countries, where natives appear to believe that it is mainly the economic wealth of their countries that attracts immigrants. There is no doubt some

truth in this view of migrants' initial motivations (though some migrants have non-economic motivations as well – and we acknowledge that we cannot know directly about the motivations of migrants in the data we analyze here). But what this view overlooks is that the factors migrants considered important when deciding whether and where to move might become less important to them after migration. That point recalls seminal work by Michael Piore, who describes how a normal concern with status increasingly displaces migrants' early singular focus on income; while many migrants are "*initially* … probably the closest thing in real life to the *Homo economicus* of economic theory" (1979: 54; emphasis added), they soon come to care more about social and other non-economic matters.

In this respect, migrants are surely similar to non-migrants. Some people give "excessive" emphasis to income and other economic conditions, and when migration is motivated mainly by economic aspiration then migrants might have a particularly marked tendency of that sort. But most people – including migrants – no doubt understand that economic conditions are important mainly in providing security and comfort so that one is then able to engage in other pursuits likely to be more influential in determining whether one is happy. By contrast, if one believes that economic conditions are very important and then makes choices accordingly (e.g. migrating to a wealthier or rapidly growing country that has poor social and governmental macro-conditions), one might simply experience disappointment relative to the outcomes available via a different choice.

There is, then, some potential for these findings to inform migrants' choices among available alternatives. Migrants typically invest substantial effort in gaining information about their intended destination country. Significant "blind spots" persist, however (e.g. failure to appreciate that the higher cost of living might outweigh income increases); research findings of the sort offered in this article can therefore play a key role in helping migrants refine their understanding of what to expect in particular destinations, perhaps leading to a better fit between goals and choices. On the other hand, potential migrants might well find that many of the countries with the best macro-conditions are unwilling to admit them.

A finding that warrants future research is the absence of an effect of integration policy. On the one hand, this can be due to the ineffectiveness of integration policies as European political leaders, such as Angela Merkel and David Cameron, have acknowledged that integration policies have not been as effective as they hoped for (BBC News Online 2010; 2011). On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that the absence of an effect of integration policy is due to a limited validity of MIPEX even though this index currently offers the best available data to examine the quality of integration policy.

The finding that economic, governmental, and social macro-conditions have complementary value for immigrants' happiness is in accordance with findings on the happiness

of the general population (Helliwell and Huang 2008; Kim and Kim 2012; Rodríguez-Pose and Maslauskaite 2012). Future research could examine the similarity of macro-level determinants for the happiness of immigrants and natives and relate this to studies making micro-level comparisons (Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013). Additionally, we emphasize that the findings here pertain to immigrants in Europe; if one investigated a broader range of destination countries including countries much poorer than European countries (e.g. movement from less developed African countries to more developed African countries), then macroeconomic conditions might be more influential for immigrants' happiness. Research on a broader range of countries might then confirm the findings here concerning the greater influence on happiness of non-economic macro-conditions. Additionally, in gaining an understanding of migrants' happiness, one must not overlook the specific situations of migrants. We have explored the heterogeneity among immigrants in age, income, and migration phase. There are also no doubt more contingent factors; for example, some migrants are refugees, and they are likely to have different needs than for instance economic migrants. Finally, a clear limitation of this study is the limited number of higher-level units. Data limitations restrict us from dealing with this problem in the current paper. Yet, this issue is unlikely to drive our results because the signs were in the expected direction in most estimations, the coefficients and variances show a reasonable degree of robustness over the different estimations, and more conservative estimations of variance parameters (via REML) do not challenge our conclusions.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Macro-conditions are confirmed to be important predictors of immigrants' happiness. Whereas migrants tend to move for economic reasons, this paper shows that non-economic factors (particularly the social climate) in European destination countries are important as well for immigrants' happiness. Immigrants are likely to be happier when natives have more favorable attitudes towards immigrants, when there is a qualitatively good government, and when the economy is flourishing. These findings hold true in diverse specifications. The findings are an important corrective to common ways of thinking about migrants and are novel with respect to previous research about migration and happiness.

APPENDIX

Appendix A Sample characteristics

Country of residence	N	Mean happiness	Socio-demographics	Mean / %	SD
Austria	188	7.40	Happiness	7.43	1.90
Belgium	982	7.48	Age	43.00	16.78
Czech Republic	59	6.48	Male (%)	49.91	
Denmark	473	8.15	Having a partner (%)	59.10	
Estonia	53	6.97	Unemployed (%)	10.76	
Finland	261	7.95	Education		
France	1,041	7.14	Primary (%)	12.40	
Germany	1,246	7.30	Lower secondary (%)	19.25	
Greece	470	6.41	Higher secondary (%)	32.54	
Hungary	128	6.57	Vocational (%)	11.51	
Ireland	1,308	7.28	Tertiary (%)	24.31	
Italy	64	7.09	Migration phase		
Netherlands	785	7.52	Recent immigrant (%)	15.52	
Norway	485	7.87	Established immigrant (%)	68.18	
Portugal	593	6.90	Second generation immigrant (%)	16.30	
Slovenia	98	7.48			
Spain	801	7.44			
Sweden	1,015	7.66			
Switzerland	1,274	7.85			
UK	1,182	7.35			
Total	12,506				

Appendix B Descriptive statistics and collinearity diagnostics of explanatory factors

Descriptive statistics				
Statistic (N=12,506)	**Mean**	**SD**	**Min**	**Max**
Immigrants' median income	15.22	3.51	5.00	23.07
Immigrants' unemployment rate	12.27	5.34	5.20	34.40
Inflation rate	2.10	1.28	-0.90	10.40
Quality of government	1.42	0.34	0.47	1.89
Integration policy	59.70	12.26	39	88
Immigrant's social trust	5.14	0.61	3.04	6.66
Attitude towards immigrants	4.84	0.72	2.75	6.46

Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) values	
(N=12,506)	**VIF**
Quality of government	4.85
Immigrants' median income	2.75
Attitude towards immigrants	2.63
Immigrant's social trust	2.26
Inflation rate	2.16
Immigrants' unemployment rate	1.62
Integration policy	1.21

Between country-time points correlation matrix

	Happiness	Immigrants' median income	Immigrants' unemploy-ment rate	Inflation rate	Quality of government	Integration policy	Immigrants' social trust
Happiness	1						
Immigrants' median income	.63	1					
Immigrants' unemployment rate	.03	-.20	1				
Inflation rate	-.40	-.50	-.31	1			
Quality of government	.69	.74	-.13	-.40	1		
Integration policy	.17	.11	.30	-.25	.17	1	
Immigrants' social trust	.56	.37	-.01	.01	.64	.08	1
Attitude towards immigrants	.67	.51	.06	-.26	.75	.28	.60

Appendix C Robustness checks

Table C.1 Inclusion of endogenous individual controls

Estimation	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Dv= happiness						
Country-time variables						
Median income of immigrants	.046	(.022)*	.016	(.023)	.026	(.014)
Unemployment rate of immigrants	-.015	(.009)	-.020	(.009)	-.012	(.005)*
Inflation rate	.091	(.031)**	.091	(.024)**	.069	(.029)*
Inflation rate^2	-.015	(.007)*	-.014	(.006)*	-.009	(.005)
Overall quality of government			.596	(.322)*	.062	(.089)
Integration policy			.004	(.004)	-.004	(.002)
Attitude towards migrants					.492	(.097)**
Immigrants' social trust					.055	(.083)
Controls						
Endogenous individual controls (education level, health, partner, religiosity)	**YES**		**YES**		**YES**	
Exogenous controls (age, gender, migration phase)	YES		YES		YES	
Country-of-origin & year dummies	YES		YES		YES	
Mundlak correction	YES		YES		YES	
Variance components						
Individual-level variance (level 1)	1.699	(.043)	1.670	(.043)	1.699	(.044)
Within-country between-round variance (level 2)	.034	(.100)	.000	(.000)	.000	(.000)
Between-country variance (level 3)	.159	(.071)	.169	(.043)	.000	(.000)
Deviance statistics						
Log pseudolikelihood	-19827.56		-19828.20		-19811.08	
BIC	40326.17		40321.45		40293.21	

a) Unstandardized coefficients and robust standard errors are reported; all regressions include a constant term.
b) * p<.05, **p<.01.
c) N individuals = 10,164, N country-time points = 59, N countries = 19.
d) Education level is based on ISCED-scores
e) 'Partner' is based on whether one has a partner or not.
f) The specific health measure is "How is your health in general?" (1=very bad; 5=very good);
g) The specific religiosity measure is "Regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion, how religious would you say you are?" (0=not at all religious; 10=very religious)

Table C.2 Replacement of country-of-origin dummies by region-of-origin dummies

Estimation	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Dv= happiness						
Country-time variables						
Median income of immigrants	.063	(.016)*	.036	(.014)*	.037	(.014)*
Unemployment rate of immigrants	-.016	(.011)	-.018	(.011)	-.017	(.007)*
Inflation rate	.119	(.040)**	.116	(.036)**	.084	(.037)*
Inflation rate^2	-.014	(.007)*	-.014	(.007)*	-.012	(.008)
Overall quality of government			.575	(.255)*	.033	(.214)
Integration policy			.002	(.004)	-.002	(.005)
Attitude towards migrants					.332	(.053)**
Immigrants' social trust					.064	(.060)
Controls						
Region-of-origin dummies	**YES**		**YES**		**YES**	
Exogenous controls (age, gender, migration phase)	YES		YES		YES	
Year dummies	YES		YES		YES	
Mundlak correction	YES		YES		YES	
Variance components						
Individual-level variance (level 1)	1.840	(.037)	1.840	(.037)	1.840	(.038)
Within-country between-round variance (level 2)	.068	(.046)	.046	(.052)	.000	(.000)
Between-country variance (level 3)	.268	(.046)	.242	(.050)	.201	(.046)
Deviance statistics						
Log pseudolikelihood	-25400.14		-25396.01		-25388.22	
BIC	50881.16		50878.90		50869.30	

a) Unstandardized coefficients and robust standard errors are reported; all regressions include a constant term. a
b) * p<.05, **p<.01.
c) N individuals = 12,506, N country-time points = 70, N countries = 20.
d) Region-of-origin dummies are included for western Europe, non-European western countries, former Sovjet countries, other European countries, sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East, Asia, and Latin America including the Caribbean.

Table C.3 Inclusion of country-of-residence dummies

Estimation	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Dv= happiness						
Country-time variables						
Median income of immigrants	.056	(.008)**	.033	(.006)**	.026	(.006)**
Unemployment rate of immigrants	-.023	(.008)**	-.024	(.004)**	-.023	(.004)**
Inflation rate	.106	(.023)**	.101	(.016)**	.060	(.021)**
Inflation rate^2	-.013	(.001)**	-.014	(.002)**	-.011	(.003)**
Overall quality of government			1.070	(.499)*	.869	(.477)
Integration policy			.003	(.005)	.006	(.007)
Immigrants' social trust					.103	(.023)**
Attitude towards migrants					.382	(.037)**
Controls						
Country-of-residence dummies	**YES**		**YES**		**YES**	
Exogenous controls (age, gender, migration phase)	YES		YES		YES	
Country-of-origin & year dummies	YES		YES		YES	
Variance components						
Individual-level variance (level 1)	1.818	(.024)	1.817	(.023)	1.816	(.023)
Within-country variance (level 2)	.000	(.000)	.000	(.000)	.000	(.000)
Deviance statistics						
Log pseudolikelihood	-25218.37		-25214.81		-25208.21	
BIC	51116.77		51115.64		51108.44	

a) Unstandardized coefficients and robust standard errors are reported; all regressions include a constant term.

b) * p<.05, **p<.01.

c) N individuals = 12,506; N country-time points=70.

Table C.4 Inclusion of country-specific linear time dummies

Estimation	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Dv= happiness						
Country-time variables						
Median income of immigrants	.050	(.025)*	.017	(.025)	-.008	(.005)
Unemployment rate of immigrants	-.065	(.013)**	-.071	(.016)**	-.048	(.011)**
Inflation rate	.088	(.042)	.082	(.038)*	.068	(.027)*
Inflation rate^2	-.019	(.004)	-.017	(.004)**	-.015	(.003)**
Overall quality of government			.732	(.453)	.804	(.322)*
Integration policy			.031	(.006)**	.040	(.009)**
Attitude towards migrants					.350	(.035)**
Immigrants' social trust					.022	(.049)
Controls						
Country-specific linear time trends	**YES**		**YES**		**YES**	
Country-of-residence dummies	YES		YES		YES	
Exogenous controls (age, gender, migration phase)	YES		YES		YES	
Country-of-origin & year dummies	YES		YES		YES	
Variance components						
Individual-level variance (level 1)	1.815	(.023)	1.815	(.023)	1.815	(.023)
Within-country variance (level 2)	.000	(.000)	.000	(.000)	.000	(.000)
Deviance statistics						
Log pseudolikelihood	-25202.78		-25202.10		-25199.66	
BIC	51110.81		51115.24		51116.13	

a) Unstandardized coefficients and robust standard errors are reported; all regressions include a constant term.

b) * p<.05, **p<.01.

c) N individuals = 12,506; N country-time points=70.

5 Why are locals happier than internal migrants? The role of daily life

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Research from multiple countries has found that internal migrants are unable to reach similar levels of happiness as locals (Aksel et al. 2007; Cheng et al. 2014). Some studies even find migrants to be less happy than people in the place of settlement (locals) and people in the place of origin (stayers), which holds even after controlling for a range of socio-economic factors (Appleton and Song 2008; Knight and Gunatilaka 2010). A specific, well-researched case of internal migration is that of German internal migrants after reunification.[24] Those who moved post-reunification from the former East Germany to the former West Germany have become happier after migration but have not reached similar happiness as former West-Germans over time, whereas West-to-East migrants have become unhappier but remain having higher happiness than East-Germans over time when accounting for socio-demographic factors (Frijters et al. 2004; Fuchs-Schündeln and Schündeln 2009; Melzer 2011). These findings raise three questions: why does the migrant-local happiness-gap occur? Does the lower general happiness reported by migrants in surveys also translate in less happiness in daily life? What can be done to reduce the gap?

This paper makes a two-fold contribution. The first contribution is theoretical: the current paper progresses current knowledge on internal migrants by opening the 'black box' on factors causing the migrant-local happiness-gap. This is achieved by evaluating

24 This is also recognised as semi-internal migration, as former West Germany (BRD) and former East Germany (DDR) were reunited into one Germany in 1990, but faced significant social, economic, and cultural differences.

the migrant-local happiness-gap from a new perspective: the role of daily life, which allows us to address the three questions that were raised in the first paragraph. The second contribution is methodological: a pioneering smartphone application is introduced that cost-effectively incorporates two leading research methods to zoom in on daily life: the Experience Sampling Method (ESM) and the Day Reconstruction Method (DRM). Although the application as developed is focused on happiness, the concept of the application is applicable and valuable across many research fields.

This paper specifically focuses on internal migrants to intensify inquiry among scholars and policy makers into this population. Internal migration has remained an underdeveloped theme, especially when compared to international migration. Yet, migrating within a country greatly exceeds the number of international migrants and is a crucial life event, as it largely disrupts and destabilises the pattern of daily life (Molloy et al. 2011). Additionally, this paper focuses on a population that has been overlooked in the literature on the happiness of internal migrants: young adults. Ironically, young adults are those who migrate most frequently as they face major life changes such as starting a job, study, family, or moving in with a partner. They are also especially sensitive to life-disruptions because compared to their older peers, they have less self-esteem and life experience, and they are more dependent, less emotionally stable, and more vulnerable to peer pressure (Rosenberg 1965). Hence, this population in particular needs support in making the most of migrating.

What can multiple moment assessments add to general surveys? Global self-reports, based on aggregated data retrieved from memory, are not always exhaustive in explaining sociological, economic, or psychological puzzles (Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003; Kahneman et al. 2004). Hektner et al. (2007) suggest that zooming in on people's daily lives can open black boxes that remain closed when using general surveys. Zooming in on daily life provides insight into what one does and how one feels throughout the day. Examples of studies benefiting from such data are Knabe et al. (2010), who use it to understand the happiness gap between the employed and the unemployed, and Kahneman et al. (2006), who use it to clarify the weak relationship between income and happiness. Current migration literature has merely used ratings of overall happiness derived from general questionnaires. There is reason to believe that examining daily life in greater detail contributes to explaining the migrant-local happiness-gap. Upon moving, migrants need to build a new social network, create new life patterns, and engage in new activities, organisations, and teams. This substantially impacts daily life in two fashions. First, it can result in a different distribution of time as one's daily routine is disrupted and certain activities are voluntarily or involuntarily initiated or discontinued (e.g., one's job, volunteering, sports). Second, it can lead to less enjoyment of particular daily life activities; for instance, going out with a person one has recently met may be less enjoyable than going out with a long-time friend.

Why incorporate both the ESM and the DRM? Both methods capture a representative sample of individuals' actions, thoughts and feelings throughout the day, across contexts, close to their actual occurrence. In the ESM, respondents are asked to report their present feelings and actions at short notice after receiving each of several signals distributed throughout the day. The DRM asks respondents to complete diaries of the previous day in which the feelings experienced during each performed activity are reported. The unique methodologies imply unique strengths and weaknesses, making co-existence desirable (an extensive discussion is presented in section 5.3). Despite the value of combining these methods, researchers typically choose between these two methods to reduce costs and to increase people's willingness to participate (Diener and Tay 2013). Therefore, a pioneering smartphone application is introduced that cost-effectively combines these methods.

Young adults in the Düsseldorf area (Germany) used the application for two weeks. The multiple moment assessments obtained four sources of information for every period of the day:

1. How the person is feeling
2. What the person is doing
3. Where the person is
4. Who is with the person

The multiple moment assessments began after completing a baseline questionnaire. The baseline questionnaire includes six global measures of subjective well-being, of which four specifically measure global happiness. For all six measures, migrants report lower happiness/subjective well-being than locals. Moving to the data obtained from DRM and ESM, two steps are taken to detect whether migrants and locals also have dissimilar daily life experiences. First, we examine whether migrants distribute less time to happiness-promoting activities, places, and people. Second, we examine whether migrants feel unhappier in certain places, during certain activities, and with certain people. In a subsequent analysis, daily life experiences are moved to the position of explanatory factors to discover the degree to which daily life experiences explain the migrant-local happiness gap present in global self-ratings. Data on daily life experiences obtained by the smartphone application are shown to have substantial explanatory power, indicating that the two sought-for research contributions are achieved.

The remainder of the paper is organised as follows. Section 5.2 reviews the literature that relates internal migration to happiness. Section 5.3 discusses the value and co-existence of the DRM and the ESM. Section 5.4 introduces the smartphone application used in this paper. Section 5.5 describes the experimental set-up, and Section 5.6 presents the results. The final section concludes, discusses, and provides policy implications.

5.2 INTERNAL MIGRATION AND HAPPINESS

Internal migration is usually defined as the geographical relocation of people over a substantial distance within national borders. The impact of migration on people's lives goes beyond mere 'geographically relocation'. One must adapt to another physical, social, and cultural environment, develop new life patterns, and build new social contacts. It leads to challenges such as finding new friends, communities, hobbies, and sports (teams), implying that stress typically accompanies migration. It offers migrants great opportunities but also substantial risks. The migration literature shows that migrants may not get the best out of migration. Studies in Australia and Turkey have found that 30-50 percent of migrants regret their decision to migrate, implying that it is difficult to overcome the hardships that come with migration (Stimson and Minnery 1998; Aksel et al. 2007; Fozdar and Torezani 2008). Although our study does not focus on pre-migration versus post-migration happiness development, it is relevant to review studies testing whether migrants gained in happiness by migrating. Recent studies in Finland (Ek et al. 2008), Australia (Kettlewell 2010), and the UK (Nowok et al. 2013) conclude that most people fail to obtain greater happiness by internal migration. These findings imply that migrants do not commonly reach similar levels of happiness as locals, as they do not gain in happiness at all. The gap is shown to be especially relevant for recent migrants, although it is still present among long-term migrants (Knight and Gunatilaka 2010; Cheng et al. 2014).

The key question is why migrants cannot get the best out of migration and how this failure translates into lower levels of happiness in daily life. The social capital literature shows that most migrants face difficulty connecting to others, which makes building new networks an underestimated challenge (Portes 2000; Putnam 2000). Hardships arise because: (1) migrants have little initial social capital via which potential friends can be met; (2) an internal migrant often becomes a member of the out-group because they are seen as 'different', for instance, due to a different accent; and (3) migrants face impaired self-esteem as they are still adapting to the new environment and feel 'pressured' to build new social capital. In daily life, these hardships can translate into feelings of inferiority when being around others, mostly because of being less in one's 'comfort zone', having friendships of lower quality, and lacking social support), and/or spending less time with good friends (e.g., one is less invited to social events). The broaden-and-build theory (Fredrickson 2001) suggests that migrants will spend less time on physically and mentally effortful activities. Namely, internal migrants typically give in on mental health due to the stress that comes with migration (Chen 2011); experiencing negative feelings impairs openness to experiences and reduces activeness because one has less mental energy to distribute. Lower mental health results in less time allocated to effortful events as active leisure, meeting people, and out-of-home activities. Moreover,

migrants may not have access to their preferred activities in the place of settlement, forcing them to discontinue certain activities. Relatedly, migrants may lack the motivation to rebuild in the new place what they had built up in the old place over the years (e.g., one's reputation on a sports team).

Taken together, it suggests that migrants are less engaged in effortful leisure activities. This can reduce happiness, as activity theory suggests that active, social, and challenging activities typically result in higher happiness (Rodríguez et al. 2008). As a by-product of less social capital, migrants may enjoy social or effortful leisure activities less as they cannot always perform these activities with their long-time friends but have to settle with less close friends. Relatedly, they occasionally need to resort to less desired activities as they have no friends, team, or community with whom they can perform the desired activity (Putnam 2000). The time composition of everyday activities as eating, sleeping, and housekeeping is less of a choice, which implies that time distributed to these activities is not so much affected by migrating. Activities where no social and energy-restrictions are involved are also hypothesised to be less affected; examples include in -home activities and individual activities such as reading. In conclusion, it is hypothesised that lower happiness of migrants is particularly caused by less enjoyment of and time composition for social and effortful activities, but to a lesser degree by individual and daily activities.

5.3 THE VALUE AND CO-EXISTENCE OF MULTIPLE-MOMENT ASSESSMENTS

Global self-reports used in prior literature have only allowed the examination of the happiness-gap from a 'helicopter-view', whereas tracking daily experiences provides the opportunity for a more detailed look at the migrant-local happiness-gap. The advantages are more diverse. Primarily, global self-reports (e.g., satisfaction with life-as-a-whole) rely on distorted information derived from memory. People face hardships in retrieving all the relevant data from their memory and to subsequently aggregate these data because one's answer depends strongly on recent and vivid experiences (Diener et al. 2013). The use of memory and the need for aggregation are minimised for assessments on a momentary (ESM) or daily (DRM) basis; it makes these methods less vulnerable to recall- and aggregation bias, implying a better representation of actual experience.[25] Second, episodic assessments complement global self-reports because the latter typically encloses a strong cognitive component of happiness, whereas the former

25 Some degree of memory bias is likely to be present when applying DRM, for instance, due to the "peak-end-rule" (Redelmeier, Katz, and Kahneman 2003). The bias remains acceptable, however, because people are shown to have adequate access to relevant information for indicating their feelings on the previous day (Kahneman et al. 2004).

encloses more 'pure' affective evaluations. An advantage of the ESM is that it promotes ecological validity, as participants provide self-reports in the environment where they truly experience the feelings. A final contribution over traditional cross-sectional studies is that the panel element allows for more robust individual assessments of happiness as biases such as the mood bias are cancelled out on the individual level. The principal limitation of the ESM and DRM are their high costs. A second limitation is that assessments of momentary happiness (i.e., mood) are aggregated to an assessment of long-term happiness, whereas in actuality, the predictors are not exactly the same. A third limitation is that overall scores are biased as participants selectively present information, e.g., participants are reluctant to report that they have been making love (Diener and Tay 2013). Accordingly, global self-reports and episodic assessments are supplementary in assessing happiness.

The key advantages of the DRM over the ESM are: (1) the obtained data cover the complete day, and (2) completing the diaries does not interrupt the flow of daily life, making the DRM less burdensome than the ESM (Diener and Tay 2013). The key advantages of the ESM over the DRM are: (1) superior ecological validity, as participants provide self-reports in the environment and at the moment of truly experiencing the feelings, and (2) it does not face the issue of the DRM that some participants divide the day into more episodes than others, resulting in potential divergent responses between two groups. Their co-existence also gives the opportunity to test for convergent validity of daily life assessments. This is valuable because the psychometric support for the ESM and especially the DRM is limited at this point in time. In conclusion, clear grounds for a multi-method design are present.

5.4 THE SMARTPHONE APPLICATION

In studies applying the DRM and ESM, experimenters typically handed participants a PDA that had to be used during the experimental period. The use of smartphones has several benefits. First, smartphones promote further ecological validity as participants complete the assessments on a mobile phone to which they are accustomed and which they do not only use for experimental purposes, resulting in lower awareness of 'being followed'. Second, the burden on participants is lower because they do not have to carry around an extra device. This can raise the rates of response and participation. Third, it reduces costs, as no digital devices need to be provided to participants, which implies that there are no costs for purchasing, repairing, and retrieving the equipment. Finally, applications allow for the establishment of 'fuzzy' samples consisting of people who voluntarily and regularly indicate their feelings. With this information, the impact of shocks can be revealed (e.g., the impact of a natural disaster or one's national team

winning a soccer match) and data on momentary assessments can be easily collected cross-nationally[26]. The use of smartphone applications has become a more attractive option as many people now own smartphones. We created a cost- and time-effective happiness application that allows participants to complete both daily happiness diaries and momentary assessments on their personal mobile phones. This is not the first smartphone application developed to examine episodic happiness. Killingworth and Gilbert (2010) successfully used a happiness application for experience sampling, and MacKerron (2011) developed a happiness app to study the influence of the local environment (e.g., the weather) on episodic happiness. The application we introduce has two main advantages over these applications. First, the Day Reconstruction Method is included on top of the Experience Sampling Method. Second, this application is downloadable for Android users, whereas earlier apps focused on iPhone users. Using Android decreases the self-selection problem because approximately 65 percent of smartphone users have Android, whereas iPhone users represent only 25 percent of smartphone users (Kantar World Panel 2014).

5.5 METHOD

5.5.1 Sample and procedure

In the recruitment procedure, individuals were informed that the study involves a tracking of happiness and time-use and that the study incorporates questions about demographics. Individuals were additionally informed of the confidentiality of answers, the possibility to skip a question in any case, and the possibility to opt out of the study at any moment. Interested individuals were asked to list their e-mail address. In exchange for course credit, 123 young adults (17-30 years old) studying psychology in the Düsseldorf area were recruited for participation. Concurrently, 75 young adults living in the Düsseldorf area were recruited via word-of-mouth communication to increase the heterogeneity of the sample (e.g., to include non-students).[27] To prevent dropout, a lottery was announced in which those who completed at least two-third of the diaries and experience samples could win a 250 euro Amazon.com voucher.

The multi-method study consists of three parts: (1) an online questionnaire (2) momentary assessments, and (3) day reconstructions. A brief questionnaire, including a range of measures of happiness and demographic questions, was purposively designed

26 This advantage is not yet applicable to our application as we lacked the resources to publicly introduce and promote the application.

27 Additionally, 11 young adults not living in the Dusseldorf area and 21 adults over the age of 30 were recruited but not considered for analysis as they introduced potential endogenous biases (e.g., living in a happier or unhappier region or migrated decades ago).

to obtain a baseline-estimate of a person's happiness. All participants completed the baseline-questionnaire on the same evening and were afterwards informed how to download the application onto their mobile phones. After downloading the application, a tutorial with instructions on how to use the application was provided to raise conscientiousness and boost response accuracy. The episodic assessments began for all participants on November, 7, 2013 (Thursday) and lasted for two weeks until November, 21, 2013 (Thursday). Each day, six signals were distributed throughout daytime covering the entire waking day; two consecutive signals were always more than an hour apart. When signalled, participants were asked to indicate (1) how they were feeling, (2) what they were doing, (3) where they were, and (4) who was with them. The activities they could choose from were equal to those of the HappinessIndicator (Oerlemans et al. 2017) and in line with categorisations made by Kahneman et al. (2004). Every morning, participants were asked to complete a diary of the previous day in which they answer the same four questions.

Participants are included in the analysis when the signal response rate was over 66 percent in both the Experience Sampling Data (56 out of 84) and the daily diaries (10 out of 15). These minima have been successfully surpassed by 109 locals and 41 migrants, indicating an attrition rate of 24 percent. These 150 participants yielded a total of 11,455 momentary assessments and 1,918 day reconstructions. The participants' response rates in the ESM and DRM are, respectively, 91 percent and 85 percent and there were no noteworthy differences in compliance between migrants and locals. One to two minutes for completing an experience sample is supported in literature as being desirable to make the interruptions brief and less intrusive (Hektner et al. 2007). In our study, this was considerable less with an average of about 30 seconds. The time to complete a diary was typically in the range of five to ten minutes.

5.5.2 Variables

Dependent variables. To facilitate robust assessments about happiness and subjective well-being, the OECD published guidelines on measuring subjective well-being (OECD 2013b) in which they propose including measures for (1) overall happiness (2) sub-elements of happiness (life satisfaction and hedonic affect) and (3) elements of broader subjective well-being (eudaimonic well-being and domain evaluations). The baseline questionnaire follows the proposed structure by including one overall happiness measure, three measures focusing on sub-elements of happiness, and two measures focusing on broader subjective well-being, although it should be noted that we are mainly interested in the four measures focusing on happiness. Overall happiness is our primary interest and assessed by the question: 'Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?'. It is answered on a numerical 10-point scale ranging from extremely unhappy to extremely happy. Life satisfaction embodies the cognitive side

of happiness. The life satisfaction measure is 'All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?' ranging from 0 (extremely dissatisfied) to 10 (extremely satisfied). Additionally, a frequently used multiple-item scale to measure life satisfaction is included: Diener's Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al 1985). The original 10-item Affect Balance Scale is included to assess the affective side of happiness (Bradburn 1969). The first measure of broader subjective well-being is psychological functioning (also referred to as eudaimonia or flourishing) and is measured by the Flourishing Scale (Diener et al. 2010). This scale incorporates eight items (e.g., I lead a purposeful and meaningful life) and is rated on a seven-point scale (1=strongly disagree; 7=strongly agree). Next, participants evaluated satisfaction with ten life domains (e.g., satisfaction with financial status or satisfaction with health status; for the other items, see OECD 2013b) on a 10-point scale (0=not at all satisfied; 10=completely satisfied). As recommended by the OECD, every participant started the baseline questionnaire by rating one's overall happiness and finished with rating domain satisfactions to minimise spill-over effects in the measures we are most interested in.

Prior studies applying the DRM or ESM have either used an affect balance scale (multi-item) or a single question on current happiness to assess affective feelings in daily life. We opted for the latter option, operationalized by the questions 'How do you feel?' in the ESM and 'How did you feel' in the DRM and answered on an 11-item numerical scale ranging from 'unhappy' to 'happy', for three reasons. First, it is less of a burden on participants. Second, the single-item measure is strongly correlated with the multi-item measure, implying that the results are largely robust to the measure used (Knabe et al. 2010). Third, there is an ongoing debate about the validity of aggregating specific emotions. When aggregating, there is no agreement on how specific feelings should be weighed against each other (White and Dolan 2009). For instance, joy may have a stronger effect than relaxation. By rating the 1-item question, the respondent himself weights which emotions and thoughts are most important for his overall feelings during an activity. Additionally, positive and negative affect do not lie on a single dimension in the affective system, which makes it hazardous to aggregate them (Cacioppo and Bernston 1994).

Independent variables. An important reason behind the scant research on internal migrants is that there is no clear boundary between an internal migrant and a local. Two recent studies have utilised a question asking about the spatial distance (measured in kilometres) one has moved (Kettlewell 2010; Nowok et al. 2013). This measure may not be optimal as the 'perceived' distance of migration may depend on factors such as one's transportation resources and cultural differences. Measures of cultural distance and travel-time from the place of origin encompass elements that are related to happiness (cultural differences) and other confounding elements (transportation opportunities often serves as a proxy for income), leading to an inherent bias. Therefore, we preferred

to use an objective measure: spatial distance. The exact question we used is: 'What is the approximate distance, from the city or town where you lived in before you moved, to the city or town in which you are currently living?'. The five answer-options were 'More than a 1000 kilometres', '100-1000 kilometres', '25-100 kilometres', <25 kilometres' and 'I always lived here'. Due to the limited sample size and to maintain a parsimonious model, we chose to merge these categories into a single 'migrant'-category and a single 'locals'-category. Nowok and colleagues find that those who moved over more than 100 kilometres (long-distance movers) have lower happiness than those who move smaller distances (25-100 kilometres). Kettlewell defined migrants who moved more than 20 kilometres as migrants. We wished to distinguish between those who truly experience the need to build new social lives from those whose daily lives are less affected. Therefore, we categorised those who migrated over 100 kilometres as migrants and other participants as non-migrants.[28]

Control variables. To minimise self-selection bias, the following factors that are typically associated with happiness are included as covariates in the empirical analysis: age, gender, having a partner, immigrant status (including 1st and 2nd generation immigrants are classified as immigrants), household income, employment status, and whether one has a chronic condition as a proxy for health.[29] Additionally, personality is incorporated as measured by the 'TIPI-scale' (Gosling et al. 2003). More specific controls for the purposes of our study are also included. These are household situation (as it is strongly correlated to migration), being a student (as a substantial portion of the participants are students), and being born in East Germany (those born in East Germany are typically unhappier).

5.5.3 Analytical strategy

The ESM-data do not only account for momentary happiness but also yield an assessment of a participant's general happiness level by taking the mean of the separate momentary responses (Kahneman 1999). The same applies to the DRM, although one cannot simply aggregate all happiness-assessments as activities have dissimilar durations. We follow previous studies in applying the duration-weighted method of aggregation (e.g., White and Dolan 2009), having the following formula:

$$Total\ Daily\ Happiness\ By\ DRM_i = \Sigma_j\ (Episode\ Duration_{ij} * Feeling\ During\ Episode_{ij})$$

in which *i* represents an individual and *j* an episode. This formula is not optimal as it is unlikely that people assign a similar weight to each episode; however, because there is little knowledge concerning the importance of particular episodes in daily life, this method is acknowledged to be best practice. Happiness is commonly treated as being

28 Analyses distinguishing the 109 locals in 55 non-movers and 54 short-distance movers (<100 kilometers) reveal no significant differences on all six subjective-well being measures; analyses are available on request.

29 An education variable, asking about the highest level of education completed is excluded because it was highly correlated with age (r=0.82). The high correlation is plausible given our sample of young adults.

cardinal in subjective well-being literature; we follow this approach as the results of cardinal models are more intuitive and easier to interpret than estimates from ordinal probit models. In addition, cardinal and ordinal analyses of life satisfaction yield, in general, similar results (Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters 2004).

The presence of the migrant-local happiness-gap is examined in two steps. First, the presence of differences in happiness between migrants and locals is checked for each of the six global self-reports and for the aggregated scores of the ESM and the DRM. Next, a MANCOVA is applied, which takes the positive correlation between the dependent variables into account. To avoid multicollinearity in the MANCOVA, the rule-of-thumb of Maxwell (2001) is followed, which indicates that dependent variables should be low to moderately correlated with a lower boundary of 0.30 and an upper-boundary of 0.70. In Table 5.1, the correlations in bold are very close to or exceed the upper-boundary, which implies that the MANCOVA is likely to suffer from multicollinearity when including all variables. Possible solutions to avoid multicollinearity are (1) the formation of a composite variable, or (2) dropping variables that cause the multicollinearity problem. We opted for the latter option because there is no clear basis for aggregating the measures into an overall measure of subjective well-being, making it hazardous to form a composite variable (OECD 2013b). Additionally, the central focus of this paper is the happiness-gap. Therefore, the multivariate effect is based on four elements of happiness that are typically distinguished: overall happiness (as measured by the overall happiness measure), daily happiness (by the aggregated score of the day reconstructions), the cognitive element of happiness (by the SWLS), and the affective element of happiness (by the affect balance scale).[30]

Table 5.1 Correlation-matrix of subjective well-being measures.

Pearson Correlation coefficient (r)								
	ESM	DRM	Overall happiness	1-item life satisfaction	Affect Balance	SWLS	Eudaimonia	Domains
ESM	x							
DRM	**0.80**	x						
Overall happiness	0.45	0.34	x					
1-item life satisfaction	0.42	0.34	0.64	x				
Affect Balance	0.46	0.33	0.48	0.39	x			
SWLS	0.46	0.38	0.53	**0.68**	0.40	x		
Eudaimonia	0.42	0.36	0.44	0.49	0.43	**0.67**	x	
Domains	0.45	0.41	0.53	0.61	0.44	**0.74**	**0.69**	x

Note: all correlations are significant at the 1% level.

30 Robustness checks are performed by replacing the 1-item life satisfaction measure with the SWLS and replacing the overall day reconstruction score with the overall experience sampling score. The outcomes are in line with the reported results; results are available on request.

To explore the role of daily life, we will proceed by applying two perspectives to zoom in on the data obtained by experience sampling and happiness-diaries. A *trait-like perspective* is applied to detect possible *time-composition effects*. The following question is answered from this perspective: do migrants and locals allocate a different amount of time to certain activities, people, and places? Next, a *state-like perspective* is applied to answer the question: do particular activities, interaction partners, and locations lead to different happiness for migrants and locals? Knabe et al. (2010) refer to differences in happiness for the same type of activity as the '*saddening' effect*. To enable more robust, meaningful, and interpretable results, the twenty-one specific activities from which respondents could select when completing their diaries and experience samples (e.g., exercising and eating) are aggregated into five overarching categories derived from the time-and-leisure composition literature (Dardis et al. 1994). These categories are social leisure/entertainment, active leisure, passive leisure, daily activities, and work-related activities.

Next, we aim to show the incremental value of daily life experiences in explaining the migrant-local happiness-gap. Three OLS-regression models are developed for each of the six global self-ratings, which are the explained variables. Model 1 includes migration as an independent variable and also controls for individual and household characteristics to minimise selection-bias. Model 2 adds the time-composition differences as independent variables to examine the effect of different time-composition on the migrant-local happiness-gap. Model 3 presents a full model by including activities in which a clear saddening effect is present as independent variables.

5.6 RESULTS

5.6.1 Descriptive statistics

Migration-specific questions in the baseline-questionnaire reveal that 63 percent of the migrants in the sample moved less than three years ago, half of the migrants moved without knowing any friends or family in the host place, 58 percent plan to live less than three more years in the study area, and 67 percent moved for study purposes. More general sample descriptors are listed in Table 5.2. We will examine two models to analyse the happiness-gap, one including and one excluding the household situation. The reason for this division is that the household situation may have a potential mediating effect on the happiness outcome of migration because a different household situation is a logical consequence of migrating. The correlation matrix (Table 5.1) shows the convergent validity among the data derived from the DRM and the ESM, as the correlation between these methods is significant, sizeable, and larger in magnitude than their correlations with global happiness measures.

Table 5.2 Descriptive characteristics of the sample

Variable	**Full sample** 150	**Migrants** 41	**Locals** 109	
	Mean (*SD*) / %	Mean (*SD*) / %	Mean (*SD*) / %	F statistic
Age in years	21.7 (3.10)	22.7 (3.19)	21.4 (2.99)	**5.99***
Gender (% male)	18%	10%	21%	
Has a partner	50%	54%	49%	
(Psychology) Students	73%	71%	73%	
Personality				
Extraversion	4.08 (0.66)	4.13 (0.52)	4.06 (0.71)	
Conscientiousness	3.99 (0.63)	4.00 (0.58)	3.98 (0.65)	
Openness	4.18 (0.78)	4.18 (0.73)	4.18 (0.80)	
Agreeableness	4.52 (0.80)	4.62 (0.80)	4.48 (0.80)	
Emotional stability	3.83 (0.73)	3.82 (0.78)	3.83 (0.72)	
Chronic condition	21%	27%	19%	
Immigrant	14%	17%	13%	
Born in East-Germany	4%	10%	2%	**4.96***
Monthly Income				**6.75***
Below modal	69%	88%	62%	
Modal (€2.500 net)	19%	7%	23%	
Above modal	11%	5%	13%	
Having a job (% yes)	44%	44%	44%	
Household situation				**6.75***
At parents' home	41%	22%	48%	
Alone	21%	29%	17%	
With partner	19%	17%	20%	
Flat-sharing with others	19%	32%	15%	

Note: Significance levels at the 10%, 5%, and 1% level are denoted by $^{+}$, *, and ** respectively

5.6.2 The migrant-local happiness-gap

Model A. The degree to which the gap is present for each dependent variable when not controlling for household situation, but after controlling for all other covariates included in Table 5.2, is shown in model A of Table 5.3. Univariate results show that locals consistently reported significantly higher scores (at the 10 percent-level) over the six measures. The gaps are somewhat larger for the four global self-ratings of happiness than for eudaimonic well-being and domain satisfactions. The practical importance of the findings is at least as important as the p-values in our study because we combine

a limited sample size with a wide range of covariates to minimize selection-bias.[31] The partial eta squares indicate that the effect sizes are modest, which can be considered as substantial in the context of happiness. Episodic assessments are typically found to be more rigid (e.g., Knabe et al. 2010), which is also the case in our data. A marginally significant gap is observed for the DRM-data, whereas the ESM-data do not display a statistically significant difference. Using the Bonferroni procedure, the MANCOVA reveals a significant difference between migrants and locals, and a mediocre effect of migration, on the four combined happiness variables (F (4, 130) = 2.49; p = .046; Wilks' Lambda = .929; $\eta\rho^2$= .071).

Table 5.3 Univariate differences in happiness and subjective well-being.

Model A – *all covariates, except for household situation*		Locals *109*		Migrants *41*		Mean difference	ANCOVA test *(df = 134)*	Effect size
		Adj. Mean	SE	Adj. Mean	SE	Locals-Migrants	*F* -statistic	$\eta\rho^2$
Overall happiness	(0-10)	6.56	0.15	5.96	0.25	*0. 60*	**4.09***	.030
1-item life satisfaction	(0-10)	6.60	0.19	5.97	0.32	*0.63*	**2.75**$^{+}$	.020
Affect Balance	(-5; 5)	+0.91	0.16	+0.02	0.28	*0.89*	**7.22***	.051
5-item SWLS	(1-7)	5.05	0.09	4.64	0.16	*0.41*	**4.74***	.034
Eudaimonic well-being	(1-7)	5.43	0.08	5.12	0.13	*0.31*	**3.78**$^{+}$	.027
Domain satisfactions	(0-10)	6.77	0.13	6.31	0.21	*0.46*	**3.29**$^{+}$	.024
Day reconstruction	(0-10)	6.67	0.08	6.37	0.13	*0.30*	**3.41**$^{+}$	.025
Experience sampling	(0-10)	6.53	0.08	6.32	0.14	*0.19*	**1.57**	.012
Model B - *All covariates included*		Locals *109*		Migrants *41*		Mean difference	ANCOVA test *(df = 131)*	Effect size
		Adj. Mean	SE	Adj. Mean	SE	Locals-Migrants	*F* -statistic	$\eta\rho^2$
Overall happiness	(0-10)	6.57	0.15	5.93	0.26	*0.64*	**4.19***	.031
1-item life satisfaction	(0-10)	6.58	0.19	6.01	0.32	*0.57*	**2.19**	.016
Affect Balance	(-5; 5)	+0.91	0.17	+0.02	0.29	*0.93*	**6.82****	.049
5-item SWLS	(1-7)	5.06	0.09	4.63	0.16	*0.43*	**4.87***	.036
Eudaimonic well-being	(1-7)	5.43	0.08	5.12	0.14	*0.31*	**3.49**$^{+}$	.026
Domain satisfactions	(0-10)	6.78	0.13	6.30	0.22	*0.48*	**3.28**$^{+}$	.024
Day reconstruction	(0-10)	6.66	0.08	6.40	0.14	*0.26*	**2.42**	.018
Experience sampling	(0-10)	6.52	0.08	6.34	0.14	*0.18*	**1.15**	.009

Note: Bonferroni adjustment for multiple dependent variables. Significance levels at the 10%, 5%, and 1% level are denoted by $^{+}$, *, and ** respectively.

31 According to Cohen (1992), effect sizes should be interpreted as follows: $\eta\rho^2$ = 0.01 as small, $\eta\rho^2$ = 0.06 as medium, and $\eta\rho^2$ = 0.14 as large.

Model B. The household situation is additionally controlled for in model B of Table 5.3. The results of model B are highly similar to those of model A. Non-reported results reveal that the low impact of the household situation can be explained by the weak and non-significant relationship between household situation and happiness. The practical and statistical significance of the combined variables is also largely similar to model A ($F (4, 127) = 2.31$ $p = .061$; Wilks' Lambda = .932; $\eta\rho^2 = .068$). The results suggest that the happiness-gap is not completely driven by differences in demographics and income and that over 6 percent of the multivariate variance of the dependent variables is associated with the migrant-dummy. The episodic assessments in model B do not reveal significant differences between migrants and non-migrants. Nonetheless, substantial happiness-gaps in the aggregated DRM-data and ESM-data remain present, which make it interesting to analyse the DRM-data and ESM-data in more detail to reveal which specific daily experiences cause these gaps.[32]

5.6.3 Time-composition of daily activities.

In this section, a trait-like perspective is applied to zoom in on the time-allocation of migrants and locals. All covariates are included, which provides a substantial degree of certainty that the time-composition differences caused by migrating are filtered. Using the DRM-method, Table 5.4 shows that locals spend significantly more time on active leisure activities. Interestingly, being engaged in active leisure is typically recognised as promoting happiness. When looking at specific activities, it emerges that locals spend significantly more time on social drinking/parties, exercising, and in places other than home/work/transport. In contrast, migrants spend more time on the computer, possibly to communicate with those not living nearby. We rule out the possibility that socio-demographic differences (e.g. differences in financial resources) account for these differences by including socio-demographic controls when examining the time-distribution. Unreported OLS regressions, controlling for the full set of covariates and the migration-dummy, show that greater time-allocation (in hours) to exercising, social drinking/parties, and places other than home/work/transport, are associated with higher scores on the overall happiness measure in our sample (B's are, respectively, +.28, +.35, and +.02). In contrast, spending time on the computer is associated with lower scores on happiness (B= -.05). In sum, we can conclude that time composition seems to play a role in the happiness-gap.

32 Further robustness analyses suggest that the happiness-gap between migrants and locals was largely unaffected by (1) excluding a minimum boundary for signal response rate, (2) including people over 30 years old, or (3) including those not living in the Düsseldorf region; results are available on request.

Table 5.4 Happiness from a trait-like perspective (DRM-data)

	Time allocation		ANCOVA
	Locals (N=109)	Migrants (N=41)	
	Mean time a day (hours: minutes)		*F-statistic*
Social leisure/entertainment	**1:22**	**1:19**	
Social drinks and partying	0:19	0:05	7.66**
Visiting cinema, theatre, or sports	0:08	0:11	
Talking	0:34	0:40	
Shopping	0:07	0:09	
Institutional event (e.g. church-event)	0:14	0:14	
Active Leisure	**0:55**	**0:32**	4.70*
Intimacy/sex	0:08	0:07	
Exercising	0:24	0:12	3.68^{+}
Hobbies	0:23	0:13	
Passive Leisure	**2:50**	**2:48**	
Reading	0:08	0:07	
Watching TV	1:28	1:27	
Listening to music	0:05	0:08	
On the Computer	0:18	0:39	4.18*
Resting	0:51	0:27	
Other leisure	*0:48*	*0:38*	
Daily activities	**4:09**	**4:30**	
Eating	1:09	1.22	
Taking care of others	0:12	0:20	
Cooking	0:13	0:09	
In transit	1:40	1:42	
Getting up and ready	0:55	1:06	
Work-related activities	**5:57**	**6:14**	
Housekeeping	0:37	0:40	
Working	1:09	1:07	
Studying	4:11	4:27	
Total	**16:16**	**16:09**	
Interaction partners			
Partner	2:09	1:51	
Friends	3:43	4:00	
Direct family	1:40	1:56	
Alone	7:16	7:10	
Colleagues	1:21	1:21	
Total	**16:09**	**16:18**	
Locations			
Elsewhere out of house	6:20	5:20	3.35^{+}

Table 5.4 Happiness from a trait-like perspective (DRM-data) (continued)

	Time allocation		ANCOVA
	Locals (N=109)	Migrants (N=41)	
	Mean time a day (hours: minutes)		*F-statistic*
At home	7:51	8:26	
At work	1:05	1:30	
In public transport/vehicle	0:55	1:03	
Total	**16:11**	**16:19**	

Note: Mean time a day corrected for differences in all covariates listed in table 1. Significance levels at the 10%, 5%, and 1% level are denoted by $^{+}$, *****, and ****** respectively.

5.6.4 Enjoyment of daily activities

Table 5.5 applies a state-like perspective to detect whether migrants and locals feel dissimilar happiness during certain episodes. It appears that migrants feel as good as locals during activities such as working and being with colleagues. In contrast, locals report significantly higher happiness scores in both the ESM and the DRM compared to migrants while eating and being with friends. Sizeable gaps are also present in other activities such as intimacy/sex, but no strong inferences can be drawn as the gaps are not significant due to the limited sample size. The happiness-gap of 'eating' is analysed in greater detail in Table 5.6.[33] A 'deeper' analysis of the eating category reveals that the happiness-gap especially occurs due to locals' greater enjoyment of eating with significant others, which is in line with the fact that migrants generally enjoy being with friends less. Interestingly, we observed in Table 5.4 that locals do not spend more time on eating and with friends. These results suggest that the saddening effect adds unique value in explaining the happiness-gap. On the contrary, time distribution to some other activities is in line with the happiness derived from those activities; that is, locals report both substantially higher happiness and time spent on activities outside home/work/transit and on exercising. Additionally, migrants spend more time on the computer and appear to enjoy that time more.

5.6.5 The incremental value of daily life experiences

The final model shows the incremental value of including time composition effects, and saddening effects that consistently and significantly differed between migrants and locals. Table 5.7 proceeds in stages. In the baseline model (model 1), the full set of covariates is added to minimise the chance that the more extensive models (model 2 and 3) pick up selection effects instead of adding unique explanatory power. In model 2, the time allocation of the five distinguished categories is incorporated and supplemented

33 A more detailed analysis of 'friends' did not appear to be useful due to the limited sample size per activity.

Table 5.5 Happiness from a state-like perspective in the ESM and the DRM

	DRM			ESM		
	Locals	Migrants		Locals	Migrants	
	(N=109)	*(N=41)*		*(N=109)*	*(N=41)*	
	Current Happiness	Current Happiness	F-statistic	Current Happiness	Current Happiness	F-statistic
Social leisure/entertainment	**7.87**	**7.71**		**7.42**	**7.17**	
Social drinks and partying	8.32	7.96		7.65	7.80	
Going to cinema/theatre/sports	8.09	8.26		7.71	7.47	
Talking	7.79	7.60		7.03	7.15	
Shopping	7.59	7.42		7.72	7.05	
Institutional events (e.g. church event)	7.07	7.36		7.12	7.05	
Active Leisure	**7.74**	**7.48**		**7.20**	**7.26**	
Intimacy/sex	8.37	6.84		7.74	7.35	
Exercising	7.72	7.15	2.72^{+}	7.32	7.08	
Hobbies	7.24	7.57		6.97	6.90	
Passive leisure	**6.72**	**6.92**		**6.52**	**6.34**	
Reading	7.58	5.48	7.71*	6.81	6.52	
Watching TV	7.31	7.18		6.82	6.79	
Listening to music	7.00	7.31		6.99	6.50	
On the Computer	6.40	6.97	2.93^{+}	6.52	6.59	
Resting	5.97	6.41		5.95	5.84	
Other leisure	*7.63*	*7.27*		*7.15*	*7.22*	
Daily activities	**6.47**	**6.27**		**6.53**	**6.34**	
Eating	7.44	6.95	5.89*	7.04	6.72	3.15^{+}
Taking care of others	6.96	5.68		7.76	7.39	
Cooking	6.68	5.97		6.87	6.52	
In transit	6.29	5.94		6.40	6.33	
Getting up and ready	5.65	5.47		6.08	6.00	
Work-related activities	**6.18**	**6.01**		**6.10**	**5.94**	
Housekeeping	6.31	5.97		6.47	6.00	2.96^{+}
Working	6.25	6.26		6.14	6.29	
Studying	6.10	5.99		6.02	5.79	
Interaction partners						
Partner	7.45	7.16		6.90	7.10	
Friends	7.28	6.82	5.76*	7.08	6.70	4.43*
Direct family	7.19	6.77		6.86	6.47	3.22^{+}
Alone	6.16	6.06		6.11	6.00	
Colleagues	6.14	6.17		6.02	6.20	
Locations						
Elsewhere out of house	6.90	6.63		6.76	6.45	3.30^{+}

Table 5.5 Happiness from a state-like perspective in the ESM and the DRM (continued)

	DRM			ESM		
	Locals	Migrants		Locals	Migrants	
	(N=109)	*(N=41)*		*(N=109)*	*(N=41)*	
	Current Happiness	Current Happiness	F-statistic	Current Happiness	Current Happiness	F-statistic
At home	6.54	6.32		6.39	6.28	
At work	6.21	6.11		6.07	6.00	
In public transport/vehicle	5.96	5.83		6.04	6.35	

Note: Results are mean-adjusted for differences in all covariates listed in table 1. The five overarching categories are weighted for frequency of performing the underlying specific activities. Significance levels at the 10%, 5%, and 1% level are denoted by $^{+}$, *****, and ****** respectively.

Table 5.6 Unraveling the happiness-difference of eating (DRM).

Interaction partners	**Frequencies**		**Momentary happiness**		
	Locals	*Migrants*	*Locals*	*Migrants*	*F-statistic*
Friends	12%	11%	7.73	7.23	2.86^{+}
Partner	22%	16%	7.62	7.19	
Direct family	33%	41%	7.43	7.17	
Colleagues	1%	2%	-	-	
Alone	32%	30%	6.73	6.64	

Note: Percentages and means are adjusted for differences in all covariates listed in table 1. Significance levels at the 10%, 5%, and 1% level are denoted by +, *****, and ****** respectively.

by the category 'other leisure', as it does not belong in a specific category. Finally, a "full" model is created (model 3) in which the consistently-found saddening effects of eating and being with friends are included. The value of model 2 and 3 is threefold.

First, it allows us to examine the degree to which the inclusion of daily life experiences can reduce the coefficient of the migration dummy. Logically, the migration dummy in model 1 is largely similar to the migration gap reported in model B of Table 5.3 as the same covariates are included but a different statistical procedure is applied. When also including time allocation (model 2), the gap decreases for all dependent variables relative to the first model and becomes insignificant for four of the six variables. The gap decreases further when saddening effects are included (model 3), resulting in insignificant migration variables for all dependent variables. Although part of the gap remains present in model 3, the gap decreases substantially in comparison to the less comprehensive models. Hence, daily assessments are valuable contributions in explaining the happiness-gap.

Second, the decreased gap can be explained by examining the effect of the time spending categories and saddening effects on the dependent variables. Active leisure is positively related to happiness and partially explains the gap because locals spend more time on this happiness-producing activity. Feeling good while eating and being with

friends is also associated with higher scores for the dependent variables. One's feelings with friends can be expected to have a stronger association with long-term happiness than one's feelings during eating as social networks are crucial for people. Interestingly, the reverse was consistently found over the dependent variables. Note, however, that the gap in eating is largely caused by enjoying eating with friends less.

Finally, we examine whether each progressive model has incremental value in explaining general happiness and subjective well-being. For this purpose, adjusted R squared statistics are reported because they impose a penalty on additional parameters to a model. Models 2 and 3 have incremental value in explaining each dependent variable as the R-square rises in any case from model 1 to model 2 and from model 2 to model 3. This implies that time composition and differences in momentary feelings are valuable explanatory factors, on top of individual and household characteristics, for explaining subjective well-being and happiness.

5.6.6 Robustness check

The cross-sectional data cannot rule out the possibility that the migration effect is driven by migrants who are genetically unhappier than locals and therefore never obtain a similar happiness level. For multiple reasons, it is unlikely that the entire migration gap would be caused by genetics; German internal migrants after reunification appeared to be somewhat happier than non-migrants (Fuchs-Schündeln and Schündeln 2009), migrants are typically self-confident and optimistic individuals, which correlates with higher happiness (Knight and Gunatilaka 2010), and the gap we observe remains sizeable after controlling for personality. Still, a more formal test of possible selectivity would increase the leverage of the results. Therefore, we follow Bartram (2013a) in applying a 2-stage treatment effects model.[34] The goal of the first stage is to obtain an estimation of the probability that one migrates. For this purpose, an instrumental variable is needed to predict the probability that someone would migrate, in addition to factors that affect the decision to migrate but cannot be affected by the act of migration (age and gender in our study). The instrumental variable must be strongly related to the independent variable (i.e., the migration-decision) but unrelated to the dependent variable (i.e., happiness). Spatial distance in kilometers to the nearest university offering a psychology-programme was chosen as an instrument. That is, most migrants indicated moving for the purpose of studying psychology (67 percent), which implies that only those who lived far away from a university felt the need to migrate (see column 1 in Table 5.8). The distance to a psychology programme is unrelated to happiness. The adoption of this instrument implies that only the student population of our sample was utilised in this

34 This type of 'Heckman' model applies a probit model in the first stage to reflect on the binary nature of the migration decision.

Table 5.7 The incremental value of including daily life experiences.

	Overall happiness (0-10)		*1-item life satisfaction (0-10)*		*Affect Balance (-5; 5)*		*SWLS (1-7)*		*Eudaimonia (1-7)*		*Domains (0-10)*	
	B		*B*		*B*		*B*		*B*		*B*	
Model 1 – Controlling for personal characteristics (df=130)												
Internal migration	-0.64*	(0.31)	-0.58^{+}	(0.39)	-0.91**	(0.34)	-0.40*	(0.19)	-0.29^{+}	(0.16)	-0.46^{+}	(0.26)
R-squared	*0.201*		*0.218*		*0.248*		*0.268*		*0.101*		*0.205*	
Adjusted R-squared	*0.084*		*0.104*		*0.138*		*0.161*		*-0.030*		*0.089*	
Model 2 – Additionally controlling for time-allocation (df=124)												
Internal migration	-0.50	(0.32)	-0.38	(0.40)	-0.80*	(0.35)	-0.26	(0.19)	-0.24*	(0.17)	-0.31	(0.27)
Social leisure	0.10	(0.13)	0.14	(0.17)	0.11	(0.15)	0.07	(0.08)	0.12^{+}	(0.07)	0.21^{+}	(0.11)
Active leisure	0.37*	(0.15)	0.53**	(0.19)	0.23	(0.17)	0.25**	(0.09)	0.08	(0.08)	0.23^{+}	(0.13)
Passive leisure	-0.05	(0.07)	-0.08	(0.09)	-0.19	(0.08)	-0.08^{+}	(0.05)	-0.11**	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.06)
Other leisure	0.01	(0.14)	-0.01	(0.17)	-0.24	(0.15)	0.07	(0.08)	-0.02	(0.07)	0.04	(0.12)
Daily activities	0.06	(0.06)	0.11	(0.07)	-0.03	(0.07)	0.01	(0.04)	0.02	(0.03)	0.01	(0.05)
Work-related	-0.02	(0. 05)	-0.11^{+}	(0.06)	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.04	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.09*	(0.04)
R-squared	*0.250*		*0.295*		*0.289*		*0.336*		*0.183*		*0.268*	
Adjusted R-squared	*0.099*		*0.153*		*0.146*		*0.203*		*0.019*		*0.129*	
Model 3 – Additionally controlling for 'saddening' effects (df=122)												
Internal migration	-0.31	(0.32)	-0.18	(0.40)	-0.59	(0.36)	-0.19	(0.20)	-0.13	(0.17)	-0.11	(0.27)
Feeling during eating	0.39*	(0.16)	0.48*	(0.20)	0.29^{+}	(0.17)	0.21*	(0.10)	0.21**	(0.08)	0.22^{+}	(0.13)
Feeling with friends	0.10	(0.16)	0.02	(0.20)	0.25	(0.18)	0.00	(0.10)	0.07	(0.08)	0.31*	(0.14)
R-squared	*0.297*		*0.333*		*0.327*		*0.363*		*0.246*		*0.332*	
Adjusted R-squared	*0.141*		*0.186*		*0.178*		*0.222*		*0.079*		*0.185*	
Observations	150		150		150		150		150		150	

Note: OLS estimation. Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels at the 10%, 5%, and 1% level are denoted by $^{+}$, *, and ** respectively

analysis (N=101). The second stage examines the effects of the independent variables on happiness.[35] A residual for each observation is obtained in both stages. Estimates are biased in a standard OLS if the unobservables in stage 1 are correlated with the unobservables in the stage 2 model. The negative ρ in Table 5.8 indicates a negative correlation between the unobservables in the first stage and in the second stage. Thus, unobservables are negatively (positively) related to migration and positively (negatively) related to happiness. This suggests that, if at all, migrants are positively selected from the population in terms of happiness, implying an increased gap when further removing selection effects. This is confirmed when looking at the coefficient sizes of a standard OLS (B= .42) and the two-stage model (B= .51). The insignificant λ indicates that there is no ground for preferring this more advanced model over a basic OLS-model.

Table 5.8 Two stage treatment model

First-stage				**Second-stage**		
Probability to migrate	B (SE)			Overall happiness	B (SE)	
Distance to psychology-program (instrument)	0.023	**	(0.00)	Internal migration	-0.51	(0.56)
Age	0.11	+	(0.06)			
Gender	0.02		(0.47)	λ	-0.10	(0.41)
Constant	-4.55		(1.36)	N	101	
				ρ	-0.07	
				σ	1.44	

Note: B's of full set of covariates not reported. Significance levels at the 10%, 5%, and 1% level are denoted by +, *, and ** respectively

5.7 DISCUSSION

The key goals of this paper have been to present a widely applicable methodology that can accurately zoom in on daily life and to advance the migration literature by addressing why internal migrants are typically unhappier than locals from a new point of view: the role of daily life. Global self-reports reveal that a gap remains present among young adults after controlling for socio-demographic differences. These gaps are shown to be particularly caused by a different experience of daily life. One part of the explanation comes from a different distribution of time. The young adult migrants allocated less time to active leisure and activities outside of home/work/transit. Specifically, they spent significantly less time on exercising and social drinking/parties. This is unfortunate as these activities are all associated with high momentary happiness and high global self-ratings of happiness. A viable explanation for the time composition differences can be drawn

35 Similar results are found when using other dependent variables; results are available on request.

from the broaden-and-build theory (Fredrickson 2001). The stressful lives of migrants lead them to have less mental and physical energy to engage in happiness-promoting activities as they are typically effortful. A snowball develops in which less openness to, and energy for, happiness-promoting activities leads to less positive feelings, which subsequently leads again to less mental energy, and so on. Locals also spend more time on the computer, which is generally associated with lower happiness. However, migrants were somewhat happier than locals when spending time on the computer. A profound reason for higher enjoyment and more time allocated to the computer may be the use of social media on the computer as a tool to communicate with their friends and family who do not live close by. Another part of the explanation for the migrant-local happiness-gap comes from lower happiness of migrants while being with friends and while eating. The lower enjoyment of eating is not caused by eating with friends less often, but by experiencing less enjoyment while eating with friends. The social capital literature provides two potential explanations for migrants' lower enjoyment when being or eating with friends. Locals have lived in a certain place for a long time and have therefore had the opportunity to be selective in choosing friends and maintaining relationships over time. Migrants have had limited opportunities to build new social networks and must therefore choose from a considerably smaller pool of people (Putnam 2000). Relatedly, migrants' ties with others are typically not as strong as the ties that locals have with their long-time friends, leading to feelings of low social support and lower levels of comfort while spending time with the 'new friends' (Portes 2000). Temporal comparison processes may augment the dissatisfaction with current friends because the less intimate new friends compare negatively to long-time friends from the place of origin. Both the time composition differences and the differences in momentary happiness while being with friends explain a substantial part of the migrant-local happiness-gap.

The knowledge regarding the impact of internal migration on happiness is limited, especially compared to international migration. This paper reveals that migrants can benefit from aid in daily life decisions. From a policy perspective, migrants appear to benefit from help in building new social lives and engaging in positive experiences such as active leisure. This can be achieved by local governments offering help, information, or discounts to migrants for becoming engaged in new communities and social- and active leisure activities in the host region. National governments can reduce migration stress by simplifying moving processes, such as the process of registering in a new city.

Methodologically, we show that the use of technologies that zoom in on daily life add to the explanation of global subjective well-being. Future research can solve other economic, sociological, and psychological puzzles by using cost-effective smartphone applications that zoom in on the phenomenon under interest to obtain detailed information that is difficult to derive from general surveys. The black boxes opened by this

methodology can greatly benefit public policy making as it helps to clarify what causes particular phenomena, thereby offering a step forward in acting upon these problems and thereby improving happiness in society.

Despite its contributions, this study also has limitations. The independent variable may not have been optimal as spatial distance may be different to perceived distance. The future robustness of findings on internal migration can be improved by the development of an index of perceived distance including factors as travelling time and culture distance and complementing the measure of spatial distance. Another limitation was our sample; it was quantitatively limited, directed to a specific region, and included mostly females. We encourage future studies to check whether our results are generalisable to other regions, countries, and populations. A limitation in the measurement of happiness was that participants completed all six global subjective well-being scales consecutively, which lowers the advantages of measuring multiple constructs as biases as the impact of mood and question-order may consistently occur in the baseline-questionnaire. A limitation of applying both the ESM and the DRM is that there are likely to be carry-over effects from one activity to the next. A final limitation was the cross-sectional research design. Although we managed to minimise the chance of selection biases by using a two-stage model, a longitudinal design incorporating pre-migration data would have been preferable. Yet, longitudinal datasets incorporating migration-data are largely unavailable and therefore this study is not an exception in having to resort to cross-sectional data.

In conclusion, by relating the introduced smartphone application to a baseline questionnaire, we show the incremental value that multiple moment assessments can bring to general surveys in advancing knowledge. In this paper, this technology has been valuable in explaining the migrant-local happiness-gap by revealing the role of daily life experiences. We hope human knowledge will be advanced by applying similar technology on a wider scale.

6 Unsuccessful subjective well-being assimilation among immigrants: The role of shifting reference points and faltering perceptions of the host society

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The subjectively experienced well-being of immigrants in developed countries – assessed by their self-reported happiness and life satisfaction – does not increase with their length of stay (the pattern is U-shaped at best) and the second generation does not have higher subjective well-being than their immigrant parents (Safi 2010; Obućina 2013; Stillman et al. 2015; Calvo and Cheung, forthcoming). These circumstances imply that immigrants generally fail to assimilate to the typically higher subjective well-being levels of the native population in the developed host country (Hendriks 2015).[36] Why does immigrants' subjective well-being not improve over time?

This unsuccessful subjective well-being assimilation contradicts the notions of classical "straight-line" assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 1997) and the related adaptation hypothesis (Berry 1997) that the overall well-being of immigrants in developed countries improves over time and across generations. These conventional beliefs are based on the idea that immigrants initially experience the high socio-economic costs of migration (Sjaastad 1962) and acculturative stress (Berry 2006), after which their well-being

36 Broadly defined, assimilation refers to "the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of an ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it" (Alba and Nee 1997; p. 863). Subjective well-being refers to the subjective enjoyment of one's life (Veenhoven 2012a), which covers both the extent to which an individual experiences affectively pleasant feelings (i.e., an affective component) and perceives oneself as obtaining what one wants from life (i.e., a cognitive component). Commonly used subjective well-being measures are global self-report measures of happiness or life satisfaction. Although life satisfaction taps more (less) into the cognitive (affective) component, it is closely related to happiness, both conceptually and empirically. Accordingly, the theoretical and empirical insights of this study hold for happiness, life satisfaction, and subjective well-being.

increases in a "straight line" as they psychologically and culturally adapt to and (re)build their careers and social networks in the host society. However, various scholars note that that not all immigrant groups assimilate in favourable directions (Portes and Zhou 1993) and that assimilation does not result in good outcomes in every life domain (Rumbaut 1997). Nevertheless, the empirical literature shows that the *average* immigrant and immigrant generation achieve *objective* progress in many important well-being domains, including improvements in terms of economic mobility (Chiswick, Lee, and Miller 2005), educational and occupational attainment (Farley and Alba 2002; Zuccotti, Ganzeboom, and Guveli 2017), social integration (Depalo, Faini, and Venturini 2006), and acculturation (Manning and Roy 2010). These findings are typically based on objective indicators of well-being and suggest that the well-being of the average immigrant objectively improves over time and that the children of immigrants born in the host country (i.e., the second generation) are objectively better off than their parents. Hence, immigrants' *subjective* reality differs considerably from their *objective* reality in terms of well-being assimilation – a distinction that Stillman et al. (2015) directly observe by comparing immigrants' steeply rising earnings to their declining subjective well-being.

The limited subjective well-being assimilation of immigrants is a potentially undesirable situation for both the immigrants and the host society. For immigrants, perceptions of experiencing inferior conditions compared with the native population, as well as limited progress in realizing their aspirations, can be a source of dissatisfaction and frustration. Additionally, less satisfied and happy immigrants may acculturate less (Richardson 1967), more often exhibit negative attitudes and behaviours towards society (Johnson and Fredrickson 2005), and contribute less to the economy and society in general (De Neve et al. 2013). In light of these potentially negative consequences of limited subjective well-being assimilation, understanding why immigrants do not perceive their lives to be improving over time is – or should be – an important societal and political concern in a globalizing world with rapidly growing immigrant populations.

This paper aims to outline and test an explanation for why the subjective well-being of immigrants in developed countries does not improve with their length of stay and across generations. Building on the subjective well-being literature and the literature on immigrant assimilation, we propose that a subjective process that influences the immigrants' subjective well-being assimilation remains uncaptured by objective indicators of assimilation. Focusing on immigrants' perceptions of the host country's economic, institutional, and social (i.e., societal) conditions, we argue that immigrants who move to more developed countries have gradually increasing aspirations and reference points because they habituate to the typically better conditions in their host country and compare their current conditions less often with the frequently inferior conditions (of the people) in their home country. The consequence of this more critical lens is that immigrants' initially positive evaluations of the host society falter with the length of their

stay. The development of a more critical lens may continue into the second generation because the second generation has never experienced the inferior conditions of their parents' home country and rarely compare the conditions of their country of residence to those of their parents' home country. In turn, we argue that immigrants' faltering perceptions of the host society impair their subjective well-being assimilation.

Using European Social Survey data covering 18 developed European countries, our main empirical finding is that immigrants' faltering perceptions of the host society do impair their subjective well-being assimilation in developed European host countries, and we provide some evidence that a shifting frame of reference (i.e., shifting reference points) is the underlying mechanism of this impaired assimilation.

At a more general level, this paper contributes to the literature examining how reference points (Clark et al. 2008) and adaptation effects (Diener et al. 2006; Luhmann et al. 2012) influence people's perceptions of their conditions and their feelings of well-being. This "relative dimension" of subjective well-being has attracted much scholarly attention since the renowned, though disputed, findings that economic growth does not translate into greater happiness (the "Easterlin paradox"; Easterlin 1974) and that individuals quickly return to their happiness set point after experiencing major positive or negative life events (Brickman, Coates, and Janoff-Bulman 1978). The current paper draws attention to the influence of shifting reference points that result from severe macro-environmental shocks (experienced by moving across borders) on the individual's subjective well-being and shows that, in line with revised adaptation theory (Diener et al. 2006 and Luhmann et al. 2012), people gradually, though not fully, adapt to these changes.

The remainder of this paper is organised as follows. In the next section, we explain why faltering perceptions and a changing frame of reference may hinder immigrants' subjective well-being assimilation. We then empirically examine whether faltering perceptions of host country conditions impair immigrants' subjective well-being assimilation and whether a shifting frame of reference is the likely underlying mechanism of this impaired assimilation. Finally, we conclude and discuss the implications and limitations of our study.

6.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

6.2.1 Relevant insights from subjective well-being literature

A prerequisite for understanding the limited subjective well-being assimilation of immigrants is the identification of what determines their subjective well-being. A person's subjective well-being is fixed by his or her genetics and personality to some extent, but happiness researchers generally agree that at least half of a person's subjective well-being can vary over time (Bartels 2015). Regarding the non-fixed component of subjective well-

being, people intuitively think about the importance of having objectively good living conditions, which certainly contribute to subjective well-being (Veenhoven and Ehrhardt 1995; Oswald and Wu 2010). This also holds for immigrants; for instance, the subjective well-being of immigrants relates positively to their economic conditions (Bartram 2011; Calvo and Cheung, forthcoming) and social resources (De Vroome and Hooghe 2014). The fact that immigrants' subjective well-being can vary over time and relates positively to their generally improving objective conditions suggests that a counteracting mechanism impedes their subjective well-being assimilation but that this mechanism remains uncaptured by the commonly used objective indicators of assimilation.

Comparison theories and adaptation level theories (Brickman et al. 1978; Michalos 1985; Diener et al. 2006; Luhmann et al. 2012) stress that a happy life goes well-beyond good living conditions – a point that Graham (2009) illustrates via reference to "the paradox of happy peasants and miserable millionaires". Instead, these theories posit that happiness strongly depends on an individual's *perceptions* of his or her objective situation formed by the gap between what one wants (aspirations) and what one has (objective living conditions). These perceptions of objective living conditions are important and unique determinants of subjective well-being because people's subjective interpretations of reality frequently differ considerably from their objective reality. For instance, the objective quality of the environment can strongly diverge from individual perceptions of that environment (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2013) and an individual's objective economic mobility is not necessarily similar to his or her perceived economic mobility (Graham and Pettinato 2001). A preeminent example that illustrates the importance of this "relative" dimension of subjective well-being is that people's income relative to their income in the past or that of their peers (i.e., their perceptions of their income) influences their happiness more than their absolute income level when their basic financial needs are met (Easterlin 2001; Clark et al. 2008). In this relative dimension, upward comparisons lead to decreased subjective well-being, and downward comparisons lead to increased subjective well-being (Luttmer 2005). Studies focusing on immigrants confirm that immigrants' subjective well-being is negatively affected by the income of their peers in the host or home country and relates more strongly to this relative income position than to their absolute income (Vohra and Adair 2000; Gokdemir and Dumludag 2012). Similarly, Akay, Bargain, and Zimmerman (2017) show that migrants' subjective well-being responds negatively to economic growth in their home country, which they explain by immigrants' competing feelings regarding the economic performance of their home country (i.e., upwardly moving reference points).

6.2.2 The changing perceptions of immigrants

The discussion above suggests that immigrants' perceptions of their conditions play an important role in their subjective well-being assimilation if these perceptions change

over time. Qualitative research documents that immigrants initially have extraordinarily positive perceptions of the host country's societal conditions; for instance, their perceived educational opportunities in the host country may markedly exceed those of the native population in the host country (Suarez-Orozco 1987). Quantitative research confirms that immigrants in developed countries initially have much higher levels of trust in the host country's public institutions (Michelson 2003; Röder and Mühlau 2012) and satisfaction with the host country's government (Maxwell 2010) than the native population does. Nevertheless, these studies also show that immigrants' trust of public institutions and government satisfaction declines with their length of stay, which suggests that their initial enthusiasm about the societal conditions of the host country falters over time. The positive perceptions of society seem to continue faltering across generations, as the second generation has lower levels of social trust (Dinesen and Hooghe 2010) and government satisfaction (Maxwell 2010) than first-generation immigrants do. Immigrants' subjective well-being assimilation may thus be impaired by faltering perceptions of societal conditions. Although we focus on societal conditions in this paper, Obućina's (2013) finding that immigrants' satisfaction with their income declines with their length of stay suggests that immigrants' perceptions of (certain) personal conditions may also gradually become less positive.

6.2.3 The changing reference points of immigrants

Perceptions do not change by themselves, which suggests the presence of a deeper cause of immigrants' faltering perceptions and, eventually, their limited subjective well-being assimilation. The reasoning behind comparison theories and adaptation-level theories that people experience and evaluate their lives relative to their aspirations rather than in a vacuum suggests that changing perceptions may occur due to changing aspirations. In turn, aspirations depend on reference points that follow from comparisons to specific reference groups (social comparisons; Festinger 1954) and an individual's personal situation in the past (adaptation or habituation; Helson 1964). This idea raises the question whether immigrants' reference points change over time.

Various migration theories posit that immigrants' orientations and, in turn, their frame of reference do change over time. The related literatures on acculturation (Berry et al. 2006) and assimilation (Alba and Nee 1997) observe that most migrants are open to adopting the cultural values of the host society and seek interactions with the host country's native population while possibly maintaining their cultural heritage and social networks from their home country. Similarly, the literature on immigrant transnationalism (Vertovec 2009) theorizes that many immigrants gradually develop economic and socio-cultural ties in the host country while maintaining their social, economic, and political ties to their home country. However, traditional labour migration theories posit that immigrants initially compare themselves merely to people back home. For instance, the

"new economics of labour migration" (Stark and Taylor 1991) states that many migrants plan to move only temporarily, as their move is partially incentivized by overcoming the relative deprivation in their home country. Nonetheless, labour migration theories generally recognize that many labour migrants ultimately settle permanently and then start orientating themselves more towards the host society as their ties with the home society weaken (see, e.g., Stark and Taylor 1991 on "reference group substitution").

The implication of these shifting orientations is that immigrants engage increasingly less in mechanisms that stimulate comparisons to the home country, for instance, visiting, communicating with people in, and following the news about the home country. This suggests that immigrants compare the host country's societal conditions less with the conditions of their home country over time. Additionally, the idea from adaptation-level theory (Helson 1964) that people mostly compare their current conditions to those of the *recent* past suggests that immigrants who reside in the host country for longer periods compare the host society's current societal conditions more to past conditions that they experienced in the *host* country as opposed to past conditions that they experienced in their *home* country. The shifting orientations of immigrants thus lead to a frame of reference that shifts at least partially from the home country to the host country over time.

Qualitative evidence mostly supports this partial shift in immigrants' reference points (i.e., a dual frame of reference), as most immigrants refer to the situations of others in both the home and host countries when evaluating their situations in the host country (Reese 2001; Menjívar and Bejarano 2004). In a small-scale quantitative study, Franzini and Fernandez-Esquer (2006) show that immigrants' frame of reference is increasingly based in the host country; they find that Mexican immigrants in Texas predominantly compare their situations to those of natives and other Mexican immigrants rather than those of Mexicans in Mexico, which is especially true for better acculturated immigrants. In the absence of large-scale data on immigrants' reference groups, Gelatt (2013) has used an indirect approach to empirically test immigrants' frame of reference. This author argues that immigrants hold a dual frame of reference because their subjective well-being is simultaneously affected by their subjective social status in their host and home countries. In addition, this author finds that the relationship between subjective social status in the host country and mental health/likelihood of depression becomes stronger over time, which provides some evidence that this dual frame of reference gradually develops with the length of stay. Similarly, Akay et al. (2017) illustrate that the influence of the home country's economic situation on the migrant's subjective well-being decreases with the length of stay, which they attribute to the declining use of the home country as a frame-of-reference.

For most immigrants who move to a more developed country, the development of a dual frame of reference may result in increasing reference points and consequent aspirations when they habituate to the better conditions in the host country and compare

their conditions less often with the inferior conditions (of people) in their home country. Initial empirical evidence confirms that the migration experience increases migrants' aspirations, including their economic (Czaika and Vothknecht 2014) and educational aspirations (Böhme 2015). Overall, this process of increasing reference points and aspirations is a plausible explanation for the faltering perceptions among immigrants regarding societal conditions.

This logic may also explain the more negative perceptions of the second generation regarding societal conditions. Second-generation immigrants rarely compare their country of residence to the home country of their parents; i.e., their frame of reference is predominantly based on their country of residence (Maxwell 2010). The *single* "country of residence" frame of reference of the second-generation immigrants and the native population in the host country suggests that they have higher reference points and aspirations – and thus less positive perceptions of similar living conditions – than first-generation immigrants who migrate from less developed countries and have a *dual* frame of reference. In other words, second-generation immigrants (and natives) can be expected to take the typically good societal conditions in developed host countries for granted more than their immigrant parents.

The considerations above lead to the framework presented in Figure 6.1. We first hypothesize that immigrants' faltering perceptions of the host country's societal conditions negatively mediates the relationship between the immigrant's length of stay/generation and his or her subjective well-being. Second, we hypothesize that these faltering perceptions of the host society follow from immigrants' changing reference points. In the absence of large-scale data on immigrants' reference points and aspirations (see Gelatt 2013), we indirectly examine whether these faltering perceptions follow from a changing frame of reference, as indicated by the dashed lines in Figure 6.1.

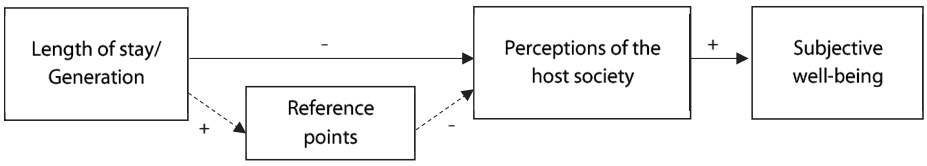

Figure 6.1 Theoretical framework.

6.3 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In the absence of long-running panel databases that track immigrants, the broad assimilation literature commonly resorts to cross-sectional data or panel data that covers only a few years (e.g., Chiswick et al. 2005). As we are interested in assimilation over the life course, we use cross-sectional, multi-country data taken from the bi-annual European

Social Survey (ESS) for the 2002–2014 period (rounds 1–7). The sample includes 11,482 first- and second-generation immigrants residing in 18 developed European countries, including the EU15 and three EFTA countries (Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland).

We define first-generation immigrants as individuals who were born abroad to foreign-born parents and second-generation immigrants as individuals who were born in the country of residence to foreign-born parents. All first- and second-generation immigrants who responded to the survey are included regardless of their country of origin. Foreign-born children with native parents and individuals with mixed parental backgrounds (the 2.5 generation) are excluded from the sample due to their ambiguous immigrant status.

In addition, we distinguish groups of first-generation immigrants by length of stay to explore whether their perceptions change over time. In all ESS rounds, immigrants indicate how long ago they migrated to their country of residence. In ESS rounds 1–4, respondents are given five possible answers: (a) within the last year, (b) 1–5 years ago, (c) 6–10 years ago, (d) 11–20 years ago, or (e) more than 20 years ago. In ESS rounds 5–7, participants indicate the exact year of their migration. Comparing the exact year of migration with the date of survey completion allows us to reclassify these responses into the five length-of-stay categories used in ESS rounds 1–4. To take advantage of all survey rounds, the main results are based on the categorical length-of-stay variable, while the results using the continuous length-of-stay variable of ESS rounds 5–7 are briefly discussed when relevant.

The analysis initially focuses exclusively on first- and second-generation immigrants (not natives) to concentrate on how immigrants' subjective well-being develops over time (the "progress" component of assimilation) rather than on the relative position of immigrants compared with the native population (the "positional" component of assimilation). However, natives will be included in additional analyses.

6.3.1 Dependent variable

The ESS includes two self-report measures of subjective well-being: life satisfaction and global happiness. The main analysis employs the more commonly used life satisfaction variable, which is formulated as "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?". The numerical response scale ranges from 0 (extremely dissatisfied) to 10 (extremely satisfied). The global happiness variable is used to conduct a robustness check.

6.3.2 Explanatory variables

The main explanatory variable is a self-constructed index of the immigrant's reported perceptions of the host country's societal conditions, which includes four indicators and

Scheme 6.1 Variable definition of the 'perceptions of the host society' index

Indicator	*Measure*	*Scale*
Economic satisfaction	On the whole how satisfied are you with the present state of the economy in [country of residence]?	extremely dissatisfied (0) – extremely satisfied (10)
Government satisfaction	Now thinking about the [country of residence] government, how satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job?	extremely dissatisfied (0) – extremely satisfied (10)
Trust in public institutions	Equally weighed index (Cronbach's α=0.86) of answers to the question: how much do you personally trust each of the [following] institutions: a) the country of residence's parliament b) the legal system c) the police d) politicians e) political parties	no trust at all (0) – completely trust (10)
Social trust	Equally weighed index (Cronbach's α=0.70) of:	
	a) Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?	you can't be too careful (0) – most people can be trusted (10)
	b) Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?	most people would try to take advantage of me (0) – most people would try to be fair (10)
	c) Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?	people mostly look out for themselves (0) – people mostly try to be helpful (10)

spans three dimensions.[37] *Economic satisfaction* captures the immigrant's perceptions of the economic environment of the host country; *government satisfaction* and *trust in public institutions* capture his or her perceptions of the institutional environment of the host country; and *social trust* captures his or her perceptions of the social environment of the host country. The exact measures of these indicators are presented in Scheme 6.1. We integrated these four indicators into an index based on equally weighted scores because we expect the same trend for each component and because their high statistical correlation raises multicollinearity issues when considered separately (Cronbach's α

37 The empirical analysis focuses on immigrants' perceptions of the host country's societal conditions rather than their evaluations of their personal conditions for three reasons. First, the *immediate* societal "shock" experienced by *all* immigrants upon arrival in the host country reveals the exact pattern of changing perceptions that follow from a changing frame of reference from the moment of arrival in the host country, whereas progress in personal conditions frequently appears only in the long run. Second, the objective difference between the host and home countries' societal conditions can be derived for every immigrant, while this difference is more ambiguous for personal conditions due to the missing information regarding the immigrant's pre-migration personal conditions and his or her comparison groups. Third, evaluations of societal conditions are available in all survey rounds, while evaluations of personal conditions (financial and job satisfaction) are only available in specific rounds. Moreover, the ESS includes limited information about the respondents' objective financial and job characteristics, which would constrain us in distinguishing whether changing perceptions follow from changing objective financial/job characteristics or a changing frame of reference.

= 0.76). Nevertheless, we will conduct a robustness check to explore the mediating role of the separate components.

6.3.3 Control variables

The first set of control variables aims to ensure that immigrants' faltering perceptions of the host society are due to *more critical* evaluations (an upwardly moving frame of reference) rather than *different* evaluation criteria. To mitigate the concern that immigrant groups may have different evaluation criteria (and life satisfaction) because of differences in their spatial distribution, we control for the respondent's *domicile*, *NUTS1-region of residence, and country of residence*. Moreover, the individual's *religious denomination, political preferences*, and *value orientations* are controlled for to rule out that faltering societal perceptions are driven by the gradual development of preferences that are less congruent with those of the prevailing governmental institutions and governing parties. The value orientations are based on the seven human values distinguished by Davidov et al. (2008): hedonism, security, self-direction, stimulation, power/achievement, tradition/conformity, and universalism/benevolence.

The second set of control variables attempts to rule out that the different compositions of the distinguished immigrant groups (in terms of origin) bias the association between changing perceptions of the host country and life satisfaction. Therefore, we include *country-of-origin dummies* and *country pair dummies* (interacting country-of-residence dummies and region-of-origin dummies); the latter capture the possibility that migrants who arrived more recently engage in more "happiness-efficient" migration streams.[38] The country-pair dummies are based on region-of-origin dummies (e.g., sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia) instead of country-of-origin dummies because the excessive number of possible combinations when interacting the countries of origin and countries of residence will lead to model estimation problems.[39] We also control for whether the immigrant comes from a former *colony* of the host country because a colonial tie may affect immigrants' perceptions of the host country.

The third set of control variables addresses potential biases due to the pooling of multiple survey rounds. We include *year dummies* to capture time-related shocks that are common for all host countries and *country-specific (linear) time trends* that capture differences in time trends between countries. The fourth and final set of control variables includes socio-demographic controls that are usually included in subjective well-being regressions: *household income (ln), employment status,* having a *partner* and/or *children,*

38 For instance, immigrants who migrated after their home country became part of the European Schengen area have more (and thus potentially better fitting) host countries to select from than earlier migrants did.

39 The region-of-origin dummies are based on the origin regions specified in Table 6.1.

perceived health, gender, age, age squared, and *years of education*.[40] Table 6.1 presents the summary statistics for all individual-level control variables and the composition of the immigrant sample. The exact measures of all control variables are listed in Table 6A of the Appendix.

Table 6.1 Descriptive statistics: Means/percentages by immigrant group.

	Generation 1					Generation 2
	< 1 year	**1-5 years**	**6-10 years**	**11-20 years**	**> 20 years**	
Observations	*198*	*1,260*	*1,473*	*2,329*	*3,974*	*2,248*
Age (years)	31.7	33.7	36.4	39.3	55.1	42.1
Male (%)	45	52	49	51	49	50
Partner (%)	56	63	66	67	67	54
Child at home (%)	29	39	52	57	41	36
Perceived health (1-5)	4.3	4.2	4.1	4.0	3.7	3.9
Household income (1-10)	4.7	4.8	5.0	5.2	5.2	5.4
Years of education	15.5	14.2	13.9	13.3	12.6	12.7
Employment status (%)						
Employed	51	62	63	65	51	55
Unemployed	18	11	12	11	5	8
Not active in job market	31	27	25	24	43	37
Domicile (%)						
Big city	31	29	28	27	24	25
Suburb/town/small city	46	49	50	49	49	51
Rural area	23	22	22	24	27	24
Religious denomination (%)						
Not religious	43	38	33	38	39	38
Christianity	40	47	49	41	44	40
Islam	13	12	15	17	12	18
Other	5	3	3	4	4	4
Political preference (0-10)	4.9	4.8	4.7	4.7	4.8	4.6
Hedonism (1-6)	4.4	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.1	4.4
Security (1-6)	4.6	4.6	4.8	4.8	4.6	4.6
Self-direction (1-6)	5.0	4.8	4.7	4.8	4.8	4.7
Stimulation (1-6)	4.2	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.5	3.7
Power/achievement (1-6)	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.5	3.6
Tradition/Conformity (1-6)	4.2	4.2	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.2
Universalism/Benevolence (1-6)	5.1	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0

40 Senik (2014) argues that the ESS education measures suffer from substantial measurement error when it comes to immigrants. We verified that the exclusion of education level has no noteworthy effect on our results.

Table 6.1 Descriptive statistics: Means/percentages by immigrant group. (continued)

	Generation 1					Generation 2
	< 1 year	1-5 years	6-10 years	11-20 years	> 20 years	
Colonial (%)	9	12	12	8	11	12
Region of origin (%)						
Developed Europe	34	30	24	25	43	42
Former Soviet Republics	8	11	13	12	3	3
Former Yugoslavia	3	3	4	11	7	4
Europe: Other	14	20	21	16	17	24
East Asia and Pacific	7	4	4	5	4	3
South Asia	5	4	5	4	4	4
Middle East and North Africa	7	7	8	10	11	13
Sub-Saharan Africa	9	9	10	8	5	3
Latin America & Caribbean	8	10	10	8	5	3
Non-Europe: Anglo-Saxon	5	2	1	1	1	1

Note: The division of immigrants by region of origin is based on the country classifications of the World Bank. "Developed Europe" includes 17 destination countries and Western European microstates (e.g., Monaco). "Europe: other" includes European countries that do not belong to developed Europe, former Soviet Republics, or the former Yugoslavia; these countries are situated in Central and South-Eastern Europe. "Non-Europe: Anglo-Saxon" comprises the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

6.3.4 Empirical methodology

To examine immigrants' subjective well-being assimilation, we first test the relationship between their length of stay/generation and subjective well-being by estimating an ordinary least squares (OLS) model with cluster-robust standard errors. This type of model is commonly used by economists and other social scientists when dealing with cross-sectional individual-level data that cover various countries and time-points (see, e.g., Safi 2010 and Senik 2014). This model has the following specification:

$$SWB_{ijot} = \beta_1 IG_{ijot} + \Theta \chi_{ijot} + \varepsilon_j + \tau_t + \varepsilon_j \tau_t + \lambda_o + \lambda_o \varepsilon_j + \mu_{ijot} \quad (1)$$

In this model, SWB_{ijot} denotes the overall life satisfaction of immigrant i in country j from origin o in year t. Vector IG_{ijot} represents the immigrant dummies for the various immigrant groups distinguished by length of stay and generation. Vector X_{ijot} includes the individual-level controls; vector ε_j includes the country-of-residence dummies; vector τ_t contains the year dummies; vector $\varepsilon_j \tau_t$ includes the country-specific time trends; vector λ_o includes the country-of-origin dummies; and vector $\lambda_o \varepsilon_j$ includes the country-pair dummies. Finally, μ_{ijot} is a residual error.

Given that our dataset only contains 18 units at the highest clustering level (host countries), clustering our standard errors at the country level will lead to downward biased standard errors (Cameron, Gelbach, and Miller 2008). We partly avoid this issue by clustering at the country-year level, although we acknowledge that this approach may

still produce slightly downward biased standard errors. Therefore, our statistical inference (p-values) in the OLS regressions is based on the wild cluster bootstrap method (Cameron et al. 2008). In addition, we implicitly presume cardinality for our life satisfaction variable, which is a common assumption in happiness economics because linear and ordinal estimation techniques produce similar results in most cases while linear models are easier to interpret (Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters 2004).

To examine the role of perceived societal conditions in subjective well-being assimilation, we assess whether the relationship between length of stay/generation and subjective well-being changes when also controlling for the immigrant's perceptions of the host society. This second model has the following specification:

$$SWB_{ijot} = \beta_1 IG_{ijot} + \boldsymbol{\Omega}\, \boldsymbol{PSE_{ijot}} + \Theta \chi_{ijot} + \varepsilon_j + \tau_t + \varepsilon_j\tau_t + \lambda_o + \lambda_o\varepsilon_j + \mu_{ijot} \quad (2)$$

Compared with eq. 1, this model also includes the predictor variable PSE_{ijot}, which constitutes the index of perceptions of the host society. A comparison of the first model and the second model will show the association between immigrants' societal perceptions and their subjective well-being development over time.

The OLS models are complemented by formal mediation tests that examine the extent to which perceptions of the host country's society mediate the relationship between the immigrant's length of stay/generation and subjective well-being. We estimate these indirect effects using a seemingly unrelated regression (SUR) procedure – implemented via Stata's *suest* command – because alternative commonly used methods for multilevel meditation tests, such as *ml_mediation* and *medeff*, cannot handle categorical independent variables. SUR combines the regression estimates into one parameter vector and a simultaneous sandwich (robust) variance-covariance matrix. This information is used to construct the usual Wald-type test statistic for cross-model hypothesis tests. Next, we employ Stata's *nlcom* command to estimate the standard errors and confidence intervals using the delta method, an approximation appropriate in large samples.[41]

6.4 RESULTS

6.4.1 Trends in subjective well-being and perceptions of the host country

In line with the previous literature, Figure 6.2 shows no positive life satisfaction trend in the first 20 years after migration when controlling for exogenous variables that may confound the relationship between length of stay and life satisfaction. There is weak evidence that life satisfaction starts to increase after the first 20 years; immigrants who stay in the host country for more than 20 years report, on average, a 0.21 higher life

41 See http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/stata/faq/mediation_cativ.htm for a more detailed explanation of our approach to estimating mediation effects.

satisfaction score than migrants who arrived 6–10 ago (significant at the 5% level) and a 0.16 higher life satisfaction score than migrants who arrived 11–20 years ago (significant at the 10% level). Nevertheless, immigrants who arrived more than 20 years ago are not more satisfied with their lives than migrants who arrived less than five years ago. Additionally, the second generation is not more satisfied with their lives than the first generation. When using the continuous length-of-stay variable for rounds 5–7 and excluding second-generation immigrants (n = 4,671) to re-estimate Figure 6.2, we find no evidence of a positive linear life satisfaction trend or of a U-shaped relationship between length of stay and life satisfaction.[42] Turning to immigrants' perceptions of the host country's societal conditions, Figure 6.3 shows the expected trend that first-generation immigrants gradually develop less favourable perceptions of the host country's societal environment, net of all controls. However, these perceptions remain more favourable than those of the second generation.

6.4.2 Main results

Our main analysis explores the extent to which these faltering perceptions of the host society are associated with immigrants' subjective well-being development. Following eq. 1, the baseline regression model (Column 1) in Table 6.2 presents immigrants' life satisfaction development, net of all controls. Compared with Figure 6.1, this model also includes control variables that are potentially endogenous to the migration experience. Nonetheless, the observation holds that immigrants' life satisfaction does not substantially improve with the length of their stay in the host country. For instance, the non-significant coefficients for immigrants who arrived last year or 1–5 years ago indicate that their levels of life satisfaction are similar to those of the reference group of immigrants who arrived more than 20 years ago. Following eq. 2, Column 2 of Table 6.2 also includes immigrants' perceptions of the host society as a predictor variable. The positive coefficient of this index indicates that favourable perceptions of the host society are positively associated with life satisfaction. When controlling for these societal perceptions, length of stay becomes more positively associated with life satisfaction: all more recently arrived immigrants are now less satisfied with life than those who arrived more than 20 years ago. This finding suggests that immigrants' faltering enthusiasm about the host country might help explain why their subjective well-being does not improve over

42 The different interview years that result from our pooling of survey rounds allows us to disentangle the effects of length of stay from possible cohort effects that affect the association between length of stay and subjective well-being. Using a subsample of migrants that can be classified in the arrival cohorts, we conducted a robustness check in which cohort-fixed effects were added to the main model. The results, presented in Table 6B of the Appendix, show that cohort effects do not provide a reliable explanation for the absence of positive life satisfaction development. Re-migration patterns are also an unlikely cause of non-positive subjective well-being development, given that "unsuccessful" migrants are more likely to re-migrate. Hence, immigrants might assimilate to an even lesser extent when taking account of re-migration patterns.

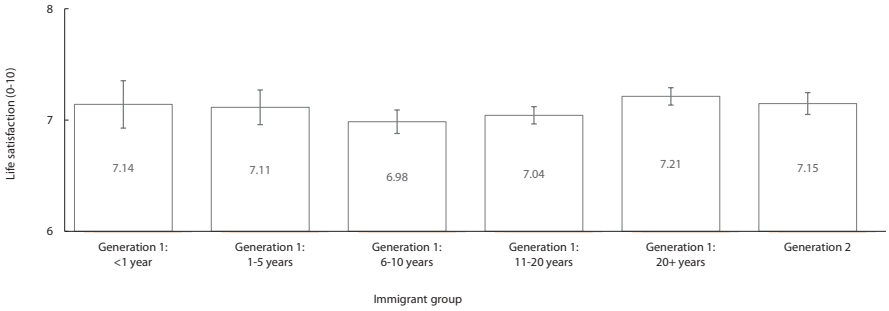

Figure 6.2 Immigrant life satisfaction by length of stay and generation.
Note: Estimations are based on the sample presented in Table 6.1. The error bars show 95% confidence intervals. Means are adjusted for the following exogenous control variables: age, gender, year dummies, country-specific time trends, colony, country and NUTS1 region of residence, country of origin, and country-pair dummies.

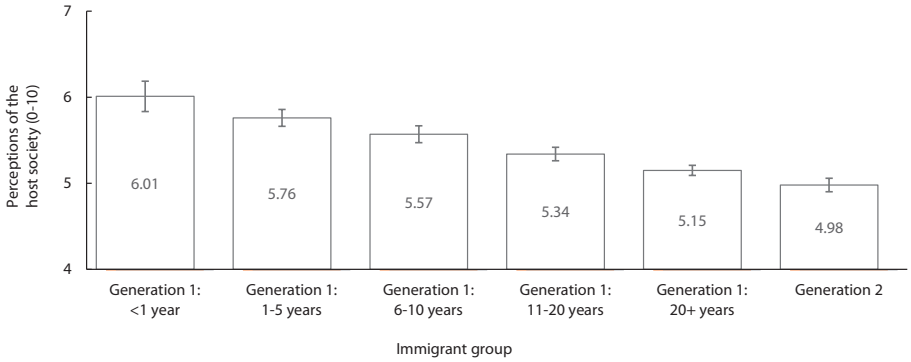

Figure 6.3 Perceptions of the host society by length of stay and generation.
Note: Estimations are based on the sample presented in Table 6.1. The error bars show 95% confidence intervals. Means are adjusted for all the control variables discussed in section 6.3.3.

time. Similarly, the life satisfaction of second-generation immigrants increases relative to that of first-generation immigrants when controlling for their less positive perceptions of the host society.

The significant indirect effects derived from the mediation tests confirm that immigrants' faltering perceptions of the host society significantly suppress their life satisfaction development over time and across migrant generations. For instance, the more positive societal perceptions of immigrants who arrived last year provides them with a life satisfaction advantage of 0.42 compared with the reference group of immigrants who arrived more than 20 years ago. The magnitude of the indirect effects decreases with the length of stay, which indicates that the life satisfaction advantage originating from positive perceptions of the host society gradually decreases over time.

Table 6.2 Main results.

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	OLS regressions		Indirect effects
	(1)	(2)	(1) – (2)
Immigrant group			
Generation 1: <1 year	-0.04	-0.46**	0.42**
	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.05)
Generation 1: 1-5 years	-0.07	-0.36**	0.29**
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.03)
Generation 1: 6-10 years	-0.23*	-0.44**	0.20**
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.03)
Generation 1: 11-20 years	-0.15*	-0.25**	0.09**
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.02)
Generation 1: 20+ years	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*
Generation 2	-0.08	-0.00	-0.08**
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.02)
Perceptions of the host society		0.48**	
		(0.02)	
Employment status *(ref. employed)*			
Unemployed	-0.72**	-0.62**	
	(0.12)	(0.08)	
Not active in the job market	-0.05	-0.06	
	(0.05)	(0.04)	
Household income (ln)	0.34**	0.27**	
	(0.03)	(0.04)	
Years of education	-0.01	-0.01	
	(0.00)	(0.00)	
Perceived health	0.57**	0.45**	
	(0.03)	(0.03)	
Partner	0.44**	0.44**	
	(0.03)	(0.04)	
Children	-0.04	-0.06	
	(0.05)	(0.04)	
Age	-0.07**	-0.07**	
	(0.01)	(0.01)	
Age^2/100	0.08**	0.07**	
	(0.01)	(0.01)	
Male	-0.08*	-0.10**	
	(0.03)	(0.03)	
Political preference	0.08**	0.04**	
	(0.01)	(0.01)	
Religion *(ref. not religious)*			

Table 6.2 Main results. (continued)

	OLS regressions		Indirect effects
Christianity	0.05	0.04	
	(0.06)	(0.04)	
Islam	0.19*	0.15	
	(0.08)	(0.08)	
Other religion	0.15	0.16	
	(0.09)	(0.10)	
Hedonism	0.17**	0.16**	
	(0.02)	(0.02)	
Security	-0.04	-0.02	
	(0.02)	(0.02)	
Self-direction	0.01	0.04	
	(0.02)	(0.02)	
Stimulation	-0.03*	-0.02	
	(0.01)	(0.02)	
Power/achievement	-0.11**	-0.10**	
	(0.03)	(0.02)	
Tradition/conformity	0.02	-0.02	
	(0.04)	(0.03)	
Universalism/benevolence	0.17**	0.15**	
	(0.04)	(0.04)	
Domicile *(ref: big city)*			
Suburb/town/small city	0.02	0.05	
	(0.06)	(0.05)	
Rural area	0.05	0.08	
	(0.06)	(0.06)	
Colonial	0.03	0.07	
	(0.19)	(0.13)	
Country of residence dummies	Yes	Yes	
Year dummies	Yes	Yes	
Country-specific time trends	Yes	Yes	
Country of origin dummies	Yes	Yes	
Region of origin dummies*Country of residence dummies	Yes	Yes	
Observations	11,482	11,482	
R^2	0.25	0.34	

Notes: Regression coefficients are displayed with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. Statistical significance is determined based on wild bootstrap clustered p-values, which are computed with 1,000 bootstrap iterations. The coefficients of the indirect effects come from directly comparing the respective immigrant group coefficients from Column 2 to the coefficients from Column 1. Small differences may occur due to rounding.

When using the continuous length-of-stay variable to re-estimate the model that controls for perceptions of the host society (Column 2), length of stay relates positively to life satisfaction. A U-shaped assimilation pattern is observed after further inspection because the positive linear trend is exclusively driven by the strong positive life satisfaction development of immigrants who migrated more than 10 years ago. A potential explanation for the absence of positive development in the first 10 years after migration is that the index used may not capture all the changing perceptions that follow from a shifting frame of reference (e.g., perceptions of personal conditions) and/or other factors that also boost happiness in the first years after migration but recede over time.

6.4.2.1 Robustness checks

The main variables of interest on both sides of the equation (life satisfaction and perceptions of the host society) are subjective in nature. The measurement errors of these variables may be correlated, as certain individuals may have a general tendency towards more positive or negative perceptions and/or response patterns for subjective measures. Following Graham and Nikolova (2015) and Arampatzi et al. (2015), we control for this potential bias to the extent possible by including mood and optimism controls, which are jointly available in ESS rounds 3 and 6. These variables capture a substantial amount of this potential endogeneity bias because being in a good mood or being an optimistic person are principal determinants of the tendency to answer subjective questions more positively. Controlling for optimism also allows us to check whether our results are driven by a more general sense of optimism among more recently arrived immigrants. The inclusion of mood and optimism controls does not substantially affect the indirect effects of societal perceptions (see Table 6C in the Appendix), meaning that our main results hold: more positive perceptions of the host society provide recently arrived immigrants with a life satisfaction advantage compared with more established immigrants and the second generation.[43]

Likewise, our main results might pick up a broader association between changing perceptions and subjective well-being than changing perceptions of societal conditions alone. In particular, one might think about changes in one's perceptions of personal conditions. We test this possibility by expanding our main models to include two control variables relating to the respondent's perceptions of personal conditions: job satisfaction (available in ESS rounds 3, 5, and 6) and financial satisfaction (available in ESS round 3). The results, reported in Table 6D of the Appendix, show that job satisfaction and/or financial satisfaction are not major drivers of the mediating role of the societal percep-

43 We did not find evidence of optimism mediating the effect between the immigrant's subjective well-being and length of stay/generation. The results are available upon request.

tions index.[44] Nevertheless, with the data available, we cannot completely rule out that our index picks up faltering perceptions of other personal conditions to some extent.

Our results are also robust to the alternative specification of variables. In the Appendix, we show that our results hold when assessing subjective well-being using the global happiness measure instead of the life satisfaction measure (Table/Figure 6E) and for each of the index components independently (Table/Figure 6F). Moreover, while our main analysis showed that faltering perceptions of the host society impair positive subjective well-being development, the non-significant interaction terms presented in Table 6G indicate that subjective well-being development is not further impaired by the declining returns (i.e., declining importance) of societal perceptions for subjective well-being.

6.4.3 The underlying mechanism: Shifting reference points?

We perform three analyses to assess whether shifting reference points can be reasonably expected to drive the relationship between immigrant status and perceptions of the host society.

6.4.3.1 The immigrant-native gap in subjective well-being

We have argued that first-generation immigrants have a dual frame of reference as opposed to the single "country of residence" frame of reference of natives and the second generation. If a person's frame of reference is an important driver of his or her perceptions of the host society (and, ultimately, his or her subjective well-being), comparing the host country's typically better societal conditions with those of the home country should provide first-generation immigrants with more favourable perceptions of the host society than natives (and the second generation), assuming that all groups have objectively equal societal conditions in the country of residence. A first analysis compares how societal perceptions affect the subjective well-being gap between immigrants and natives to explore whether this logic holds. Additionally, this analysis explores whether our assumption holds that immigrants have less life satisfaction than the native population in the host country, implying that immigrants do not assimilate to the subjective well-being levels of natives. Net of all controls presented in Table 6.3, first-generation immigrants (5.42) perceive the host country's societal conditions significantly more favourably than do natives (5.05) and the second generation (4.98). Table 6.3 shows how these different perceptions affect the subjective well-being differences between immigrants and natives. The baseline model (Column 1) confirms that first- and second-generation immigrants are significantly less satisfied with life than natives. Nonethe-

44 Non-reported results show that job and financial satisfaction do not mediate the relationship between the immigrant's subjective well-being and length of stay/generation.

Table 6.3 The immigrant-native gap in subjective well-being.

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	OLS regressions		Indirect effects
	(1)	(2)	(1) – (2)
Immigrant status			
Natives	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*
Generation 1	-0.14**	-0.27**	0.14**
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.01)
Generation 2	-0.10*	-0.08*	-0.02
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)
Perceptions of the host society		0.37**	
		(0.01)	
Observations	124,733	124,733	
R^2	0.27	0.33	

Notes: Regression coefficients and indirect effects are displayed with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. The control variables and sample composition are as in Table 6.2, except for the exclusion of immigrant specific controls (country of origin, colony, and country pair dummies). Natives are defined as individuals who were born and of whom both parents were born in the country of residence. * p<0.05, ** p<0.01.

less, the more favourable perceptions of societal conditions among first-generation immigrants give them a significant life satisfaction advantage compared with natives, as illustrated by the increasing life satisfaction gap between first-generation immigrants and natives when controlling for perceptions of the host society (Column 2). However, perceptions of societal conditions do not substantially affect the life satisfaction gap between natives and the second generation, which is consistent with our belief that the second generation and natives have a similar frame of reference. The findings of this analysis thus provide some evidence that the frame of reference influences perceptions of one's current societal conditions and, ultimately, one's subjective well-being.

6.4.3.2 Objective differences

The main analysis included the full immigrant population in the considered host countries, regardless of the objective differences in the quality of the societal environment between the home and host countries. Hence, the heterogeneity between immigrant groups is not considered in these estimations. However, if a frame of reference is an important driver of perceptions of the host society, first-generation immigrants whose societal conditions objectively improve more by migrating should have more favourable perceptions of the host society because their home country provides them with lower reference points. This second analysis examines whether this logic holds by grouping immigrants in quartiles based on the extent to which their situation has objectively improved using the difference in the home and host countries' "objective" quality of governance according to the World Bank's World Governance Indicators as a proxy indicator (Kaufmann, Kraay, and

Table 6.4 Migrants categorized by objective differences in host and home country conditions.

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	OLS regressions		Indirect effects
	(1)	(2)	(1) – (2)
Quartile of objective difference			
Quartile 1 (most inferior difference)	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*
Quartile 2	-0.21**	-0.26**	0.05
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.02)
Quartile 3	-0.32**	-0.41**	0.09**
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.02)
Quartile 4 (most beneficial difference)	-0.38**	-0.50**	0.13**
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.02)
Perceptions of the host society		0.49**	
		(0.02)	
Observations	9,234	9,234	
R^2	0.22	0.33	

Notes: Regression coefficients and indirect effects are displayed with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. The control variables and sample composition are as in Table 6.2, except for (1) the inclusion of the immigrant's length of stay as an additional control, (2) the exclusion of immigrant-specific controls (country-of-origin and country-pair dummies), and (3) the exclusion of second-generation immigrants from the sample because their societal perceptions are not expected to depend on their origin.

Mastruzzi 2011).[45] Perceptions of the host society are more favourable when the quality of governance is improves to a greater extent (quartile 1 = 5.28; quartile 2 = 5.37; quartile 3 = 5.46; quartile 4 = 5.53). Table 6.4 shows that immigrants whose institutional environments objectively improve more by migrating experience a more pronounced life satisfaction boost from their more favourable perceptions of the host society. For instance, the quartile of immigrants whose host country's quality of governance exceeds that of the home county most (quartile 4) derives a life satisfaction advantage of 0.13 because of their more positive perceptions of the host society compared with the quartile of immigrants whose host country's quality of governance exceeds that of the home county least (quartile 1). These findings provide additional evidence that the frame of reference affects perceptions of societal conditions and, ultimately, subjective well-being.[46]

45 The six equally weighed indicators are political stability, voice/accountability, government effectiveness, regulatory power, rule of law, and control of corruption. For all four quartiles, the host countries score higher on the World Governance Indicators than the home countries, with 0.08 (quartile 1), 0.78 (quartile 2), 1.56 (quartile 3), and 2.42 (quartile 4) points. We verified that our findings are similar when categorizing immigrants by the objective difference in the home and host countries' GDP per capita.

46 Unreported results show that the pace at which immigrants assimilate to natives' perceptions of societal conditions is similar for all immigrant groups; thus, faltering perceptions impair subjective well-being similarly for all four quartiles.

6.4.3.3 Acculturation

The first two analyses in section 6.4.3 show that a frame of reference is an important driver of perceptions of the host society, but they do not explain whether this frame of reference is likely to shift over time. If a frame of reference does shift over time, we expect that better acculturated immigrants have less favourable perceptions of the host society because they generally do not compare the host country's societal conditions as much to those of their home country. Reverse causality cannot explain this negative relationship because immigrants tend to acculturate more when they value the host country's societal environment more. In this third analysis, we examine whether perceptions of the host society negatively mediate the relationship between acculturation and subjective well-being as a way of exploring the dependence of these perceptions on a shifting frame of reference. We use citizenship as a proxy for acculturation and split the immigrant population by citizenship status. Controlling for length of stay and all other controls in Table 6.5, immigrants without citizenship evaluate the host country's conditions significantly more positively than immigrants with citizenship (5.49 vs. 5.32), which provides them with a life satisfaction advantage of 0.09 compared with immigrants with citizenship (see Table 6.5).

In addition, we split the immigrant population by the language spoken at home. In terms of language use, less acculturated immigrants have significantly more positive perceptions of the host country's conditions than immigrants who speak the host country language at home, net of all controls in Table 5 (5.51 vs. 5.38). Table 6.5 illustrates that these favourable perceptions provide less acculturated immigrants with a life satisfaction advantage of 0.06 over the more acculturated immigrants in terms of language use. These findings support the reasoning that an immigrant's orientation towards the

Table 6.5 Migrants categorized by acculturation.

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	OLS regressions				Indirect effects
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1) – (2) / (3) – (4)
Citizenship	0.02	0.10*			-0.09**
	(0.05)	(0.05)			(0.02)
Host country language spoken at home			-0.01	0.06	-0.06**
			(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.02)
Perceptions of the host society		0.50**		0.50**	
		(0.02)		(0.02)	
Observations	9,234	9,234	9,234	9,234	
R^2	0.26	0.36	0.26	0.36	

Notes: Regression coefficients and indirect effects are displayed with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. The control variables and sample composition are as in Table 6.2, except for the inclusion of length of stay as an additional control and the exclusion of second-generation immigrants from the sample.
* $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$.

home country boost his or her evaluations of the host society and, ultimately, his or her subjective well-being. Immigrants commonly acculturate over time, and their frame of reference thus gradually shifts away from the home country, which suggests that a shifting frame of reference is an important driver of their faltering perceptions of the host country's conditions and, in turn, impairs subjective well-being assimilation.

6.5 CONCLUSIONS

This paper has sought to explain why immigrants' subjectively experienced well-being does not improve with their length of stay or across generations in developed European countries, despite their objectively improving lives and contrasting the rationale of adaptation and "straight-line" assimilation theory. Our main finding is that the subjective well-being assimilation of immigrants who move to more developed countries is hampered by their faltering perceptions of the host country's societal conditions. Likewise, we show that the second generation has less favourable perceptions of objectively similar host country conditions than do their immigrant parents, which helps explain why the second generation does not have better subjective well-being than their parents.

In addition, we provide evidence that immigrants' faltering perceptions result from a shifting frame of reference, meaning that the aspirations of immigrants who move to more developed countries gradually increase because they habituate to the typically better conditions in their host country and are less likely to compare these conditions with the often inferior conditions (of the people) in their home country. Similarly, we explain that second-generation immigrants have less favourable societal perceptions than their immigrant parents because the former have higher reference points, as they have not experienced and hardly compare themselves to the typically inferior situations in their parents' home country. Ironically, therefore, immigrants *do not* assimilate in terms of subjective well-being because their perceptions of societal conditions *do* assimilate to the less positive societal perceptions of natives.

Our findings provide useful input for policy efforts that seek to improve the subjective well-being of immigrants or reduce the subjective well-being inequality between immigrants and natives. In particular, our findings suggest that a potential path towards more successful subjective well-being assimilation among immigrants would involve delaying or decelerating the process of their shifting frame of reference and faltering perceptions of the host society. This intervention could reduce immigrant frustrations about their perceived limited progress in realizing their aspirations, and greater immigrant well-being assimilation could also be instrumental in creating other benefits, such as better immigrant integration (Richardson 1967; De Neve et al. 2013). Therefore, an important question for future research and policymakers is how to delay or deceler-

ate the changing frame of reference to benefit both immigrants and the host society. Possible opportunities include managing expectations (upon arrival and/or during the post-migration period) and encouraging migrants to adopt a dual frame of reference rather than abandoning all ties to the home country.

We also call for more research and better data sources that can address the limitations of our study. First, empirical data and research are needed that capture changes in immigrants' evaluation standards and frames of reference. Combining such data with subjective well-being data will allow for a more direct examination of the role of a shifting frame of reference in subjective well-being assimilation. Second, survey designs that follow people over time (i.e., panel studies) can circumvent some endogeneity issues that may be present in our cross-sectional study, particularly potential cohort effects and other unobserved variance between respondents. A panel design can also establish the direction of causality between immigrants' subjective well-being assimilation, on the one hand, and their aspirations, reference points, and perceptions of their situations, on the other hand. Unfortunately, the time spans of available longitudinal datasets (e.g., the migrant sample of the German Socio-Economic Panel) are currently too short, which prevents meaningful analyses of the within-person process of subjective well-being assimilation. Third, we acknowledge that the employed dataset (ESS) is not specifically orientated towards migrants; therefore, our immigrant sample may not be completely representative of the immigrant population in the considered destination countries. However, large-scale datasets that specifically focus on migrants are scarce and do not include questions on both subjective well-being and perceived living conditions. Fourth, subjective dimensions other than immigrants' perceptions of the government, the economy, and social trust that may suppress subjective well-being assimilation via a shifting frame of reference merit further attention. For instance, perceptions of other societal conditions (e.g., perceptions of the host society's culture), broader macro conditions (e.g., perceptions of the natural environment), and personal conditions (e.g., perceptions of income) should be considered. Despite the limitations of this study, the findings take an important first step in developing an understanding of why immigrants do not perceive that they have achieved better lives over time in the host country and what the roles of a shifting frame of reference and perceptions of the host society are in this respect.

APPENDIX

Table 6A Variable definitions of individual-level control variables.

Indicator	*Measure*	*Scale*
Domicile	Which phrase best describes the area where you live?	a) a big city b) suburb/town/small city c) rural area
Religious denomination	Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination? Which one?	a) no religion b) Christianity c) Islam d) other religion
Political preference	In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?	0 (left) – 10 (right)
Human values	The 21 survey items from the human values scale are classified into seven values - hedonism, security, self-direction, stimulation, power/achievement, tradition/ conformity, and universalism/benevolence - based on the classification of Davidov et al. (2008).	reverse coded: not like me at all (1) – very much like me (6)
Household income (ln)	Household's total net income. The ESS income variable changed in round 4 from country-specific income categories to country-specific deciles. Following Deeming and Jones (2015), we unified the two assessments of income into a corresponding measure that classifies income in deciles. Income is log-transformed because the relationship between income and well-being is marginally decreasing.	lowest income decile (0) – highest income decile (10)
Employment status	Main activity last seven days	a) employed b) unemployed c) not active in labour market
Partner	Interviewer code	1 = Lives with partner at household grid; 0 = Does not
Children	Interviewer code	1= lives with children at household grid; 0 = Does not
Perceived health	How is your health in general?	reverse coded: very bad (1) – very good (5)
Years of education	About how many years of education have you completed, whether full-time or part-time?	In full-time equivalents
Gender		0 = female; 1= male
Age & age squared	Age squared captures the curvilinear relation between subjective well-being and age	in years
Colonial	Self-developed measure based on the respondent's home and host country	0 = no; 1 = yes

Table 6B Robustness check: Cohort effects.

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	OLS regression
Immigrant group	
Generation 1: <1 year	-0.21
	(0.26)
Generation 1: 1-5 years	-0.19
	(0.22)
Generation 1: 6-10 years	-0.29
	(0.19)
Generation 1: 11-20 years	-0.18
	(0.12)
Generation 1: 20+ years	*Ref.*
Migrant cohort	
1982-1994	*Ref.*
1995-2000	0.10
	(0.13)
2001-2005	0.09
	(0.16)
2006-2010	0.18
	(0.22)
2011-2014	0.28
	(0.23)
Observations	7,717
R^2	0.15

Notes: Regression coefficients are displayed with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. The control variables are as in Figure 6.2, except for the inclusion of migrant cohort fixed effects. Migrants who arrived before 1982 are excluded because they all fall in the "20+ years" category. Where possible, 5-year cohorts were made. Due to the categorical length-of-stay variable in survey rounds 1–4, we had to make a large 1982–1994 cohort and could not categorize all the immigrant respondents in these rounds into cohorts. * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$.

Table 6C Robustness check: Controlling for mood and optimism.

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	Indirect effects of perceptions of the host society	
	Not controlled for mood and optimism	Controlled for mood and optimism
Immigrant group		
Generation 1: <1 year	0.30**	0.27**
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Generation 1: 1-5 years	0.22**	0.19**
	(0.05)	(0.04)
Generation 1: 6-10 years	0.20**	0.18**
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Generation 1: 11-20 years	0.08*	0.08*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Generation 1: 20+ years	*Ref.*	*Ref.*
Generation 2	-0.11**	-0.09**
	(0.04)	(0.03)
Observations	3,530	3,530

Notes: For ease of interpretation, we only present the indirect effects here (not the OLS regressions). The sample is based on all respondents from rounds 3 and 6. The control variables are as in Table 6.2, except for the inclusion of mood and optimism as control variables in Column 2. Mood is assessed with the following question: "How much of the time during the past week you were happy?" Optimism is assessed according to the respondent's agreement with the following statement: "I'm always optimistic about my future". * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$.

Table 6D Robustness check: Controlling for perceptions of personal conditions.

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	Indirect effects of perceptions of the host society					
	Not controlled for job satisfaction	Controlled for job satisfaction	Not controlled for financial satisfaction	Controlled for financial satisfaction	Not controlled for job and financial satisfaction	Controlled for job and financial satisfaction
Immigrant group						
Generation 1: <1 year	0.34**	0.30**	0.18	0.18**	0.39**	0.28**
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.11)	(0.06)	(0.20)	(0.11)
Generation 1: 1-5 years	0.28**	0.25**	0.21	0.16*	0.20	0.15
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.16)	(0.09)
Generation 1: 6-10 years	0.26**	0.23**	0.11	0.10	0.11	0.09
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.13)	(0.08)	(0.19)	(0.09)
Generation 1: 11-20 years	0.11**	0.09**	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.07
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.12)	(0.07)
Generation 1: 20+ years	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*
Generation 2	-0.02	-0.02	-0.15*	-0.08	-0.10	-0.02
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.14)	(0.06)
Observations	2,653	2,653	1,432	1,432	787	787

Notes: The control variables and estimation procedure for indirect effects are as in Table 6.2, except for the inclusion of controls for the respondent's type of occupation (ISCO08), contact duration (temporary vs. permanent), work autonomy, and influence on the company's policy decisions in Columns 1, 2, 5, and 6. Columns 1 and 2 include employed immigrants from ESS rounds 3, 5, and 6; Columns 3 and 4 include all immigrants from ESS round 3; and Columns 5 and 6 include employed immigrants from ESS round 3. The specific measures for job and financial satisfaction are "How satisfied are you with your present/main job?" and "How satisfied are you with your present standard of living?", respectively. The 11-item scales for both questions range from extremely dissatisfied to extremely satisfied. * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$.

Table 6E Robustness check: Global happiness as the dependent variable.

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	OLS regressions		Indirect effects
	(1)	(2)	(1) – (2)
Immigrant group			
Generation 1: <1 year	-0.17	-0.45**	0.29**
	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.03)
Generation 1: 1-5 years	-0.14*	-0.34**	0.20**
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.02)
Generation 1: 6-10 years	-0.17*	-0.31**	0.14**
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.02)
Generation 1: 11-20 years	-0.18**	-0.24**	0.06**
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.01)
Generation 1: 20+ years	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*
Generation 2	-0.09	-0.03	-0.06**
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.02)
Perceptions of the host society		0.33**	
		(0.01)	
Observations	11,482	11,482	
R^2	0.22	0.28	

Notes: Regression coefficients and indirect effects are displayed with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. The control variables are as in Table 6.2. * p<0.05, ** p<0.01. When re-estimating the model of Column 2 using the continuous length-of-stay variable, we observe a significantly linear positive life satisfaction development and a U-shaped pattern after further inspection.

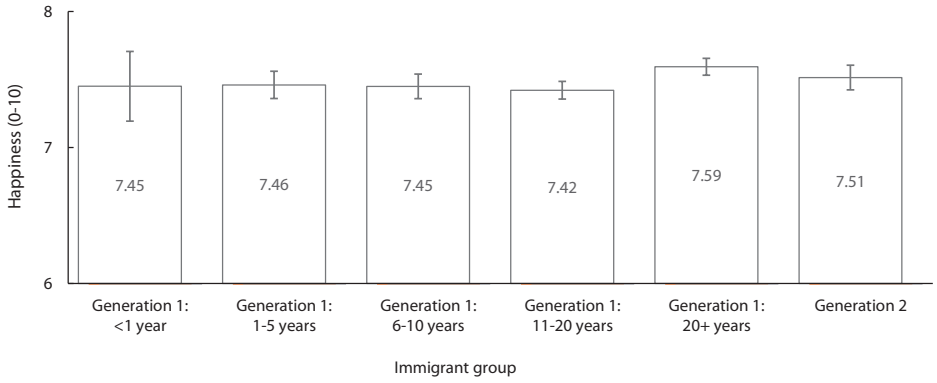

Figure 6E Immigrant happiness by length of stay and generation.
Notes: Estimations are based on the sample presented in Table 6.1. The error bars show 95% confidence intervals. As in Figure 6.1, the means are adjusted for the control variables. When re-estimating immigrant life satisfaction using the continuous length-of-stay variable by limiting the sample to rounds 5–7 and excluding second-generation immigrants, we find no evidence of positive life satisfaction development or a U-shaped relationship between length of stay and life satisfaction.

Table 6F Robustness check: The indirect effects of each of the separate index components.

OLS regressions						
Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Immigrant group						
Generation 1: <1 year	-0.04	-0.33*	-0.30	-0.27	-0.16	-0.45*
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Generation 1: 1-5 years	-0.07	-0.34**	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.13	-0.39**
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Generation 1: 6-10 years	-0.23*	-0.39**	-0.35**	-0.34**	-0.29**	-0.44**
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Generation 1: 11-20 years	-0.15	-0.23**	-0.21**	-0.21*	-0.18*	-0.26**
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Generation 1: 20+ years	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*
Generation 2	-0.08	-0.01	-0.02	-0.04	-0.08	-0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Economic satisfaction		0.31**				0.24**
		(0.02)				(0.02)
Government satisfaction			0.22**			0.04**
			(0.01)			(0.01)
Political trust				0.26**		0.08**
				(0.01)		(0.01)
Social trust					0.24**	0.13**
					(0.02)	(0.02)
Indirect effects						
Generation 1: <1 year		0.29**	0.25**	0.23**	0.12**	
		(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	
Generation 1: 1-5 years		0.27**	0.16**	0.16**	0.06**	
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	
Generation 1: 6-10 years		0.16**	0.12**	0.11**	0.06**	
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	
Generation 1: 11-20 years		0.08**	0.05**	0.05**	0.03*	
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	
Generation 1: 20+ years		Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	
Generation 2		-0.07**	-0.06**	-0.04*	-0.00	
		(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	
Observations	11,482	11,482	11,482	11,482	11,482	11,482
R^2	0.25	0.33	0.30	0.28	0.28	0.36

Notes: Regression coefficients and indirect effects are displayed with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. The control variables and estimation procedure of indirect effects are as in Table 6.2. Indirect effects directly follow from comparing the respective immigrant group coefficients from Columns 2-5 to the coefficient from the Baseline Model (Column 1). * p<0.05, ** p<0.01.

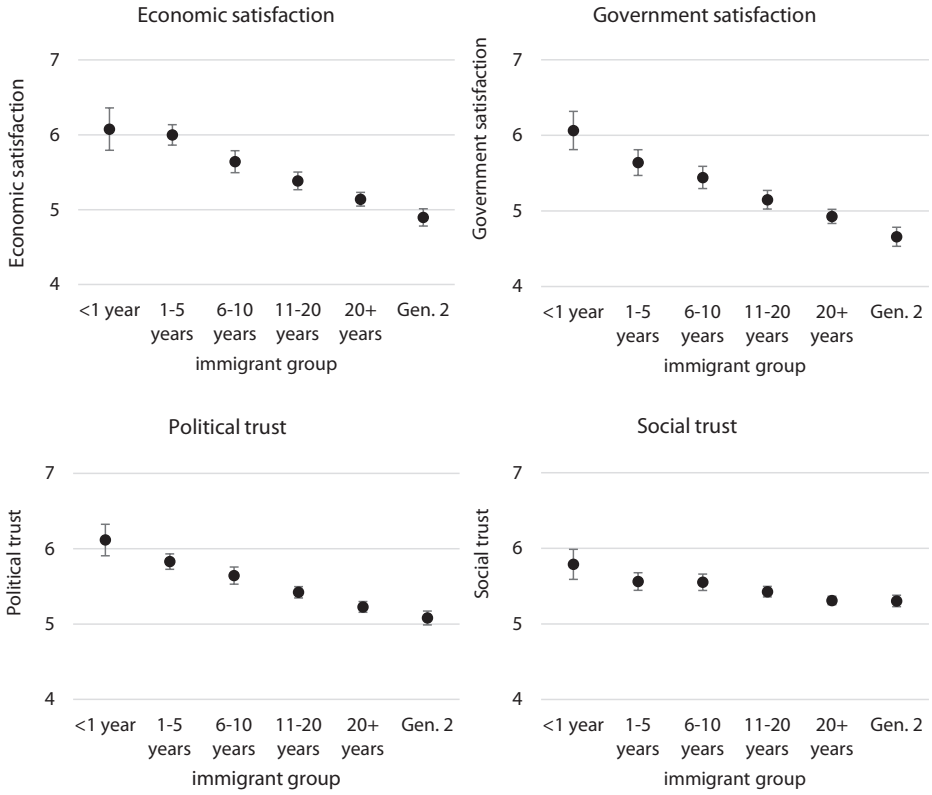

Figure 6F Perceptions of each index component by length of stay and generation.
Notes: Means are adjusted for all the control variables in Table 6.2 and are based on the sample in Table 6.1. The error bars show 95% confidence intervals.

Table 6G Robustness check: Subjective well-being returns of societal perceptions.

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	
Immigrant group*Perceptions of the host society	
Generation 1: <1 year	0.04
	(0.09)
Generation 1: 1-5 years	-0.02
	(0.05)
Generation 1: 6-10 years	0.05
	(0.05)
Generation 1: 11-20 years	0.04
	(0.03)
Generation 1: 20+ years	*Ref.*
Generation 2	-0.02
	(0.03)
Observations	11,482

Notes: This table is based on the OLS regression as in Column 2 of Table 6.2 but additionally includes interaction effects between the respective immigrant group and its perceptions of the host society. The coefficients of the interaction terms are displayed with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses.

7 Happiness insights into migration policy and choice behavior of immigrants

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The immigrant population represents over 10% of the total population in Western societies. Societal outcomes depend considerably on the contribution of these immigrants. Concurrently, the individual outcomes of immigrants largely depend on the admission- and integration policies in the receiving society. The more efficient allocation of human resources, through human migration, is generally considered to have great potential in improving the welfare of countries and the well-being of individual immigrants (Borjas 1995; Legrain 2014). However, in this context of interdependence, both immigrants and their receiving societies have raised concerns regarding the disappointing outcomes of international migration. In many European countries, these disappointments have led to the rapid rise of parties with an anti-immigrant sentiment, such as Front National in France, the Party for Freedom in The Netherlands, the Freedom Party in Austria, and the Danish People's Party in Denmark. In addition, the parties that are currently in government acknowledge the disappointing, not necessarily negative, outcomes of international migration. German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated in 2010 that "the approach to build a multicultural society and to live side-by-side and to enjoy each other... has failed, utterly failed" (BBC News Online 2010). One year later, British Prime Minister David Cameron made a similar statement: "the doctrine of state multiculturalism …has failed" (BBC News Online 2011). Social tensions and immigrant protests were caused by dissatisfied feelings in immigrant communities concerning how they are approached and supported by citizens and policy makers. For instance, immigrant riots regularly occur in the suburbs of Paris (Koff and Duprez 2009). Such dissatisfaction has led to

an intriguing situation: immigrants and their receiving societies have been struggling for years to capitalize on migration, while migration is believed to offer great potential in improving the lives of immigrants and their host country's residents. Consequently, admission and integration policies are heavily debated in the public discourse and have become leading policy issues.

Considering this debate, prominent questions are (i) how progress can be made to develop better migration policies and (ii) how immigrants can make better migration- and integration decisions. A promising avenue is to consider the subjectively experienced well-being consequences of migration because behavior and attitudes are determined more by *the interpretation of what happens* than by *what truly happens* (see the aspiration level theory and multiple discrepancies theory; Michalos 1985). For immigrants, improvements in subjective well-being (i.e., experienced happiness) tend to stay behind to improvements in objective well-being (i.e., living conditions; Bălțătescu 2007; Stillman et al. 2015). Consequently, well-being judgments that are based only on objective well-being can be misleading. A prerequisite to capitalize on migration is that we understand why improvements in subjective well-being lag behind improvements in objective well-being. Subsequently, action is needed to improve the happiness outcomes of migration because people have difficulties in accurately determining what makes them happier (Gilbert 2006). These actions are also desirable from a societal perspective because improvements in the well-being of immigrants will also lead to improvements in the well-being of people in their receiving society (Fredrickson 2001).

The objective of this book chapter is to show how evidence-based insights from happiness research can help to improve migration policies and individual migrant decisions, which eventually result in better outcomes for immigrants and their host societies. Section 7.2 outlines the current orientations of immigrants and migration policy makers. Section 7.3 discusses the value of considering happiness in a migration context. Section 7.4 uses insights from happiness research to explain why immigrants and their receiving society achieve suboptimal happiness outcomes. Section 7.5 summarizes and concludes.

7.2 THE CURRENT FOCUS OF IMMIGRANTS AND POLICY MAKERS

To discuss how immigrants and the receiving societies can capitalize on migration, it is a prerequisite to understand what outcomes both groups actually desire. People share two important goals in life: they want to survive and they want to have a good life. The United Nations (2013a) estimates that only approximately 5% of immigrants moves for survival, which is instigated by threats in the economic domain (i.e., insufficient income to meet basic needs), political domain (i.e., war or political persecution), or environmental domain (e.g., natural disasters). The majority of immigrants moves in search of a bet-

ter life for themselves and their significant others (Cai et al. 2014; Chindarkar 2014). For instance, Graham and Markowitz (2011) indicate that most Latin people want to move to more developed countries because they are "frustrated achievers", which means that there is no urgent need for migration but they want to move because they cannot meet their desired quality of life in their home country. Likewise, the native inhabitants of Western societies have little concern regarding basic survival needs, such as food, water, and shelter, but they hope for a better life.

A widespread assumption in society and public policy is that the experience of a good life follows from having good living conditions, particularly monetary welfare (Kahneman et al. 2006). Therefore, societal and individual progress has traditionally been defined in economic terms; the principal objective of public policy was to maximize economic growth, while it was assumed that immigrants concentrate on income growth. Since the late 1960's, this approach has faced growing criticism because a good quality of life goes beyond economic welfare (Stiglitz et al. 2010). For instance, in a 1968 speech at the University of Kansas, Robert F. Kennedy stated that "GNP measures neither our wit nor our courage, neither our wisdom nor our learning, neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country, it measures everything in short, except that which makes life worthwhile." However, many policies are still evaluated based on a monetary cost-benefit analysis as proposed in the classic economic approach (O' Donnell et al. 2014). Amartya Sen's capability approach created a paradigm shift in the 1970's to public policies that aim to improve people's capabilities in addition to economic welfare (Sen 2001). Sen argued that individual and societal progress depends on people's freedom to develop their capabilities. Therefore, more comprehensive tools were developed that are supposed to provide a good indication of a person's life-abilities. An example is the Human Development Index, which is a composite statistic of income, education, and life expectancy indicators.

The current approaches to assess well-being, and ultimately to guide individual decisions and public policy, affect migration outcomes in four domains. These domains are presented in a 2x2 matrix (see Scheme 7.1) that includes distinctions for actors (individual migrants and policy makers) and time periods (pre- and post-migration). Section 7.2.1 to 7.2.4 will discuss how the orientations (i.e., actions, values, and beliefs) in each of these four domains are influenced by the assumption that a good life is the sum of good living conditions and life-abilities. Section 7.2.5 will discuss whether these orientations actually promote good migration outcomes.

Scheme 7.1 Decision-making domains in migration

	Individual immigrant	*Policy makers*
Pre-migration	Migration decision	Admission policy
Post-migration	Orientations in the host country	Integration policies

7.2.1 Current orientations in migration decisions.

In migration literature, forced migrants are typically distinguished from voluntary migrants. Forced migrants include those who flee from war, political persecution, natural disasters, and starvation. A paramount motive of voluntary immigrants is better economic prospects (Borjas 1987; Clark et al. 2007). This motive includes better income prospects, job and educational opportunities, and feeling economically deprived in the home country. Accordingly, many voluntary migrants are referred to as "labor migrants" or "economic migrants". Often, a broader definition of economic migrants is used that also includes people who move for a better environment that includes, for example, less corruption, more safety, a better natural climate, and a better quality of institutions (Bertocchi and Strozzi 2008; Mayda 2010). Another sizeable group of migrants moves for family reunification. These migrants follow an earlier emigrated family member, who often was an economic migrant. Although certainly not all immigrants can be classified in these three categories, these motives have traditionally been the most important. A more satisfactory approach is to recognize that self-selected international migration is generally, not always, driven by the prospect of better living conditions. However, only a selective group of people who live in economically disadvantaged countries wants to move to wealthier countries. Migrants who want to resettle in another country are, compared with non-migrants, more extrinsically oriented (e.g., oriented on progress in achievement and living conditions) and less intrinsically oriented (e.g., oriented on social relations) (Boneva and Frieze 2001).

7.2.2 Current orientations in the host county.

Research shows that immigrants put more value on monetary welfare and status than natives. For instance, the European Social Survey data on human values for the years 2002-2012 indicate that immigrants assign significantly more value than natives to "having money and expensive things" and "being successful and having one's achievements recognized by others".[47] One reason for this difference is that immigrants are relatively more extrinsically oriented than non-migrants. A second reason may be that improving one's living conditions is a more salient goal for immigrants because experiencing better living conditions originally motivated their life changing decision to move to another country (Bartram 2011). A third reason relates to self-determination theory, which distinguishes intrinsic from extrinsic values (Ryan and Deci 2000; see Maslow 1943 for a general discussion on human values). Extrinsic values relate to human *wants*

47 These findings are based on the author's calculations. The exact questions were: "Tell me how much each person is or is not like you: It is important to her/him to be rich. She/he wants to have a lot of money and expensive things" and "Tell me how much each person is or is not like you: Being very successful is important to him/her. She/he hopes people will recognise her/his achievements." On a scale from 1 (very much like me) to 6 (not like me at all), natives scored 4.30 and 3.36, first-generation immigrants scored 3.93 and 2.94, and second-generation immigrants scored 3.90 and 2.89, respectively.

(e.g., financial success and social status), whereas intrinsic values often relate to human *needs*. Examples of intrinsic values are being emotionally close to one's friends and family (relating to the need for affiliation), feeling valued by others (relating to the need for self-esteem), and doing meaningful things (relating to the need for self-actualization). Sheldon and Kasser (2008) show that people prioritize extrinsic values when they are in psychologically stressful and threatening situations. Immigrants often experience migration as a stressful and threatening experience because they must address conflicting cultural orientations, prejudice/discrimination, and language barriers, amongst other difficulties (Ward et al. 2001). Therefore, immigrants may prioritize tangible aspects, such as monetary welfare, to promote themselves in a relatively threatening environment.

7.2.3 Current orientations in admission policy

Countries do not have complete control over incoming migration streams (Joppke 1998). Substantial migration flows are allowed to enter countries regardless of their potential contribution to the host society. This movement often occurs through human rights agreements (e.g., humanitarian migrants) and other international agreements (e.g., post-colonial migration, migration for family reunification, and open border areas). Moreover, an important group of "unwanted" immigrants are illegal immigrants. Nevertheless, countries still have significant control over their borders; thus, they largely have the power to either provide or deny the opportunity for migration to people who apply for immigration. The traditional economic approach and Sen's capability approach have been guides for admission policies. Consequently, with the exceptions mentioned above, immigrants are generally allowed to immigrate when they are expected to positively contribute to the receiving society (Borjas 2001). These guides have led to two types of systems that are used to evaluate the potential contribution of immigrants, namely, a points-based system and an employer-led selection system. The points-based system is used in countries such as Canada, Australia, Singapore, and Denmark. It focuses on human capital factors that have intrinsic economic value, such as education, work experience, language skills, and age. The employer led-system is used in countries such as the United States, Sweden, Norway, and Spain. This system requires employers to request permits at the immigration authorities on behalf of the foreigners who they wish to hire. In recent years, most countries have shifted their policies to a hybrid model that combines these two types of systems. Thus, although there are different types of admission policies, a common characteristic is that they all concentrate on the economic contribution of the immigrant (Chaloff and Lamaitre 2009; Papademetriou and Sumption 2011; United Nations 2013b; Koslowski 2014). Although countries strive to attract high-skilled migrants, they are generally less interested in enlarging the immigrant stock in their country. In 2011, only 11% of countries were receptive to increasing the immigrant stock in their country (United Nations 2013b). This response implies a suboptimal

situation for many of the 700 million people across the world who are willing to move to another country (Gallup 2009).

7.2.4 Current orientations in integration policy

Most countries have developed integration policies that attempt to encourage the integration of immigrants in the host society (Bijl and Verweij 2012). Nevertheless, investing in better well-being for immigrants is a sensitive topic for politicians. Castles (2004) notes that many politicians have a hidden agenda: they do not want to invest too much in better lives for immigrants. A key reason is that politicians fear attracting undesirable flows of immigrants, such as illegal immigrants and excessive immigrant flows from open border areas. Considering the content of integration policies, often concerns regarding the social rights of immigrants (e.g., the right to healthcare) and social participation (e.g., the promotion of political participation) are included. However, most integration policies concentrate on promoting better integration by improving the various skills and living conditions of immigrants. For instance, in 2010, the European Union countries agreed in the Zaragoza declaration to concentrate on immigrant integration in the following policy areas: employment, education, and economic inclusion. In practice, this attention implies that steps are being taken for more equal income, home ownership, health, and political participation for natives and immigrants. Additionally, the policies in non-European countries remain mainly focused on the integration of immigrants by encouraging their skills. This focus is exemplified by the theme of the OECD's International Migration Outlook (OECD 2014): "Mobilising migrant's skills for economic success".

7.2.5 Are these orientations adequate?

One question that can be derived from this discussion is whether immigrants have accurate orientations to capitalize on migration. The observations that improvements in subjective well-being tend to stay behind to improvements in objective well-being and that a considerable share of immigrants does not become happier through migration implies that their orientations are inaccurate (Hendriks 2015). To psychologists, behavior that is not in our long-term interest is not surprising given that our decisions can be severely influenced by mental and contextual biases (Tversky and Kahneman 1981; Dolan et al. 2010). Decisions are distorted by several factors, such as framing (i.e., people are sensitive to the way that options are presented), priming (i.e., the exposure to certain sights can affect subsequent choices), loss aversion (i.e., people prefer to avoid losses over acquiring gains), and risk-averseness (i.e., the tendency to reduce uncertainty). Consequently, we experience feelings of regret on a daily basis because our predicted outcomes often diverge from our experienced outcomes. When asking people on their deathbeds what they would have done differently if they could live their life over again, the following are the five most common answers: (1) to not have worked so hard to facilitate a luxury

lifestyle; (2) to be less influenced by the opinions and expectations of other people; (3) to prioritize family and friends; (4) to listen more to their feelings; and (5) to focus more on being happy (Ware 2011). In relation to self-determination theory, working hard to facilitate a luxury lifestyle and being influenced by other people imply that people have concentrated too much on extrinsic values. Prioritizing family and friends, listening more to one's feelings, and focusing more on being happy imply that people have not sufficiently prioritized intrinsic values. The answers people give on their deathbeds are not surprising; several scientists have argued that people tend to focus too much on their material welfare at a cost to non-material benefits (Scitovsky 1976; Frank 1999; Kasser 2002; Kahneman et al. 2006; Frey and Stutzer 2014). This excessive focus on living conditions is argued to also be present in the individual decisions of migrants (Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013; Hendriks and Bartram 2016).

Why do people, over time, not (completely) learn from inaccurate choice behavior? The key reason is that people's memories of events do not accurately represent the true experience. This inaccuracy is caused by mechanisms such as the confirmation bias (i.e., people selectively search for and interpret information to confirm their choices and beliefs; Nickerson 1998), hindsight bias (i.e., people rationalize the priority that they gave to improving their living conditions because they believe that they knew the consequences all along; Roese and Vohs 2012), and the short-cuts people use in memorizing, such as focusing on the most memorable parts of an experience (often the peak and the end of the experience; Kahneman et al. 1993).

A second query is whether policy makers have accurate orientations for immigrants and the host society to capitalize on migration. The current migration policies have not been recognized as a success because Western countries continue to struggle with topics such as the cultural-, social-, and economic integration of immigrants (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). The introductory section of this chapter has shown that this has led to the acknowledgment of some governments that multiculturalism has failed (and implicitly, the current integration policies). Coming back to people's biggest life regrets, migration policies do not provide a good foundation to avoid these five regrets. Thus, the excessive focus on living conditions and life-abilities does not only relate to individuals but also to the current migration policies. For instance, it is generally easier for migration policy-makers to receive funding by arguing that a certain policy leads to monetary benefits than by arguing that it improves the attitudes of natives and immigrants towards one another. However, this result does not indicate that the economic- and capability approach are not valuable; improved life-abilities have brought many positive items to the world, such as numerous innovations that have helped many people to live an affluent and relatively untroubled life (Sen 2001). A more satisfactory conclusion is that promoting immigrants' capabilities and living conditions is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition to make the most out of migration.

The notion of Castles (2004) regarding a hidden agenda in integration policy implies that policy makers doubt whether investing in the integration of immigrants actually benefits society. Multiple potential advantages of good integration policies may offset the disadvantage of attracting "undesirable" migration flows (Berry 2001). First, integration is an important driver of better outcomes because, for instance, it has a positive effect on productivity. Second, efficient integration policies increase the chance that positively contributing immigrants want to stay longer in the country. Third, better migration policies attract immigrants, giving countries a larger pool of potentially contributing immigrants to choose from (Knabe et al. 2013). Some preliminary evidence from the Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) indicates that countries with better integration policies (according to MIPEX-criteria) generate a greater overall economic contribution of immigration (OECD 2013a). Natives in these countries are also more open to the admission of more immigrants to the country (Mayda 2006). Therefore, investing in good integration policies for immigrants can benefit both immigrants and the host society. Given that the current migration orientations have not been a major success-story, a topical query is how to improve the current migration outcomes. The following section will offer an answer to this query.

7.3 HOW CAN THE CONSIDERATION OF HAPPINESS BENEFIT DECISIONS IN THE MIGRATION CONTEXT?

A distinction between objective and subjective well-being needs to be made to answer how migration policies and immigrant decisions can be improved. Objective well-being is determined by the quality of a person's living conditions as evaluated by objective (externally derived) indicators. Objective well-being is measured by material measures (e.g., GDP per capita or individual income) and composite measures (e.g., the Human Development Index). The current migration policies mainly focus on improving objective well-being. Another approach to well-being is to consider one's perceived or experienced well-being, which is generally called subjective well-being. Subjective well-being is measured by surveyed self-reports such as "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?" on a numerical scale ranging from 0 (very dissatisfied) to 10 (very satisfied). The difference between the objective and subjective well-being approaches can be clarified by using income as an example. Objective well-being is only influenced by absolute income and income inequality. In contrast, subjective well-being is also affected by one's income expectations and aspirations, the importance one gives to income, and the manner in which the income is earned (i.e., procedural utility).

In practice, when people discuss their desire for a better life, they hope to experience happiness and have a satisfactory and meaningful life. This goal is recognized by governments; for instance, the US Declaration of Independence identifies "the pursuit of happiness" as an inalienable right of individuals. Happiness and life satisfaction are key elements of subjective well-being. Researchers often use these three constructs interchangeably, although this use is theoretically incorrect because happiness relates more to the hedonic experience of life, life satisfaction relates more to cognitive life evaluations, and subjective well-being also includes additional elements, such as the perception of leading a purposeful life.

Better living conditions are mostly valued to achieve the goal of feeling happier and having a satisfactory life. Then, people generally assume that better objective well-being automatically leads to better subjective well-being. The practical relevance of distinguishing between objective and subjective well-being would be marginal if they correlated perfectly. However, happiness studies show that, on a micro-level, changes in people's orientations affect subjective well-being considerably more than changes in living conditions (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005). On a macro-level, countries rank differently in the ranking of economic-, capability-, and subjective measures. Example are the US (ranking 5th on the Human Development Index, 11th in GDP per capita, and 15th in life satisfaction in 2014) and Germany (ranking 6th on the Human Development Index, 18th in GDP per capita, and 26th in life satisfaction in 2014).[48] The differences among these three types of well-being measures also hold true in the migration context; migration studies reveal that comprehensive sets of living conditions do not explain more than 25% of happiness (Safi 2010; Stillman et al. 2015). Therefore, objectivist circumstances do not accurately predict how the quality of life is evaluated in the eye of the beholder. Accordingly, focusing only on improvements in living conditions can lead to serious mistakes in well-being judgments. A renowned example is the Easterlin paradox (Easterlin 1974), which shows that great increases in economic growth have not led to greater happiness. Other researchers have found a positive correlation (Stevenson and Wolfers 2008; Veenhoven and Vergunst 2014), but this correlation remains considerably lower than people would expect (Graham 2011). Moreover, on the individual level, absolute income has only a marginal impact on happiness (Frey and Stutzer 2002).

7.3.1 Why do discrepancies exist between subjective and objective well-being outcomes?

The interpretation of a better life is personal (i.e., some people derive happiness from playing basketball whereas other people derive more happiness from playing baseball)

48 The data come from the United Nations Human Development Report, the World Bank, and the World Happiness Report, respectively.

and highly subjective (an extra euro may be worth more to you than to me). Accordingly, a key explanation for the limited correlation between these two forms of well-being is that objective well-being excludes much of what people care about. Objective well-being does not include people's expectations and aspirations in life, their opinions concerning people, places, and institutions, their emotions when considering the past and the future, the joy they get from practicing their hobbies, the changes in their personality and psychological state, their relations to family, friends, and others in society, their self-perception, the worries and sadness that one experiences when becoming unemployed, etc. Migration studies confirm that immigrants' subjective well-being considerably depends on how they perceive their living conditions beyond their objective living conditions (Hendriks, De Vroome, and Burger 2017).

A second key explanation is that people's feelings and life evaluations are subject to adaptation because of two comparison mechanisms, namely, social comparisons and temporal comparisons. Human beings have a natural drive to assess how well they are doing on a continuum of abilities, experiences, and possessions to arrive at accurate self-evaluations (Festinger, 1954). For this purpose, individuals compare their own characteristics to the social information that other people provide. Festinger argues that individuals prefer to compare themselves with similar others, which implies that people compare themselves with their close friends and family, people in their direct physical environment, and people with similar demographic- and socioeconomic characteristics. For immigrants, this tendency implies that, over time, they increasingly compare themselves with natives in the host society (although comparisons with people in their homeland never completely disappear; Gelatt 2013). Figure 7.1 shows how subjective well-being is affected by social comparisons on the one hand and objective well-being on the other hand (for simplicity reasons, it is assumed that a migrant moves to a more developed country; however, this is not always true). The left-side of Figure 7.1 shows how moving to a more developed country generally results in improved living conditions. Better living conditions imply that one's objective well-being (also known as one's objective reality) is better. Therefore, having more agreeable living conditions has a positive association with subjective well-being (see the livability theory of Veenhoven and Ehrhardt 1995). The right side of Figure 7.1 follows Gelatt's observation that people often start with comparing themselves to the wealthier and better educated native population. These upward comparisons create an upward shift in aspirations and expectations because immigrants hope to achieve similar living conditions to natives. A larger discrepancy between expectations/aspirations and reality is associated with less positive life evaluations among immigrants (Baucells and Sarin 2012). Thus, the derived happiness from better life circumstances (improved reality) in the host country is at least partly offset by the increased aspirations/expectations. On the contrary, immigrant comparisons with people in the country of origin often positively influence happiness

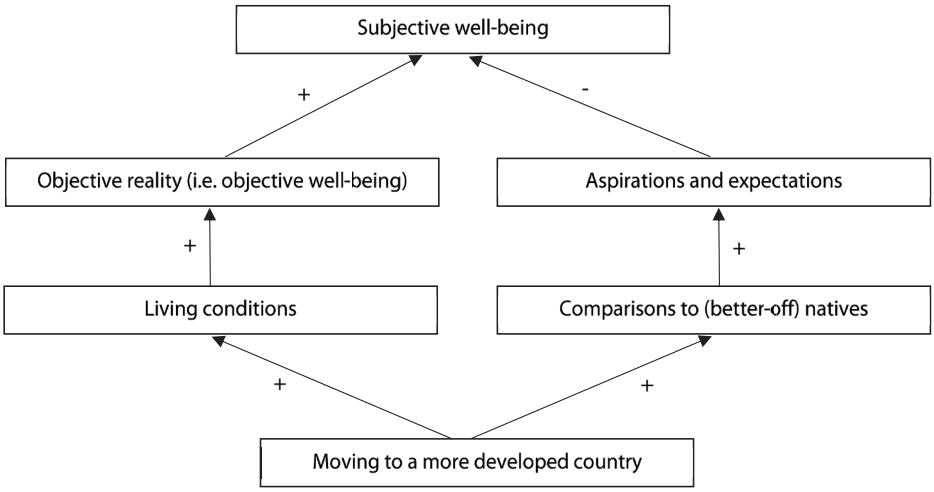

Figure 7.1 Relating social comparisons, objective well-being, and subjective well-being

because the improved living conditions of emigrants means that they make downward comparisons with people in the home country.

The fact that people compare themselves to *similar others* also limits the happiness gains immigrants can achieve over time in the host country. That is, gradually improving one's living conditions in the host country also implies that the group of similar others changes over time to people who also experience better life circumstances. Thus, one's reference group largely changes in the same direction as one's living conditions and the relative gain is close to zero in the long term. This situation means that subjective well-being gains are not in line with objective well-being gains. Accordingly, immigrants who concentrate on improvements in their living conditions will become disappointed concerning their subjective outcomes.

The other mechanism relates to temporal comparisons. People compare themselves with their own past and the recent past is the dominant reference point (Clark et al. 2008). Therefore, people get used to their new circumstances and appreciate them less over time. Again, people's aspirations keep increasing with objective improvements. For this reason, comparisons with one's own past result in a diminishing (and sometimes even disappearing) impact of improved circumstances on happiness over time.

However, not all domains are similarly affected by adaptation mechanisms. Frey and Stutzer (2014) show that adaptation is substantially stronger for extrinsic *desires* than for intrinsic *needs*. Luxury goods and better circumstances are typical examples of extrinsic desires, whereas experiences often fall in the category of intrinsic values. Although experiences and activities tend to be regularly renewed, a good does not vary over time. People try to understand unexplained events that are relevant to themselves (Wilson and Gilbert 2008). Accordingly, an explanation for the heterogeneity in adapta-

tion is that the memory of experiences is regularly refreshed whereas goods tend to be taken for granted over time (Frederick and Loewenstein 1999; Sheldon and Lyubomirsky 2006). Nevertheless, people often prioritize objective conditions when making a trade-off between objective conditions and experiences. One reason is that the tangible outcome of objective conditions makes it easier for people to justify their choice (Frey and Stutzer 2014). For instance, immigrants undervalue the importance of social and cultural integration in the host society because integration efforts are relatively intangible and only contribute to their well-being in the long term (Phinney et al. 2001). Another reason is the impact bias, which means that we tend to overestimate our emotional reaction to future events because people do not accurately take into account that they will adapt to circumstances and events. Given that people adapt more to extrinsic desires, the insufficient attention to adaptation creates an excessive focus on life circumstances.

Overall, subjective outcomes can serve as a complementary input for choice behavior. Subjective measures of well-being allow people themselves to decide what aspects they find important for their well-being and allow people to evaluate how well they are doing on these aspects. Accordingly, subjective well-being measures can reveal how certain actions, policies, conditions, and events affect the personally experienced well-being (i.e. happiness) of migrants and natives. However, subjective measures are not perfect because the responses are affected by interpersonal, cultural, and mood biases, among others. Nevertheless, in sufficiently large samples, subjective well-being assessments are shown to produce sufficiently meaningful and reliable responses to provide significant new insights for public policy research (Stiglitz et al. 2010; OECD 2013b; O' Donnell et al. 2014).

7.3.2 Happiness as a means to an end

Subjective well-being is not only an ultimate goal in life, but also an important means to gratify goals in specific domains. Higher subjective well-being leads to better economic performance; happy people become more productive (Oswald et al. 2015), develop better careers (De Neve and Oswald 2012), and are more committed to their job (Erdogan et al. 2012). Happiness also leads to better physical health (Diener and Chan 2011), which can be attributed to a better immune system (Cohen et al. 2003) and healthier behavior (Blanchflower et al. 2013). Greater subjective well-being also boosts prosocial behavior (Aknin et al. 2012) and inclusive behavior towards other ethnicities (Johnson and Fredrickson 2005). Another implication is that happy people make better decisions in their own lives because they have more self-control (Aspinwall 1998) and a more long-term focus (Lerner et al. 2012). Finally, happier people also become more sociable (Cunningham 1988), develop higher-quality social relationships (for instance, because they tend to be more likeable; Boehm and Lyubomirsky 2008), and their happiness spreads to the people around them (Fowler and Christakis 2008). Overall, there is overwhelming evidence that subjective well-being has an important mediating role to achieve better

functioning. However, too much happiness has drawbacks in some specific instances (e.g. Forgas 2007; Gruber et al. 2011).

The broaden-and-build theory, which is presented in Figure 7.2, outlines the underlying process for the bidirectional relationship between happiness and objective benefits (Fredrickson 2001). Positive feelings broaden people's scope (i.e., increased openness to novel thoughts, actions, and relationships), which results in more enduring resources (e.g., social support, resilience, skills, and knowledge) and eventually, in objective benefits (e.g., greater health and productivity). In turn, the objective benefits create more positive feelings, which implies a continuous loop between objective benefits and happiness. An excellent review of the literature on the mediating role of subjective well-being was written by De Neve et al. (2013). These findings have important implications in the migration context because some of the most important challenges for immigrants are the building of a social network, integrating in the labor market, and relating to natives.

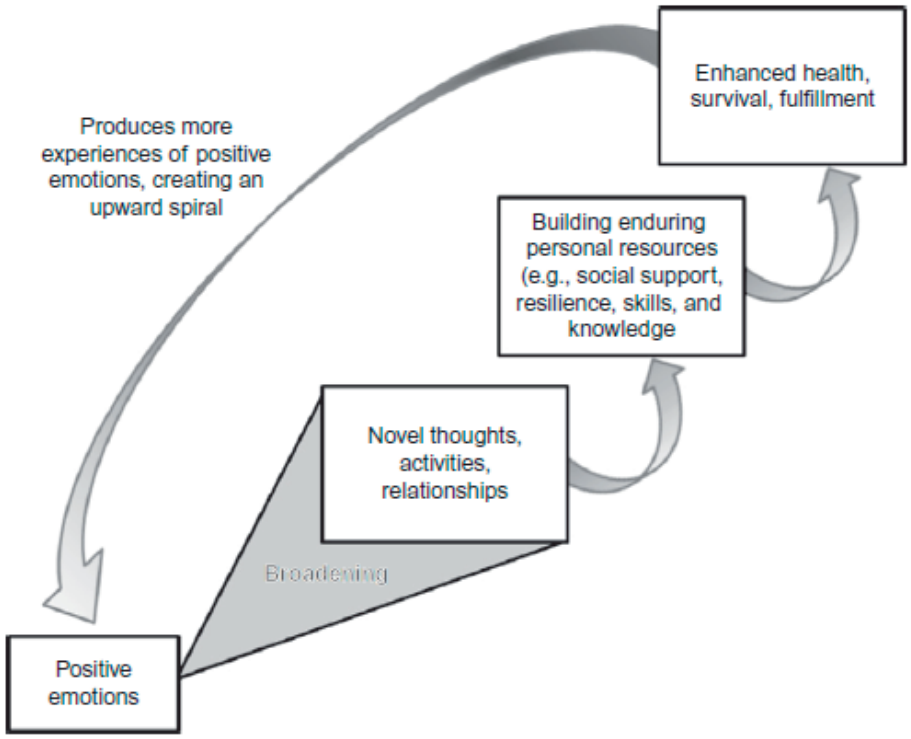

Figure 7.2 Schematic overview of the broaden-and-build theory. *Adapted from Fredrickson (2013, figure 1.1)*

7.3.3 The causal mechanism: From happy immigrants to a happy society

Figure 7.3 illustrates the causal mechanism from public policy towards a greater contribution of immigrants to societal well-being. The figure is based on the micro-macro

linkage scheme of Coleman (1990) - better known as the "Coleman boat" or the "bathtub model" because of its shape. The causal macro-relation between public policy and improved societal well-being can only work through disaggregated effects at the micro level; therefore, arrow 1 in Figure 7.3 is presented as an indirect effect. Accordingly, to improve immigrants´ contribution to societal well-being, public policy should primarily focus on its basic entities: the individual migrants.

Two key domains of migration policy are (1) the creation of a macro-environment where immigrants can flourish and (2) the provision of accurate information to potential and existing immigrants so that they can develop better orientations to capitalize on their potential. An example of an environmental constraint is the ethnic penalties that still exist on the labor market. An example of the government's influence on immigrant orientations is the provision of information to immigrants regarding what they can expect of living in the host society. The macro-micro transition is displayed by arrow 2 in Figure 7.3 and indicates the impact of migration policies on the constraints (in case of inefficient policies) or opportunities (in case of efficient policies) experienced by the individual immigrant.

Migrants' orientations and experienced constraints affect the migrants' deliberate and undeliberate actions to achieve greater happiness and other relevant goals (arrow 3). Assuming that migrants are rational actors, less constraints and the correct orientations can be expected to result in greater personal happiness. As discussed in the broaden-and-build theory, happier people achieve more in life because they engage in more constructive behavior. The aggregation of better functioning individual immigrants creates a greater contribution of the immigrant population to societal well-being (as illustrated by the micro-macro transition; arrow 4).

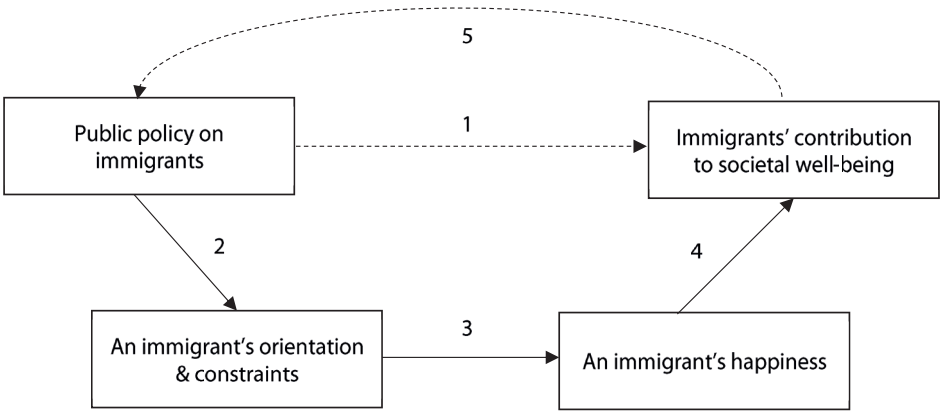

Figure 7.3 Macro- and micro-level propositions: Effects of efficient public policies on immigrants' contribution to society.

Note: The arrows indicate pathways of causal influence. Arrow 1 and 5 are dotted to clarify that the causal effect is (mostly) indirect.

Finally, a loop is created because immigrants' greater societal contribution can be expected to result in a greater willingness to employ immigrants, a more positive attitude of natives towards immigrants, and ultimately, a more positively oriented immigrant policy and better macro-conditions for immigrants (arrow 5). Overall, Figure 7.3 illustrates that (1) immigrants are unable to flourish without the support of public policy and (2) greater happiness for immigrants is also a desirable goal for society-as-a-whole. Thus, better policies and better decisions among immigrants can result in a win-win situation for the individual immigrant and the receiving society.

7.4 HOW CAN HAPPINESS INSIGHTS EXPLAIN THE DISAPPOINTING OUTCOMES OF MIGRATION?

Sections 7.4.1 to 7.4.4 provide a more detailed discussion on the factors that cause suboptimal happiness outcomes in each of the four domains in Scheme 7.1.

7.4.1 Suboptimal outcomes of potential immigrants

From a migrant perspective, an initial prerequisite for a successful migration experience is to only migrate when migration offers the potential for a better quality of life (often in terms of happiness). When multiple destinations offer the possibility for migration (e.g., in open border areas), selecting the most favorable destination country is an additional choice that must be made. By "voting with their feet", migrants reveal a preference for living in the host country. Therefore, it is generally assumed that immigrants also actually obtain a happier life through migration. However, in practice, a considerable share of immigrants do not achieve greater happiness through migration even though they often obtain a better objective well-being (Stillman et al. 2015; Hendriks 2015).

Happiness studies suggest two main causes for inaccurate migration decisions. First, as discussed before, immigrants are overly driven to improve their (economic) living conditions, whereas non-pecuniary factors affect lasting happiness because they are less susceptible to adaptation (Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013). Consequently, people tend to overestimate the value of macroeconomic factors in their migration decision and underestimate the importance of the social climate (Hendriks and Bartram 2016). For instance, Chow (2007) demonstrated that non-economically motivated immigration from Hong-Kong to Canada is associated with higher happiness, whereas economically motivated migration is not.

Second, people's outcomes are indirectly affected by inaccurate expectations. Immigrants often have overly high expectations of the move, which commonly results in disappointment. For instance, Bartram (2011) reveals that immigrants in the USA had lower

financial satisfaction compared with natives with similar incomes.[49] Several issues cause incongruence between an immigrant's pre-migratory expectations and post-migratory outcomes. First, immigrants must base their expectations on imperfect information regarding the host country. Often, migrants have no personal experiences with residing in the destination country (or any other country than their home country). Therefore, their knowledge of their potential life circumstances in the destination country comes from selective information that is provided by formal channels (e.g., government officials), informal channels (e.g., internet, television, or personal contacts) or personal experiences (e.g., from personal holidays or business trips to the host country). These sources often present an overly favorable image of the host country (Mai 2004; Hoxhaj 2015). Second, people typically have an optimism bias regarding their own capabilities to transform more livable macro-conditions to better personal conditions (Weinstein 1980). Third, misperceptions of what a happy life constitutes play a role. For instance, migrants may become disillusioned when greater objective well-being does not result in greater subjective well-being (Stillman et al. 2015). Ultimately, the inaccurate managing of expectations creates decreased functioning and happiness in immigrants (Benson and O'Reilly 2012; Mähonen and Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013).

These suboptimal outcomes for immigrants also lead to suboptimal outcomes for the host country. Migrants who feel dissatisfied with the move are more likely to be involved in negative behaviors and attitudes, such as lower productivity and higher hostility towards natives (Johnson and Fredrickson 2005). Better informing potential immigrants regarding how their lives will likely be in the host country can lower the number of disillusioned and non-contributing immigrants.

7.4.2 Suboptimal orientations in the host country

With the correct orientations, immigrants should become happier over time because they gradually re-build their social network and adapt to life in the host country. In practice, a large body of research has found no clear upward time trend of migrants' happiness in the host country (Safi 2010; Obućina 2013). Consequently, immigrants are consistently shown to remain less happy than natives (Hendriks 2015). The adverse life circumstances of immigrants can only partly explain why they are less happy than natives; other key explanations are that immigrants participate less in the social environment, they are lonelier and receive less support from other people, and they feel less appreciated by other people (Tegegne and Glanville 2017). These disadvantages are less prominent for people who are better integrated. Immigrants are often criticized for

49 This result does not necessarily mean that people have unrealistic expectations in each domain or context. For instance, McKenzie et al. (2013) do not find evidence of unrealistic income-expectations among the Tongans who have moved to New Zealand, but the authors explain that this finding may depend heavily on the specific culture of Tongans.

not sufficiently investing in social and cultural integration in the host society. Limited integration is also not in their own interest; a dearth of studies have consistently shown that immigrants are happier when they are culturally integrated (Virta et al. 2004; Berry et al. 2006) and socially integrated (Herrero et al. 2011). Thus, the focus of immigrants on improved living conditions is a valuable orientation in becoming happier, but it is insufficient to reach their aspirational happiness level.

7.4.3 Suboptimal admission policies

An obvious starting point for discussing migration policy is to examine how countries can attract the "best" immigrants (if we can even speak of right and wrong). The restrictive admission policies and hidden agendas of some policy makers raises the question regarding to what degree policy makers should attract and admit immigrants, and subsequently invest in them (although societal benefits should not be the sole criterion for migration policies; normative arguments, such as human rights, should play a significant role in admission- and integration policies). Using a migrant's potential economic contribution as the main criterion for an admission policy generally results only in a slightly positive fiscal outcome for the host country (Dustmann et al. 2010; OECD 2013a) and has a negligible impact on wage rates and unemployment rates (Pischke and Velling 1997; Manacorda et al. 2012). The focus of countries on attracting immigrants who are considered to be highly skilled or who have skills that are in demand implies that there is substantial heterogeneity in the economic contribution of different immigrant groups. "Undesirable" immigration streams, such as illegal immigrants, mainly comprise lower skilled people. Thus, strict admission policies are understandable from an economic point of view because the economic contribution of some immigrant streams may not be positive. However, the economic and non-economic contribution of an immigrant group is not necessarily similar. Some immigrant groups may have a positive economic contribution but do not constitute a good match with the social and cultural climate in the country; for instance, they may cause social or social tensions in society. Of course, it is also possible that a group does not contribute economically but provides non-economic benefits. An obvious example is a parent who cares for his or her children and teaches them norms and values. Moreover, the happiness economics literature shows that micro- and macroeconomic aspects only have a limited impact on happiness (Clark et al. 2008). This finding indicates that the benefits of immigration may be greater in countries with admission policies that take a more holistic approach (rather than focusing only on immigrants' economic contribution). Current research has not explored this proposition. However, recent attempts have been made to capture the impact of immigration (and the current admission policies) more generally by using happiness as the outcome measure. Betz and Simpson (2013) and Akay et al. (2014) relate the subjective well-being of natives to incoming immigrant flows by using a cross-country analysis of

European countries and a regional analysis in Germany, respectively. Both studies find a slightly positive effect of immigration on the subjective well-being of natives, which is consistent with the general economic contribution. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the economic contribution and the contribution in terms of happiness may differ in certain regions and for certain migrant groups. Thus, economic- and happiness *indicators* show similar contributions of immigration but *policies* that take a more holistic approach may perform better (both in terms of material welfare and happiness).

7.4.4 Suboptimal integration policies

After attracting the potentially contributing immigrants, the next step is to facilitate a good functioning of these immigrants. As discussed in section 7.3.2, a better functioning of immigrants results in more positive outcomes for them, which increases their economic contribution to the host society. For instance, Phinney et al. (2001) argue that integration is crucial for building the psychological capabilities to contribute to society, which includes the absence of important stressors that impede one's performance (e.g., loneliness) and the willingness to contribute. Immigrants have difficulties in flourishing because they encounter many obstacles in the host country that they cannot overcome by themselves. A first role of integration policies should be the elimination of the constraints that migrants experience in the macro-environment to reach their happiness goal. A second role of integration policies should be to support immigrants in the development of better orientations. This support requires that we actually identify the crucial inaccurate immigrant orientations and constraints/opportunities in the environment. Happiness insights on orientations were discussed in section 7.4.2. Therefore, the focus here is on constraints in the environment. The happiness of immigrants is more affected by the adverse effects experienced from the negative attitude in society towards them than by macroeconomic constraints (Hendriks and Bartram 2016). This closely relates to the observation that non-economic worries, such as worries concerning decreased social capital and cultural deprivation, play a considerable role in the societal tension between immigrants and natives (Alesina and La Ferrara 2000; Putnam 2007; Rustenbach 2010). The tension causes more ethnic violence and less willingness among immigrants to integrate (Jasinskaja-Lathi et al. 2009), which ultimately results in the decreased well-being for both immigrants and natives (Knabe et al. 2013). Thus, happiness studies suggest that suboptimal happiness outcomes are not caused by only economic constraints, but there is a particular role for cultural and social constraints. Therefore, the current policies do not adequately cover happiness outcomes because of their focus on the creation of better living conditions and life-abilities.

7.5 CONCLUSION

Immigrants and their receiving societies have been struggling for years to obtain satisfactory migration outcomes, whereas migration is believed to offer great potential in bettering the lives of both immigrants and natives. People generally hope for a happy and satisfactory life and it is thus straightforward to examine their outcomes in terms of happiness. A key reason for suboptimal outcomes is the inaccurate orientations of immigrants and migration policies. It is generally assumed that improvements in one's living conditions (objective well-being) automatically lead to improvements in one's happiness (subjective well-being). Consequently, immigrants mostly base their migration decisions on improvements in living conditions, particularly greater monetary welfare. Immigrants continue to concentrate on achieving better living conditions in the host country. Likewise, migration polices often follow the traditional economic approach and Amartya Sen's capabilities approach; these approaches imply that admission- and integration policies are mostly focused on improving the livability of the environment and the life-abilities of immigrants. Although these approaches are certainly valuable, they are not sufficient for optimal migration outcomes because it does not fully capture people's happiness determinants. For instance, it excludes the expectations and aspirations that immigrants have when they move, the degree of adaptation to better conditions, and their perceptions regarding themselves and their environment. Consequently, immigrants generally overestimate the importance of extrinsic attributes (e.g., money), whereas they underestimate the impact of intrinsic attributes (e.g., friends and family).

Ultimately, a greater happiness of immigrants will also lead to their greater contribution to society because happier people contribute more to society. Given that immigrants cannot reach their potential subjective well-being by themselves, dedicated policies are needed to improve the subjective well-being of immigrants. These policies can support immigrants in developing better orientations (i.e., evidence-based choices) and diminish the constraints that obstruct immigrant's happiness. Overall, complementing the current approaches with a consideration of happiness offers significant potential in promoting better outcomes for both immigrants and the native population.

8 International migration decisions and happiness: The Migration Happiness Atlas as a community development initiative

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of community development is to improve community well-being. An adequate well-being measure is needed to examine whether our efforts in developing more thriving communities are fruitful. This requires a measure that captures people's notion of what constitutes a good life. Better objective well-being conditions, such as income and education, are mostly instrumental for a more pleasant and satisfactory life (Veenhoven 2000). This fits in with the notion that, eventually, everyone wants to be happy. Therefore, the emerging science of happiness and its subjective measures of well-being have been embraced by community well-being and development scholars (Kee, Kim, and Phillips 2015).

The immigrant community is a prominent group that needs support in reaching their well-being goal because recent studies show that a considerable proportion of immigrants do not become happier through migration (Hendriks 2015). This is particularly true for migrants moving to similarly or less developed countries (Bartram 2015a). Although the majority of migrants moving to a more developed country do become happier (Nikolova and Graham 2015), there seems to be a significant group of immigrants who do not feel happier upon their move to the more developed host country (Stillman et al. 2015). A key reason for these disappointing outcomes is that many immigrants have false beliefs regarding whether migration can be beneficial to them and in which destination they can expect to reach the greatest happiness (Hendriks and Bartram 2016). Most notably, immigrants tend to underestimate (the impact of) the severe social

capital costs that come with migration, such as leaving behind friends and family and the loss of community.

A well-developed immigrant community is key to the happiness of its members. A prominent example is that the sense of community that immigrants feel from assimilating into an immigrant community can compensate to some extent for leaving behind their friends, family and community in their home country (Hombrados-Mendieta et al. 2013). Several organisations specifically exist to connect individuals within immigrant communities, such as the global organisation InterNations, which focuses on connecting expats. Less attention has been given to the role of immigrant communities in transferring knowledge to people considering migration, known as *potential* immigrants, on how to make the most out of migration. The process of transferring knowledge goes relatively automatic for immigrants who are already assimilated into an immigrant community because migration experiences are a primary conversation topic among immigrants. In contrast, people considering migration lack accurate knowledge about what they can expect from living in their considered destination countries. Immigrant communities are often not sufficiently organized to accurately inform potential immigrants on how to make the most out of migration, and organisations that are specialized in helping potential migrants to make more accurate choices are scarce. This is unfortunate given that positive migration outcomes do not only require that immigrants have a good understanding of how to optimize their outcomes after arriving in the host country but also require that migrants only move when they can potentially benefit from migration in the first place.

In this chapter, we discuss how greater happiness in immigrant communities can be stimulated through bottom-up community participation by transferring knowledge from existing immigrants to potential immigrants on (how to maximize) the happiness outcomes of international migration. This form of community participation can be beneficial across diverse immigrant groups including refugees, expats, and migrants for family reunion. Although this chapter concentrates on migration decisions, we want to emphasize that the benefits of immigrant communities acting collectively go well beyond the impact of transferring and expanding knowledge. For instance, the process of helping potential immigrants can stimulate a greater sense of community in the immigrant community and can benefit the assimilation of potential immigrants into the community.

This chapter begins with introducing the emerging science of happiness in section 8.2. Section 8.3 then discusses the issues migrants face in making accurate migration decisions. The importance of immigrant communities acting collectively is outlined in section 8.4. In our projects, we have been amazed by the willingness of immigrants to share their daily life experiences to help their (for them often unknown) successors in achieving better happiness outcomes from migration. The desire of immigrants to learn

from each other in developing a happier life has motivated us to develop and launch a tool in which immigrants can build on each other's experience. This tool, called the *Migration Happiness Atlas*, is presented in section 8.5. The atlas provides a platform for immigrants to spread factual knowledge about happiness outcomes of migration. The common issues revealed by the Migration Happiness Atlas provide important input for evidence-based choices, more accurate expectations, and the development of problem-solving resources. Section 8.6 concludes and discusses future prospects.

8.2 THE SCIENCE OF HAPPINESS

Happiness can be defined as the degree to which an individual favourably judges the overall quality of his or her life. In evaluating the progress of individuals or communities, happiness studies use straightforward questions such as "Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?" and "How satisfied are you with your life, all things considered?". These measures allow individuals to personally judge (i) the importance of aspects (e.g., some people evaluate "becoming rich" as more important than others), (ii) whether a situation is good or bad (e.g., people think differently about the optimal degree of income inequality), (iii) and how satisfactory their outcomes are (e.g., an economically deprived individual might appreciate an extra euro more than a wealthy individual). These subjective/internal measures complement objective/external well-being measures, such as income, education level, and life expectancy (united in the Human Development Index). Although these external indicators are more precise, they do not give a satisfactory indication about overall personal well-being or progress because only a limited number of aspects are included, the importance of its determinants is pre-determined, and the outcomes are externally judged. Although people are well able to judge their own happiness, happiness measures also include methodological limitations (e.g., wording effects, ordering effects, social desirability bias). Nevertheless, personal happiness evaluations are sufficiently adequate to greatly complement external well-being indicators in evaluating social progress (Stiglitz et al. 2010; OECD 2013b; IOM 2013). Therefore, the self-declared happiness levels of individuals constitute a valuable proxy for their overall well-being, and the aggregation of individual happiness levels gives a good indication of community well-being.

8.3 HAPPINESS ISSUES FOR IMMIGRANTS

Migrants would have no particular need to learn from each other if, in any situation, individuals (i) have complete information and (ii) make rational choices. These standard

assumptions of conventional economic theory are unrealistic in general – and certainly in the context of migration; people's revealed preferences can diverge from their experienced outcomes because both assumptions are rarely (if ever) met.

8.3.1 Incomplete information

When deciding to move to another country, immigrants base their expectations on imperfect information about the host country. Many immigrants have spent little or no time in the intended destination country. Thus, what makes them believe that their lives will be improved by moving to that country? This question is easy to answer for refugees because almost any place is better than the place they are fleeting. In less urgent migration instances, however, most people who want to relocate to another country base their judgment on information coming from personal contacts (often those living in the destination country), online sources, and the news. Some migration streams are driven by a romanticized media representation of the country (Mai 2004). Pajo (2007: 192) describes the way these representations sometimes feed a sense that some countries are better than others, a "social imaginary of the world as a hierarchy of countries" – a notion that does not guarantee that the *experiences* of migrants there will be better.

Migrants are also frequently motivated by the good stories of their personal contacts that live in other countries. The issue is that people tend to highlight the upsides of their migration experience while keeping the downsides to themselves (Carling 2008; Sabates-Wheeler et al. 2009). Those inaccurate representations can be deliberate; for instance, to justify their migration choice against the skepticism of others (or even to assuage their own self-doubts). But they can also be unintentional: in the comparisons people often make between their pre-migration lives to their post-migration lives, many immigrants unconsciously interpret information in ways designed to confirm and rationalize their choice to migrate (see Nickerson 1998 on confirmation bias, Roese and Vohs 2012 on hindsight bias, and the self-affirmation theory of Steele 1988). Consequently, immigrants sometimes provide erroneous advice even though they genuinely want to help others from the same origin to make the best possible migration choice. The following quote (posted in the Ellis Island Museum) from an anonymous Italian immigrant in the early 1900's has become emblematic of the way misinformation can lead to disillusioning outcomes:

"I came to America because I heard the streets were paved with gold. When I got here, found out three things: First, the streets weren't paved with gold; second, they weren't paved at all: and third, I was expected to pave them."

Many immigrants still tend to have an overly positive view about the destination country, something that can undermine their happiness outcomes after arrival (Benson and O'Reilly 2012; Mähönen et al. 2013).

8.3.2 Rationality of choices

Following neoclassical economics, a key assumption in some migration theories is that immigrants make the best possible migration decision given the available information (i.e., immigrants are rational actors; Harris and Todaro 1970; Stark and Bloom 1985). Psychologists, led by Kahneman and Tversky (1979), have convincingly challenged this assumption in a more general sense by revealing the extent to which irrationality characterizes human decision-making. A migration-related example is that Americans from the Midwest overestimate the happiness gains that could be gained by moving to California (Schkade and Kahneman 1998). The authors explain these excessive expectations with reference to a "focusing illusion": these Americans from the Midwest overestimated expected benefits by focusing on easily observable differences in life circumstances, such as California's warmer climate and more relaxed atmosphere. Several migration scholars have argued that an excessive focus on material conditions and other life circumstances when making migration decisions is also evident for international migrants (Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013; Hendriks and Bartram 2016).

Focusing illusions are an important issue in happiness literature because people generally (i.e., not only immigrants) encounter difficulties in predicting what will make them happy (Gilbert 2006). Happiness researchers argue that the excessive focus on life circumstances is rooted in a common underlying assumption that better life circumstances (i.e., objective well-being) inevitably lead to greater happiness (i.e., subjective well-being) (Kahneman et al. 2006). The "impact bias" is an important driver of this erroneous assumption. The impact bias implies that individuals tend to overestimate their expected (positive) emotional reaction to circumstances and events, because they underestimate the degree of adaptation to changes in their lives (Wilson and Gilbert 2005). For example, a new car brings more happiness than the old car only for a very limited time (if at all) – while an enjoyable activity (particularly one involving engagement with other people) tends to remain enjoyable. Taking insufficient notice of adaptation leads to placing undue weight on life circumstances in one's migration decisions because people tend to adapt more to life circumstances than to the more intrinsically valued experiences and activities (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005; Frey and Stutzer 2014). Another reason for the excessive focus on life circumstances is that people are overconfident regarding their ability to capitalize on better life circumstances (Weinstein 1980).

However, as discussed in the introductory section, there is more to a happy life than good life circumstances and good life-abilities. Examples of other aspects that are important for the happiness of migrants are the quality of their social networks, their perceptions about themselves and others, and their daily life structure (e.g., what activities do they perform). Moreover, there is heterogeneity between people's actual circumstances and their interpretation of those circumstances. These differences are caused by temporal comparisons (e.g., a yearly income of $30,000 makes an individual

happier when the individual previously earned $20,000, as against previously earning $40,000), social comparisons (a yearly income of $30,000 makes an individual happier when one's peers earn $20,000 instead of earning $40,000), and depend on the process (a yearly income of $30,000 makes an individual happier when earned with a pleasant job than when earned with a dreadful job). Thus, happiness includes a relative and cognitive component (Brickman et al. 1978; Clark et al. 2008). This component is particularly relevant to happiness outcomes for migrants given the existence of a common status trajectory. Some migrants end up in low-status jobs in the destination country (because their educational qualifications are not recognized, or because of language difficulties, or simply because of discrimination). If they held middle-status jobs in the origin country, then migration has led to a decrease in their relative position, i.e., relative to a local reference group. Once they begin to compare themselves to others in the destination country (perhaps while continuing to compare to others in the origin country, see Gelatt 2013), their happiness might suffer from this decline in status. Nevertheless, people tend to underestimate the extent to which these less tangible aspects influence their happiness (Frey and Stutzer 2014). This is particularly problematic in the context of migration because immigrants tend to experience a severe loss of social capital, community, and status and a major shift in their daily life structure.

8.3.3 The consequences for migrants' happiness

Migration seems to be the right decision for those immigrants who do become happier through migration (thereby implying that they also achieve other goals). The World Migration Report (IOM 2013) reveals that people moving to countries at a considerably higher level of development generally become happier. Nikolova and Graham (2015) validated this finding by using more thorough matching techniques, confirming that Europeans moving to more developed European states generally become happier after the move. However, migration streams toward more developed countries do not *always* result in greater subjective well-being. Convincing evidence comes from a natural experiment in which Tongan residents hoping to move to New Zealand were entered into a random drawing. The "lucky" migrants and the "unlucky" stayers were similarly happy before migration, but the migrants were unhappier than the stayers a few years later even though the migrants' incomes had tripled (Stillman et al. 2015). The happiness consequences for migration streams between similarly developed countries or towards less developed countries are more often (though not always) non-positive (IOM 2013). Hendriks (2015) collected all empirical findings regarding the happiness consequences of international migration. His review confirms that, counter to what one might consider common sense, a considerable share of voluntary immigrants do not become happier through migration. A primary driver of these negative migration outcomes is the loss

of social capital and community, which is insufficiently replaced by their new social relationships in the host country (Hendriks, et al. 2016).

In addition to happiness consequences for individual migrants, one must consider the consequences of migration for family members and others in the origin community. Migration is typically not solely an individual decision but rather a household decision (e.g. Stark 1991); people migrate not only for their own well-being but also for that of children and other family members (e.g., through remittances). From this angle, migration is sometimes a sacrifice one makes for the sake of others, rather than an attempt to improve one's own happiness. However, it is not apparent that migration generally results in greater happiness for those who benefit from the remittances. Smith describes the outcomes for some left-behind children as a "transnational disaster", as increased financial well-being does not compensate for parental absence and its consequences for the development of children (2006: 237; cf. Dreby 2010). More generally, Cárdenas et al. (2009) find a positive effect of remittances on origin-household happiness but Jones (2014) finds a negative effect; Gartaula et al. (2012) suggests that outcomes depend on contextual factors describing the specific situation of the origin household in the local community.

The possibility of "inaccurate" migration decisions does not arise only in relation to people who migrated but did not become happier. Some people *could* benefit from international migration but have not considered or opted for it. Although this possibility has not yet been a serious research topic in the migration literature relating to happiness, it is an assumable proposition given that people are generally averse to risk, uncertainty, and loss (Kahneman and Tversky 1979). Some people prefer to stay in their comfort zone (their home country), even though they have a reasonable chance to become happier by moving to another country; more risk-seeking people are generally more likely to migrate (Balaz and Williams 2011). A better understanding of migration outcomes would decrease people's sense of risk and uncertainty, and thus, their distorting effects on migration decisions. Better migration decisions can be facilitated by improved knowledge regarding the happiness consequences of migration and other forms of external support that facilitate better migration decisions.

8.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

Governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations can support individuals in making better migration choices by providing more comprehensive and accurate information regarding how an immigrant is likely to experience life in the destination country. These organizations often aim to support individuals in making a well-informed migration choice by informing them regarding official admission- and integration procedures, what they can expect from living in their destination country, what their

destination society expects of them, and other practicalities (e.g., how the health system works in their host country). However, there are limitations to the influence of public and non-public institutions on immigrants' choices. When considering the consequences of migration, people tend to have limited confidence in information generated by public institutions (Nye, Zelikow, and King 1997; Norris 2011).

Immigrants hoping to learn about potential migration outcomes frequently turn to others in their social network who have direct experience of international migration (De Haas 2010). The information provided by the people they consult is often useful, but it also comes with important limitations. One issue, discussed in section 8.3.1, is that individuals considering immigration can receive distorted information from established immigrants. A second issue is that migrants have heterogeneous migration outcomes due to demographic and socio-economic differences, the particularities of one's origin and place of residence, one's migration motivations, and many other factors (e.g., Bartram 2013a). This point implies that one should consult with peers with similar characteristics. However, most individuals have only a limited number of people in their social network who have experienced international migration, and the number of migrants with similar characteristics is likely to be very small indeed (perhaps even zero). A third issue is that consulting immigrants who moved years ago may lead to outdated insights, given that migration experiences and outcomes may change over time due to changes in migration policies and in the destination society. Consequently, in hindsight, it sometimes turns out that the information received from one's limited social network is a poor representation of what immigrants will actually experience (as exemplified by the quote from the anonymous Italian immigrant in section 8.3.1).

Thus, the individual considering immigration can obtain a better indication of his or her potential migration outcomes when relevant information is available from recently migrated peers who have similar characteristics. A well-organized and collectively acting community is better placed than individuals to communicate the type of information potential migrants can use productively. The active voluntary involvement of a group of immigrants in generating and transferring knowledge that immigrants could not separately generate and transfer is a perfect example of how effective community development can improve people's well-being.

Yet, stimulating immigrants to share information based on personal reflection is not sufficient for enhancing the possibility of optimal migration outcomes. The problem of memory bias implies that we cannot simply trust feelings of regret or past happiness when evaluating potential future migration outcomes (Roese and Vohs 2012). A method that mitigates the impact of memory biases but still performs well in measuring one's overall migration outcome is needed. Asking individual immigrants about their happiness both before and after migration can solve this issue. However, surveys of this type are scarcely available because they require coordinating data collection across at

least two countries. A solution of some migration scholars is to collect happiness assessments of many immigrants and then compare these to the happiness assessments of non-migrants with similar characteristics (e.g., through statistical matching methods; IOM 2013; Nikolova and Graham 2015; Bartram 2015a). Similarly, an evaluation of what destination constitutes the best fit for a certain immigrant (group) can be made through comparing immigrants who live in different destination countries/regions but whose individual characteristics are similar. Hence, cooperation between researchers and the immigrant community can help overcome key problems in promoting favorable happiness outcomes in immigrant communities.

8.5 THE MIGRATION HAPPINESS ATLAS

The overall goal of the Migration Happiness Atlas is to support migrants in making better migration decisions by enabling them to make a more informed choice. For this purpose, the Migration Happiness Atlas makes customized empirical evidence available on the happiness outcomes of migration. This information is based on the voluntary involvement of immigrants in transferring information on their migration experience. The current section will explain this recently developed initiative.

8.5.1 Why an atlas?

The happiness outcomes of migration are highly dependent on the migrant's origin and destination. For instance, Turkish adolescents living in Sweden are considerably happier than their counterparts living in Norway, even though the native adolescents in these countries have similar happiness (Virta et al. 2004). Similarly, Bartram (2013a) shows that the happiness outcomes in a host country depend on the immigrants' origins; he finds that Polish migrants to Western Europe become less happy on average, whereas Russians, Turks, and Romanians do become happier when moving to Western Europe. It is even likely that there is an interaction between the country of origin and the destination country; one immigrant group might become happier in destination country A than in destination country B, whereas the reverse is true for another immigrant group. Although this interaction has not yet been empirically tested, it is a reasonable assumption given that cultural and linguistic similarities (amongst other similarities) cause some destination countries to constitute a better fit with certain immigrant groups than other groups. Therefore, migrants cannot simply trust the general finding that moving to happier or wealthier countries makes one happier. Instead, differences between migration streams (the interaction of the country of origin and the destination country) need to be considered as well as differences within migration streams because happiness outcomes also depend on individual characteristics.

Ultimately, the Migration Happiness Atlas provides customized information to a potential immigrant on his or her potential happiness outcomes when moving from one's current place of residence to the considered destination. The Atlas is interactive, which means that an individual considering migration can first select one's current place of residence, one's considered destination, and some personal characteristics (e.g., age, gender, education level, migration motive). The provision of these characteristics is shown in figure 8.1a. An algorithm uses the provided information to calculate one's potential happiness development. The happiness outcomes are presented in an atlas to offer people the opportunity to compare different destinations around the world. Figure 8.1b provides an example of the Atlas specified as American expats moving to Germany (which will be further discussed in section 8.5.5).

8.5.2 Why include daily life happiness?

In figure 8.1b, we include information on episodic happiness (see the happiness diary) next to the overall outcome of happiness (happiness would be 6.35 when staying in the US and 5.95 when moving to Germany). Further information on daily life includes information on happiness and time spending by social setting (often based on nationality; figure 8.1c), and location (e.g., being in public space or at work). The happiness diaries are not strictly needed for making inferences about happiness outcomes because the overall happiness outcomes are already indicated by general happiness measures, such as the measure "Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?" Nevertheless, for three reasons, the happiness diaries have great complementary value to these general happiness measures.

First, it is important to distinguish between the happiness of the remembering self and the experiencing self (Kahneman 2000). People strive both for the direct experience of happiness and the creation of "happy" memories. However, people's memorized feelings often diverge from their actually experienced feelings (Kahneman et al. 1993). Therefore, it is beneficial to communicate to immigrants the happiness outcomes for the remembering self (through the general happiness measures that rely on memory) and the experiencing self (through measurement methods that capture daily life experiences and minimize memory biases; see section 8.5.4).

Second, understanding the reasoning why a certain decision is optimal is the basis for the individual's willingness to make an informed choice. Therefore, presenting only the mean happiness difference between the considered destination country and home country is insufficient to have a serious impact on the immigrant's choice behavior. Many factors that can affect a person's happiness remain unrevealed when using only reflective self-report measures. In a study comparing the happiness of internal migrants and locals in Düsseldorf, Germany, we show that daily life issues are vital in explaining the overall happiness of migrants (Hendriks, et al. 2016). A substantial part of migrants'

Figure 8.1 Visualization of the Migration Happiness Atlas

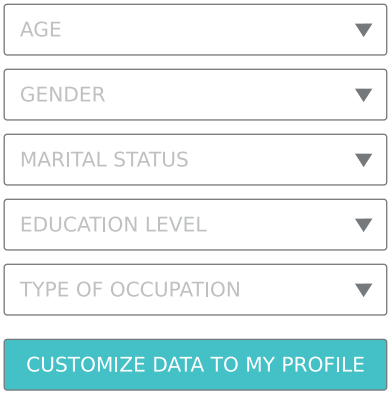

Figure 8.1a Data customization

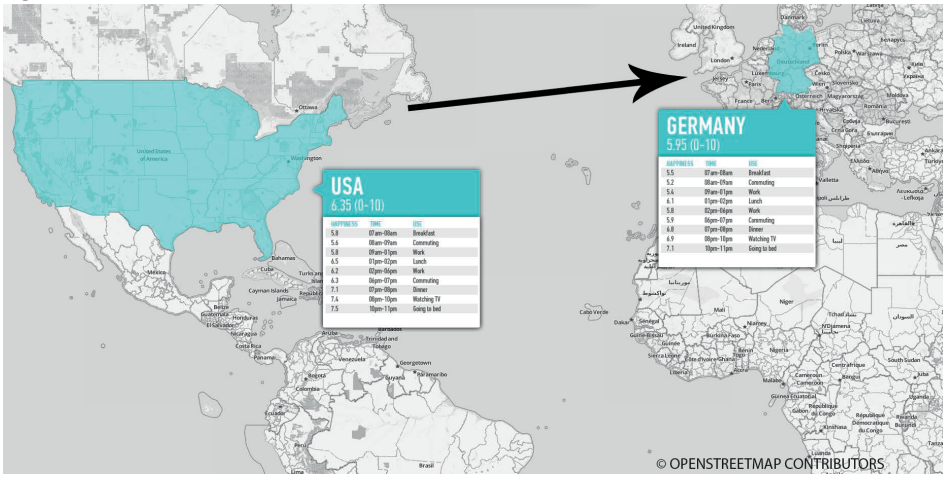

Figure 8.1b Trend in general and daily life happiness

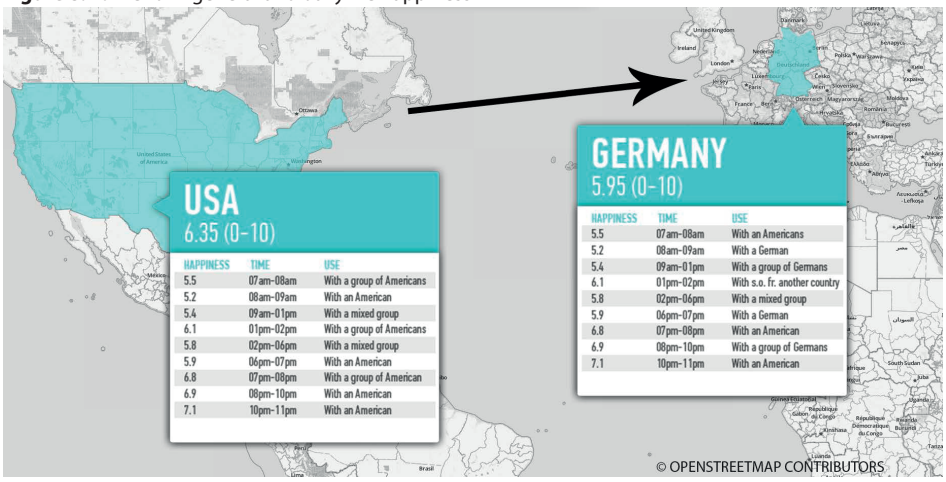

Figure 8.1c Trend in daily life happiness by interaction partners

COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE: GERMANY
NATIONALITY: AMERICAN
YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN GERMANY: 1 YEAR

FIRST YEAR IN GERMANY

American Expat

6.9 (0–10)

HAPPINESS	TIME	USE
6.8	07am – 08am	Sitting having coffee
6.5	08am – 09am	Writing job apps
6.3	09am – 12pm	Phoning companies
6.7	12pm – 01pm	Eating lunch
7.3	01pm – 02pm	Picking up daughter
7.4	02pm – 04pm	Sport
7.1	04pm – 06pm	Calling the family back home
6.8	06pm – 07pm	Having dinner
7.2	07pm – 08pm	Putting daughter to bed
7.1	08pm – 10pm	Hanging out with partner

COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE: GERMANY
NATIONALITY: AMERICAN
YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN GERMANY: 3 YEARS

THIRD YEAR IN GERMANY

American Expat

7.6 (0–10)

HAPPINESS	TIME	USE
7.3	07am – 08am	Sitting having coffee
7.5	08am – 09am	Teaching English
7.6	09am – 12pm	Meeting with people
7.3	12pm – 01pm	Eating lunch
7.8	01pm – 02pm	Picking up daughter
7.9	02pm – 04pm	Sport
7.6	04pm – 06pm	Teaching English
7.4	06pm – 07pm	Having dinner
7.8	07pm – 08pm	Putting daughter to bed
7.6	08pm – 10pm	Reading a book

Figure 8.1d Trend in daily life happiness over the post-migration period

happiness disadvantage was explained by daily life issues, such as their lower momentary happiness while being with friends and less time allocated to happiness producing activities (e.g., sports and social leisure). Therefore, including detailed information on the episodes in daily life in which immigrants feel happier or unhappier than back home will be more convincing to individuals than only including the overall happiness measure.

The third strength of considering daily life issues is that it provides information on a person's lifestyle. With this information, the lifestyle that produces the most happiness for a particular type of immigrant can be identified. Thus, the data on daily life happiness do not only benefit the immigrant's migration decision but also support immigrants post-migration in adopting a happiness producing lifestyle. This can be relevant for both potential and existing immigrants. For instance, it can teach immigrants the importance of making efforts to connect to others, possibly via assimilating into communities, after arrival in their destination country. Another example is that a potential or existing immigrant can develop more accurate expectations about one's future happiness by comparing the happiness outcomes for different migration phases (e.g., by comparing the happiness outcomes one year after migration to the happiness outcomes three years after migration; see figure 8.1d).

8.5.3 The data

Facilitating informed choice is a very ambitious and challenging goal to realize in practice because it requires abundant data and, like most researchers, we have limited resources in terms of money and time. First, one must review all existing empirical studies concerning whether (particular types of) migrants have become happier through migration (Hendriks, 2015). These findings are included in the Migration Happiness Atlas. Although this is a useful approach, it provides limited information because the current number of studies is small and the data do not allow for detailed analyses (the studies lack information on daily life happiness).

Therefore, we have started to collaborate with immigrant communities to collect data on the (daily life) happiness outcomes of migration at low cost (either through a longitudinal design or by comparing migrants and stayers). Immigrants are motivated to participate by their community leaders, the prospect of helping their fellow immigrants in becoming happier, and the opportunity to realize benefits for themselves by reflecting on their personal migration experience and lifestyle (previous research has shown that happiness-tracking tools have a modest positive effect on the happiness of the participants; Ludwigs et al. 2017). Offering large monetary incentives is not strictly necessary for acceptable response rates due to the participants' intrinsic motivation (Groves et al. 2004).

8.5.4 The Happiness Analyzer

The Migration Happiness Atlas is based on a new instrument to track and measure happiness: The Happiness Analyzer. This survey tool allows immigrants to be actively involved in obtaining and spreading knowledge on the happiness outcomes of migration. The happiness Analyzer is an application that is downloadable on the participant's own smartphone, tablet, or PC and was developed by the Happiness Research Organization to measure happiness in a detailed and efficient way (for more information, see www.happiness-analyzer.com). The approach to the smartphone application is displayed in an "Onion-model" (figure 8.2).

The outside layer of the model provides the basis of the model. This basis is a happiness module that collects information on happiness based on reflective and general happiness questions. The happiness module is based on the OECD Guidelines on Measuring Subjective Well-being (OECD 2013b). The OECD proposes to measure three elements of subjective well-being. The first element is life evaluations, which are reflective and cognitive judgments of a person's life. An example question is "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?" answered on an 11-point scale (0=extremely dissatisfied; 10=extremely satisfied). The second element is affect, which means a person's positive and negative emotions and feelings. Affect is measured by the positive and negative emotions a person indicates to have experienced in the

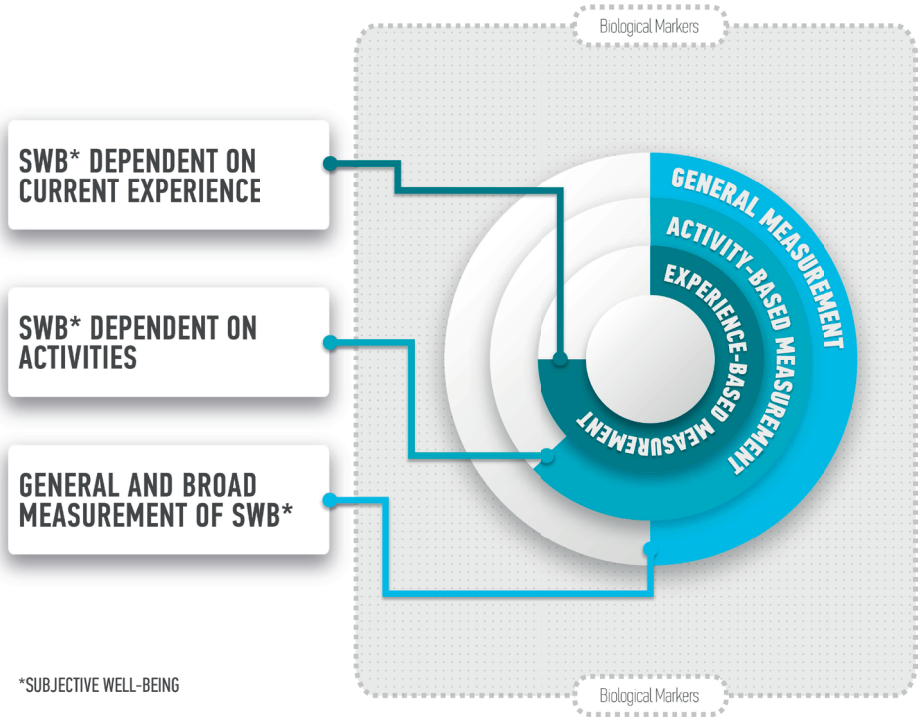

Figure 8.2 The Onion Model

days before the survey (Diener et al. 2010). A third element is eudemonia (i.e., having a meaningful and purposeful life), which is measured by the flourishing scale (Diener et al. 2010). The happiness module is integrated in a baseline questionnaire that additionally includes questions on the participant's personal characteristics as well as migration-related characteristics and post-migration practices. Examples of characteristics relating to migration are the migration motive, language proficiency, intended length of stay, and one's pre-existing social network in the host country. Examples of post-migration practices are one's social and cultural integration.

The second layer of the onion model addresses the limitations of the first layer (i.e. the reflective happiness measures) by collecting information on the day-to-day issues of immigrants. The Happiness Analyzer includes the Day Reconstruction Method (DRM) to zoom in to immigrants' daily life experiences (Kahneman et al. 2004). In the DRM, respondents complete diaries of the previous day in which the feelings experienced during each performed activity are reported. The DRM first asks people to reconstruct their previous day by summarizing their day in episodes (e.g., 7:30-8 AM breakfast; 8-9 AM commuting to work, etc.). Next the individual indicates where he or she is and with whom. Finally, participants rate how they felt during these episodes in terms of happiness. As a result, detailed information is created about how the respondent is feeling

while doing a certain activity, with certain people, and in a given location. Screenshots of the DRM procedure can be observed in figure 8.3.

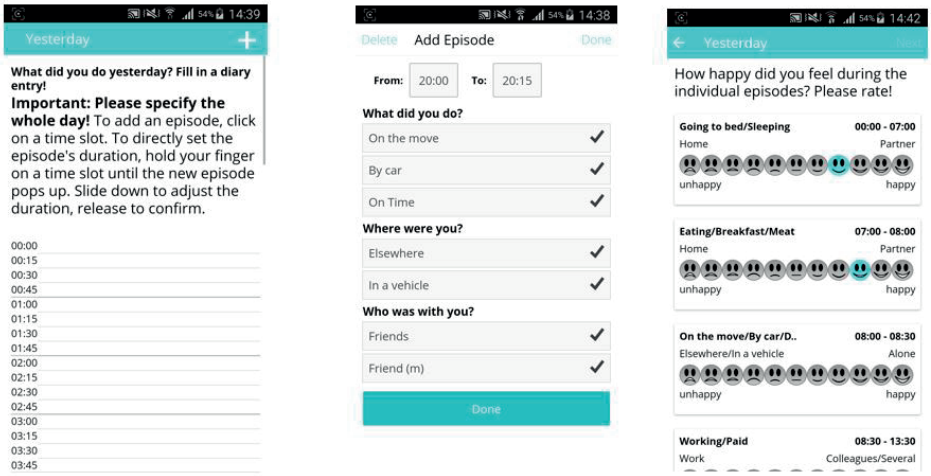

Figure 8.3 DRM screenshots

The third layer is generally an optional layer and asks respondents to report their momentary feelings and actions at short notice after receiving each of several signals distributed throughout the day. This methodology, developed by Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter (2003), is called the Experience Sampling Method (ESM). It includes similar questions as the DRM (see figure 8.4). However, a key advantage of the ESM over the DRM is the greater ecological validity; self-reports are provided in the moment and the environment in which the respondent truly experiences the feelings. Hence, the ESM is more precise than the DRM. However, the DRM facilitates better comparisons between daily episodes because it covers the entire day, whereas the ESM covers only certain moments of the day. Consequently, it is not strictly necessary to use both the DRM and the ESM but it is valuable to do so because of their complementary value. Questions specifically relevant for migration studies are added to the DRM and ESM, such as "What is the nationality of the person(s) you were with?" and "What is the language you were speaking during this activity?"

Additionally, with people's permission, their location can be tracked. It is also possible with the smartphone application to add objective biological markers to our measurements, such as pulse and skin reactivity. Moreover, to collect qualitative information, participants can place notes, voice recordings or pictures in the DRM and the ESM. All the data a participant puts in the application is graphically displayed to ensure high participant motivation.

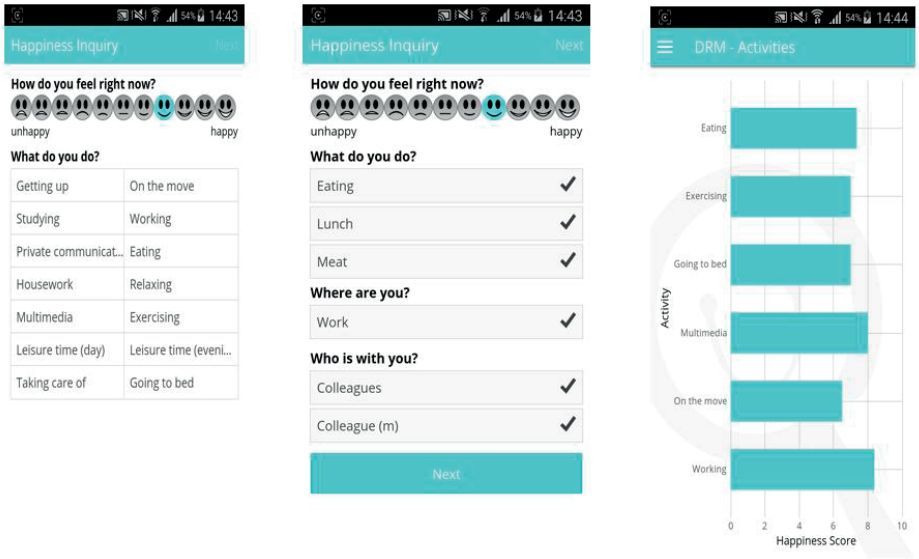

Figure 8.4 ESM screenshots

8.5.5 An example of a Migration Happiness Atlas project.

Randall Birnberg, a leader of the American expat community in Germany, expressed the willingness of American expats to participate in this project. Their goal is (1) to support American expats who consider moving to Germany, as well as American expats living in Germany, to make better decisions on migration and integration, and (2) to help immigrants gratify their social needs by the improved social capital and sense of community that follow from being involved in a community project. Within two months, a low cost panel had been started including more than 1,000 American expats living in Germany (https://www.american-expat-app.com). This project illustrates the willingness of immigrants to be part of a community development process that improves the happiness of their fellow immigrants.

8.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we discussed the value of community development in solving an important issue in immigrant communities. The issue of concern is that a considerable proportion of immigrants do not become happier through migration, which contrasts with their expectations and aspirations. The main cause of these disappointing migration outcomes is that many migrants have inaccurate expectations regarding their migration outcomes. Immigrants in the destination country have abundant expertise on migration outcomes and are thus well placed to provide accurate information on

this topic. Unfortunately, however, immigrant communities are currently not sufficiently organized to transfer and expand knowledge from individual immigrants to prospective immigrants.

We discussed a science-based initiative, called the Migration Happiness Atlas, which supports immigrant communities in generating and communicating more accurate information regarding the happiness outcomes of migration by collecting information on (how to maximize) the happiness outcomes of migration. This initiative is based on the active voluntary involvement of immigrant communities in the process of transferring and expanding knowledge to prospective migrants. The Migration Happiness Atlas aggregates and transforms the information provided by immigrants into customized and interactive evidence on the potential happiness outcomes of migration for a prospective migrant based on the personal characteristics of the prospective migrant.

Ultimately, the joint effort of researchers and immigrant communities to encourage the right people to migrate will lead to more thriving immigrant communities. Moreover, the process of helping potential immigrants can stimulate a greater sense of community in an immigrant community and can benefit the assimilation of potential immigrants into a community. More generally, this chapter illustrates that a constructive community offers the opportunity to push beyond individual understanding.

9 Conclusions, implications, and a research agenda

"I came to America because I heard the streets were paved with gold. When I got here, found out three things: First, the streets weren't paved with gold; second, they weren't paved at all: and third, I was expected to pave them."

- An anonymous Italian immigrant in the early 1900's (posted in the Ellis Island Museum).

9.1 MAIN FINDINGS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Making more out of human migration is one of the biggest challenges we face in our globalizing world, for both host societies and migrants. Recent developments such as the European refugee crisis, Brexit, and the election of Trump as President of the United States highlight the deep concerns in host countries regarding the consequences of migration. Negative experiences are also common among migrants themselves, including homesickness, exploitation, social exclusion, and unsuccessful socio-economic assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Dreby 2010; Abrego 2014; IOM 2015). Notwithstanding these concerns, migration is a *potentially* powerful mechanism for improving human well-being because relocating can bring significant improvements to migrants' living conditions, such as to their income, freedom, and safety (Nikolova and Graham 2015; Zuccotti et al. 2017). In turn, migrants often significantly contribute to host societies, both economically via their specialized knowledge or by doing jobs natives do not want to do and in non-economic domains, such as by introducing cultural elements (e.g., new cuisines and music) into the host society (Legrain 2014).

The focus of this dissertation was on investigating migrants' happiness outcomes of migration and its determinants. This information can facilitate migrants and policy

makers in making better informed decisions to improve migrant happiness, which, as discussed below, may also benefit host societies' outcomes of migration. The four research questions listed in Panel A of Figure 9.1 have been answered in this dissertation. The brief answers to these questions are presented in Panel B and will be elaborated upon in the remainder of this section. The answers to the final two research questions do not represent the full answers to these questions but draw on direct evidence from this dissertation.

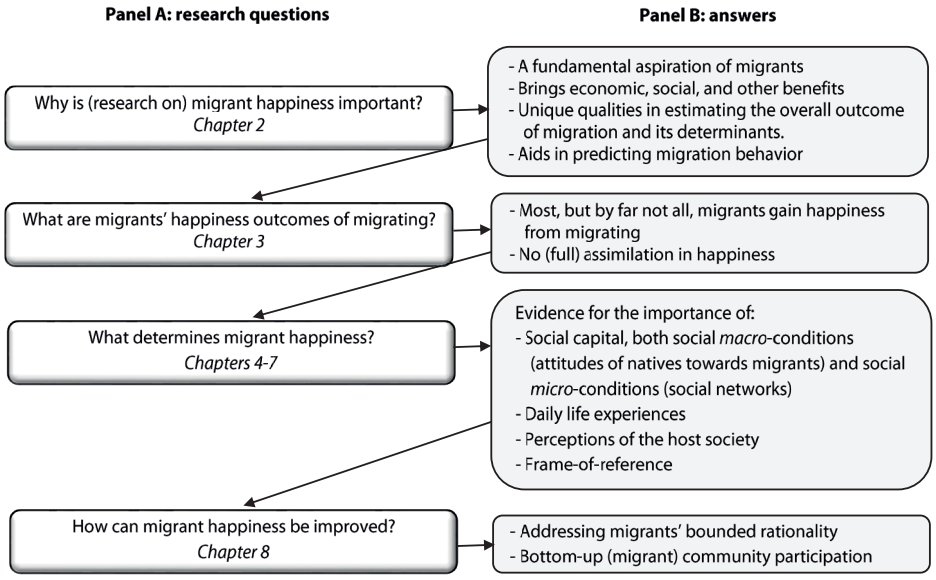

Figure 9.1 Research questions and brief answers.

9.1.1 Why is (research on) migrant happiness important?

Considering migrant happiness is important in and of itself because people, including migrants of all cultures, commonly share being happy and making their families happy as a fundamental goal in life. Beyond this intrinsic interest in happiness, happiness is a valuable new frontier in the study of the overall outcomes of migration, i.e., immigrants' well-being/utility outcomes. Scientists and policy makers have very limited knowledge about the overall outcomes of migration and its determinants because of a lack of a clear vision of what sort of metric could be used to evaluate migrant well-being in a comprehensive manner (Zuccotti et al. 2017). Chapter 2 addressed this issue by outlining the unique characteristics of both the concept and the measurement of happiness that make it well-positioned to study the overall outcomes of migration, migration policies, and other migration-related events (e.g., integration processes). Conceptually, the importance migrants allocate to being happy or making their families happy sug-

gests that happiness is a key component of the migrant's (subjectively) experienced well-being, for which one's objective living conditions (money, education, etc.) are instrumentally important. Empirically, survey questions about happiness or life satisfaction (often called "life evaluations")[50] capture, in an integrated manner, the outcomes of all conditions that truly matter to the migrant and thus reflect the migrant's personally experienced quality of his or her life as a whole. In sum, using happiness as an indicator of the overall outcome of migration can aid in developing a better understanding of the overall outcomes of migration and the importance and merit of specific domains (income, education, etc.) to this overall outcome of migration.

Despite these strengths, the subjective well-being angle is imperfect in capturing migrants' broader well-being. First, happiness is not migrants' sole ultimate value in life, particularly not for forced migrants, who typically move to secure their lives. People also sometimes trade-off happiness for key values other than survival, primarily freedom and morality (Benjamin et al. 2014b). Second, happiness metrics have measurement limitations that are typical for subjective metrics, mostly pertaining to interpersonal, cultural, and language biases (OECD 2013b). Nonetheless, I concur with what O'Donnell et al. (2010) writes in support of using subjective well-being measures: "we aim to be roughly right, not precisely wrong" (p.16), as may occur when making inferences about well-being considering only the more precise but incomprehensive objective (composite) indicators of well-being, such as one's income, education, and life expectancy (see, e.g., the Human Development Index).

The contributions of the happiness angle go beyond its contributions to investigating the outcomes of migration. Given that people's choice behaviour is strongly oriented towards the maximization of happiness (Benjamin et al. 2014b), research on the happiness expectations of prospective migrants may also benefit our understanding of the *causes* of migration. Finally, I have noted in several chapters that high levels of immigrant happiness may have positive spill-overs to outcomes in other domains. For instance, feeling happy generally brings economic, social, and health benefits to the individual and eventually society (De Neve et al. 2013). Potential benefits of greater migrant happiness range from reduced polarization to improved financial gain for both the society and the more productive individual migrant.

9.1.2 What are migrants' happiness outcomes of migrating?

In Chapter 3, I presented a state-of-the-art overview of the research findings regarding the happiness outcomes of migration. The main insights are summarized below.

50 Typical happiness measures are "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" and "Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?", – with scales ranging from 0 (completely dissatisfied/unhappy) to 10 (completely satisfied/happy).

Do international migrants become happier by migrating?

Integrating the dozen available studies on the consequences of migration for the migrating individuals shows that most international migrants gain happiness by migrating. However, several migration streams have been identified in which the outcomes are non-positive or even negative. Negative happiness outcomes are commonly observed for people moving to less developed countries (IOM 2013; Bartram 2015a) but are also present among migrants moving to more developed countries, such as in the high-quality work of Stillman et al. (2015) on Tongans moving to New Zealand. In those studies, improvements in happiness (subjective well-being) tend to lag behind improvements in living conditions (objective well-being). These deviations from the generally positive happiness outcomes signify that characteristics of the receiving and sending country, as well as personal capabilities and characteristics, play an important role for happiness outcomes. However, the range of migration streams that have been investigated is limited and selective because the literature is still in its early stages. Moreover, the methodology used by the reviewed empirical studies is often imperfect: most studies lack longitudinal data but resort to comparisons between migrants their non-migrated counterparts from their home country ("stayers"). For these reasons, it is not yet possible to draw more specific conclusions about the happiness consequences of migration, such as about the exact proportion of migrants who gain happiness by migrating.

Do migrants become as happy as the native population?

Whether migrating benefits the migrant's happiness depends on both the direct effect of migration and the post-migration happiness development (happiness assimilation; see Figure 1.2 of the introductory chapter). Concerning the latter component, my review of research findings indicates that migrants typically do not fully assimilate to the generally higher happiness levels of the native populations in their more developed host countries. In fact, Chapter 6 demonstrates that migrants in developed European countries typically do not assimilate at all in terms of happiness, i.e., migrants do not become happier with their length of stay in the host country. The lack of happiness assimilation extends to immigrants' children as the second generation is not happier than their immigrant parents are. Pervasive happiness disadvantages are not only present among international migrants. In Chapter 5, we demonstrate that young adults who migrate over substantial distances within Germany also feel less happy than their local counterparts do. This finding is consistent with the disadvantaged happiness observed for other types of internal migrants, such as rural-urban migrants in China (Knight and Gunatilaka 2010).

Why did immigrants who became unhappier by migrating move voluntarily?

The New Economics of (Labour) Migration theory (NELM; Stark and Bloom 1985) posits that migration is often a family decision; therefore, perhaps migrants move to improve the happiness of their family members left behind in the home country. However, initial evidence shows that the happiness of the family left behind is not positively affected by the migrant's move because the absence of a loved one is not completely offset by economic well-being gains from received remittances (Borraz et al. 2010; Jones 2014; see Smith 2006 and Dreby 2010 for ethnographic and qualitative evidence). Hence, this argument does not appear to justify their move. Likewise, migration is often perceived to be a long-term investment for oneself or one's children. However, immigrants do not become happier over time and the second generation is generally not happier than the first generation (Safi 2010). Additionally, migrants generally do not become happier after returning to their home country (Bartram 2013a; Nikolova and Graham 2015). Alternatively, one may argue that non-positive outcomes are observed because of the imperfect research designs and happiness measures. This reasoning is unlikely true, however, because non-positive happiness outcomes are also reported in studies that arguably have high-quality research designs, such as Stillman et al.'s (2015) study using data from a natural experiment. We are thus left with two more likely possibilities.

First, migrants may trade-off happiness for other goals, such as income, freedom, morality, safety, and health. This suggestion sounds reasonable because happiness is a fundamental human goal but certainly not the only human goal and thus not the sole criterion in decision-making processes. However, in most cases, the consequences for these other goals highly correlate with happiness. For instance, greater happiness often accompanies greater health and safety. Future research must expose to what extent non-positive happiness outcomes occur because migrants prioritize alternative goals.

Second, and most likely, bounded rationality is likely to be an important cause of negative migration outcomes. Prospective migrants typically know little about life in their considered destination country because they have never previously lived in or travelled to the destination country and receive overly positive information from immigrants in the destination country who are reluctant to reveal their disappointing outcomes (Mahler 1995; Sayad 2004). Moreover, people frequently engage in behaviour that is not in their long-term interest because decisions are often affected by mental and contextual biases (Kahneman 2011) and people commonly mispredict what will make them or other people happy (Gilbert 2006). An important way to overcome these bounded rationality issues faced by migrants is the development and dispersal of evidence-based information about the happiness outcomes of migration, which suggests the need for further inquiry into the conditions that are imperative to their happiness outcomes.

9.1.3 What determines migrant happiness?

On the most general level, migrants' happiness outcomes of migration depend on three components: their migration decisions, their post-migration orientations, and external factors (see Figure 1.3). To investigate the more specific factors that are important for migrant happiness, the explorations in this dissertation focused primarily on two domains that are overlooked in explaining migrants' happiness outcomes: macro conditions and daily life experiences.

What macro-conditions are important for migrant happiness?

In Chapter 4, we demonstrated that the importance of the macro environment for migrant happiness goes well beyond good macroeconomic conditions. In this respect, migrants are not different from people more generally; a key finding of happiness economics literature is that economic growth barely leads to greater happiness, which is known as the "Easterlin paradox" (Easterlin 1974). This finding also corresponds to the common finding that migrants' happiness is only weakly related to their personal or household income (Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013; Calvo and Cheung, forthcoming). Social macro-conditions, particularly the attitude of the host country's natives towards migrants, are at least as important to migrants' happiness as the macroeconomic environment. Migrants thus live happiest in countries that combine a good macroeconomic environment with a pleasant social environment. By contrast, we observe no relationship between the host country's integration policies and immigrants' happiness, which suggests that current integration policies are ineffective, at least for migrant happiness. Furthermore, in Chapter 6, we illustrate that migrants' *perceptions* of the macro environment can be very different from these objective macro conditions and have strong independent relationships with happiness.

Do different daily life experiences help explain the migrant-local happiness gap?

In Chapter 5, we demonstrate that a major reason for the lower happiness of internal migrants in Germany is that they feel less happy when being with their friends than their local counterparts do. Additionally, they spend less time engaging in social activities such as attending parties and having drinks with friends. We explain this social disadvantage by the limited opportunities migrants have to build strong ties because of barriers (e.g., cultural barriers) and time-constraints (i.e., they have had less time to build a satisfactory social network). Relating the happiness deprivation that follows from migrants' inferior social networks to the finding discussed in Chapter 4 that social macro-conditions are vital for migrant happiness reveals a broader implication: *social capital* plays an essential role for migrant happiness. Going beyond the social domain, the German internal migrants also spend comparatively less time on other activities in which one typically feels happy, such as sports. In sum, the daily life happiness of these

internal migrants is both lower because of a "saddening" effect (feeling less happy than locals in some activities) and a "time-composition" effect (spending less time engaged in happiness-producing activities). Our study illustrates that migrants' lower feelings of daily life happiness are an important reason for their lower global evaluations of happiness and life satisfaction.

Why do immigrants not become happier during their stay in the host country?
In line with adaptation level theory (Brickman et al. 1978; Michalos 1985; Luhmann et al. 2012), Chapter 6 highlights that immigrant happiness strongly depends on the immigrant's *perceptions* of his or her objective reality formed by the gap between what one wants (aspirations) and what one has (objective living conditions). Specifically, Chapter 6 demonstrates that the happiness assimilation of immigrants is impaired by their faltering perceptions of the host country's societal conditions, such as their gradually decreasing satisfaction with the economy and government. We provide evidence that these faltering perceptions follow from a shifting frame of reference (shifting aspirations), meaning that immigrants from less developed countries gradually evaluate societal conditions in the host country through a more critical lens because they habituate to these typically better conditions and compare those conditions less to the inferior conditions in their country of origin.

Overall, the findings of this dissertation emphasize the importance of social capital and one's subjective interpretation of reality (vis-à-vis one's objective living conditions) for migrants' happiness outcomes. However, migrant happiness also depends on numerous other interrelated factors that include but go far beyond the migrant's health, freedom, identity, and expectations of the future. A general framework of the determinants of migrant happiness is presented in Figure 9.2. The framework illustrates that the outcomes of migration differ between migrants depending on the characteristics of the host and home country (e.g., whether one moves to a more or less developed country), the migrant's personal characteristics (e.g., one's social skills needed to rebuild a social network), and the way in which a migrant attempts to improve his or her life (e.g., via economic gain or family reunification). Depending on these moderators, migration positively or negatively affects the migrant's *objective* outcomes in various important happiness/well-being domains, such as one's income, objective health, objective social status and particularly social capital. However, as shown in Chapter 6, happiness additionally depends on one's *subjectively* experienced reality because the experience and evaluation of objectively similar situations may strongly differ between individuals. These subjective differences follow primarily from differences in people's aspirations, given that people experience and evaluate their objective outcomes relative to their aspirations. In turn, aspirations depend on reference points that follow from comparisons to specific reference groups (social comparisons; Festinger 1954) and an individual's

personal situation in the past (adaptation; Helson 1964). The outcomes in these important well-being domains are the sum of the direct effects of migrating (the migration shock) and post-migration developments in these domains, the latter of which depend, in particular, on the migrant's post-migration orientations and external factors such as integration policies. All these separate objective and subjective domain outcomes add up to the migrant's happiness outcome.

This framework of antecedents aids in explaining why immigrants who move to more developed countries barely assimilate in happiness during their stay in the host country: the improvements over time in their objective living conditions (e.g., rebuilding their careers and social networks) are often nullified by their deteriorating subjective perceptions of these living conditions that follow from rising aspirations/reference points (see Figure 9.3). Additionally, Figure 9.2 aids in explaining why not all migrants become happier through migration: migration typically results in severe losses in some of the most important well-being domains, particularly social capital (except for family reunification migrants, "love" migrants, etc.), that outweigh gains in other domains.

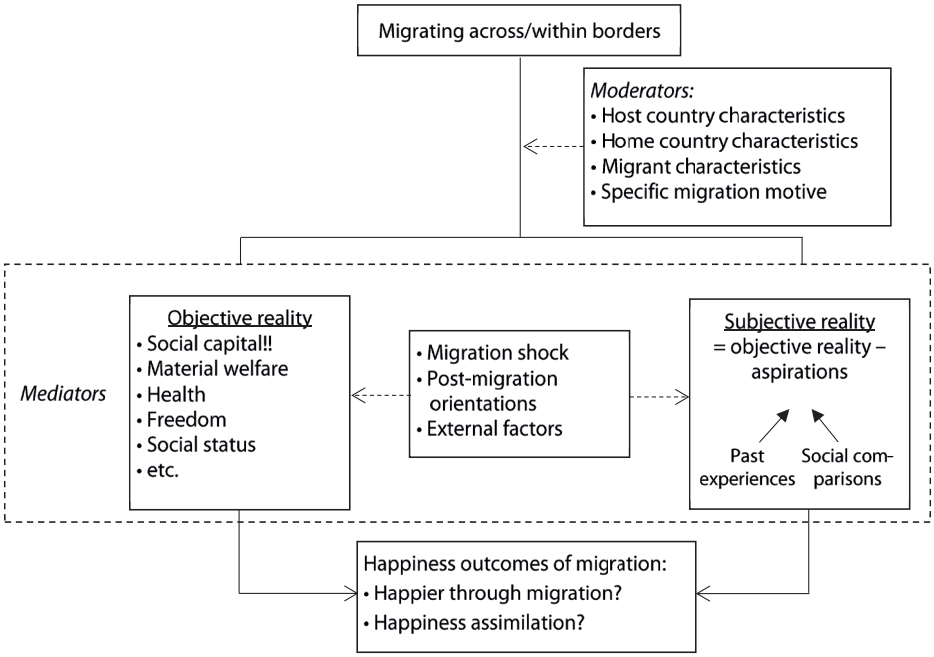

Figure 9.2 Framework of antecedents of migrants' happiness outcomes of migration.

9.1.4 How can migrant happiness be improved?

I have argued above that the bounded rationality of migrants (and policy makers) is an important explanation for suboptimal outcomes of migration. Addressing these

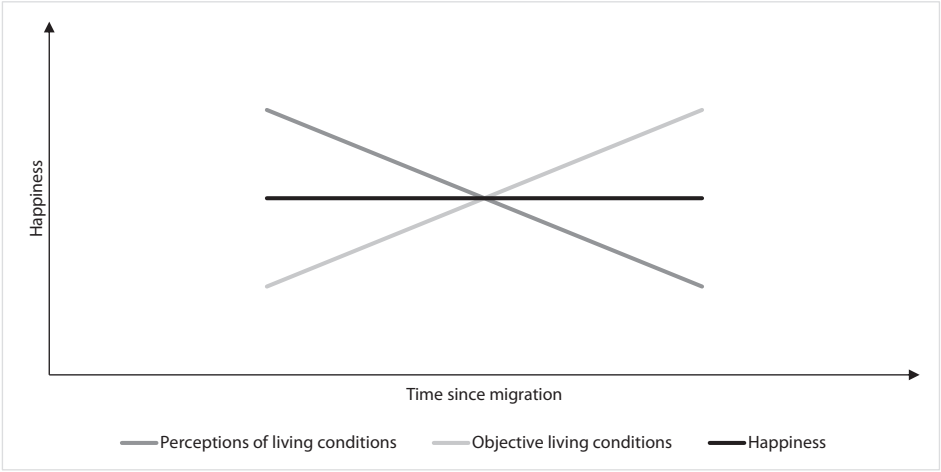

Figure 9.3 An illustrative graph of migrants' happiness assimilation and its underlying mechanisms.

bounded rationality issues can be an effective way to improve migrants' happiness outcomes. Key issues to address are the often excessive expectations of migrants regarding their migration outcomes (Knight and Gunatilaka et al. 2010; Benson and O'Reilly 2012; Mähonen and Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013) and migrants' mistaken beliefs about the extent to which certain aspects matter for happiness. In particular, migrants (and people in general) tend to be overly driven to improve their (economic) living conditions at a cost to non-material and intrinsically more important aspects, such as their social lives (Phinney et al. 2001; Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013; Frey and Stutzer 2014). This situation is particularly true for the vast group of "economic" migrants who attempt to improve their lives via economic gain. I posit that a major source of these "wrong" reasons for migration is the human tendency to underestimate the degree of adaptation to life changes (Wilson and Gilbert 2005). Figure 9.4 illustrates for economic migrants the possible

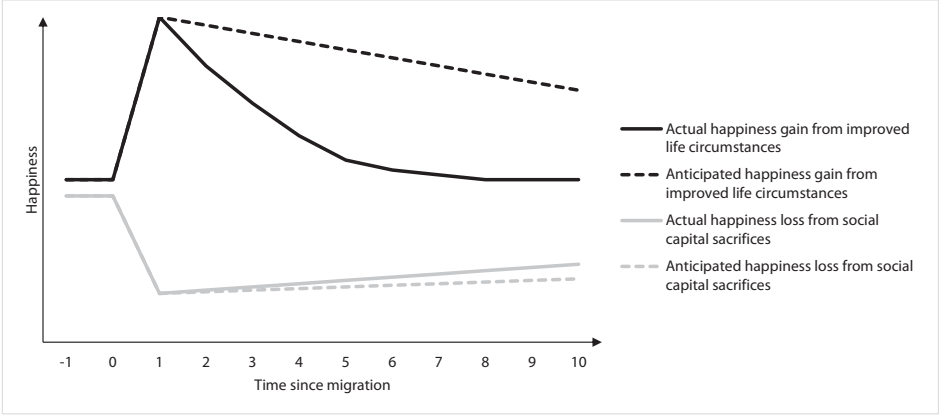

Figure 9.4 An illustrative graph of the potential consequences of adaptation underestimation.

consequences of taking insufficient notice of adaptation when making migration decisions. For simplicity, I assume that the actual short-term happiness benefits outweigh the happiness costs of migrating (see the solid lines one year after migration). These solid lines show that the short-term positive effect from migrating may become a long-term negative effect because people adapt more quickly to typical benefits of migration (improvements in objective life circumstances such as income, housing, and education) than to typical migration costs (disruptions in more intrinsically valued factors such as one's social networks; Frey and Stutzer 2014). However, as indicated by the dotted lines, the underestimated degree of adaptation (if anticipating adaptation at all) may lead migrants to develop excessive expectations of migration as they do not anticipate that these social losses start to outweigh the economic gains in the long term.[51] In addition to the underestimation of adaptation processes, another source of excessive expectations of migration is the previously discussed incomplete and inaccurate information migrants have about their potential migration outcomes.

In Chapter 8, we identified that an organized and collectively acting community in the destination country is well placed to provide accurate information about the happiness outcomes of migration for migrants planning a move to that destination. For instance, immigrant communities can collect survey evidence on the happiness-related experiences of immigrants in this community and communicate the results to prospective immigrants so that these prospective immigrants can better anticipate the outcomes of migration to that specific location and better understand how they can maximize the benefits of migration. Another well-positioned group to inform migrants and nudge them in the right direction are policy makers. Another group well positioned to inform migrants and nudge them in the right direction is policy makers. However, the development of accurate migration policies and the provision of accurate information to migrants requires a good understanding among policy makers about the determinants of migrant happiness. To this end, the upcoming section discusses relevant implications of this dissertation for policy makers.

9.2 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Facilitating citizens' pursuit of well-being, or directly improving the well-being of citizens, has become an overt goal of public policy (see, e.g., the UK's Measuring National Well-being Programme; Everett 2015). For decades, equating well-being with economic

51 Figure 9.4 illustrates the happiness gains derived from the changes in life circumstances and social capital experienced upon arrival in the host country. These objective conditions of migrants also gradually change over their stay in the host country. However, for simplicity, these more long-term changes in one's objective conditions are not considered in this figure.

welfare has been common in public policy, using GDP (economic growth) as the focal measure of social progress and basing public policy decisions primarily on economic cost-benefit analysis (Stiglitz et al. 2010). This economic orientation is also prevalent in migration policy (see Chapter 7), which is particularly evident in admission policy. A common characteristic of the diverse types of admission policies is that they all concentrate on the economic contribution of the potential immigrant (Chaloff and Lamaitre 2009; Papademetriou and Sumption 2011; United Nations 2013b; Koslowski 2014). One example is the employer-led system - requiring employers to request permits at the immigration authorities on behalf of the foreigners who they wish to hire – used, for instance, in the United States, Sweden, Norway, and Spain. Another example is the points-based system - assessing the potential migrant's economic contribution based on human capital factors such as one's education and work experience – used, for instance, in Canada, Australia, Singapore, and Denmark. This economic orientation is also dominant in integration policy, which is primarily focused on the migrant's skill development (OECD 2014). One prominent example of this focus is the Zaragoza Declaration of 2010, in which the European Union countries agreed to concentrate on immigrant integration in employment, education, and economic inclusion. In essence, the prevalent migration policies signal that migrants are only wanted or tolerated for their economic contribution to the host society.

Various influential policy reports published in the last decade emphasize the conceptual limitation of this focus on economic progress by stressing that well-being goes far beyond economic welfare (Stiglitz et al. 2010; O'Donnell et al. 2010; OECD 2013b). Stiglitz et al. (2010; xvii) explain in the preface to their report: "What we measure affects what we do. If we have the wrong metrics, we will strive for the wrong things." In other words, policy decisions are strongly based on the measure we choose to evaluate their (anticipated) consequences. Accordingly, these reports advocate that nations should go "beyond GDP" in measuring and improving national well-being and that happiness should have a more central role in policy. Drawing on these recommendations, some pioneering countries have started to measure, and base policy decisions on, happiness and other broad well-being indicators such as sustainability (Everett 2015). These countries recognize that, while subjective well-being indicators have empirical limitations (see Chapter 2), they at least attempt to measure what really matters – our overall well-being. Following the shift in national well-being policy towards more inclusive measures of well-being, a step forward in migration policy is the statement of the International Organization for Migration (IOM 2013) that "there is a need for further enquiry into the factors that contribute to subjective well-being" (p. 38). Chapters 2 and 7 of this dissertation provided a richer foundation for adopting a happiness angle in migration policy by reviewing the exact benefits and limitations of considering happiness in the distinct context of migration. In summary, these chapters advocate that migration poli-

cies should be more oriented toward promoting immigrant happiness because being happy (or making other happy) is fundamentally important to migrants (and natives) and that happiness measures deserve attention because they comprehensively capture the overall well-being consequences of migration policies. The following policy recommendation emerges from the abovementioned considerations:

Policy recommendation: **Migration policy should abolish its narrow economic orientation and focus more on immigrants' broader well-being, particularly their happiness.**

A promising way to implement this broader 'happiness' focus in admission policy is by estimating the impact of immigrant inflows on the happiness of the native population (Betz and Simpson 2013; Akay et al. 2014) and subsequently considering this happiness impact when deciding on the admission of immigrants or immigrant groups. This broader "happiness" focus can be implemented in integration policy by estimating the happiness assimilation of immigrants (Safi 2010) and assessing the merit and importance of various domains (changes in income, social capital, identity, etc.) to this happiness assimilation. Subsequently, this happiness assimilation, and the domains that are imperative to happiness assimilation, can be given a more central role in integration policy. Drawing on the foundation laid in Chapters 2 and 7, the empirical findings of the studies in this dissertation have four broad policy implications.

Policy implication 1: **More lenient admission policies provide an opportunity to improve happiness across the globe.**

For policy makers, information about whether migrants become happier by migrating facilitate a more informational debate about admission policies (e.g., open border debates; Bartram 2010). To the extent that policy makers (should) consider migrants' outcomes of migration an argument in admission policies (from an ethical perspective or for its benefits to society as a whole; Carens 1987), positive happiness outcomes for the migrants can be an argument for lenient admission policies (open borders). In contrast, negative happiness outcomes could be an argument for strict admission policies, although this argument is more controversial because one may consider that a person's freedom of choice should not be impaired even when the person makes a harmful choice for his or her well-being. The finding discussed in Chapter 3 that the great majority of migrants achieve happiness gains when given the opportunity to migrate implies the potentially major benefits of open borders for migrants. Although there are open-border areas around the world (e.g., the Schengen area in Europe), most people have very limited opportunities to move across countries, particularly low-skilled people from non-developed countries. A major reason for closed borders is the common belief among natives and policy makers that larger immigrant inflows will reduce the well-being of the native population. For instance, in the UK, a key argument of people voting to leave the EU was the perceived negative impact of free migration from Eastern

Europe to the UK on their own lives or society-as-a-whole. Similarly, many people in the US supported Trump's scapegoating of immigrants because they perceive that immigrants harm their lives or society. Empirical evidence disproves this conventional wisdom: if anything, immigrant inflows have a small positive impact on the happiness of natives, at least in Europe (Akay et al. 2014; Betz and Simpson 2013). This does not mean that all countries should completely open their borders, because not all types of migrants will contribute positively to the host country and this small positive overall effect may become a negative effect when receiving excessive numbers of immigrants. For instance, a core reason for the reluctance of countries to take in large numbers of refugees is that large refugee inflows may negatively affect the well-being of people in the host society. However, the findings of Akay et al. (2014) and Betz and Simpson (2013) do imply that there is at least some room for host countries to take in more immigrants without costing the happiness of the native population. Hence, the observations that, on average, migrants become happier by migrating and that immigrant influxes slightly improve the happiness of the host countries' native populations jointly imply that, up to a yet unknown level, more lenient admission policies, such as an increase in open-border areas, will lead to greater happiness for a greater number of people. Such findings appear to counter the increasingly strict admission policies implemented in the last few years in major immigrant-receiving countries, particularly the UK (Brexit) and the US (Trump's "Americans first" policy).

Policy implication 2: **Policies that improve immigrant happiness indirectly benefit the happiness of the host country's native population.**

I outlined in Chapter 7 how greater immigrant happiness can be mutually beneficial for immigrants and natives, which I will summarize here. Improvements in a person's happiness provide a range of benefits, such as better productivity, health, social behaviour, self-control, and openness towards other values/ideas/cultures (De Neve et al. 2013). In turn, this greater productivity, health, and other benefits stimulate the person's happiness, which implies a continuous loop between these benefits and one's happiness (Fredrickson 2001). These individual benefits that follow from being happier also benefit society as a whole because they increase the individual's economic contribution to society, social cohesion, etc. (Coleman 1990). Following this reasoning, it is likely that policies endeavouring to improve migrant happiness may actually benefit the host society and the happiness of its native majority members (see Chapter 7 for a more elaborate discussion). I have attempted to phrase this point carefully, however, because the current evidence and theories on the instrumental value of happiness in achieving a more pleasant and productive society are based on citizens in general, not migrants in particular. Nevertheless, my intent in raising this point is to challenge or at least spark debate about the prevalent political and societal view that investing in immigrant well-being comes at the cost of natives.

This debate is essential because many policy makers are reluctant to significantly invest in better lives for immigrants out of fear that doing so would attract more migrants and that natives perceive their well-being to be prioritized insufficiently (Castles 2004). Improved immigrant happiness is indeed likely to attract more immigrants when considering that migration decisions are strongly oriented towards the maximization of happiness (Benjamin et al. 2014a). However, the *fear* of more immigrants is unwarranted because these additional immigrant inflows do not negatively affect natives' happiness when these inflows are not extremely high (Akay et al. 2014; Betz and Simpson 2013). However, as demonstrated by recent events (Brexit, election of Trump), this does not mean that these perceptions of (particular groups of) natives are not real and that natives do not perceive that their well-being is insufficiently prioritized. To alleviate these concerns, policies aimed at stimulating immigrant happiness must focus on domains that are less sensitive to natives (for instance, more help with language skill development) and/or must be accompanied by policies aimed at raising awareness among natives about the potential advantages of greater immigrant happiness. Moreover, if immigrants' greater happiness leads them to contribute more to the host country (e.g., by being more productive and less involved in crime), the effect will be an increase in the willingness of natives to host more immigrants and increase the number of immigrants that is optimal for maximizing the happiness of the host country's natives. Nevertheless, policymakers may still need to make trade-offs between increasing immigrant happiness and implementing more lenient admission policies given that additional inflows of migrants are only accepted by and beneficial for the host country's natives up to a certain (yet undefined) point.

Policy implication 3: **The current integration/assimilation policies focusing primarily on economic assimilation do not contribute to immigrant happiness.**

The finding of Chapter 4 that current economic-oriented integration policies do not contribute to immigrant happiness reinforces the frequently expressed belief that current integration polices are ineffective, a belief even held among political leaders who favour open borders, such as Angela Merkel (BBC News Online 2010). The finding discussed in Chapter 6 that migrants do not become happier with their length of stay in the host country is another signal that current policies are ineffective in improving migrant happiness. These findings are evident when considering that integration policies primarily focus on economic gain, although economic gain is not a major determinant of happiness for the majority of immigrants who have little concern about making their ends meet (Bartram 2011). Hence, these policies target only to a very limited degree what migrants really care about (and also do not target what natives care about; see Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014). The resulting lack of happiness assimilation emphasizes the need for integration/assimilation policy reforms. However, without knowledge about the overall well-being/happiness outcomes of migration, migration policy is

blind, and reforms are unlikely to be beneficial. The insights of this dissertation into the *determinants* of immigrant happiness (see policy implication 4) aid in developing improved integration/assimilation policies by identifying domains that are particularly fruitful to target for policies designed to foster immigrant happiness.

Policy implication 4: **There is a pressing need for migration policies that focus on less tangible but nonetheless major obstacles to immigrant happiness, such as anti-immigrant sentiments, faltering immigrant perceptions of the host society, and immigrants' daily life issues.**

Migration policies typically centre on improving objectively observable conditions, such as education and income levels (OECD 2014). However, the migrant's happiness also strongly depends on various less tangible aspects. Chapter 4 shows that the hostility of the host country's native population towards immigrants is one of these less tangible aspects that strongly impairs immigrants' happiness. This finding is particularly worrying in light of the vast anti-immigrant sentiment in many Western host countries (Heath and Richards 2016; Gallup 2017), which suggests that a potentially effective way to improve immigrant happiness is to address natives' negative attitudes towards immigrants. For that purpose, one must tackle the sources of these negative attitudes, which is not necessarily the concern about one's personal economic situation but perceived threats to the host country's culture and social life (Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014). These cultural concerns could, for instance, be reduced by investing more in the immigrant's cultural integration.

In the context of happiness assimilation, this dissertation highlights two other non-tangible aspects that are important for immigrant happiness. Chapter 6 emphasizes that immigrants' faltering perceptions of the host society is a major reason for their lack of happiness assimilation. Adaptation theory suggests that immigrants will take the conditions of the host society less for granted when comparing themselves more often to (people in) their less developed home country (Luttmer 2005). Accordingly, one way to slow down or delay these faltering perceptions is by encouraging migrants to adopt a dual frame of reference rather than abandoning all ties to the home country. However, a major part of this mechanism of changing perceptions/frames of reference will be unstoppable. Alternatively, therefore, policy makers could attempt to reduce immigrants' excessive expectations of migration that follow, for instance, from their insufficient awareness that they will largely adapt to the host society's better life circumstances (Olgiati et al. 2013). One way to raise this awareness is by stimulating information provision to immigrants about the happiness outcomes of migration and its determinants (expectations management). Governments may not want to directly provide this information to immigrants because the communication of possibly unfavourable outcomes could be interpreted as attempts of governments to discourage immigrants from coming to their country (i.e., politicians' anti-immigrant agenda). Instead, governments could

stimulate information provision indirectly by encouraging independent research on this issue that could reach migrants indirectly via immigrant communities or the popular press (see Chapter 8). Chapter 5 highlights that migrants could also benefit from support in rebuilding their daily life patterns. The finding that internal migrants in Germany spend less time and feel less happy engaging in various social activities implies that migrants would benefit from help in rebuilding their social lives. Given that immigrants also spend less time on other happiness-promoting active leisure activities (e.g., sports), policies aimed at stimulating social and active leisure activities would be particularly fruitful. One suggestion would be to provide newcoming migrants with information about social and sports events or clubs and/or subsidize such events for them.

9.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR MIGRANTS

One hopeful finding discussed in Chapter 2 is that migration benefits the happiness of most migrants. However, negative outcomes of migration caused by excessive expectations are not uncommon (Knight and Gunatilaka 2010). Moreover, even migrants who do gain happiness from migrating could make more out of migration when they possess more accurate information about how their lives will likely be in the host country and about what conditions are crucial for positive migration outcomes (Schkade and Kahneman 1998; Frey and Stutzer 2014). To this end, one practical goal of this dissertation has been to facilitate more informed migration decisions among prospective migrants (i.e., fewer migrants moving for the wrong reasons or with excessive expectations) and more informed post-migration decisions among existing migrants by developing and spreading knowledge about the happiness outcomes of migration and its determinants.

9.3.1 The migration decision

The review of Chapter 2 shows that people moving to *less* developed countries in particular must consider that migrating is likely to negatively affect their happiness. Another group for whom migration is frequently a misguided endeavour for obtaining greater happiness is economic migrants, because the weak relation between material welfare and happiness suggests that they may be mistaken in believing that improving their financial situation via migration will be an effective path to a happier life (Bartram 2011). This finding suggests the importance of a better awareness among migrants that having more money is not the "golden ticket" to happiness. By contrast, prospective migrants must give considerable weight in their migration decisions to the effect of migration on their social capital, such as the host society's receptivity to immigrants (see Chapter 4) and the implications of migration for their social networks (see Chapter 5).

This dissertation also informs migrants about what they can expect of their post-migration progress in happiness. Migrants often regard the first years after migration as an investment period and assume that their post-migration happiness will improve over their stay in the host country (Alba and Nee 1997). The finding that migrants do not become happier with their length of stay (and across generations) suggests that this assumption is often erroneous, which can lead to disillusioned migrants, particularly when the migrant also anticipates to become as happy as the host country's natives. Migrants could thus benefit from lowering their expectations about happiness assimilation, especially by taking into account that they will gradually adapt to the better conditions in the host country and that their subjective gains (feelings of happiness and satisfaction) will lag their objective gains (Chapter 6). However, this recommendation by no means implies that migrants should not attempt to improve their happiness during their stay in the host country.

9.3.2 Improving happiness assimilation

Immigrants can learn two lessons from this dissertation to improve their happiness assimilation. First, migrants could benefit from attempting to slow down or delay mechanisms that make them gradually take the better societal conditions of the host country for granted. One principal way migrants can slow down this mechanism is by adopting the right benchmark. With respect to their happiness, migrants would benefit from comparing themselves less frequently to the typically better-off native population in their host country (Zagefka and Brown 2005), and more regularly reflect on how their life has objectively improved by migrating via comparisons of their conditions to those (of people) in their home country (Akay et al. 2017). Migrants can make such comparisons by adopting a dual frame of reference rather than abandoning all ties to the home country. The second lesson relates to choices about how to allocate one's finite amount of time. From Chapter 5, it appears that migrants can gain much happiness by spending more time on active leisure activities (e.g., sports) and investing in their social lives and spending less time on passive leisure activities such as watching television.

9.4 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

9.4.1 Neoclassical economics assumptions

Traditionally dominant (economic) migration theories, most prominently neoclassical economic theories of migration (Lewis 1954; Harris and Todaro 1970) and the New Economics of Labour Migration theory (Stark and Bloom 1985), assume that migrants act as a "homo economicus" and thus make the best possible choice given the options they have. Corresponding to the literature emphasizing the bounded rationality of humans

(Kahneman 2011), the finding that not all migrants become happier by migrating (and neither do their children or their families back home) challenges this assumption. The possibility of negative outcomes (i.e., discrepancies between one's expected and experienced outcomes) shows that assumptions of rationality and complete information should thus not be taken for granted in theorizing about migrants' happiness outcomes. Hence, one cannot rely solely on a person's revealed preferences (Tiebaut 1956) when making inferences about whether migration is successful but migrants' overall outcomes of migration should be measured explicitly via happiness measures and other well-being indicators. It would be better to take bounded rationality as the starting point in theorizing about migrants' outcomes of migration. This dissertation aids in theorizing about migrants' happiness outcomes by outlining under what conditions good happiness outcomes of migration are achieved (see Figure 9.2).

9.4.2 Assimilation theory

Classical "straight-line" assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 1997) and the related adaptation hypothesis (Berry 1997) assume that the overall well-being of immigrants in developed countries improves "in a straight line" over time and across generations. Various researchers have criticized this assumption by arguing that not all immigrant groups assimilate in favourable directions (segmented assimilation theory; Portes and Zhou 1993) and that assimilation does not result in good outcomes in every life domain (Rumbaut 1997). However, these critics do not go as far as to argue that immigrants *in general* do not assimilate to the *overall* well-being levels of natives. The findings of this dissertation that immigrants barely become happier with their length of stay in the host country do cast doubt on this central assumption of assimilation theory. Hence, objective conditions may improve over time and generations but the subjective experience does not improve. To better explain migrants' lack of (subjective) well-being assimilation, I propose to complement "straight-line" assimilation theory and segmented assimilation theory with the "absent assimilation" theory sketched in Figure 9.3. Fundamentally, Figure 9.3 illustrates that we should go beyond the focus of these previous assimilation theories on the positive progress made in objective domains by additionally considering migrants' shifting frame of reference and rising aspirations that lead to faltering perceptions of one's living conditions. These two counterbalancing mechanisms thus together explain migrants' lack of happiness assimilation.

9.4.3 Implications for happiness theories

The insights gathered in this dissertation show that the dominant happiness theories also hold in more extreme scenarios. Happiness economics literature emphasizes the limited role of economic welfare in determining happiness because of adaptation mechanisms (Easterlin 1974; Clark et al. 2008); Chapter 4 shows that this notion holds

even for people who arguably care more about economic gain than the average person, i.e., economic migrants. Various theories, including (revised) adaptation level theory (Brickman et al. 1978; Diener et al. 2006; Luhmann et al. 2012) and multiple discrepancies theory (Michalos 1985), argue that happiness not only depends on one's objective living conditions (particularly meeting one's basic needs) but also depends strongly on the gap between what one wants (aspirations) and what one has (objective living conditions). Chapter 6 draws attention to the influence of shifting reference points that follow from severe macro-environmental shocks experienced by moving across borders on the individual's happiness. In line with revised adaptation theory (Diener et al. 2006; Luhmann et al. 2012), Chapter 6 shows that people's perceptions of society and happiness gradually, although not fully, habituate to their new macro-environment because they increasingly compare their current situation to that of other people or their past situation in the *host* country as opposed to the situation of people or their past situation in the *home* country (i.e., shifting reference points). General happiness theories thus appear to be well-applicable to the distinct population of migrants and the diverse types of migrants within this migrant population.

9.5 LIMITATIONS AND AN AGENDA FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

By sketching a comprehensive research agenda, I aim to encourage further study on the topic of migrant happiness. While some of these avenues for future research involve addressing core limitations of this dissertation, others are inspired by the findings of this dissertation. I organize this discussion by first discussing general limitations regarding this dissertation's scope and conceptualization of happiness as well as some general methodological limitations of this dissertation. Next, I concentrate on three themes: the happiness consequences of migration, the happiness assimilation of migrants, and research aimed at improving migration outcomes. I close by describing my endeavours to address some of these avenues for future research in my post-dissertation work.

9.5.1 Scope

The main group of interest in this dissertation were migrants, and the specific focus was their outcomes of migration. Nonetheless, as argued in Chapters 2 and 7, a happiness angle is also potentially valuable for studying the outcomes of migration for other migration stakeholders (e.g., the host country's natives) and for other types of evaluations (e.g., the effects of migration-related policies). Moreover, the value of a happiness angle goes beyond exploring the *outcomes* of migration. The notion that people often move in search of a happier life suggests that further explorations into the role and determinants of happiness expectations for migration *behaviour* can help understand why

some people become mobile while others do not (Benjamin et al. 2014a). Additionally, De Neve et al. (2013) recently illustrated that greater happiness can provide many other benefits to individuals and society. This insight into the instrumental value of human happiness opens the door for more specific explorations into the role of immigrant happiness for improving these immigrants' outcomes in other domains and for improving the societal benefits of migration. To assess the overall consequences of (not) investing in immigrant happiness, one must compare these potential advantages of greater immigrant happiness to its potential disadvantages (e.g., perceptions among natives of being prioritized insufficiently). Another issue regarding the scope of this dissertation is that I have mostly focused on migrants in general instead of concentrating on specific types of migrants. My general studies on the happiness outcomes of migration and some of its determinants (e.g., macro-conditions) can provide the basis for future research that examines whether these general happiness patterns hold for specific types of migrants, such as expats or refugees. Additionally, I primarily focused on developing the foundation for a happiness angle in the study of migration (outcomes) and conducting applied research on the determinants of migrants' happiness outcomes. Future work that further develops the theorization of migrants' happiness outcomes of migration (Figures 9.2 and 9.3) is paramount for better understanding migrants' happiness outcomes.

9.5.2 Conceptualization of happiness

The broad happiness literature uses the word "happiness" to refer both to the frequent experience of pleasant feelings (the affective component of happiness) and the perception of obtaining what one wishes from life (the cognitive component of happiness; Diener et al. 1999; Veenhoven 2012a). While this affective component is mostly assessed by people's experienced emotions (e.g., via the Experience Sampling Method) and is the primary focus of positive psychologists (but see also Kahneman et al. 2004), the cognitive component focuses on life satisfaction and is the primary focus of economists and other social scientists. Using the terms "happiness" and "life satisfaction" synonymously is common in the happiness economics literature (Clark et al. 2008) and in the migrant happiness literature (e.g., Bartram 2011; Senik 2014). I followed this tradition throughout this dissertation because migrants' global evaluations of happiness (which combines this cognitive and affective component) are highly correlated with life satisfaction (see Chapters 4, 5, and 6). However, admittedly, when considering the recent evidence that migrants' affective happiness can differ substantially from these life evaluations (see Chapter 5 and IOM 2013), more explicit distinctions between happiness and life satisfaction are desirable in future research. Moreover, while the agreement among many happiness scholars that happiness relates to affectively pleasant and cognitively satisfying feelings offers a decent account of what happiness constitutes, there is little agreement on the exact definition of happiness. I initially favoured Veenhoven's (1984)

definition of happiness as the degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of his or her own life as a whole favourably (Chapter 4). However, this definition covers the affective component of happiness insufficiently because of its emphasis on the individual's "judgement". Therefore, I now favour Veenhoven's recently introduced broader definition of happiness (Veenhoven 2012a), which refers to the subjective enjoyment of life (or a person's disposition to feel good; see Chapters 1, 2, and 6).

9.5.3 Methodology

A primary methodological issue that applies to all analyses presented in this dissertation is the limited inferences that could be made about causal relations. In Chapter 2, most of the empirical studies on the consequences of international migration for happiness reviewed draw on cross-sectional comparisons between migrants and "stayers" because large-scale longitudinal data following international migrants both before and after migration are sparse and, if available, sometimes lack a happiness measure. For the same reason, all empirical studies of this dissertation rely on cross-sectional data and thus explore *associations* between happiness and certain living conditions (e.g., the macro-environment) rather than estimate the *causal* effects of these aspects on happiness. Instrumental variable methods are not feasible in happiness research because of the lack of credible instruments, i.e., it is virtually impossible to find an instrument that is uncorrelated with the dependent variable (happiness). Panel data on internal migrants are less scarce (see, e.g., Nowok et al. 2013; Melzer and Muffels 2017), but their happiness outcomes and determinants have limited generalizability to international migrants as they experience considerably less extreme changes in their cultural environment, distance to family and friends, etc.

Given the scarcity of data specifically focused on migrants, a second methodological issue is that data on immigrant happiness are mostly derived from general social surveys such as the European Social Survey and may therefore not be fully representative of the immigrant population in the considered destination countries. A hopeful development in addressing the two abovementioned limitations is the recently established immigrant panel in the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP). In light of the increasing importance of migration, I call for additional initiatives from policy makers and/or researchers to collect longitudinal data (see Mähönen et al. 2013) and natural experiment data (see Stillman et al. 2015) on international migrants to address the abovementioned methodological limitations. Natural experiment data, which are data gathered for a population among whom one group is randomly assigned to migrate (migrants) while the other group is randomly determined to stay (stayers), offer two advantages over longitudinal data. First, they provide more accurate information about the consequences of migration, as comparisons between randomly assigned stayers and migrants circumvent a possible happiness dip among migrants in the years before migration (Melzer and

Muffels 2017). Second, natural experiment data provide richer information on the success of migration decisions as they go beyond the opportunity offered by longitudinal data to estimate whether one has become happier by migrating (post-migration vs. pre-migration happiness). Additionally, natural experiment data allow for the estimation of whether migrants' *current* happiness is higher than their *current* happiness would have been if they had stayed in their home country (via migrant-stayer comparisons).

A third methodological issue is related to the measurement of happiness. A large body of research has explored the validity and reliability of happiness measures (OECD 2013b; Diener et al. 2013). Nevertheless, much work remains to be done to build a more solid foundation for the empirical study of happiness. A particularly important domain for research on migrant happiness involves further exploring and addressing the cross-cultural comparability of happiness evaluations and identifying which specific happiness measure introduces the lowest cultural bias. Promising approaches for this type of research include experimental techniques (Lolle and Andersen 2016), vignette studies (Kapteyn et al. 2013), scale interval studies (De Jonge 2015), and studies on atypical response tendencies (Brulé and Veenhoven 2017). Other dimensions of happiness measurement also require further exploration. For instance, knowledge is scarce about the effect of question wording on people's responses to happiness questions.

Chapter 5 highlights that multiple-moment assessment techniques such as the Experience Sampling Method (Hektner et al. 2007) and Day Reconstruction Method (Kahneman et al. 2004) generate new insights on happiness. These methods capture the affective component of happiness more accurately than general survey questions about affect (e.g., how often the respondent has felt happy, joyful, sad, etc. in the past weeks) by asking people about their affective experiences shortly after experiencing them. Because of this quality, these methods offer an opportunity to uncover how a migrant experiences one's daily life, both in terms of time spending and feelings of happiness during certain activities. It would be valuable to apply these techniques on a wider scale in the study of migration happiness (Chapter 5 is, to my knowledge, the only study on migrant happiness that applies these techniques) to explore, for instance, how migration affects a person's daily life happiness and whether their daily life happiness improves over time.

9.5.4 The happiness consequences of migration for migrants

The review of Chapter 2 has shown that the scientific literature investigating the impact of migration covers only a limited number of migration streams (mostly migrants moving within or to Europe). Research on other migration streams could help provide a more comprehensive picture of the happiness consequences of migration for migrants, such as research on the happiness outcomes of Mexicans in the US. Nevertheless, the current literature already reveals a large heterogeneity in the happiness gains from mi-

grating between migration streams (and within migration streams), which suggests the usefulness of explorations into the *moderating* variables that cause this heterogeneity (see Figure 9.2). Some inferences can be made about the causes of this heterogeneity based on the general literature on the determinants of migrant happiness (e.g., income is not a major determinant of happiness, and therefore, the happiness gains for economic migrants may be relatively limited). However, further inquiry is warranted on the causes of heterogeneous outcomes between groups of migrants or migration streams to substantiate such inferences and to shed new light on the crucial factors that deserve consideration when making migration decisions (Virta et al. 2004; Gokdemir and Dumludag 2012).

Concerning these migration decisions, various studies suggest that migrants put excessive weight on certain factors in their migration decisions (particularly economic gain; Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013; Hendriks and Bartram 2016) without directly comparing migrants' choice behaviour and their happiness outcomes. Another important potential cause of suboptimal outcomes brought forward in this dissertation is that migrants insufficiently consider how their preferences will change after migration. For instance, economic migrants base their migration decision mostly on reaching greater happiness via economic gain but may not realize that their main concerns typically come to include social factors such as social exclusion and cultural/identity issues (Piore 1979). To test these claims and to uncover other factors that cause discrepancies between choices/expectations and outcomes, research that directly relates choice behaviour to happiness outcomes would be valuable. More generally, an important avenue for future research is to explore what variables *mediate* migrants' happiness outcomes of migration (see Figure 9.2). For instance, future research that traces how the happiness functions of migrants change during and after the migration process is needed.

9.5.5 Happiness assimilation

A key finding regarding happiness assimilation is that first- and second-generation migrants do not (fully) assimilate to the higher happiness levels of natives. However, the happiness progress of further generations has remained unexplored, although it is increasingly relevant to determine whether grandparents (generation 1) have made their grandchildren (generation 3) happier by moving in our ageing world. Moreover, similarly to the studies on the happiness consequences of migration, my studies on happiness assimilation and the broader literature on happiness assimilation have focused on immigrants in Europe. The generalizability of this "European" happiness assimilation literature to non-European countries (particularly developing countries) deserves attention. A particularly interesting question is to what extent the finding that young internal migrants in Germany have lower daily life happiness than their local counterparts

because of their deprived social networks is generalizable to internal migrants in other countries and international migrants.

In the absence of data on immigrants' reference points and aspirations, I resorted in Chapter 6 to indirect methods to assess whether a shifting frame-of-reference impedes happiness assimilation. These indirect methods demonstrated that a changing frame of reference is likely to have a strong negative effect on migrants' happiness assimilation. A more robust examination of the role of a shifting frame of reference in happiness assimilation requires empirical data and research that directly capture changes in immigrants' evaluation standards and frames of reference. Moreover, a changing frame-of-reference suggests that other perceptions than societal perceptions may also change over time among immigrants, such as their perceptions of personal conditions. Therefore, the specific subjective dimensions that suppress happiness assimilation merit further attention. Additionally, the finding of Chapter 4 that integration policies do not contribute to immigrant happiness suggests the importance of generating knowledge and developing a framework on the features of integration policy that promote immigrant happiness.

9.5.6 Improving migrant happiness

Given that the recent literature has developed and continues to develop an understanding of whether and under which conditions migration benefits the migrant's happiness, researchers can cautiously move forward to testing specific ways to improve immigrant happiness. One way is to use intervention studies (randomized controlled trials), i.e., evaluating the impact of an intervention by checking whether migrants receiving an intervention (the treatment group) experience a greater happiness improvement compared with that of a similar group of migrants who did not receive that treatment (the control group). One obvious domain to implement randomized control trials is integration policy, which will allow policy makers to trace the effectiveness of new, desperately needed integration policies in mediating migrant happiness. Considering bounded rationality issues in migration decisions, another relevant area in which randomized controlled trials can be implemented concerns explorations into the effectiveness of informing prospective immigrants pre-migration about their potential outcomes of migration and the conditions that are imperative for good happiness outcomes of migration.

9.5.7 Personal endeavours

In my post-dissertation research, I attempt to address some of the issues mentioned above.

Different migration streams. In a project for the World Happiness Report 2018, which features "migrant happiness" as its core theme, my co-authors and I acknowledge the need for research on other migration streams than the typically studied migrants to

Europe and address this issue by exploring the happiness consequences of migration for all major migration streams around the world using Gallup World Poll data.

Other stakeholders. I have stressed that a happiness angle can also be useful in examining the outcomes of other stakeholders of migration. A particularly hotly debated issue in recent years is the impact of refugees on native populations. Martijn Burger, Harry Commandeur, and I attempt to objectively determine the happiness consequences of refugee inflows for people living near refugee centres to stimulate a more well-informed debate about the consequences of refugee settlement.

Improving migrant happiness. In Chapter 8, it was suggested that involving immigrant communities in endeavours to improve immigrant happiness could be fruitful. To this end, Kai Ludwigs and I collaborate with the American expat community in Germany to explore whether useful knowledge can be generated by cooperating with immigrant communities in collecting data on immigrant happiness.

Happiness measures. To further address concerns about the accuracy of happiness measures, my co-authors and I are currently exploring whether the exact wording of happiness measures affects people's happiness levels and the determinants of their happiness.

9.6 EPILOGUE

Two trends have repeatedly struck me throughout these four years of research on migrant happiness. First, many scholars and non-scholars initially do not take research on happiness seriously because it is "personal", "vague", and "not measurable". However, what strikes me in particular is that when telling these same people about the merits of happiness research (see Chapter 2) and research findings on (migrant) happiness, they demonstrate incredible interest and passion in discussing and learning about what is important for happiness, why people/migrants do not always make the right choices for their happiness, etc. I believe that the reason is that everyone wants to be happy but that happiness is mostly a black box for people; people have, for instance, good knowledge about what is scientifically proven to benefit health but know little about what is scientifically proven to merit and be important for happiness. I find this observation astonishing, considering that virtually all people share happiness as an ultimate goal in life.

A second factor that strikes me is that humanity benefits so little from one of the biggest opportunities to improve human happiness: the ability of people to move to other locations to improve their own lives and benefit the host community, in other words, human migration. One reason for this unexploited potential is that many migrants have faulty expectations about the benefits of migration, move for the wrong reasons, and/or have inaccurate perceptions about what determines their happiness. Other reasons

for this unexploited potential are ineffective migration policies and countries closing their borders to immigrants who could gain the most from migration such as refugees. The blame should by no means be directed towards migrants, policy makers, or the host country's native population: making accurate decisions and developing effective policies require knowledge about the outcomes of migration and its determinants. Hence, to gain more from human migration, the messages attributed to John Lennon and the anonymous Italian migrant should be taken seriously: namely, John Lennon teaches us that we will only understand (how to make the most out of) migrants' lives when we become more aware that they ultimately strive for happier lives for themselves or their families, and the Italian immigrant teaches us that migration can have severely harmful consequences when undertaken with inadequate knowledge about its consequences. In closing, there is a pressing need to learn more about the happiness outcomes of migration for migrants and other stakeholders.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people – including researchers – search for purpose in their life and work. My original plan was to study the relationship between consumption and happiness during my PhD. Things turned out differently; I realized shortly after starting the PhD that I found real passion and purpose in investigating how migrants can make the most out of migration. This passion originates from a simple but life-changing sentence spoken to me some months before I started my PhD:

"I decided to move to the Netherlands; you make me happy".

With these words, my wife (who originates from Mexico and was then my girlfriend) informed me about her decision to move permanently to the Netherlands. Over the years, I have seen the ups and downs of the immigrant experience for her and for the many other immigrants that I have met. My research reflects these migrant experiences, and my status as a non-immigrant allowed me to 'objectively' evaluate such migrant experiences.

My passion for happiness research comes from an earlier experience. During my Research Master's in Marketing at Tilburg University, I learned how to sell products for as much money as possible to people who did not really need the product. During my Master's degree, I realized that making companies rich at the expense of the consumer is not what I wanted to devote my working life to; I decided that my future research should be oriented towards benefiting society as a whole. This search for purpose has led me to the topic of happiness after recognizing that people's diverse endeavours in life (earning money, consuming, migrating, etc.) are merely a means to maintain or improve their own happiness, that of their significant others, or people in general.

I could never have translated my passion for the issue of migrant happiness into academic research without my promoter. Harry, I am deeply grateful to you for having faith in me from the first moment of my PhD application, providing me the freedom to follow my interests, and teaching me to put my research in a broader perspective.

Martijn, as my daily supervisor, you have been a true role model for me. I have yet to come across another scholar as talented and passionate as you are. I am grateful for your in-depth insights on my work, and for passing by my office on an almost daily basis to provide me with advice and guidance on my research projects and beyond. I am looking forward to working together even more extensively in the coming years.

David, words cannot express how grateful I am to you for all the time you invested in me in the last few years. Although you were not one of my supervisors, you felt like one. Your expertise on immigrant happiness, and migration more generally, has brought my research to a higher level, and you taught me the craft of academic writing. I hope there will be many occasions in the future on which to continue our cooperation and to repay your kindness.

Ruut, thank you for the numerous conversations we had about happiness, hosting me for 6 months in your office during the start of my PhD, and your feedback on several article drafts.

In addition, I would like to thank other co-authors for their fruitful cooperation, other colleagues in EHERO for their support, and Justus for voluntarily giving me feedback on various draft articles. Last, but certainly not least, my sincere thanks to my beloved wife, parents, and close friends for their unconditional support and love.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Martijn Hendriks (1990) holds an MSc in Marketing (with distinction) and a BA in Business Administration (with distinction) from the School of Economics and Management, Tilburg University. Martijn completed the consumer behaviour track of the two-year Research Master in Marketing program in 2013, after which he started as a PhD candidate in the Erasmus Happiness Economics Research Organisation (EHERO) under the supervision of Professor Harry Commandeur. Martijn's research interests are in the field of happiness economics, with a particular focus on the happiness of migrants. His work has been published in the following peer-reviewed journals: *Migration Studies*, *Social Indicators Research*, *Social Science Research*, and *Applied Economics Letters*. He has also contributed chapters to international reports, books, and policy briefs (*World Happiness Report*, *Handbook of Community Development, New Dimensions in Community Well-Being,* and *Calibrando*), national reports and books (*De Geluksatlas* and *SMO*), and he carried out contract research for the Staatsloterij and the Sectorinstituut Transport en Logistiek. Martijn will continue his career as a researcher and lecturer at EHERO, Erasmus University Rotterdam. His post-PhD research focuses on various subjective well-being related topics, including the interrelationship between migration and happiness, flourishing in organizations, and the measurement of happiness. He also coordinates and teaches the course Minor Quality of Life and Happiness Economics and organizes the EHERO seminar series.

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Refereed publications

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- Burger, M., Pleeging, E., Hendriks, M., Van der Zwan, P. (2015). Geluk van loterijdeelname. Opdrachtgever: Staatsloterij.

Teaching

- Minor Quality of Life and Happiness Economics (Bachelor 3 program, Erasmus School of Economics)
  2016-2017: Coordinator and lecturer
  2014-2015: Lecturer
- Seminar Multinational Strategy & Foreign Direct Investment (Master program, Erasmus School of Economics)
  2015-2016: Teaching Assistant
- Supervisor of various Master's and Bachelor Theses at the Erasmus School of Economics, Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS), and the department of Marketing at Tilburg University.

Organizational contributions

- Organizer EHERO seminar series (2016-2017)

Awards and grants

- Best Article Award (honorable mention): *The happiness of international migrants: A review of research findings*, awarded by the Research Committee 31 (Sociology of Migration) of the International Sociological Association, Vienna, 2016.
- New Scholar Conference Grant ($1000), Internal Society for Quality of Life Studies (ISQOLS), Seoul, South-Korea, 2016.
- Awarded "Editor's Choice": The happiness of international migrants: A review of research findings. *Migration Studies, 3*(3), 343-369.
- Prizewinner theatre-program "Science Battle", The Netherlands, 2015.
- New Scholar Conference Grant ($500), Internal Society for Quality of Life Studies (ISQOLS), Berlin, Germany, 2014.
- Prizewinner "Internet impact prize 2012/2014" (€2000), Dutch Royal Society of Sciences, The Netherlands, 2014.
- Best Research Proposal Award in Business (€100), Tilburg University, 2012.

Publicity

- Erasmus Magazine (interview). "Science rock stars", June 2017.
- Various radio and television interviews about happiness (Euronews, Qmusic, and Omroep Brabant).

Invited professional lectures and presentations

- *Migration and happiness* at Ruut Veenhoven Award ceremony (2017), Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS; 2016 & 2017), Institute of Labor Economics (IZA; 2015), and Higher Education for Elderly Organisation (HOVO; 2014).

- *Happiness at work* at Erasmus School of Accounting & Assurance (ESAA; 2017), Hogeschool Rotterdam (2016), and Human Capital Group (2014).
- *The measurement of happiness* at Erasmus University College (EUC; 2016).
- *Online social networks and happiness* at EUR Department of Applied Economics (2014).

Conferences, seminars, and workshops

- Conference of the International Association for Research in Income and Wealth (IARIW), Seoul, South Korea, April 2017.
- Conference of the Erasmus Happiness Economics Research Organisation (EHERO) and the Erasmus Institute for Philosophy and Economics (EIPE), Rotterdam, the Netherlands, March 2017.
- Conference of the International Society for Quality of Life Studies (ISQOLS), Seoul, South Korea, August 2016.
- Conference of the International Sociological Association (ISA), Vienna, Austria, July 2016.
- Conference of Happiness Economics and Interpersonal Relations (HEIRS), Rome, Italy, March 2016.
- Conference of the International Society for Quality of Life Studies (ISQOLS), Phoenix, USA, October 2015.
- Winter School of the Citizenship, Migration & the City (CIMIC) research group of Erasmus University Rotterdam, Rotterdam, the Netherlands, January 2015.
- Workshop on Development Economics and Happiness Economics of Department of Applied Economics (EUR), Rotterdam, the Netherlands, November 2014.
- Summer School on Longitudinal and Life Course research of the department of Sociology, VU Amsterdam, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, August 2014.
- Conference of the International Society for Quality of Life Studies (ISQOLS), Berlin, Germany, September 2014.
- Conference of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Leuven, Leuven, Belgium, May 2014.
- EHERO seminar series, Rotterdam, the Netherlands, May 2016 and April 2014.

Professional memberships

- International Society for Quality of Life Studies (ISQOLS)
- International Sociological Association (ISA) - RC31 (Sociology of Migration) and RC55 (Social Indicators)
- Young Erasmus School of Economics Programme (YEP)

Referee Services

- European Sociological Review, Journal of Development Studies, International Migration Review, Social Science Research, Journal of Happiness Studies, Social Indicators Research, Applied Research in Quality of Life.

Academic degrees

- MA Marketing (with distinction), Tilburg University, Tilburg, the Netherlands.
  - Program: Research Master (two-year program)
  - Specialization: Consumer Behavior
- BA Business Administration (with distinction), Tilburg University, Tilburg, the Netherlands.

SUMMARY

Human migration has enormous potential to stimulate greater happiness for a greater number of people around the world, both for migrants (via improved income, safety, freedom, etc.) and host countries (e.g., via economic and cultural contributions). Despite this potential, human migration is under pressure because of negative perceptions about and experiences with migration in host countries (European refugee crisis, Brexit, election of Trump) and negative experiences among migrants (exploitation, social exclusion, unsuccessful socio-economic assimilation, etc.). Hence, a major challenge in our globalizing world with a rapidly increasing number of internal and international migrants is to make more out of human migration.

To facilitate migrants and policy-makers in making more informed migration decisions, the focus of this dissertation is on better understanding migrants' happiness outcomes of migration and its determinants. This novel happiness angle is essential, for two core reasons. First, most voluntary migrants ultimately move to improve their own or their family' happiness. Second, happiness measures are good indicators of the overall outcome of migration because they capture, in an integrated manner, the outcomes of all conditions that truly matter to the migrant and thus reflect the migrant's (subjectively) experienced well-being (see Chapter 2).

By integrating the dispersed empirical findings on migrants' happiness outcomes from migration, it becomes evident that most migrants across the globe do become happier by migrating (see Chapter 3). Nevertheless, migrants in various migration streams experience negative happiness outcomes of migrating. Moreover, despite the possible happiness gains from migration, migrants moving to more developed countries remain less happy than their native counterparts. In fact, migrants barely become happier during their stay in developed host countries, which means that their happiness gains from migrating are mostly derived from the initial positive shock in happiness upon migration. I argue that migrants generally experience suboptimal outcomes of migration - also those who have gained happiness from migrating - because of the bounded rationality of migrants, policy-makers, and other migration stakeholders. Specifically, people commonly mispredict what is important for happiness, and discrepancies between the migrant's expected and experienced outcomes of migration additionally result from prospective migrants' inadequate knowledge about the host country.

I highlight and empirically examine various factors that are important for migrants' happiness outcomes to identify opportunities for improving these happiness outcomes. Although economic gain is a key driver of migration (especially for "economic" migrants), Chapter 4 shows that it is not always optimal to move to the wealthiest country but that immigrant happiness also strongly depends on the social macro-environment, particularly the attitude of the native population towards migrants. Chapter 5 also emphasizes

the importance of social capital for migrants' happiness: key reasons for the lower happiness of young internal migrants in Germany compared with their local counterparts are less time spent on social events and feeling less happy when spending time with friends. Another reason for their lower happiness is that they spend less time engaged in other happiness-promoting activities, such as active leisure (e.g., sports). These conclusions could be drawn from an innovative smartphone app that combined the experience sampling method (ESM) and day reconstruction method (DRM) to focus on daily life. Chapter 6 emphasizes the importance of one's subjective interpretation of reality (vis-à-vis one's objective living conditions) for immigrant happiness. One main reason why immigrants do not become happier with their length of stay in the host country is their faltering perceptions of the host society (the government, economy, etc.). We provide evidence that these faltering perceptions follow from a shifting frame of reference (shifting aspirations), meaning that immigrants from less developed countries gradually evaluate societal conditions in the host country through a more critical lens because they habituate to these typically better conditions and compare those conditions less to the inferior conditions in their country of origin.

Addressing the abovementioned bounded rationality issues in migration decisions can be an effective way to improve immigrant happiness. Migrants could benefit, for instance, from becoming more aware of the weak income-happiness relationship, their quick adaptation to better objective living conditions, and the important role of social aspects for happiness (see Chapter 7). We identified that immigrant communities are particularly well positioned to inform (prospective) migrants about how they can maximize the benefits of migration (see Chapter 8). This dissertation concludes with a call for more attention in academia and policy making for migrant happiness because it would be a lost opportunity if we do not take full advantage of potentially one of the most promising instruments for reaching greater happiness for a greater number of people in our globalizing world.

SAMENVATTING

Menselijke migratie heeft enorme mondiale potentie om zowel de migranten zelf (via toenames in inkomen, veiligheid, vrijheid, etc.) als de bevolking in het gastland (bijv. via economische en culturele bijdragen van migranten) gelukkiger te maken. Ondanks dit potentieel staat menselijke migratie onder druk door de negatieve percepties over, en negatieve ervaringen met, migratie in de landen van bestemming (zie de Europese vluchtelingencrisis, Brexit, en verkiezing van Trump) en door de negatieve ervaringen van migranten (uitbuiting, discriminatie, chronische socio-economische achterstanden, etc.). Een grote uitdaging in onze globaliserende wereld met een snel groeiend aantal binnenlandse en buitenlandse migranten is dan ook om meer uit menselijke migratie te halen.

Deze dissertatie richt zich op het vergroten van de kennis over de geluksuitkomsten van migratie voor de migranten en de determinanten van deze uitkomsten. Het achterliggende doel is het faciliteren van beter geïnformeerde besluitvorming door migranten en beleidsmakers. Onderzoek naar het geluk van migranten biedt een nieuwe invalshoek die om twee redenen essentieel is. Ten eerste, de meeste migranten die vrijwillig migreren doen dit uiteindelijk hoofdzakelijk om een gelukkiger leven te leiden of hun families gelukkiger te maken. Ten tweede, geluksindicatoren geven een goede indicatie van de netto uitkomst van migratie omdat ze de vele verschillende uitkomsten die mensen belangrijk vinden integreren in één simpele indicator. Hierdoor geven geluksindicatoren een goed beeld van het subjectief ervaren welzijn van migranten.

Het integreren van de versnipperde empirische bevindingen betreffende de geluksuitkomsten van migratie voor de migranten maakt het evident dat de meeste migranten wereldwijd gelukkiger worden door migratie (zie hoofdstuk 3). Migranten in verscheidene migratiestromen zijn echter niet gelukkiger of zelfs ongelukkiger na de migratie. Bovendien blijven immigranten in ontwikkelde landen minder gelukkig op de lange termijn dan hun tegenhangers zonder migratieachtergrond. Migranten worden namelijk nauwelijks gelukkiger gedurende hun verblijf in westerse gastlanden, wat betekent dat hun behaalde gelukstoename uit migratie vooral voortkomt uit de initieel positieve gelukstoename die ze ervaren kort na de migratie. Ik argumenteer dat migratie voor veel migranten suboptimale uitkomsten heeft - zelfs voor mensen die gelukkiger zijn geworden door migratie – omdat migranten, beleidsmakers, en andere belanghebbenden begrensde rationaliteit hebben. Meer specifiek, mensen schatten vaak verkeerd in wat ze gelukkig maakt, en discrepanties tussen het verwachte en de ervaren uitkomsten van migratie komen voort uit de inadequate kennis van potentiële migranten over (het leven in) hun land van bestemming.

Ik belicht en doe empirisch onderzoek naar verschillende factoren die belangrijk zijn voor de geluksuitkomsten van migranten om te identificeren welke mogelijkheden er

zijn om hun uitkomsten te verbeteren. Hoewel economisch gewin een belangrijke drijfveer voor migratie is (vooral voor "economische" migranten) laat hoofdstuk 4 zien dat het niet altijd optimaal is om naar het welvarendste land te migreren maar dat het geluk van migranten ook sterk afhankelijk is van de *sociale* macro-omgeving en dan vooral van de attitude van de autochtone bevolking ten aanzien van immigranten. Hoofdstuk 5 benadrukt ook het belang van sociaal kapitaal voor het geluk van migranten: hoofdredenen voor het lagere geluk van jong volwassenen die binnen Duitsland verhuizen ten opzichte van hun niet-verhuisde lokale tegenhangers zijn dat ze minder tijd aan sociale activiteiten besteden en zich minder goed voelen wanneer ze tijd met vrienden spenderen. Ze spenderen ook minder tijd aan andere geluksbevorderende activititeiten, zoals actieve vrijetijdsactiviteiten (bijv. sporten). Deze onderzoeksresultaten zijn gebaseerd op een innovatieve smartphone app die de experience sampling method (ESM) en de dag reconstructie methode (DRM) combineert om inzicht te krijgen in het dagelijks leven van mensen. Hoofdstuk 6 benadrukt het belang van de subjectieve interpretatie van de realiteit (vis-à-vis objectieve levensomstandigheden) voor het geluk van migranten. Een hoofdreden dat immigranten niet gelukkiger worden naarmate ze langer in het bestemmingsland verblijven is hun verslechterende percepties van het gastland (minder tevredenheid met en vertrouwen in de overheid, de economie, etc.). We leveren bewijs dat deze verslechterende percepties komen door een verschuivend referentiekader (verschuivende aspiraties), wat inhoudt dat immigranten uit minder ontwikkelde landen geleidelijk de samenleving van het gastland door een kritischere bril evalueren omdat ze aan de typisch betere omstandigheden wennen en deze omstandigheden minder vaak vergelijken met de inferieure omstandigheden in hun land van herkomst.

Het aanpakken van de bovengenoemde begrensde rationaliteit in migratiebesluiten kan een effectieve manier zijn om het geluk van migranten te verbeteren. Migranten kunnen vooral profiteren van een beter bewustzijn dat de relatie tussen inkomen en geluk zwak is, dat ze snel wennen aan objectief betere omstandigheden, en dat sociale aspecten juist een grote invloed hebben op geluk (zie hoofdstuk 7). In hoofdstuk 8 stellen we vast dat gemeenschappen van immigranten bijzonder goed gepositioneerd zijn om potentiële migranten te informeren over hoe ze de geluksuitkomsten van migratie kunnen optimaliseren. Dit proefschrift doet ten slotte een oproep voor meer aandacht in academisch onderzoek en beleidsvorming voor het geluk van migranten want het zou een gemiste kans zijn als we niet ten volle profiteren van een van de meest veelbelovende instrumenten om een groter geluk voor een groter aantal mensen te bereiken in onze globaliserende wereld.