Goal Pursuit and Acculturation:
A Fruitful Novel Approach to Understand Migration Success

PhD Thesis

To obtain the degree of Doctor at the University of Groningen

on the authority of the Rector Magnificus, Prof. C. Mijnenga

and in accordance with a decision by the Doctorate Board.

This thesis will be defended in public

on …. (day) ….(month)….2019

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Chapter 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

According to the latest report of the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2018) there were 244 million international migrants in 2015, nearly 100 million more than in 1990. Although migrants only make up 3.3 percent of the global population, the current rate of migration exceeded previous predictions (IOM, 2018; UN, 2017). Seventy-two percent of the international migrants are of working age, which means that there are roughly 150.3 million migrant workers worldwide (excluding undocumented migrant workers). As the IOM report outlines, the main migration destinations are Europe, Asia, and the United States. Although the United States still has the highest number of migrants (46 million), most new migrants (migrating between 2000 and 2015) moved to Germany, making Germany the second most-wanted migration destination with 12 million immigrants.

Migrants have received increased media attention in the last few years. Asylum seekers from Syria coming to Europe and the unfortunate events in the Mediterranean have sensitized people to migrant issues, even people who never cared before. The latest turns in history with the influx of refugees to Europe have undoubtably influenced people's stereotypes of migrants (positive or negative) and perhaps also created further distance between "them" and "us" in many. As political responses have been diverse, individual perceptions have also differed widely regarding how to receive migrants or even who exactly migrants are.

Based on the features of the sending and receiving countries, the IOM (2013) distinguishes between four migration paths that help to understand certain differences in migrants and migration characteristics. The four paths categorize the sending and receiving countries based on their development (e.g., „North" for developed countries and „South" for underdeveloped countries), which results in different migration patterns (e.g., North-South and South-South). For instance, migration from one European country to another is a typical North-North migration (IOM, 2013). Migrants from the North are more likely to have

marketable knowledge or skills, bringing human capital to the host country (IOM, 2013). The willingness to migrate is also highest among people from developed countries to other developed countries. In this type of migration both genders are equally represented. One example of this type of migration, for instance, comes from Hungarian migrants who move to Western Europe. Although the willingness to migrate was low (around 5-6%) in Hungary in the 1990s, by 2012 almost one fifth of the adult population was planning to move abroad for a longer or shorter time (Sik, 2012). The actual migrating tendencies radically grew from 2007 onwards, and Hungarians arrived to EU countries in growing numbers (Gödri, Soltész, & Bodacz-Nagy, 2013). Migrant Hungarians seem to be younger and more educated than the average Hungarian population, supporting the notion that the probability of migration increases with the level of education (Blaskó, Sik, & Ligeti, 2014). The experiences of such migrants may be profoundly different from that of refugees or domestic workers of South-South migration. These differences in demographic characteristics might contribute to the nature of migrants' reception in the host country, their opportunities in the foreign labor market, and their overall migrant experience (Hendriks, 2015; IOM, 2013; 2018; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

Clearly, migrants are a diverse group that includes people like the freshly graduated psychology student who wants to pursue a career abroad, the refugee who camps out at the Keleti Railway station in Hungary for months, the corporate expatriate who is sent overseas for work, and the electrician who works abroad and goes back to his family every second weekend. Yet, despite these differences, there is a sequence of challenges that unites these migrants. They all face uncertainty (Brett, 1980), stress (Berry, 1997), identity challenges (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Liebkind, 2006), as well as discrimination and prejudice (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000a). Although the degree of these challenges differs greatly between different migrant groups—as do their affective, behavioral, and

cognitive responses (Ward et al., 2001) to these challenges—they all face the need to adjust to the new country they live in.

Acculturation

The process that starts when two individuals or groups of different cultural backgrounds come into contact with each other is often referred to as acculturation (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936; Berry, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2006). Acculturation is most often viewed as a dynamic, reciprocal process between the migrant and host nationals (Berry, 1997; Ozer, 2017), upon which (affective and behavioral) changes will take place in both parties (Sam & Berry, 2006; Trimble, 2003). Acculturation strategies refer to the variations in attitude and behavior that affect how the migrant relates to the host (and home) culture (i.e., assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization) and how the host society relates to the migrant (i.e., melting pot, segregation, multiculturalism, exclusion; see Berry, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2006). This framework of strategies has been widely used in acculturation research, arguably because it allows for the interpretation of the various threats, challenges, and conflicts upon intercultural contact and the degree of migrants' adjustment. Until recently, acculturation and the cultural adaptation of migrants was mainly viewed from two distinct perspectives: (1) the stress and coping framework of acculturation (i.e., acculturative stress, see Berry, 1970, 1997), which mainly addresses the acculturating individuals' responses to the stress and negative experiences arising from intercultural contacts (Kuo, 2014) and (2) the culture learning theory, which emphasizes the role of culture-specific skills in cultural adaptation, namely how migrants learn to negotiate their way in the new context (Kuo, 2014; Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

Generally, scholars with a psychological background are most interested in the intra-individual imprints of migration processes. Psychological acculturation refers to all the changes that happen on the individual level, entailing the migrant's subjective experiences

through involvement and interaction with a new culture (Berry, 1997; Tropp, Erkut, Coll, Alarcon, & Vazquez Garcia, 1999). Research employing the stress and coping perspective on acculturation focused mainly on how such potentially negative experiences as culture shock, stress, anxiety, and perceived discrimination influence adjustment and how the person copes with these challenges (Kuo, Roysircar, & Newby-Clark, 2006; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Yakushko, 2010). Problems arising from stress and insufficient coping relate to depression and mental health problems (e.g., Castro & Murray, 2010; Noh & Kaspar, 2003). Conversely, successful coping enhances acculturation and, in turn, well-being (Aldwin, 2007; Kuo, Arnold, & Rodriguez-Rubio, 2014; Zheng & Berry, 1991). In contrast, research conducted using the culture learning approach emphasized the importance of the culture-specific skills in acculturation, positing that most cross-cultural problems arise from individuals' difficulties in managing everyday social interactions (Bochner, 1972; Sam & Berry, 2006; Searle & Ward, 1990). Theories of culture learning (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward et al, 2001) emphasize the importance of the ability to fit in and negotiate effective encounters in a new cultural context (Sam & Berry, 1996). A vast body of research has found that how migrants navigate the host culture can benefit their well-being (e.g., Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000b; Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

Building on the insights from both the stress-coping perspective and the culture-learning approach to acculturation, Searle and Ward (1990) proposed that the measurement of acculturation should focus on psychological as well as sociocultural adaptation. Psychological adaptation should be interpreted in terms of contentment or dissatisfaction with the specific challenges of the relocation experience (see Demes & Geeraert, 2014), whereas sociocultural adaptation should be viewed in terms of how well the migrant manages certain aspects of the host culture (e.g., food and interpersonal communication, Searle & Ward, 1990). In summary, recent acculturation research interprets acculturation as the combination of context-specific

psychological and sociocultural adjustment that reflects the changes the individual goes through upon migration.

Interestingly, despite the fact that the migration process is often set in motion when people attempt to maximize their goal potentials, the focus on individual-level goal pursuit in relation to acculturation is largely understudied. Indeed, apart from the stress and coping perspective and the culture learning approach to migration, there might be a third aspect from which we can understand and interpret acculturation, namely the goal pursuit perspective. Migrants (specifically the self-initiated migrants and who are not refugees) often decide to move abroad to maximize their goal potentials. Interestingly, acculturation is very rarely explained from a goal pursuit perspective. Have migrants found what they came for? Have they managed to realize their important goals? If they do, does it mean they feel adjusted and happy and are they then willing to stay in the host country? In 2007, Chirkov, Vansteenkiste, Tao, and Lynch postulated that contemporary motivation theories have not been applied to migration research, and it is time to consider this relevant aspect in relation to cultural adjustment and migration success. The current thesis is an attempt to respond to this call and to investigate the value of applying goal pursuit theories in acculturation research.

Goal Pursuit and Human Functioning

Human behavior is purposeful and is regulated by individuals' goals (Locke & Latham, 1991). People tend to decide on what they want and what is important to them, set goals to obtain it, and act on these goals (Binswanger, 1991; Gollwitzer & Oettingen, 2011; Locke & Latham, 1991). Having meaningful life goals and working towards them is a prerequisite for subjective well-being (Emmons, 1986). On the one hand, setting goals that are personally desired and valued is fundamental for people's happiness (Diener, 1984), because they give structure to people's lives and provide a life plan (Chekola, 1974). On the other hand, the attainment of these goals is also crucial for well-being (Brunstein, 1993; Carver &

Scheier, 1990; Niemiec, Ryan, & Deci, 2009; Wiese & Freund, 2005). Achieving goals tells people that they are able to overcome obstacles through effort, which in turn enhance well-being (Emmons, 1986; Niemiec et al., 2009). Striving for goals without attaining them is often accompanied by a sense of longing and the feeling that needs are not fully satisfied (Mayser, Scheibe, & Riediger, 2008). Although goal attainment has repeatedly been found to predict well-being (Niemiec et al., 2009), not all goals make a person equally happy. It is particularly the attainment of personal goals (Brunstein, 1993; Emmons, 1986) or self-concordant goals that enhances people's well-being because these goals express personal interests and values (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). Working towards important goals maximizes the chance of goal attainment and positively affects well-being: Important goals motivate the individual to put sustained effort into achievement; the person is likely to engage in freely chosen and meaningful behavior during goal pursuit; and upon attaining important goals he or she feels particularly effective and competent (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999).

However, as Sheldon and Elliot (1999) pointed out, "not all personal goals are personal" (p. 484). Self-determination theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2000a) posits that only those goals that support our basic inherent and innate needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness are beneficial to pursue. In SDT intrinsic and extrinsic motivations are distinct, the first denoting the inherent tendency to seek out novelty and challenges, expanding one's capacity to learn and explore, and the latter being driven by external rewards (e.g., approval). Kasser & Ryan (1996) operationalized these two types of motivation in two different sets of goals. They distinguished between four intrinsic goals, — relationship, personal growth, community, and health goals—and three extrinsic goals— money, fame, and image—and posited that the pursuit of intrinsic goals makes people happy and shields them from ill-being (Niemiec et al., 2009). Although intrinsic goal pursuit is well established in relation to well-being, there has been very little research interest in how goal

pursuit relates to adjustment. Sheldon and Houser-Marko (2001) have pointed to the lack of research on the relationship between adjustment and motivational constructs and applied the notions of SDT to predict university students' adjustment. The authors showed that self-concordant goals that fulfilled inherent needs predicted students' adjustment and that these effects were long-standing.

Aim of the Research and Overview

The migration process is often set in motion when people attempt to maximize goal potentials. Migration affects a person's demands, opportunities, resources, and challenges, and it necessitates substantial goal adjustment and the reformulation of aspirations. Whereas some formerly existing goals may need to be put on hold, other goals—goals that may not have been important in the home country—may become urgent (Kruglanski, Shah, Fishbach, Friedman, Chun, & Sleeth-Keppler, 2002) upon migration. I posit that applying a goal pursuit perspective to migration will help us to better understand migrants' acculturation and well-being.

Important to note is that the present dissertation focuses on the relationship between goal pursuit and acculturation among *self-initiated migrants*, namely those first-generation migrants whose move was voluntary and reversible and who have no predetermined end of stay (Al-Ariss, 2010; Andresen, Bergdolt, Margenfeld, & Dickmann, 2014). Similar to other North-North migrants (see IOM, 2013), these individuals are most likely working-age people who often migrate for better career and work opportunities and who have obtained a marketable skillset or knowledge that gives them relatively good baseline chances to succeed on their goals. Their opportunities to realize their goals and to acculturate might be profoundly different from, for instance, refugees; therefore, the findings of present dissertation are limited to this more privileged migrant group.

I propose that goal pursuit helps self-initiated migrants to feel acculturated in the host country. Setting, striving for, and achieving goals might give migrants the sense that they fit into the host society and may increase their identification with host-nationals by seeing themselves as valuable members of the society (Wassermann, Fujishiro, & Hoppe, 2017), which may add to their well-being. In sum, building on previous findings using the SDT perspective and combining that with knowledge derived from research in the acculturation domain, I investigate how the importance and attainment of personal goals (e.g., intrinsic goals, career goals and self-set goals) relate to acculturation and to well-being.

Overview of the Dissertation

In addition to the current introductory chapter, the dissertation consists of three empirical chapters and one literature review. Each chapter was written as an individual paper and can be read independently of the others. However, they might show some overlap in theoretical reasoning and methodology. All research reported in the dissertation has been conducted in cooperation with others. For this reason, I will use "we" instead of "I" from this point onwards when explaining the ideas and thoughts that were developed through collaboration with my co-authors.

The common goal of the chapters is to shed light on how goal pursuit relates to acculturation (Chapters 2, 3, and 4) and well-being (Chapter 2, 3, 5). All chapters, with the exception of chapter 5, focus on goal pursuit in the migration context. While goal pursuit, acculturation and well-being (and ill-being) are multi-faceted and multi-layered phenomena, in each chapter we chose certain aspects or dimensions of these variables to focus on. In the chapters we specify which particular dimension we tested (e.g., life satisfaction) and how we operationalized it, however, in the discussion sections we refer to the umbrella term (e.g., well-being), rather than on our specific operationalization. In doing so, we hope to make our findings more easily comparable throughout the chapters. In each empirical chapter (Chapters

3, 4, and 5) we approached the relationship between goal importance, goal attainment, acculturation, and well-being from a different perspective. In Chapter 2, we set out to review the available literature on goal pursuit in relation to various indicators of migration success. We aimed to gather evidence for the relevance of goal pursuit in cultural adjustment and well-being in a context-specific setting. In Chapter 3, we applied our previously gained information and report on empirical research on goal pursuit and subsequent effects. In two experimental and two field studies we tested the joint effect of goal attainment and goal importance on acculturation and well-being. In Chapter 4, we sought to further understand the dynamics of the goal pursuit process in relation to acculturation in a specific goal domain. In a longitudinal field study with migrants we tested how Time 1 career importance contributes to Time 2 goal attainment and acculturation. In Chapter 5, we tested the joint effect of intrinsic and extrinsic goal importance and goal attainment on well-being among nonmigrant individuals. This chapter aimed to increase theoretical understanding of how goal importance and goal attainment jointly predict well-being. In the next section, we provide a more detailed overview of the chapters in this dissertation.

Chapter 2. Chapter 2 is a systematic literature review wherein we analyze the current literature on goal pursuit in the migration context. We set out to gather existing knowledge on goal pursuit in the migration context. Although it has been posited that goal-related processes are relevant to successful migration (see, Chirkov et al., 2007; Zimmermann, Schubert, Bruder, & Hagemeyer, 2017), existing research in the area is scattered and lacks an overarching theoretical framework. We aimed to fill the void by giving an overview of the current state of the field, identifying areas that need further research attention, and recommending alternative methodological approaches for future studies. We systematically reviewed the available literature, including journal articles that included a relevant goal-related construct at the migrant level, took place in a first-generation international migration

setting, included an outcome variable at the migrant level (i.e., migrants' own cognition, emotion, or behavior), and empirically tested hypotheses and assumptions. In this way we selected a final set of 30 articles. We organized the articles according to different goal facets (goal structure, goal process, and goal content; see Austin & Vancouver, 1996) in the different stages of the migration process (pre-migration, during migration, and settlement or repatriation; see Rudmin, 2009). Our discussion focused on the theoretical and methodological implications of our findings.

Chapter 3. In Chapter 3, relying on the findings and the theoretical predictions of the previous chapters, we empirically test whether goal pursuit enhances (perceived) acculturation and subsequent well-being of migrants. We were interested in the joint effect of goal attainment and goal importance in the migration context, predicting both acculturation and well-being. We posited that attaining important intrinsic goals enhances acculturation (for instance by enhancing a sense of belonging and social identification with the host society), and well-being, and shields from depression. We employed a multiple-study multiple-method approach (conducting two experimental studies and two field studies) to test two predictions: (1) the relationship between migrants' intrinsic goal attainment and well-being (satisfaction with life or depression) is mediated by acculturation, and (2) acculturation is the function of the interaction between intrinsic goal attainment and intrinsic goal importance.

Chapter 4. In Chapter 4 we used goal importance to predict acculturation, but rather than concentrating on intrinsic goals, we focused on domain-specific goals, namely career goals. We argued that realizing important career goals and feeling successful in their career supports migrants' acculturation, perhaps by making them feel valuable to the host society (Wassermann et al., 2017) or by reducing the uncertainty that is strongly tied to the migration experience (Brett, 1980). In addition, we posited that being able to turn career goals into career success takes sufficiently high levels of self-efficacy (e.g., Gutierrez-Dona, Lippke,

Renner, Kwon, & Schwarzer, 2009; Lippke, Wiedemann, Ziegelmann, Reuter, & Schwartzer, 2009). Self-efficacy determines how long a person will sustain effort in the face of difficulties and obstacles and, therefore, increases one's chances of successful goal pursuit (Bandura & Cervone, 1986; Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998). Self-efficacious migrants may be able to take initiatives, expand their networks, proactively search for better career opportunities, and expose themselves to career challenges despite the heightened difficulties tied to migration (e.g., language and communication challenges or uncertainty about situational requirements). By using a longitudinal survey of Hungarian migrants, we aimed to test: (1) whether self-efficacy moderates the relationship between migrants' Time 1 career importance and Time 2 career success and (2) whether this relationship has further downstream consequences for migrants' Time 2 acculturation level. Our results may offer practical implications on how migrants can be supported to feel better acculturated.

Chapter 5. In Chapter 5, we investigated whether well-being is a function of goal pursuit. As in Chapter 3, we tested whether the extent to which people are satisfied with their lives is a result of their success in achieving goals that are relatively important to them. Previous studies have shown that pursuing goals can increase people's well-being and that in order to understand the role of goals in well-being, it is important to differentiate between the importance and the attainment of both extrinsic and intrinsic goals (Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Schmuck, Kasser, & Ryan, 2000). However, the question of how the congruence between goal importance on the one hand and goal attainment on the other affects well-being has rarely been addressed. We expected that goal attainment would be a stronger predictor of well-being than goal importance. We also expected that the congruence between intrinsic goal attainment and importance would be positively related to subjective well-being. Previous studies relied on the difference score to look at the joint effect of goal importance and attainment (Kasser & Ryan, 2001; Sheldon, Ryan, Deci, & Kasser, 2004). Difference scores,

however, reduce two conceptually distinct measures to one single score (Edwards, 1994, 2001, 2002). To overcome this limitation, we employed a more advanced methodological approach by using polynomial regression surface analysis to test our hypotheses. The aims of Chapter 5 were (1) to test how the congruence between intrinsic goal attainment and importance is linked to subjective well-being and (2) to present the benefits of using polynomial regression analysis to measure the joint effect of two predictor variables on a third variable.

General Discussion. In this section we summarize the main findings of the previous chapters and discuss how our research adds to a more elaborate theoretical understanding of the role of goal pursuit in acculturation. In addition, this chapter presents an overview of the strengths and weaknesses of our research, provides suggestions for future research, and gives practical implications of the results.

Chapter 2

GOAL PURSUIT DURING THE THREE STAGES
OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS

Abstract

Migration poses a strong contextual change for individuals and it necessitates the adjustment of goals and aspirations. Although goal-related processes seem highly relevant to migration success (e.g. migrant well-being and adjustment), existing research in the area is scattered and lacks an overarching theoretical framework. By systematically analyzing the current literature on goal pursuit in the migration context, we aim to give an overview of the current state of the field, identify areas that need further research attention, and recommend alternative methodological approaches for future studies. This systematic literature review uses the different stages of the migration process (pre-migration, during migration, and potential repatriation or onward migration) and the three different goal facets (goal structure, goal process, and goal content) as an organizing framework. Our discussion focuses on the theoretical and methodological implications of our findings. The article demonstrates the need for further research in the field of goal pursuit in the migration context.

Goal Pursuit During the Three Stages of the Migration Process

People commonly engage in the pursuit of goals. This striving towards desired end-states can contribute to an individual's happiness (Carver & Scheier, 1990; Emmons, 1996; Wiese & Freund, 2005), protect against depression (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Niemiec, Ryan, & Deci, 2009), and give a sense of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), which fuels further goal pursuit in other life domains (Bahrami-Ehsan & Cranney, 2015). Goal pursuit is not independent of the context in which it takes place, and several studies have shown that circumstances and changes in our lives affect the goals we pursue, the way we pursue them, and how successful we are in pursuing them (Brandtstadter, 2009; Salmela-Aro, 2009). Without context-appropriate goals, feelings of helplessness and depression may arise more easily and being happy may become more difficult (Baltes & Baltes, 1990; Brandtstadter, 2009; Hobfoll, 2002). Notably, it is more difficult to reap the benefits of goal pursuit in the wake of significant life events (Brandtstadter, 2009; Wrosch & Freund, 2001). The current review focuses on one such major life event, namely migration, and investigates how we may explain migration success (e.g. adjustment, well-being, career success, political integration) from a goal pursuit perspective. Although goal-related processes seem relevant to successful migration, existing research in the area is scattered and lacks an overarching theoretical framework. With this systematic literature review we aim to provide such a framework.

Aim of the Literature Review

Migration is a common, yet far from normative, discrete experience that is characterized by low transparency, discontinuity, and rapid change (Brandtstadter, 2009; Vlase & Voicu, 2018). The decision to migrate can be seen as a motivated action in which aspirations play a determining role. Many migrants, for instance, leave their home country in order to advance their career or to fulfil self-development goals. In addition, migration is demanding and challenging, and it necessitates substantial goal adjustment and the

reformulation of aspirations. Indeed, some formerly existing goals may need to be put on hold, while other goals—even goals that were not important in the home country—may become urgent. For instance, although some migrants have specific career goals, they may find that upon arrival in the host country they struggle with fulfilling lower-level motives (i.e., physical, safety, or esteem motives; Kruglanski, Shah, Fishbach, Friedman, Chun, & Sleeth-Keppler, 2002). In this review we aim to provide a framework to understand how motivation and goal pursuit affect the outcomes of the migration process. We will do so by distinguishing three stages of the migration process (pre-migration, during migration, and possible repatriation or onward migration) and by discussing how each of those stages relate to the three different goal facets (goal structure, goal process, and goal content). Indeed, by systematically analyzing and presenting the current literature in a comprehensive manner, we aim to provide a framework that helps us to understand the current state of knowledge, to identify gaps in our knowledge, and to point to specific areas that are in need of further research. Moreover, we will point towards some methodological approaches that are currently underrepresented in studies on goal pursuit in the migration process. Finally, by linking motivation to various success indicators of migration, we aim to emphasize the agentic view of acculturation (see Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008), drawing attention to what migrants can do to shape their acculturation outcomes. First, however, we explain our organizing framework by delineating the stages of the migration process and the goal facets that can be distinguished.

Organizing Framework of the Review: The Migration Stages and Goal Facets in the Migration Process

Migrants are often defined by the physical movement they make from one geographic point to another (Agozino, 2000), crossing national borders (Boyle, Halfacree, & Robinson, 1998). Likewise, we characterize migrants as foreign-born individuals (also called first-

generation migrants) who have voluntarily moved from one (home) country to another (host) country (Bradby, Humphris, Newall, & Philimore, 2015). In most cases, migrants are pulled towards the host country by social, economic, political, or cultural factors (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). That is, migrants often leave their home country in an attempt to improve their lives.

Migrants can be further classified in many different ways, such as by country of origin, social standing and education level, or intended duration of relocation (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). Sojourners, retirement migrants, international workers, and expatriates are just some examples of people who could be considered migrants. Notably, in this literature review, we differentiate migrants from refugees (Bhugra & Becker, 2005; UN Refugee Agency [UNHCR], 2016). Refugees are people who are forced to move involuntarily, pushed to an unknown environment (Ward et al., 2001), often as a consequence of armed conflict or persecution in the home country. Refugees often have pre-migration traumas and are assumed to have more limited resources for cross-cultural adaptation compared to migrants (Ward et al., 2001). The current review focuses only on migrants because refugees face different issues and their inclusion would be beyond the scope of this paper.

Migration Stages

As a first organizing principle of our review, we work from the perspective that migration can be, and often is, seen in a temporal context (Carling & Collins, 2018; De Haas, 2011). Migration is a linear process that begins before people actually leave their home country, when they start making plans or start entertaining the idea of moving abroad. This is the first, or *pre-migration*, stage. The process continues after relocation to the host country; this is the *during migration* stage. Finally, there is a third stage that some, but not all, migrants go through in which they relocate to yet another foreign country or repatriate to their home country. We call this the *possible repatriation or onward migration* stage (see Carling

& Collins, 2018; DaVanzo, 1976; Tabor & Milfont, 2011). Our theoretical framework is based on these three stages, because it is readily applicable to the chronology of the decisions people take during the migration process and as such provides an excellent organizing principle.

Goals and their Facets

Goals are the internal representations of desired states (outcomes, events, or processes) that a person is committed to attain (Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Milyavskaya & Werner, 2018). Goals are often organized in hierarchy and are interrelated to each other (Carver & Scheier, 1982; Kruglanksi et al., 2002). Broader goals are part of a value structure (Austin & Vancouver, 1996). For instance, a sub-goal to do well on a test might be part of a broader goal to have good career opportunities, which might be part of the value of competence. Goals exist in a temporal structure and are almost exclusively future oriented (Kruglanski et al., 2002; Milyavskaya & Werner, 2018).

As a second organizing principle of our review, we build on Austin and Vancouver's (1996) distinction of various goal facets who proposed a framework to help understand the various levels and layers of the goal construct. They distinguished between *goal structure*, *goal process*, and *goal content*. *Goal structure* refers to the hierarchical organization of goals and the properties and dimensions of goals within and between persons. Such goal dimensions can be a goal's importance, difficulty level, specificity, temporal range, and level of consciousness. Relevant studies for our review that focus on goal structure could, for instance, deal with the impact of having multiple commitments (e.g., keeping contact with people in the home country while obtaining a good job in the host country) or the effect of short-term versus long-term goals on cultural adjustment and well-being.

Goal process refers to the temporal cycle of establishing, planning, striving toward, and revising goals (Austin & Vancouver, 1996). The goal process is sensitive to

environmental cues that may help the individual revise or change the goal when necessary. During the goal establishment stage, the individual sets the goal content and develops its dimensions. That is followed by the planning phase, where individuals develop specific strategies and behavioral paths by which the goal can be attained, often prioritizing certain goals above others. Individuals subsequently engage in goal striving, that is, carrying out behaviors necessary for goal attainment (Gollwitzer & Oettingen, 2011). Finally, during goal striving an individual often revises the goal. The result of this revision might be to disengage from the goal altogether or, conversely, to redouble efforts toward it (Austin &Vancouver, 1996). Examples of relevant studies for our purpose could, for instance, focus on the effects of the strategies that are selected to obtain migration-related aspirations or on the persistence to stay in the host country despite facing difficulties.

Finally, *goal content* refers to a goal's life domain, such as work, family, or finances (Beach & Mitchell, 1990; Winell, 1987), and its underlying motive (e.g., power, affiliation, achievement). To differentiate between certain types of goal content, scholars often refer to the intrinsic or extrinsic nature of the goal (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Kasser & Ryan, 1996). According to self-determination theory (SDT) people have three psychological intrinsic needs—autonomy, connectedness, and competence—that motivate them to initiate behavior that is essential for psychological health and well-being (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Apart from these intrinsic motives, people may also have extrinsic motives, which propel behavior because of external demands or possible rewards (Ryan & Deci, 2000b; Kasser & Ryan, 1996). For our review, studies that focus on how goal content (f.i. the motive to better oneself financially or to enhance one's educational level) may affect migration success would be relevant. Notably, a number of studies has focused on identifying the motives and goals why people leave their home country, without investigating downstream effects on migration success indicators. These studies reveal that economic motivation is assumed to be the main

catalyst for relocation (e.g., Borjas, 1990; Massey et al., 1993; Sladkova, 2007; Todaro, 1969), and political motivation is a close second (e.g., Bygnes & Flipo, 2017; Fleck & Hansen, 2013; Lapshyna, 2014; Meardi, 2012). However, the array of possible motives is much wider, including migration for love and family reasons (e.g., Kou, Mulder, & Bailey, 2017; Main, 2016), education (e.g., Cooke, Zhang, & Wang, 2013), career (e.g., Carr, Inkson, & Thorn, 2005; Jackson et al., 2005; Winchie & Carment, 1989), and cultural exploration and curiosity (e.g., Inkson & Myers, 2003; Jackson et al., 2005). Some authors have argued that the decision to leave the home country has mainly economic motivations but that the decision of where to move to is driven by curiosity, friends, and family considerations (e.g., Tsuda, 1999; Winchie & Carment, 1989). It has been argued that parents are often motivated to migrate because they feel responsible for their children (Hagelskamp, Suarez-Orozco, & Hughes, 2010; Valdez, Lewis Valentine, & Padilla, 2013), whereas children of migrants often feel that it is their responsibility to persevere in goal pursuit (e.g., Horowitz & Mosher, 1997; Mady, 2010; Suarez-Orozco, 1987).

Motivational differences between migrants and non-migrants (e.g., Areepattamannil & Freeman, 2008; Gracia & Gil Hernandez, 2017; Hofstede & Kraneburg, 1974; Sebestyén, Ivasevics, & Fülöp, 2019; Tovar-Garcia, 2017; Woodrow & Chapman, 2002) and between migrant groups with different national backgrounds (e.g., Doherty, Dickmann, & Mills, 2011) have also received research attention. For instance, Eastern Europeans with migration intentions reported higher levels of achievement and power motives and lower levels of affiliation motive (Boneva, Frieze, Ferligoj, Pauknerova, & Orgocka, 1998) compared to people with no such intents. Likewise, Frieze et al. (2004) found that students with emigration desire scored higher on work centrality and lower on family centrality than those who wanted to stay.

Research on the motivation of repatriates and onward migrants also focused on goal content and its differences across various groups (Sener, 2018). Although researchers have found that for onward migrants economic factors are the main reason to move again (DaVanzo, 1976; Nekby, 2006; Tabor & Milfont, 2011), for repatriates lifestyle and family reasons often outweigh economic motives (see Gmelch, 1980; Wessendorf, 2007; Tiemoko, 2004) and ethnic and emotional motives also play a role in return decisions (Tsuda, 1999). Return migration has been conceived as a mix of motivational patterns: Perceived discrimination, negative job prospects, and children-related concerns (school system, integration, etc.) may push migrants away from the host country, whereas social, cultural and family considerations pull them towards the home country (Kunuroglu, Yagmur, van de Vijver, & Kroon, 2017). Toren (1976) found that the motive to return from the US to Israel differed between the more successful and the less successful migrants. She posited that because the cost of repatriation was greater for the more successful migrants, those migrants emphasized the importance of occupational opportunities back in Israel. The less successful migrants, in contrast, had no occupational aspirations, and therefore their motivation to return was influenced more by a sense of loyalty to the home country.

Although the identification of the various motivational patterns of migrants and repatriates are of great importance, we know little about how motivation and goal pursuit predicts later migration success. Understanding the adjustment and well-being of migrants in their host (and potentially home) country from a motivation perspective would enrich our understanding of the process of migration, including the decision to repatriate or to migrate again.

Approach to the Literature Review

To arrive at a list of articles to include in our literature review, we followed guidelines for systematic literature reviews (Baumeister & Leary, 1997) and best-practice examples from

previous reviews (Hendriks, 2015; Massey, Gebhardt, & Garnefeski, 2008; Naragon-Gainey, McMahon, & Chacko, 2017).

Literature Search Strategy

In our literature search, we set out to find journal publications that focused on the relationship between various goal-related constructs and people`s emotions, perceptions, and behavior in a migration setting. First, we embarked on a comprehensive search of the academic literature by conducting keyword searches on PsycInfo. Search terms included migrant* or immigrant* or sojourner* or international student* combined with goal* or aspiration* or need* or motiv*. We filtered for empirical papers written in English. Articles that used the aforementioned search terms in the title or in the keywords were added to our preliminary article list. Second, we used the reference sections of these studies to find relevant articles that were not listed among our search hits. To ensure research quality, we focused on publications in scholarly, peer-reviewed journals. We included studies that appeared before April 2019.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Our keyword search generated a total of 311 articles (200 articles based on title and 306 based on keywords, the total number determined after removing duplicates). To identify studies relevant to our review, we developed the following inclusion criteria: The study must (a) include a relevant goal-related construct at the migrant level (i.e., goals, aspirations, needs, motives of migrants), (b) take place in a first-generation international migration setting (that is, the migration involves moving from one country to another), (c) focus on adult migrant population (not children or adolescents), (d) include an outcome variable at the migrant level (i.e., migrants' own cognition, emotion, or behavior, or other migration success indicators), and (e) empirically test hypotheses and assumptions (either qualitatively or quantitatively). By using these inclusion criteria, we excluded studies that merely listed potential needs and

motives of migrants without further assessing the relationships of those needs and motives with outcome variables at the migrant level. We also excluded papers that focused on healthcare-related goal constructs (e.g., hospitalization needs of migrants), institutionally generated political goal constructs (e.g., attainment of goals set by international organizations or local governments), or refugees.

Of the articles that we found with the keyword search, 18 met these criteria. By inspecting the reference sections of relevant articles, we found another 12 articles that fulfilled our criteria, resulting in a final set of 30 studies to include in our review.

Extracted information

For each of the included original articles we assessed the following information: (a) general information (author names, title, year of publication, journal), (b) stage of migration (pre-migration, during migration, possible repatriation or onward migration) and goal facet (process, structure, content), (c) specific predictor variable, (d) outcome variable (e.g., acculturation, well-being), (e) type of study (quantitative or qualitative), and (f) sample characteristics. We used this information to categorize the articles and present their main findings (see Table 1). We organized our discussion of the relevant studies by the stage of the migration process the study pertains to. In addition, relying on Austin and Vancouver's (1996) taxonomy of the goal construct, we indicated for each study whether it focused on goal structure, goal process, and/or goal content (see Table 2).

<center>**Emigration Desires and Pre-Migration Goals**</center>

The decision to migrate is a complex one. It is not a spur-of-the-moment decision but entails the expression of past memories, present life conditions, and the subjective construction of the future (Boccagni, 2017; Carling & Collins, 2018). The pre-migration stage involves first considering and then planning the move (Kley, 2017), including an imaginative

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travel and the anticipation of the pressures and requirements of the host society (Shubin, 2015).

Structure of Goals in the Pre-Migration Stage

Despite the relevance of goal structure to migration, we found only one study that offered an indication about the effects of the importance of different goals in the migration context. This study, conducted by Zimmermann, Schubert, Bruder, and Hagemeyer (2017), focused specifically on sojourners (i.e., international students). The researchers developed a measure for determining the relevance of potential goals for sojourners (Sojourn Goal Scale) and investigated the effect of pre-departure goals on psychological and sociocultural adaptation 3 months after arrival to the host country. The pre-departure goals were: personal growth, career, social approval, education, and animation (including openness, entertainment, excitement, and flexibility). Using polynomial regression analysis, Zimmerman et al. (2017) investigated whether the congruence between pre-departure goals and the actual experience (attainment) of these goals affected sociocultural and psychological adjustment. The results revealed that for sociocultural adjustment the type of goals the person deemed relevant was important: Personal growth and career goals positively predicted co-national relationships, education goals positively predicted relationships with host-culture members, and animation and personal growth goals facilitated international relationships (i.e., with people from different nations than home or host country). With regard to psychological adjustment, the results revealed that, in general, sojourn experiences (goal attainment) lived up to or even exceeded their pre-departure goals. When sojourners' goals and experiences were in agreement, sojourners' adjustment (and satisfaction) increased linearly.

Goal Process in the Pre-Migration Stage

We found very few studies that focused on effects of goal process in the pre-migration stage. Studies on goal process in the migration context focus on the relationship between past

aspirations and goal attainments and current aspirations. In a qualitative study, Boccagni (2017) focused on the evolution of aspirations over time by analyzing an archive of in-depth interviews with immigrant domestic workers in Italy upon arrival and 10 years later. Boccagni found that a decade after migrants' arrival, their initial aspirations had often leveled off or become "irrelevant". Many migrants experienced a general lack of interest in potential goals, claiming that they "…muddle through day-by-day, without looking at the past or even at the future" (p. 11). Whereas the early migration views of the future carried emotionally intense and rich aspirations, migrants' later aspirations often turned out to be more pragmatic, modest, and narrow. Another reoccurring pattern was that the initial aspirations transformed into generativity concerns (e.g., "I'm not thinking of the future for me – I'm thinking [of it] for my children… future, by now, is for them", p. 11), showing the interdependence between personal aspirations and the life prospects of important others. The author pointed out that aspirations mattered even when unmet, because they mirrored migrants' desired future and their goal striving, which, in turn may help us to understand what underlying processes shape integration.

In an earlier study Portes, McLeod, and Parker (1978) arrived at somewhat different conclusions. They found that migrants' aspirations were set through a rational assessment of past attainments and obtained skills. Immigrant aspirations were found to be generally modest and dependent on achievements (educational, occupational, income) and abilities (language proficiency), and the aspirations did not seem to reflect fantasies of unlimited opportunities.

Goal Content in the Pre-Migration Stage

Most of the motivational studies in the pre-migration stage could be best linked to the goal content dimension. Most of these studies focus on the impact of pre-migration goals on later migration success.

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Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001) postulated that people decide to emigrate in order to pursue their life goals and to express or protect their values. Using a sample of Russian Jews with emigration intentions, they investigated how the motivation to emigrate predicted subjective well-being. The researchers distinguished between three main motivations to leave the home country: preservation goals (to protect one's personal and social identities), self-development goals (to develop abilities and get a boost of new ideas, knowledge, and skills), and materialistic goals (to obtain financial well-being, wealth, or material resources). Subjective well-being was measured by general mental health, social alienation (powerlessness, normlessness), and loneliness. The researchers found that preservation motivation was linked to poorer mental health and higher social alienation but not to higher loneliness, indicating that people who want to leave their country in order to protect their identity are more anxious and insecure but not more lonely. Moreover, the self-development motivation to emigrate was positively associated with general mental health and was negatively associated with loneliness. Finally, the materialistic motivation correlated positively with social alienation but did not relate to the other aspects of subjective well-being; people with materialistic goals for emigration were not lonelier or less mentally healthy.

Other studies focused on the relationship between pre-migration goals and various acculturation indicators after the move. Economic and financial betterment had been regarded as the main drivers of international migration for decades (Massey et al., 1993; Winchie & Carment, 1989). Winter-Ebmer (1994) compared the economic and non-economic (family and political) migration motives of guest workers in Austria and investigated the impact of these motives on migrants' financial success as indicated by their wages. He found that economic motives to migrate did not predict higher wages after migration compared to other motives. However, when he further differentiated economic motivation into "search for

success" versus "fear of failure" types, his results revealed that people who migrated with search for success motives could expect higher wages compared to those who migrated with fear of failure motives or for economic, political, or family reasons. Doerschler (2006) studied immigrants in Germany and also investigated consequences of economic motivation. He argued that migrants with economic motivations often intended a shorter-term stay, wanting to return to the home country once financial goals were met. However, he found that despite intending a short-term stay in the host country, these migrants often kept pursuing their economic goals and postponed their return plans for decades. Moreover, he posited that migrants with primarily economic concerns would often discount or overlook the importance of political integration because the pursuit of political integration would draw scarce resources away from economic undertakings. He indeed found that economic motivation was associated with diminished interest in host country politics, often accompanied by less interest in the German language and in establishing social contact with Germans. In contrast, migrants with political motives often wanted a life with greater rights and freedom and therefore had a more long-term outlook on staying in the host country. This, in turn, made them more interested in host country politics. Political motives were indeed associated with higher levels of political engagement, diminished aspirations to return to the home country, and looser ties with the home country.

Tharmaseelan, Inkson, and Carr (2010) investigated whether Sri Lankan migrants' various pre-migration motives predicted their objective and subjective career success in New Zealand. Yet, their findings revealed that the motivation to migrate was only a weak predictor of post-migration career success. From all investigated motives (financial betterment, career building, exploration, escaping, and family building), only family building seemed to have significant but negative relationships with career success. One explanation is that pre-migration motivation is predictive of psychological or sociocultural adaptation but not

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necessarily of career success. Udahemuka and Pernice (2010) investigated whether the motives used by Tharmaseelan et al. (2010) predicted the acculturation orientation of forced and voluntary African migrants in New Zealand. They found that migrants with exploration and family motives were more likely to embrace cultural adaptation orientation, whereas migrants with escape motives were more likely to prefer maintenance of their heritage culture. The authors argued that by being attracted to and actively choosing New Zealand, voluntary migrants were more likely to immerse themselves in the local ways of living.

The effects of acculturation motivation—the willingness to learn about and explore the host culture and to form friendships with host-culture members—is also a reoccurring theme in the literature. Kitsantas (2004) found that international study experience significantly improved the cross-cultural skills and global adaptability of students. However, the content of their pre-migration goals mattered: Students who moved to enhance their cultural skills were indeed more skilled at the end of their stay than those who moved to become more proficient in the subject matter or simply to socialize. Chirkov, Safdar, Guzman and Playford (2008) and Chirkov, Vansteenkiste, Tao, & Lynch (2007) found that acculturation motivation correlated positively with psychological well-being and negatively with psychosomatic symptoms and social difficulties. Dentakos, Winter, Chavoshi, and Wright (2017) found that acculturation motivation contributed to students' adjustment and permanent residency intentions (also see Kitsantas, 2004). Masgoret (2006) assessed various motivational indicators (summer employment, teaching experience, cultural experience, to meet Spanish people, to learn Spanish) of British university graduates who signed up for a summer program to teach English in Spain. She aimed to test the impact of these motives on participants' sociocultural adjustment and job performance (as rated by their supervisors). Of the various motivations only the motivation to meet Spanish people predicted later sociocultural adjustment. Furthermore, students who wanted to learn Spanish because they

wanted to be able to interact with host society members (integrative motivation, see Gardner & Clement, 1990) had higher language proficiency at the end of the program but were not more socioculturally adapted. Interestingly, those participants who were motivated to enroll in the program for the cultural experience and reported having more contact with Spanish people throughout their stay tended to be negatively evaluated by their supervisors on their job performance. Apparently, functioning competently in the new host society and feeling socioculturally adjusted are distinct from performing in the job (at least according to supervisors' ratings).

A couple of studies in the goal content domain compare the motivation-adjustment relationship among different migrant groups. Lui and Rollock (2012) focused on the extent to which the adjustment level of Chinese and Southeast Asian migrants in the United States depended on the relevant domain-specific goals they held before migration. Their results showed that Chinese migrants had mainly opportunity-focused and problem-focused goals. Southeast Asian migrants also had mainly opportunity-focused goals, but their problem-focused goals could be split in two subcategories: personal and political goals. The authors further found that, independent from goal content, migration goals strongly influenced well-being and educational advancement in both groups: Having opportunity- and/or problem-focused goals positively influenced adjustment. The results, furthermore, highlight the importance of taking into account the within-group differences among Asian migrants. Farcas and Gonzalves (2017) explored the different motives of various Portuguese migrant groups in the United Kingdom (self-initiated expatriates, assigned expatriates, and immigrant workers) and briefly reviewed the link between the different motives and adaptation of the migrants in their host country (easy vs. difficult). The most prominent patterns of adaptation and attitudes towards the host society differed among the three migrant groups: Self-initiated expatriates were often motivated by obtaining international experience, and they were also more likely to

interact with locals. Their adaptation showed a mixed pattern because on the one hand, interaction with locals proved to be strenuous, making adaptation difficult, and on the other hand, they identified strongly with the British culture, which facilitated their adaptation. Among immigrant workers, adaptation was easiest for those who migrated to reunite with their partner. Work adaptation was easiest for those self-initiated expatriates who moved because they were dissatisfied with the Portuguese labor market and for those expatriates who were mainly motivated to acquire professional experience abroad.

Chirkov et al. (2007) not only focused on the goal content of emigration desires of Chinese students who moved to Belgium but also investigated the extent to which goals were autonomously set and assessed the goals' impact on students' well-being and cultural adaptation to the host country. The authors distinguished among four forms of regulation: external, introjected, identified, and internal (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Identified regulation (emigrating because it is relevant to one's values) and internal regulation (emigrating because it is deemed challenging and exciting) are considered to reflect autonomous or self-determined motivation. External regulation (emigrating because of parental expectations or financial rewards) and introjected regulation (emigrating because of external pressure or a sense of obligation) are considered to reflect non-autonomous or non-self-determined motivation. In Chirkov et al.'s (2007) first study, they found that students varied in the extent to which their decision to study abroad was made autonomously. Moreover, the more self-determined a student's motivation to study abroad was, the happier the student felt. In Chirkov et al.'s (2007) second study, the authors replicated their original findings and also found that the content of the students' goals played a role in the students' cultural adaptation. Like Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001), Chirkov et al. distinguished between preservation goals and self-development goals. They found that, in general, students endorsed self-development goals more strongly than preservation goals. When striving for preservation

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goals, the students felt much more external pressure and less intrinsic motivation than when striving for self-development goals. Moreover, the preservation goals were negatively related to cultural adaptation indicators. Interestingly, the authors found no association between self-development goals and either life satisfaction or sociocultural adjustment. The authors argued that the content of migration motivation and the level of its autonomy are two independent factors that can both help to explain students' adjustment outcomes.

One year later, Chirkov et al. (2008) published a study building on these results. In this study, they explored whether the interaction between autonomy and goal content would predict well-being and adaptation. They found that when students' decision to move to a foreign country to further their education was self-determined, the chance of succeeding was higher compared to when students were forced into the decision and/or controlled by others when making the decision. Preservation goals had negative relationships with well-being and study success, whereas self-development goals were mainly unrelated to adaptation outcomes. Both preservation and self-development goals reduced the positive relationship between the level of autonomy and adjustment outcomes. Specifically, the positive relationship between autonomy and adjustment was weaker when students pursued preservation goals more strongly than self-development goals. Chirkov et al. (2008) again argued that to understand adjustment in a migration situation, the interplay between the level of autonomy and the content of the students' goals should be taken into account.

Pinto, Cabral-Cardoso, and Werther (2012) also showed that autonomous motivation is important. Using interviews with Portuguese expatriates the authors differentiated between compelled motivation (i.e., feeling pressured by the sending organization) and non-compelled motivation (i.e., feeling no pressure) to take on the posting abroad. The authors also investigated the respective effects of compelled and non-compelled motivation on adjustment efforts, general satisfaction with the assignment, withdrawal intentions, and future plans (e.g.,

accepting subsequent assignments, recommending the experience to others). Compelled individuals experienced their arrival to the new country as a culture shock, and even after a year of stay they did not feel adjusted. Conversely, non-compelled individuals were generally satisfied with the destination characteristics (e.g., climate, safety, lifestyle). Moreover, when organizations compelled their employees to move, those employees had higher withdrawal intentions and decreased receptiveness to relocating in the future. These findings again suggest that external or instrumental motives to migrate may result in more adjustment difficulties.

Yang, Zhang, and Sheldon (2018) showed that the role of self-determined motivation may not only support well-being but also prevent culture shock. Using a sample of international students in the United States, the authors found that when the motivation to study abroad was more self-determined, students experienced less culture shock and greater contextual subjective well-being. Furthermore, basic psychological needs satisfaction fully mediated these relationships. The authors concluded that when people feel self-determined, their behavior is more in line with their true sense of self and values, which helps them to fulfill their needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness. This, in turn, makes successful migration more likely.

During Migration: Goals and Motives in the New Country

Once the migrant has moved to the host country, there are certain goals, motives, and aspirations that support or inhibit the migrant in his or her everyday life. In this section, we review papers that map out which and how goals contribute to migration success. Similarly to the pre-migration stage literature, the majority of the migration stage articles fall in the goal content domain.

Goal Structure and Process in the Migration Stage

A limited number of studies included either goal structure or goal process as predictors. Although some of these studies also included goal content aspects, we discuss them in this section as they particularly contribute to these research domains. The article of Yoon and Lee (2010) is a good example. The authors investigated the moderating effect of the importance of social connectedness on the relationship between the actual attainment of social connectedness and the subjective well-being of Korean immigrants in the United States. Notably, the distinction between the importance of goals and their attainment is quite common in the motivation literature (Kasser & Ryan, 1996). It is widely assumed that the attainment of goals that are deemed important and that express personal interests and values is what enhances peoples' well-being (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). Yoon and Lee (2010) investigated their joint effect in a migration setting and distinguished between connectedness to the mainstream society and connectedness to the ethnic society. They found that only immigrants who highly valued connectedness to the ethnic community experienced increased well-being with greater actual connectedness to the ethnic community. Such interaction effect was not found for connectedness to the mainstream society. Although social connectedness matters, apparently different types of social connectedness have different effects on migrant well-being.

Carrasco's (2010) research also gives some insight into how the different levels of the goal construct (structure, process, and content) interact with each other. Carrasco focused on how emotions and remittances (financial as well as immaterial) were intertwined when migrants tried to maintain family relationships in two neighboring countries simultaneously (that is, in both the host and the home country). Such migrants, having their homes in two or more countries and carrying on dual lives, are sometimes called transnational migrants (Faist, 2000). In the study, Peruvian migrants saw Chile as a short-term destination, functional mainly for providing the opportunity to make financial remittances, but also as a hindrance to

fulfilling emotional needs. Carrasco's study showed that goal content (e.g., improving financial status, getting out of poverty, supporting family) had an impact on the temporal orientation of the goal pursuit (structure). This short-term orientation in turn affected the potential goals that the person could decide on (content), plan, and pursue (process).

Zhou (2014) explored the motivation of six Chinese PhD students in the United States and identified what made these students persist in their pursuit of a PhD despite feeling dissatisfied with their situation. Reasons to persist were the student's intrinsic interest in his or her research, the perceived high utility of the PhD degree, the motivation to obtain permanent residence, and/or the high social cost of quitting. Based on the research, Zhou concluded that motivations change over time, often shifting from the intrinsic motivation (research interest) to more extrinsic motivation (high utility value or permanent residence aspirations) as a result of the overwhelmingly high research expectations placed on PhD students.

The final paper in this category relates to both goal structure and goal process and focuses on how people's beliefs regarding their skills and abilities impacts the realization of their goals. Bernardo, Clemente, and Wang (2018) hypothesized that Filipino international workers' reliance on their skills and abilities would result in an optimistic view of their future, namely increasing socioeconomic status expectations. The authors posited that workers who believe that their social standing is primarily determined by their personal qualities and feel that upward mobility is within their control are more likely to work persistently towards their goals, which in turn generates positive socioeconomic expectations. The authors referred to this as goal engagement promoting pathway (Shane & Heckhausen, 2013) and found confirmation of their assumptions. The findings corroborate the idea that socioeconomic mobility for migrants can originate from controllable causal conceptions of socio-economic mobility and goal engagement strategies.

Goal Content in the Migration Stage

Gong (2003) was among the first to empirically test the influence of goal orientations on cross-cultural adjustment. Gong assessed learning goals (focused on increasing ability or mastery), performance goals (focused on showing adequacy; see Dweck, 1986), and cross-cultural adjustment in a sample of international students and found, as expected, that learning goal orientation had a positive impact on both academic and interaction adjustment. However, performance goal orientations did not have the expected negative effect on adjustment. In contrast, performance goals turned out to have a positive impact on academic adjustment (but not on interaction adjustment).

Three years later, Gong and Fan (2006) repeated the measurement of the role of dispositional goal orientation in cross-cultural adjustment of students, extending Gong's (2003) previous model by including domain-specific self-efficacy as a potential mediator. Gong and Fan (2006) found that a learning orientation was positively related to academic and social adjustment and that this relationship was mediated by self-efficacy. They also found that performance orientation was not related to adjustment. The authors argued that goal orientation theory (Dweck, 1986) has some useful insights to apply to cross-cultural adjustment research.

Yu and Downing (2012) investigated if international students' instrumental motivation (to reach practical goals) and integrative motivation (to integrate and participate in the new community) to learn Chinese while on an exchange program in China as well as their actual language proficiency, predicted sociocultural and academic adaptation. Results revealed that the non-Asian student group reported higher levels of integrative motivation, sociocultural adaptation, and Chinese language proficiency than the Asian student group, who reported a higher level of instrumental motivation. One possible explanation is that in Eastern cultures, with their more collectivistic orientation, students' perceived social responsibility (e.g., filial

piety, need for social approval) is greater and highly internalized. Therefore, individual, self-driven goals are not as relevant as practical goals, such as getting a good job. Notably, the relationships between the predictors (integrative motivation, instrumental motivation, and language proficiency) and both sociocultural and academic adaptation did not differ between student groups.

Zhang and Zhang (2017) studied international students in New Zealand and found that their intrinsic (but not their extrinsic) goals were positively related to their spiritual values. This is important information because spiritual values (i.e., conformity, universalism, tradition, benevolence, and security; see Schwartz, 1996) are considered to be beneficial for migrants, as such values help people to find purpose in life and discourage self-destructive behavior (Palfai & Weafer, 2006; Zhang & Tan, 2010). In addition, the authors found that changes in migrants' life goals and values were often due to the fact that they were exposed to different views, values, and religions in the host country. In this respect, goals and values seem to be context-dependent.

Finally, two papers considered how the motivation to maintain the home country's cultural heritage affected acculturative behavior. Gezentsvey-Lamy, Ward, and Liu (2013) assessed whether the Motivation to Ethnocultural Continuity (MEC) of first- and second-generation Jewish and Chinese immigrants and indigenous Maoris in New Zealand would predict their ethnocultural marriage preferences and selective dating behavior. The MEC measures individuals' will to preserve and transmit their cultural heritage to the next generation. A high score on the MEC does not imply the rejection of individual assimilation but rather revolves around the motivation for long-term group survival. The authors proposed that MEC would manifest itself specifically in endogamy as a clear example of continuity-enhancing behavior. They found that particularly for the members of smaller societies, such as Jews and Maoris, the MEC predicted endogamy intentions and dating preferences with co-

ethnic partners in the host society. Similarly, Recker, Milfont, and Ward (2017) hypothesized that migrants' motivation for cultural maintenance and motivation for cultural exploration would have an impact on their acculturation. They expected and also found that migrants residing in New Zealand who were motivated to maintain their home culture heritage were more likely to have connections with ethnic peers from their home country, which in turn predicted better psychological adaptation. In addition, they expected that those who are motivated toward cultural exploration would be more likely to have frequent interaction with members of the host society, which would predict better sociocultural adaptation. However, they found that greater motivation of cultural exploration did not significantly predict host national peer connections but predicted higher levels of sociocultural adaptation directly. The authors concluded that although maintaining one's heritage and connections to ethnic peers makes migrants feel good in the host cultural context, exploring the new culture and connecting with the host society members increases the feelings of "fitting in".

Possible Repatriation or Onward Migration: Why Do Migrants Leave their Host Country?

After living abroad for a while, migrants may face different migration trajectories. They may reside long-term in the host country, migrate further, or return to their home country. To our knowledge, studies focusing on the motivational aspects of onward migration on later adjustment and well-being are non-existent. In this section we therefore solely focus on the effects of first-generation migrants' goal pursuit in the repatriation stage. Repatriation is when people voluntarily return to their home country after having been an international migrant for a significant amount of time (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). In the past, repatriation was often seen as the result of unsuccessful migration, such as a failure to meet financial expectations (see Kunuroglu, van de Vijver, & Yagmur, 2016). However, more dynamic views on repatriation have emerged, seeing it as the outcome of the combined effects of

economic, political, social, and institutional factors in both the host and home country (Kunuroglu et al., 2016).

Goal Process

Yehuda-Sternfeld and Mirsky (2014) attempted to capture the dynamic process of the immigration motives of American Jews to Israel, their experiences and adjustment in Israel, their motivation to return to the United States, and their readjustment in the United States. Based on semi-structured interviews, they found that the most concurrent motivation to migrate to Israel was the desire to belong—a sort of quest for meaning. The authors reported that this idealistic motivation of young adults met a harsh reality in Israel. Everyday experiences were described bitterly, and migrants felt exhausted, sad, and disconnected from the host society. These experiences were followed by the motivation and decision to return to the United States. Upon returning, the interviewees faced readjustment issues, even in areas where they had not expected such difficulties (e.g., cultural differences). This gave rise to feelings of identity confusion and loss of home. Eventually, maintaining a dual identity (as being part of Israel as well as the United States) and keeping open the option to return to Israel helped them to feel readjusted in the United States. In this study, migration and return migration is viewed as a continuous, circular process, underpinning the importance of immigration motivation and experience in explaining repatriation and readjustment.

Likewise, Sener (2018) described the process of migration experience, return motivation, and readjustment of qualified Turkish returnees from Germany and the United States. Although the interviewees' decision to emigrate from Turkey was fueled by educational or professional work motivation, their motivation to return to Turkey was not economic or career related. In fact, returnees recognized and accepted the professional and economic costs of their repatriation. The returning Turkish migrants' motivation was to be close to their friends and families, to experience the motherland's heritage and language, or to

raise their children in the home country. In addition, returnees from Germany, but not those from the United States, reported to be motivated to return to evade discrimination. Similar to the findings on Jewish returnees, the repatriating Turkish migrants felt they did not really belong anywhere anymore. Additionally, returnees from Germany adapted more quickly than did the returnees from the United States. This may be due to the physical proximity of Turkey to Germany (more contact opportunities) or perhaps to the experienced discrimination that made the repatriates more appreciative of the Turkish social atmosphere. Whereas returnees from Germany expressed intentions to permanently stay in Turkey, returnees from the United States were thinking of moving onward.

Goal Content in the Repatriation Stage

Tartakovsky, Patrakov, and Nikulina (2017) aimed to understand the motivational goals of Jewish repatriates to Russia and to examine the different aspects of psychological readjustment to the home country. Like Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001), Tartakovsky et al. (2017) used the taxonomy of basic values (preservation, self-development, and materialism) and found that returning migrants scored higher on self-development values and lower on preservation values than Jews who never left Russia. Regarding the adjustment of the two groups, returnees judged their prospective economic condition in a more positive way than locals. However, they also reported higher levels of perceived discrimination, were less satisfied with their interpersonal relationships, and had a stronger intention to emigrate from Russia. It seems that returning migrants may not always find social security and stability.

<div align="center">

Discussion

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As Chirkov et al. (2007) postulated, research on the motivations of migrants is not well developed, either conceptually or methodologically. Yet, the number of papers that apply contemporary motivation theories to migration research is increasing steadily. The present paper set out to bring together the available information and shows that our knowledge on

goal pursuit in the migration context is still limited and in need of further expansion. For each stage of the migration process (pre-migration, during migration, and repatriation or onward migration), we discussed papers that focused on goal content, structure, or process (Austin & Vancouver, 1996). In the following section, we build on the above-presented research and discuss the general themes that emerged. In due course, we will discuss the need for further research into migrants' goals and their relationship with migration success. We will also discuss potential methodological advancements and acknowledge the limitations of this review.

The effects of the content of pre-migration goals appeared to be the most studied area in the field. The literature shows that migrants decide to leave their home country for a variety of different reasons, including self-development goals and materialistic goals. Clearly, not all migrants move for materialistic reasons, as is sometimes assumed. Those that do, may do so to promote self-interest through achievement and control over resources (Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001) or to search for success (Winter-Ebmer, 1994). Notably, financial gains can have a positive impact on well-being if pursued for higher sense of autonomy (Srivastava, Locke, & Bartol, 2011). However, fear-of-failure economic motives (Winter-Ebmer, 1994) and the drive for mere financial betterment seem to be detrimental for the migrant (Doerschler, 2006). The beneficial effects of the motivation to explore, expand one`s horizons, gain intercultural knowledge and skills, enjoy freedom, and improve personally and professionally transpires from several studies (e.g., Doerschler, 2006; Udahemuka & Pernice, 2010). Indeed, self-determined and intrinsic motivation (Chirkov et al., 2007, 2008; Yang et al., 2018; Zhou, 2014), acculturation motivation (Chirkov et al., 2007, 2008; Dentakos et al., 2017; Kitsantas, 2004), and non-compelled motivation (Pinto et al., 2012) were shown to be generally beneficial for both the well-being and later adjustment success of various groups of migrants. This benefit was not dependent on their sociocultural, financial, or professional

status. Self-determined motivation to migrate can also protect against culture shock (Yang et al., 2018) and self-destructive behavior (Zhang & Zhang, 2017). The role of self-development goals is less clear. Although most researchers expected self-development goals to have positive effects on migrant-relevant outcomes, the effects were not always found (see Chirkov et al., 2007; Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001).

Insights into the role of the goal structure and goal process dimensions in the pre-migration stage are more modest. Whereas some authors suggested that migrants can be fairly realistic in their migration goals based on past experiences (Portes et al., 1978), other authors suggested a less realistic goal setting that underwent a rough reality check after arrival in the host country, resulting in more modest and downsized aspirations (Boccagni, 2017). However, these findings come mainly from studies focusing on adult immigrant workers; it is unclear whether the same results would be found for other groups of migrants. Other results in this domain highlighted the role of exchange students' pre-departure expectations and demonstrated that when these expectations turned into reality, the students experienced increased satisfaction and cultural adjustment (Zimmermann et al., 2017).

For the during-migration stage, both goal importance and goal commitment were identified as sources of well-being and adjustment. On the one hand, goal commitment and goal engagement may explain migrants' life prospects and migration success, as they motivate the individual to persist despite hardship (Bernardo et al., 2018; Zhou, 2014). On the other hand, goal commitment may contribute to goal conflict (Carrasco, 2010). That is, being committed to multiple goals can pose a threat to well-being by making migrants face insuperable choices and inevitable feelings of loss. Previous research into the goal content domain during the migration phase gives us a good preview of how certain groups (e.g., native or immigrant, immigrants from different countries) differ in what type of goals they

pursue and how these goals predict cultural adjustment. The majority of the research findings stem from the educational and work domain, drawing a picture of a motivated, eager migrant.

Despite a significant lack of studies on the goals of repatriates in all three goal facets, the existing studies on repatriation give us particularly valuable insights into the complex and dynamic nature of migration motivation. These studies take the whole migration trajectory into account and view the return decision and the readjustment to the home country in light of the pre-migration motives and previous experiences in the host country (see Sener, 2018; Yehuda-Sternveld & Mirsky, 2014). Interestingly, all but one study in relation to repatriation motivation assessed returning Jews' experiences. The assumptions associated with migration to and from Israel might not be generalizable to less ideologically driven or non-diaspora migrant groups (Yehuha-Sternfeld & Mirsky, 2014).

Our review of studies on migrant goal pursuit may also inform the more general motivation theory, specifically concerning the relationship between goal pursuit and motivation on the one hand and adjustment on the other. The migration context, in which well-being and happiness is largely dependent on adjustment, is an excellent field in which we can increase our understanding of the interplay between adjustment and motivation. Notably however, the migration context is not the only context in which adjustment may be important. Indeed, adjustment is also important for regular non-migrant students, for new employees, for people relocating to another town, and for others who face major life events. As such, some of the insights derived from the discussed migration studies may also be relevant to other research domains.

Avenues for Future Research

Empirical studies on the effects of the structure and the process of goals on migration success are particularly scarce. In the goal structure dimension, more research may be needed on the consequences of working towards multiple, often conflicting, goals because this is a

challenge many migrants face. Similarly, some well-established findings on human goal pursuit should be reinvestigated in the migration setting. For instance, many researchers seem to agree that achieving important goals is the highway to happiness (Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Sheldon, Ryan, Deci, & Kasser, 2004). However, such a relationship may be particularly strong for those with an approach or promotion orientation (Elliot, Sheldon, & Church, 1997), and migrants may operate more from an avoidance or prevention orientation, being motivated to avoid negative end-states (see Winter-Ebmer, 1994).

We also know little about how migrants establish their goals, how they monitor their progress, and under what circumstances they alter their goals. Given that migrants move from one country to another, it is highly unlikely that they simply maintain their existing goals without modifications. As Austin and Vancouver (1996) argued, "Changes to an environment that occur during the pursuit of one goal may provide opportunities and perceptions that lead to the creation and activation of other goals" (p. 353). So, when do migrants decide to let go of a particular goal or, conversely, decide to redouble their efforts? Research into this topic may also require a more extended scope, for instance, taking into account the role of a migrant's personality and self-efficacy beliefs or the role of attitudes prevalent in the host society. In addition, the challenges of adaptation may require the migrant to change the original structure of her goals: Some sub-goals might become more urgent and cause a migrant to forego fundamental personal goals. Knowing how the newly acquired goals alter the original goal structure could be an important addition to our knowledge about motivation in the migration context. We believe that insight into these matters may substantially improve our understanding of how migrants adjust to a new country and whether or not their move can be considered successful.

What also became evident from this review is that no two migrant groups are the same. Cultural background, past life circumstances, and personality (among other factors)

contribute to the formulations of goals and aspirations. Differences in the content and importance of goals were found between groups with different backgrounds, such as Western and Asian international students (Yu & Downing, 2012), and also between groups that are often perceived as nomothetic, such as Chinese and Southeast Asian migrants (Lui & Rollock, 2012) or Cuban and Mexican migrants (Portes et al., 1978). In addition, different migrant groups such as self-initiated and assigned expatriates, sojourners and immigrant workers can display different motivational patterns both prior to migration and after relocation (Farcas & Gonzalves, 2017; Jackson et al., 2015). These group differences testify to the importance of developing a larger body of research to come to robust conclusions about migrants' goals and the role of goals in adjustment, happiness, and depression. Similarly, it may be important to take the geographic flow of migration into account for a thorough understanding of motivation and adjustment. Migration between two developed countries (North-North migration; International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2013) involves entirely different experiences and adjustment challenges than do other directions of migration (e.g., South-North migration or South-South migration). Interestingly, in the present review, the vast majority of migration motives were studied in developed, individualistic host culture settings, with an overrepresentation of certain receiving hubs (United States, United Kingdom, and New Zealand). This raises the question as to what extent migration motivation differs among migrants residing in less developed countries or how big a part the values of the sending and receiving countries play in motivation and in adjustment. Future research into the link between the motivation and adjustment of migrants should take into account such important constructs as perceived cultural distance (Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009), value discrepancies (Lönnqvist, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Verkasalo, 2013; Rudnev, 2014), and independent versus interdependent self-construal and cultural heritage (Heine et al., 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2003).

The results presented in this review suggest that research into migrant goals and motivation may profit from several methodological advancements. First, a large portion of the findings comes from research with international students. Students, however, differ from the general population in several ways: They are usually younger and better educated and from a higher socioeconomic class than non-students. Furthermore, student life frames goal setting and goal pursuit, as educational goals are particularly evident. Moreover, international students might be well aware of the transient nature of their move (non-residency related goals in mind), and they may prioritize concerns of academic success over cross-cultural success (e.g., be less likely to value learning about or adapting to the host culture; Kim, 2001). Although international students are a large part of the international migrant group, it is necessary to know more about how goal processes, structure, and content are shaped outside the binding frames of the student world. Therefore, future studies could involve a wider array of samples to see whether and to what extent findings about students generalize to other migrant populations. Second, in certain goal facet domains the majority of research evidence comes from qualitative research. Although these studies provide depth and detail to our knowledge of goal pursuit experiences of migrants, the disadvantage is that fewer people were studied and it is more difficult to generalize findings or make systematic comparisons between groups and situations (Anderson, 2010). Future research may benefit from quantitative data to supplement and extend the knowledge derived from qualitative research. Third, a surprisingly limited number of studies used a longitudinal design. Yet, longitudinal methods are particularly useful when studying development and lifespan issues. Given the fact that the migration process often stretches out for years or even a lifetime, longitudinal studies may help us to understand the goal pursuit of migrants and its subsequent effect on migration success more in depth. Indeed, longitudinal studies may, for instance, provide more insight into potential shifts in the content, process and structure of migration goals over time

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and more fully capture how these shifts affect the development of adjustment and well-being. We therefore suggest that future research may more often consider the suitability of employing a longitudinal design for the study of goal pursuit and migration success.

Limitations of the Review

This review has limitations that should be taken into account when interpreting the above-stated insights. First, we applied several selection criteria for the inclusion and exclusion of studies for this review. For instance, each study in this review included an outcome variable relevant to migration success: Academic and social adaptation (Chirkov et al., 2007, 2008); performance (Chirkov et al., 2007); cross-cultural skills and global understanding (Kitsantas, 2004); culture shock (Yang et al., 2018); and life-satisfaction, health, and permanent residency intentions (Dentakos et al., 2017) are a few examples from the various migration success indicators. Yet, our review showed that these outcomes – although all indicators of migration success- may have unique relationships with the various goal facet variables. Indeed, the impact of a certain motivation may differ according to the tested outcome. For instance, motives such as cultural exploration and intercultural contact may be beneficial for sociocultural adaptation, but may have no (or a negative) effect on work adaptation in the host country (see Tharmaseelaan et al., 2010; Masgoret, 2006). In a similar vein, interpersonal contact might benefit sociocultural and psychological adaptation differently, depending upon which ethnic group the migrant interacts with (see Recker et al., 2013; Yoon & Lee, 2010). When interpreting the role of motivation in migration success, one must consider the particular migration outcome at hand and be careful to not generalize too hastily over various migration success indicators.

Second, we included only English-language articles published in scholarly, peer-reviewed journals. Although this may have safeguarded the theoretical and empirical rigor of the research included in a review (Gardner, Cogliser, Davis, & Dickens, 2011), this also

increased the file drawer problem because studies with noticeable results have a higher chance of being published (McDaniel, Rothstein, & Whetzel, 2006). Changing norms in the field leading to higher chances of null-findings being published may remedy such concerns in the future.

Third, our categorization of the studies into the pre-migration, during migration, and repatriation or onward migration stages, as well as our decision to discuss the papers' focus on goal content, process, or structure, was a subjective process. That is, based on the literature and available definitions, we decided to place certain papers in certain categories. However, the distinctions between content, process, and structure are not always clear and the categories can be blurred. Other scholars could arrive at different categorizations. Nevertheless, the insights provided by our approach are intended to inspire theory building and methodological advances in the study of goal pursuit of migrants.

Conclusion

Despite the popular stereotype that migrants move for financial reasons, migrants often focus on self-development, learning, and mastery. They differ from non-migrants, however, in having to redefine their goals in the often-restricting framework of a new country. In a context that is often characterized by language barriers, different cultural norms, and potential discrimination, migrants have aspirations and set, plan, and strive for certain goals. These characteristics of migrant goal pursuit may help us to understand migrant well-being and cultural adjustment. The current review shows that there is an increasing amount of research into goal pursuit in the migration process, with a large proportion of the studies written in the last decade. Yet, more work in the area needs to be done. This review can hopefully serve as a guiding framework for future research in this important area.

Table 1

Summary of articles

Stage of Migration	Author & Study	Goal facet	Goal-related predictor variable	Outcome	Type of study	Sample
Pre-migration	Boccagni (2017)	Process	Original migration aspirations	Changes of aspirations over time	Life story analysis, qualitative	Immigrant domestic workers in Italy ($N = 224$)
	Chirkov et al. (2007)	Content	Motivational differences (preservation, self-development goals) and Self-regulation (intrinsic-identified vs. extrinsic-introjected) to study abroad	Subjective well-being; Sociocultural adjustment	Cross-sectional, (Study 1,2) quantitative	Chinese university students in Belgium ($N = 122$), Chinese students in Canada ($N = 98$)
	Chirkov et al. (2008)	Content	Motivational differences (preservation, self-development goals) and the Self-regulation (intrinsic-identified vs. extrinsic-introjected) to study abroad	Subjective well-being; Sociocultural adjustment	Longitudinal, quantitative	International university students in Canadian universities (T1: $N = 228$, T2: $N = 72$)
	Dentakos et al. (2017)	Content	Acculturation motivation	Adjustment and permanent residency intentions	Mixed-method (Cross-sectional quantitative and interview)	International students in Canada (Quantitative: $N = 266$, Qualitative: $N = 24$)
	Doerschler (2006)	Content, Structure	Motivational differences (economic vs. Political)	Political integration	Mixed-method (Cross-sectional quantitative and interview)	Turkish and other immigrants in Germany (Quantitative: $N = 146$, Qualitative: $N = 12$)

Farcas & Gonzalves (2017)	Content	Motivational differences of migration of diverse migrant groups	Adaptation	Interview	Portuguese self-initiated expats, assigned expatriates, and immigrant workers in the United Kingdom ($N = 50$)
Kitsantas (2004)	Content	Motivational differences to study abroad (enhancing cross-cultural skills, becoming more proficient in subject matter, socializing)	Cross-cultural skills and global understanding	Cross-sectional, quantitative	International students with U.S. origin in various European countries ($N = 232$)
Lui & Rollock (2012)	Content	Motivational differences to migrate (e.g., better opportunities, finding a job, political situation)	Psychological adjustment, Social support	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Asian immigrants in the United States ($N = 1638$)
Masgoret (2006)	Content	Motivational differences for foreign work experience (e.g., teaching experience, cultural experience) and language learning (integrative vs. instrumental)	Sociocultural and work adaptation	Cross-sectional, quantitative	British university students in Spain ($N = 127$)
Pinto, Cabral-Cardoso, & Werther (2012)	Content	Motivational differences (compelled and non-compelled motivation)	Expatriation adjustment, general assignment satisfaction, withdrawal intentions, acceptance of another assignment and recommendation of an assignment to others	Interview, qualitative	Portuguese international expats ($N = 30$)
Portes, McLeod, & Parker (1978)	Process	Past goal attainments and skills	Aspiration of migrants	Interview, qualitative	Cuban and Mexican immigrants in the United States ($N = 1412$)

Tartakovsky & Schwartz (2001)	Content	Motivational differences (preservation, self-development, materialistic goals)	Subjective well-being	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Potential Jewish emigrants from Russia ($N = 158$)
Tharmaseelaan, Inkson, & Carr (2010)	Content	Motivational differences (exploration, escape, family, economic, career)	Career success (objective and subjective)	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Sri Lankan immigrants in New Zealand ($N = 210$)
Udahemuka & Pernice (2010)	Content	Motivational differences (exploration, escape, family, economic, career)	Acculturation preferences (adaptation vs. maintenance)	Cross-sectional quantitative	Forced and voluntary migrants in New Zealand ($N = 105$)
Winter-Ebmer (1994)	Content	Motivational differences (economic, political, family)	Financial success	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Turkish and former Yugoslavian immigrants in Austria ($N = 469$)
Yang, Zhang, & Sheldon (2018)	Content	Level of autonomy (self-determined motivation: amotivation, external regulation, negative introjected regulation, positive introjected regulation, identified regulation, intrinsic motivation), Basic Psychological Need Satisfaction	Culture shock, Subjective well-being	Cross-sectional, quantitative	International students in the United States ($N = 131$)
Zimmermann et al. (2017)	Content, Structure	Pre-departure sojourn goals (personal growth, career, social approval, education, animation)	Congruence of pre-departure goals and sojourner experience (psychological and sociocultural adjustment)	Longitudinal, quantitative	German students in international exchange program (before and after move) (T1 $N = 359$, $N = 188$)
Bernardo, Clemente, & Wang (2018)	Structure, Process	Goal engagement-promoting pathway vs. Goal	Socioeconomic mobility expectations	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Filipino immigrant workers in Macau ($N = 246$)

		disengagement-promoting pathway			
During migration	Carrasco (2010)	Structure, Process	Dual engagement and belongings of transnational workers	Emotional experience	Multiple sampling, mixed-method (ethnography, observation, in-depth interview, household survey)	Peruvians living in Chile ($N = 373$).
	Gezentsvey-Lamy, Ward, & Liu (2013)	Content	Motivation to ethnocultural continuity	Dating behavior and endogamy intentions	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Chinese and Jewish immigrants and Maoris in New Zealand ($N = 306$)
	Gong (2003)	Content	Differences in dispositional goal orientations (learning goals and performance goals)	Academic and interpersonal adjustment	Cross-sectional, quantitative	International university students in the United States ($N = 85$)
	Gong & Fan (2006)	Content	Differences in dispositional goal orientations (learning goals and performance goals); Social self-efficacy, Academic self-efficacy	Academic and interpersonal adjustment	Cross-sectional, (Multi-study) quantitative	International exchange students in the United States ($N = 165$)
	Recker, Milfont, & Ward (2017)	Content	Motivation for cultural maintenance vs. motivation for cultural exploration	Acculturation behavior and psychological and sociocultural adaptation	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Immigrants in New Zealand (N = 280)
	Yoon & Lee (2010)	Structure	Importance and attainment of social connectedness (to ethnic and mainstream society)	Acculturation and Well-being	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Korean immigrants in the United States ($N = 204$)
	Yu & Downing (2012)	Content	Motivational differences (integrative vs. instrumental motivation)	Sociocultural and academic adaptation	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Asian and Western international students in China ($N = 118$)

	Zhang & Zhang (2017)	Content	Motivational differences (Intrinsic vs. Extrinsic)	Spiritual values	Mixed-method (Cross-sectional quantitative and interview)	International students in New Zealand (Quantitative: $N = 200$, Qualitative: $N = 24$)
	Zhou (2014)	Content, Structure	Motivational patterns	Persistence on ongoing task	Interview, qualitative	Asian PhD students in the United States ($N = 6$)
Post-migration, repatriation	Sener (2008)	Process	Adjustment, motivation to repatriate	Readjustment	Interview	Turkish repatriates from Germany and the United States (N = 80)
	Tartakovsky, Patrakov, & Niculina (2017)	Content	Motivational differences (preservation-, self-development-, materialistic goals)	Subjective well-being; Economic and psychological adjustment, (Group identification)	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Returning Jews to Russia ($N = 151$), compared to non-emigrated Jews in Russia ($N = 935$)
	Yehuda-Sternveld & Mirsky (2014)	Structure, Process	Motivation to migrate, adjustment	Motivation to return, readjustment	Interview, qualitative	American Jewish repatriates from Israel to the United States ($N = 14$)

Table 2

Migration Studies per Goal Construct Level

	Structure	Process	Content
Pre-migration	Doerschler (2006) Zimmermann et al. (2017)	Boccagni (2017) Portes, McLeod, & Parker (1978)	Chirkov et al. (2007) Chirkov et al. (2008) Dentakos et al. (2017) Doerschler (2006) Farcas & Gonzalves (2017) Kitsantas (2004) Lui & Rollock (2012) Pinto, Cabral-Cardoso, & Werther (2012) Yang, Zhang, & Sheldon (2018) Tharmaseelaan, Inkson, & Carr (2010) Tartakovsky & Schwartz (2001) Winter-Ebmer (1994) Udahemuka & Pernice (2010) Zimmermann et al. (2017)
During migration	Bernardo, Clemente, & Wang (2018) Carrasco (2010) Yoon & Lee (2010) Zhou (2014)	Bernardo, Clemente, & Wang (2018) Carrasco (2010)	Gezentsvey-Lamy, Ward, & Liu (2013) Gong (2003) Gong & Fan (2006) Recker, Milfont, & Ward (2017) Yu & Downing (2012)

			Zhang & Zhang (2017)
			Zhou (2014)
Post-migration, repatriation		Yehuda-Sternfeld & Mirsky (2014)	Tartakovsky, Patrakov, &
		Sener (2018)	Niculina (2017)

Chapter 3

THE INTERACTIVE EFFECT OF GOAL ATTAINMENT AND GOAL IMPORTANCE ON ACCULTURATION AND WELL-BEING

Abstract

The purpose of present research is to shed more light on the relationship between migrants'
goal pursuit on the one hand, and their acculturation and well-being on the other hand.
Previous research demonstrated the beneficial role of striving for and attaining intrinsic goals
on well-being. Yet, the relationship between the pursuit of intrinsic goals and acculturation
has hardly been addressed. To fill this void, we investigated if migrants' acculturation and
well-being can be seen as a function of their pursuit of intrinsic goals. We posited that the
attainment of intrinsic goals would positively predict migrants' level of acculturation and
subsequent well-being, particularly if migrants deem these goals to be important. We tested
our hypotheses in two scenario studies and two field-studies. In all four studies we confirmed
our hypothesis that migrants' intrinsic goal attainment and well-being (satisfaction with life
and depression) is mediated by their acculturation level. However, in only 2 of the 4 studies
we found support for our hypothesis that the relationship between intrinsic goal attainment
and acculturation is moderated by intrinsic goal importance. We discuss the theoretical
importance and the practical consequences of our findings. Furthermore, we outline future
research directions in order to gain deeper understanding of the relationship of migrants' goal
pursuit and their acculturation.

The Interactive Effect of Goal Attainment and Goal Importance on

Acculturation and Well-being

Rates of international migration have reached unprecedented levels throughout the world (IOM, 2018). In 2017, 3.4% of the world's inhabitants were international migrants, and an estimated 14% of people residing in high-income countries were migrants (UN, 2017). These migrants include not only refugees or asylum seekers—groups of migrants that have been in the spotlight lately—but also self-initiated migrants who choose to move to another country in order to pursue goals that are important to them. Many migrants, including those who have moved voluntarily to a new country, have difficulty finding happiness in their host country because adapting to the new situation is often difficult (Hendriks, 2015; Zheng, Sang, & Wang, 2004). With migrant well-being a source of concern, it is not surprising that scholarly interest in acculturation, a main determinant of migrant well-being, has been increasing (Berry & Hou, 2016; Schwartz et al, 2013). The current study focuses on how migrant goal pursuit affects the acculturation process and, subsequently, migrant well-being (life satisfaction and depression). Only a few researchers have investigated goal pursuit in relation to adaptation or acculturation (Chirkov, Vansteenkiste, Tao, & Lynch, 2007; Sheldon & Houser-Marko, 2001). In this paper, we argue that the attainment of goals that satisfy basic innate psychological needs may help migrants to feel more acculturated and happy, particularly when these migrants place a lot of value on these goals (see Figure 1 for our research model).

In this paper we use a self-regulation and goal pursuit perspective to increase our understanding of the determinants of successful migration. We point to the interplay of goal attainment and goal importance as an important precursor for acculturation and subsequent well-being. Our study may provide more insight into the factors that determine whether migrants are happy in their lives and that could be addressed in interventions geared at

increasing migrant acculturation. Finally, this paper combines experimental studies with field studies using various measures and methods to analyze key concepts. This approach may strengthen the validity of the research model through cross-validation and the convergence of information from different sources.

Acculturation and Well-being of Migrants

Although migrants often leave their home country in an attempt to improve their lives, many migrants face unexpected challenges and stressful situations that are difficult to cope with (Sam & Berry, 2006). This makes migrants a vulnerable population in terms of mental health (Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Previous research has shown that migration is often associated with elevated psychosomatic problems (Carballo, Divino, & Zeric, 1998; Al-Baldawi, 2002), reduced well-being (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000b), elevated depression levels (Bhugra, 2004), and increased drug and alcohol use (Caetano & Clark, 2003; Polednak, 1997). However, there is also evidence that migrants who feel acculturated in the new country have a lower risk of developing such mental health problems. Acculturation, therefore, may be an important mechanism for migrant happiness (Marsiglia, Booth, Baldwin, & Ayers, 2013).

According to Berry (1997) the concept of acculturation refers to all the changes that flow from the contact between individuals of different cultural background. Most researchers agree that acculturation is a dynamic, reciprocal process between migrant individuals or groups and host nationals (Berry, 1997; Ozer, 2017), upon which affective and behavioral changes take place in both parties (Sam & Berry, 2006; Trimble, 2003). Moreover, migrants' acquisition of the beliefs, values, and practices of the host country does not automatically imply that they have discarded or rejected the beliefs, values, and practices of their country of origin (e.g., Berry, 1980). Indeed, host-culture acquisition and home-culture retention may be seen as independent dimensions.

In an ideal scenario, psychological acculturation results in both the psychological and sociocultural adjustment of the individual (Searle & Ward, 1990) in the country of settlement. Psychological adaptation refers to how content and comfortable the individual feels in the changed cultural context (Demes & Geeraert, 2014). Although somewhat similar to well-being, psychological adjustment in the context of cultural relocation should be interpreted and measured as conceptually distinct from well-being (Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martinez, 2011; Mumford, 1998). Sociocultural adaptation refers to a person's ability to fit into the new culture and entails the practical and behavioral aspects of the adjustment (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; 1996). As indicators of successful psychological acculturation, both psychological and sociocultural adjustment have been linked to greater well-being and lower levels of depression in migrants (Demes & Geeraeert, 2014; Hirai, Frazier, & Syed, 2015).

Because acculturation is of major importance for well-being, researchers have previously studied the determinants of successful acculturation. These studies shed light on the impact of various demographic characteristics on acculturation, such as ethnic background (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Liebkind, 2006), socioeconomic status (Fitzgerald, 2010), language proficiency (Marsiglia, Hussaini, Nieri, & Becerra, 2010), and country of origin (IOM, 2013). Furthermore, researchers have studied the impact of individual and personality differences on acculturation, such as bicultural identity (Dion & Dion, 2006), cross-cultural competence (Chiu, Lonner, Matsumoto, & Ward, 2013), coping styles (Kuo, 2014), and personal characteristics (Boneva & Frieze, 2001). Researchers have also provided rich information on the role of relevant social factors in acculturation, such as social support (Sullivan & Kashubeck-West, 2015) and discrimination (Torres, Driscoll, & Voell, 2012). Interestingly, despite the fact that the migration process is often set in motion when people attempt to maximize their goal potentials, individual-level goal

pursuit in relation to acculturation is largely understudied. The attainment of important goals may contribute to how rooted and embedded migrants feel in the host culture and how well they feel at home. Therefore, a self-regulation and goal-pursuit perspective could enhance our understanding of migration.

Goal Pursuit, Acculturation, and Well-being

Goals are future-oriented internal representations of desired states (outcomes, events, or processes) that a person strives to attain (Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Milyavskaya & Werner, 2018). Goals are often organized in hierarchy and are interrelated to each other (Carver & Scheier, 1982; Kruglanksi et al., 2002). For instance, the subgoal to find a side job to help pay for college might be part of the broader goal to become a doctor, which may be part of the value "compassion." Goals differ in their importance to individuals: Some goals seem more worthwhile than others. According to self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000) the type of goals we value and pursue is highly relevant for individual functioning. In this respect, Kasser and Ryan (1996, 2001) distinguish between two types of life goals: intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic goals are those involving personal growth, loving relationships, health, and community service, whereas extrinsic goals include financial success, physical attractiveness, and social fame and/or popularity. Intrinsic goals are hypothesized to emerge from natural growth tendencies, in which individuals move towards expanded self-knowledge and deeper connections with others and the community, and are considered to be consistent with human nature and needs. In contrast, extrinsic goals are hypothesized to be strongly shaped by culture, usually involving symbols of social status and other people's positive evaluation and are considered to be less consistent with positive human nature (Kasser & Ryan, 1996). Researchers argue that intrinsic goals have a stronger, longer-lasting effect on individual functioning (Ryan & Deci, 2000a; Kasser & Ryan, 1996), so these goals are the focus of our present paper.

We argue that the attainment of intrinsic goals leads migrants to feel adjusted to their new cultural context. Attaining intrinsic goals, such as having loving relationships or doing something for others, enhances migrants' sense of belonging and most likely supports social identification with host-country nationals, which is crucial for acculturation (see: Ward et al., 2001). Similarly, attaining health goals allows migrants to participate in the social context, establishing and maintaining important connections through friendships, work, and leisure activities. Pursuing and attaining personal growth or self-development goals indicates that the migrant is ready to respond to personal identity challenges and is willing to evaluate self-relevant information and change accordingly (see: Ozer, 2017), which in turn enhances his or her functioning in a different cultural context.

In the last decade there have been only a handful studies that emphasized migrant goal pursuit in acculturation research. Chirkov et al. (2007) postulated that research on the goals of migrants is not well developed and that contemporary motivation theories have yet to be applied to migration research. They found that intrinsic goals were beneficial for both the well-being and the cultural adjustment of international students. In a similar vein, other authors have found that the motivations behind migration—to explore, to expand one`s worldview, to gain intercultural knowledge and skills, to learn and improve personally and professionally—enhance both the well-being and the cultural adjustment success of various groups of migrants (Chirkov, Safdar, DeGuzman, & Playford,2008; Gong, 2003; Gong & Fan, 2006; Pinto et al., 2012; Yang, Zhang, & Sheldon, 2018; Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001; Zhou, 2014; Zimmermann, Schubert, Bruder, & Hagemeyer, 2017).

Building on our currently limited knowledge of goal pursuit and acculturation, we expect that the relationship between intrinsic goal attainment and acculturation will have downstream effects on migrant well-being. Although the empirical support for the link between the attainment of intrinsic goals and acculturation is limited, there is evidence that

intrinsic goals enhance personal well-being (Kasser & Ryan, 2001; Ryan et al., 1999). People primarily concerned with intrinsic goals have higher levels of life satisfaction and happiness; higher levels of self-actualization and vitality; higher levels of self-esteem and open-mindedness; and fewer experiences of depression, anxiety, and general health problems (Kasser & Ryan, 1993, 1996; Sheldon & Kasser, 1995; Rijavec, Brdar, & Miljkovic, 2006; Ryan et al., 1999). More importantly, research has also shown that the attainment of intrinsic goals is particularly likely to lead to well-being when those goals are deemed especially important to that individual (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). Indeed, when people achieve what they set out to accomplish they feel satisfied and happy, and this relationship is stronger when the goals they achieve are particularly meaningful to that person. So, it seems that the interplay between intrinsic goal attainment and goal importance predicts subjective well-being (Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Niemiec, Ryan, & Deci, 2009; Toth, Wisse, & Farago, 2018).

In sum, we aim to (1) test the role of acculturation in the relationship between intrinsic goal attainment and migrant life satisfaction and depression and (2) investigate the interplay of intrinsic goal importance and goal attainment on acculturation. Based on the above, our hypotheses are as follows (see Figure 1):

Hypothesis 1a: The positive relationship between migrant intrinsic goal attainment and migrant satisfaction with life is mediated by migrant acculturation level.

Hypothesis 1b: The negative relationship between migrant intrinsic goal attainment and migrant depression is mediated by migrant acculturation level.

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between intrinsic goal attainment and acculturation is moderated by intrinsic goal importance, such that this relationship is stronger to the extent that goals are perceived to be important.

Overview of the Studies

In two experimental studies and two field studies we tested the proposed relationship between goal attainment, goal importance, acculturation, and well-being. In our first experiment (Study 1), we manipulated the level of intrinsic goal attainment (high vs. low) and the level of intrinsic goal importance (high vs. low), creating two-by-two scenarios. After reading a scenario about a fictional migrant called Mia, the participants filled out a series of questions regarding Mia's well-being, depression, and acculturation. In Study 2 we replicated Study 1 experiment with the distinction that we only manipulated the level of goal attainment (high vs. low) and used participants' own perception as the measure of Mia's goal importance. In two subsequent studies (Study 2b and Study 3) we used self-report questionnaires completed by migrants to test the proposed relationships. Before conducting each study, we asked for and received ethical approval from the ethics committee of the psychology department of the university. Furthermore, we obtained informed consent from the participants in all studies.

In all studies we focused on first-generation self-initiated migrants who moved voluntarily from one developed country to another and whose stay had no predetermined end (Al-Ariss, 2010). Our study did not include refugees, seasonal workers, or international students.

Method Study 1

Participants and Design

A total of 423 people participated in the online scenario experiment for Study 1. After screening out respondents who failed any of the three attention checks, 395 people remained in the final analysis (239 male, $M_{age} = 35.5$, $SD = 10.47$). The respondents were randomly assigned to a two (intrinsic goal attainment: high vs. low) by two (intrinsic goal importance: high vs. low) scenario design. Each of the four conditions comprised between 85 and 102 participants. Respondents were U.S. citizens; only 3% of them were born outside of the

United States. Eighty-three percent of the participants had never lived outside the United States for longer than a year. Respondents were recruited on the Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform and were paid 1 USD for their participation. Note that previous research has shown that data obtained via MTurk are as reliable as those obtained via traditional methods (Buhrmester, Talaifir, & Gosling, 2018; Cheung, Burns, Sinclair, & Sliter, 2017; Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010).

Procedure and Manipulation

After answering some questions pertaining to demographic details, participants were informed that they would read a description of the life of a migrant called Mia. In the introduction to the scenario we made clear that Mia was not born in the United States, but we did not specify the length of her stay in the country. We highlighted that she moved to the United States voluntarily (i.e., "She decided to move to the US a while ago…") and that she can return to the country of origin whenever she wants (i.e., she is not a refugee). We constructed the text of the scenario using the items of the Aspiration Index questionnaire (Kasser & Ryan, 1996) that focus on the importance and attainment of four intrinsic goals, namely relationships, growth, community, and health.

In the first part of the text, we manipulated the level of the importance of these goals. In the *high importance* condition, the goals were presented as being relevant and motivating to Mia. For example, "Mia has a few main goals in life that she also kept pursuing after her arrival in the US. She always wanted to have deep enduring relationships... She feels that it is very important to develop and learn new things... She wants to make the world a better place... She wants to stay healthy…" In the *low importance* condition, the goals were described as trivial and insignificant to Mia. For example, "Mia never had particular main goals in life, also not after her arrival to the US... She has never been too interested in having deep, enduring relationships... She also does not seem to care much about personal

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development and learning new things... It is not so important to her that she wants to have a particularly healthy diet or plan regular exercise..."

In the second part of the text, participants read about the extent to which Mia attained these goals. In the *high attainment* condition the participants read, for instance, "She has loving relationships... She has developed a fair amount of insight into who she is as a person... She is involved in community work... She has a healthy lifestyle..." In the *low attainment* condition, participants read, for instance, "She doesn't have many loving relationships, or friends she can count on... She is lacking insight into who she is as a person... She does not have a healthy lifestyle…"

At the end of the text, participants were asked to respond to items comprising our main dependent variables and the manipulation checks and were thanked for their participation.

Dependent Measures

Manipulation checks. To assess the success of the manipulation of intrinsic goal importance, participants were presented with intrinsic goals (e.g., having loving relationships, living a healthy lifestyle) and asked whether these goals were important to Mia (*yes* or *no*). To assess the manipulation of attainment we presented the same set of goals to the participants and asked whether Mia attained those goals (*yes* or *no*).

Acculturation. To measure the perceived degree of Mia's acculturation we used a composite 17-item scale (α = .92) measuring psychological as well as sociocultural adaptation. We used items of the Psychological Adaptation Scale (BPAS; Demes & Geeraert, 2014) and added 7 items covering various aspects of sociocultural adaptation, such as social skills, culture learning, and behavioral competence (as indicated in Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Searle & Ward, 1990; and Ward & Kennedy, 1999). The items were stated from the third-person perspective to reflect the participants' perspective on Mia's acculturation. For

example, "Mia felt… excited about being in the US"; "Mia felt… sad to be away from home country"; "I think Mia fits in the US culture"; and "I think Mia understands how things are done in the US." Respondents rated how strongly they agreed with each statement on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Life satisfaction. We used the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) to measure participants' perception of Mia's well-being. The five items of the scale ($\alpha = .96$), again, were adapted to reflect the participants' third-person perspective, (e.g., "In most ways her life is close to ideal"). Participants rated how strongly they agreed with each statement on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Depression. We used the GAD-7 scale (Spitzer, Kroenke, Williams, & Löwe, 2006), a 7-item assessment for generalized anxiety disorder ($\alpha = .95$), to measure the degree of Mia's perceived depression. We asked participants to rate how often they thought Mia had experienced certain problems in the last 2 weeks (e.g., "feeling nervous, anxious, or on edge" or "worrying too much about different things") on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*nearly every time*).

Results Study 1

Manipulation Checks

To assess whether our manipulations were successful, we first conducted a χ^2 test on participants' answers to the goal importance questions. A total of 72% of participants answered three out of four manipulation questions correctly in the low importance condition, and 90% did so in the high importance condition, $\chi^2 (4) = 218.52$, p < .01. On the manipulation check questions of goal attainment, 87% of participants answered at least three out of four questions correctly in the low goal attainment condition, and 88% in the high goal attainment condition, $\chi^2 (4) = 269.73$, p < .01. We concluded that the manipulation was sufficiently successful.

Hypothesis Testing

To test our models and hypotheses we conducted regression analyses using the Hayes (2018) Process macro in SPSS (model 7). We used intrinsic goal attainment as the predictor variable, perceived well-being as the dependent variable (one analysis with life satisfaction as dependent variable and one analysis with depression as dependent variable), and perceived acculturation as the mediator. Intrinsic goal importance was the moderator variable between intrinsic goal attainment and acculturation[1].

The moderated mediation analysis (as shown in Table 1) revealed a significant positive main effect between goal attainment and Mia's perceived life satisfaction ($b = 1.66$, $p < .01$) and acculturation ($b = 1.38$, $p < .01$) and a significant negative relationship between goal attainment and perceived depression ($b = -0.28$, $p < .01$). We also found a significant positive relationship between Mia's perceived acculturation and life satisfaction ($b = 0.78$, $p < .01$) and a significant negative relationship between Mia's perceived acculturation and depression ($b = -0.38$, $p < .01$). Moreover, we tested the indirect effect of intrinsic goal attainment on life satisfaction and on depression via acculturation. Consistent with Hypothesis 1a, acculturation emerged as a significant mediator for the effect of intrinsic goal attainment on life satisfaction when importance was high (*index* = 1.30, 95% *CI* [1.03, 1.59]) and low (*index* = 0.87, 95% *CI* [0.66, 1.09]). Similarly, consistent with Hypothesis 1b, acculturation mediated the relationship between intrinsic goal attainment and depression when importance was high (*index* = 0.64, *CI* [-0.80, -0.50]) and low (*index* = -0.43, 95% *CI* [-0.57, -0.30]). Our data also revealed a significant interaction effect between goal attainment and goal importance on perceived acculturation ($b = 0.55$, $p < .01$), supporting Hypothesis 2. The positive relationship between

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[1] Including gender, age, and educational background as covariates does not change the conclusions of our findings.

intrinsic goal attainment and acculturation appeared to be stronger when those goals were believed to be more important (see Table 1 and Figure 2) rather than less important.

Method Study 2a

Participants and Design

A total of 334 first-generation migrants living in the United Kingdom participated in Study 2a, another scenario experiment. The respondents were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (intrinsic goal attainment: low vs. high), and their perceived intrinsic goal importance scores were added to the design as a continuous variable. Again, people who failed any of the three attention checks were screened out, leaving 159 respondents in the low attainment condition and 152 respondents in the high ($N = 311$; 219 female, $M_{age} = 34.4$, $SD = 10.36$). The low attainment condition comprised 159 respondents, and the high attainment condition comprised 152 respondents. Respondents were of Central and Eastern European origin (e.g., 58% from Poland, 11% from Hungary, 6% from Czech Republic). On average, participants had been living in the United Kingdom for nearly 10 years ($M = 9.43$, $SD = 6.30$). Half of the respondents had lived in a foreign country outside of their home country before moving to the United Kingdom. Fifty-seven percent of the respondents had obtained a college degree or higher, and 84% had a paid job at the time. Respondents were recruited on the Qualtrics Panel platform and were paid for their participation. Qualtrics Panel rigorously monitors data quality (see Qualtrics, 2018) and is considered a highly reliable online sampling source (Roulin, 2015).

Procedure and Manipulation

Similar to Study 1, we first asked participants to answer some questions pertaining to their demographic details and assumed intrinsic goal importance, and then we introduced a scenario in which the life of a migrant called Mia was described. We manipulated the level of attainment of intrinsic goals using the Aspiration Index questionnaire, just as we did in Study

1. Participants then answered questions pertaining to Mia's perceived acculturation and well-being (in terms of life satisfaction or depression), as well as some questions that served as manipulation checks.

Measures

Intrinsic goal importance. Before presenting the scenario, we asked respondents to rate how important they thought certain goals might be for Mia. Participants were presented with a total of eight intrinsic goals, two for each intrinsic goal dimensions (e.g., "to grow and learn new things," "to feel that there are people who really love her and whom she loves," "to be free from sickness"), and were asked to indicate their opinion on how important these goals were to Mia on a scale from 1 (*not at all important*) to 7 (*very important*).

Manipulation check. To assess the success of the manipulation of intrinsic goal attainment, we used the same four goal statements as in Study 1, but this time we asked participants to indicate to what extent they thought Mia had attained each goal (e.g., "having loving relationships") on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*completely*).

Acculturation. We used the same composite scale of psychological and sociocultural adaptation as in Study 1.

Life satisfaction. As in Study 1, we administered the SWLS.

Depression. As in Study 1, we used the GAD-7 to measure respondents' perception of Mia's symptoms of depression.

<div align="center">

Results Study 2a

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Manipulation Check

Testifying to the successfulness of our manipulation, an independent sample T-test showed that respondents in the low attainment condition rated Mia's goal attainment significantly lower ($M = 2.45$, $SD = 1.49$) than did respondents in the high attainment condition ($M = 6.23$, $SD = 0.75$), $t = 28.327$, $p < .01$.

Hypothesis Testing

To test our hypotheses, we again relied on Hayes (2018) Process macro in SPSS (model 7). As in Study 1, intrinsic goal attainment was the predictor variable, perceived well-being the dependent variable (again, one analysis with life satisfaction as dependent variable and one analysis with depression as dependent variable), and perceived acculturation the mediator. Intrinsic goal importance was entered as the moderator variable between intrinsic goal attainment and acculturation[1].

The analysis (see Table 2) revealed a significant main effect between goal attainment and Mia's perceived life satisfaction (b = 1.6, p < .01) and acculturation (b = 2.23, p < .01) and a significant negative relationship between goal attainment and perceived depression (b = - 0.32, p < .01). We also found a significant positive relationship between Mia's perceived acculturation and life satisfaction (b = 0.79, p < .01) and significant negative relationship with depression (b = -0.41, p < .01). In line with Hypothesis 1a, acculturation mediated the effect of intrinsic goal attainment on life satisfaction at high (index = 1.78, 95% CI [1.41, 2.15]) and low (index = 1.77, 95% CI [1.42, 2.13]) values of the moderator. Similarly, acculturation mediated the relationship between intrinsic goal attainment and depression when importance was high (index = -0.92, 95% CI [-1.14, -0.71]) and low (index = -0.91, 95% CI [-1.08, -0.74]), giving support to Hypothesis 1b. In contrast to Hypothesis 2, we did not find a significant interaction effect between goal attainment and goal importance on perceived acculturation (see Table 2).

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Method Study 2b

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Participants and Procedure

We asked the migrants who participated in the Study 2a scenario experiment to also indicate their own intrinsic goal importance and goal attainment, as well as their level of acculturation, well-being, and depression. The final sample consisted of migrants who gave a complete answer to each of the predictor and dependent variables ($N = 290$; 70% female, M_{age}

= 34.53 *SD* = 10.39). Given that all the respondents were migrants in the United Kingdom, we gained firsthand information on how attaining goals (with varying levels of importance) contributes to migrants' cultural adjustment and overall happiness in life.

Measures

The importance of self-set goals. We asked all respondents to list three of their current goals in life and to rate their importance on a scale from 1 (*not at all important*) to 7 (*very important*). We then computed a composite score for self-set goal importance from the average of the importance of the three self-set goals.

The attainment of self-set goals. After indicating the importance of their three goals, respondents rated the extent to which they had attained each goal on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (v*ery much*). We then computed a composite score for self-set goal attainment from the average of the attainment of the three self-set goals.

Acculturation. We used a composite scale of the psychological (BPAS) and sociocultural (BSAS) adjustment scales by Demes and Geeraert (2014). Respondents rated the extent to which they agreed with each statement (e.g., feeling "… excited about being in the United States" or "…sad to be away from home country") on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Respondents also indicated how difficult they found it to adapt to certain situations in the United Kingdom (e.g., climate, food and eating, social environment) on a scale from 1 (*very difficult*) to 7 (*very easy*). From the total of 22 acculturation items we calculated an average score for overall acculturation.

Life satisfaction. As in the previous studies we used the SWLS (Diener et al., 1985), this time as a self-report measure; asking respondents to what extent do they agree with each statement on a scale from 1 (*not at all) to* 7 (*completely*).

Depression. As in the previous studies, we used the GAD-7 (Spitzer et al., 2006), this time as a self-report measure; we asked respondents how often they felt a certain way in the last 2 weeks on a scale of 1 (*never*) to 4 (*nearly every time*).

Results Study 2b

Preliminary analyses

Descriptives and intercorrelations of the study variables are provided in Table 3. Self-set goal attainment was related positively to life satisfaction ($r = .46$, $p < .01$) and acculturation ($r = .28$, $p < .01$) and negatively to depression ($r = -33$, $p = .02$). The respondents' own acculturation showed significant association with life satisfaction ($r = .28$, $p < .01$) and depression ($r = -.33$, $p < .01$). Note that the Cronbach α for the self-set goal importance scale is relatively low ($\alpha = .63$), perhaps due to our method for assessing self-set goal importance and goal attainment. Respondents were asked to list their main life goals using full sentences in three distinct ways (e.g., "I want to…"; "My goal is to..."; and "I aspire to…") and then to rate each goal's importance and level of attainment. Cronbach α may be suppressed due to the qualitative nature of the question (Shenton, 2004) as well as due to the three-answer framework. The Cronbach α of short or single-item questionnaires is often lower than the 0.7 cutoff point (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011; Wanous, Reichness, & Hudy, 1997; Wanous & Hudy, 2001).

Hypothesis Testing

Once again, we tested our hypotheses by using Hayes Process macro (Process Model 7) to conduct moderated mediation analysis. We entered intrinsic goal attainment as the predictor variable, perceived well-being as the dependent variable (one analysis with life satisfaction as dependent variable and one analysis with depression as dependent variable), and perceived acculturation as the mediator. Intrinsic goal importance was entered as the moderator variable between intrinsic goal attainment and acculturation[1]. The results (see

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Table 4) revealed a significant main effect of self-set goal attainment on life satisfaction ($b = 0.42$, $p < .01$) and acculturation ($b = 0.12$, $p < .01$) and a significant negative relationship between goal attainment and perceived depression ($b = -0.15$, $p < .01$). We furthermore found a significant positive relationship between perceived acculturation and life satisfaction ($b = 0.32$, $p < .01$) and a significant negative relationship between perceived acculturation and depression ($b = -0.21$, $p < .01$). We tested the indirect effect of intrinsic goal attainment on life satisfaction and on depression via acculturation. Consistent with Hypothesis 1a, acculturation emerged as significant mediator for the effect of intrinsic goal attainment on life satisfaction when goal importance was high (*index* $= 0.07$, 95% CI [0.03, 0.11) but not when importance was low. In a similar vein, acculturation mediated the relationship between intrinsic goal attainment and depression but only if the goal was considered important (*index* $= -0.05$, 95% CI [-0.08, 0.02], giving support to Hypothesis 1b. Hypothesis 2 was confirmed, as we found a significant interaction between self-set goal attainment and importance on acculturation (*effect* $= 0.21$, $p < 0.01$). The results indicate that, specifically when the importance of the goal is rated highly, goal attainment predicts acculturation (see Figure 3).

Method Study 3

Participants and Design

The Study 3 survey sample consisted of 542 Hungarian nationals who were at least 18 years old and living in the Netherlands with no predetermined end of stay. Prior to conducting our analysis, we filtered out extreme outliers, namely those few respondents whose scores on any of the study variables were more than 3.29 deviation units away from the mean (Seo, 2006). The final sample consisted of 540 participants. Of the respondents 67% were women and the average age was 35.5 years old ($SD = 10.24$). According to the Dutch national statistics database (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [CBS]), there are 13,810 Hungarian first-generation migrants (55% women) registered in the Netherlands (CBS, 2016).

In the past 7 years, the median age of Hungarian migrants in the Netherlands was 35, which is comparable to the average age in our sample. Forty percent of the respondents had been living in the country for 5 years or more and 28% for less than 2 years. The respondents were relatively highly educated with 68% having a college or bachelor's degree or higher. More than 80% obtained their highest education diploma in Hungary, indicating that a large part of the migrants' socialization happened in the country of origin. Seventy-seven percent of the respondents indicated that they had a job, of which 42% felt their job was below their qualification level. Half of the respondents indicated having full-time employment, 11% had part-time employment, and 12% were entrepreneurs or self-employed. The rest of the respondents were students, women on maternity leave, or retirees. Forty-three percent of the respondents had experience living abroad before coming to the Netherlands. Regarding their repatriation intentions, the majority of the respondents (64%) indicated that they would consider moving back to Hungary at some point in time, 23% planned never to go back, and 13% planned to move back in a few years.

Procedure

We recruited the respondents using different channels, all with the help of online mediums. Several Hungarian (formal and informal) associations were asked to distribute the link to the questionnaire. Various people with widespread connections to Hungarian communities and migrant populations volunteered to help promote the questionnaire by distributing the link to the survey. During the recruitment period, a documentary (*Menjek/Maradjak – To leave or To Stay*) aimed at giving an insight into the lives of Hungarian migrants in the Netherlands was promoted in Hungary and in the Netherlands. The promotion of the movie was an excellent platform to spread the questionnaire further.

Respondents were asked to complete an online survey designed to capture their life in the Netherlands. The entire questionnaire was in Hungarian. The first part of the survey

contained detailed demographic questions regarding the respondents' current life situation in the host country, as well as the respondents' circumstances preceding the move from Hungary. The second part included the measurement of goal importance and goal attainment as well as measures of well-being and depression. The third part of the questionnaire contained an evaluation of the extent of cultural adaptation, both social and psychological. Participation was voluntary and anonymous; there was no inducement for participation.

Measures

Intrinsic goal attainment. To measure the attainment of intrinsic life goals, we used the Hungarian version of Kasser and Ryan`s (1996) Aspiration Index (V. Komlósi, Rózsa, Bérdi, Móricz, & Horváth, 2006). The scale assesses four types of intrinsic goals (relationships, self-development, community, and health). Respondents were presented with a total of 35 goals (5 items per subscale) and asked to indicate the extent to which they had attained each goal on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). We calculated the intrinsic goal attainment score by averaging the relevant subscales.

Intrinsic Goal Importance. We used the Aspiration Index to measure intrinsic goal importance. Respondents were asked to indicate how important they considered each of the 35 goals to be on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). We calculated the intrinsic goal importance score by averaging the relevant subscales.

Acculturation. We used the same composite scale of psychological and sociocultural adaptation as in Study 2b.

Life satisfaction. We used the Hungarian translation (Martos, Sallay, Désfalvi, Szabó, & Ittzés, 2014) of the SWLS to assess subjective well-being (Diener et al., 1985). Respondents indicated their agreement with each item on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*completely*).

Depression. We used the Hungarian version (Novák et al., 2010) of the 20-item CES-D depression scale (Radloff, 1977). Respondents were asked to indicate how often they felt depressive symptoms (e.g., "I had crying spells," "I could not get going," "I was bothered by things that usually don`t bother me") within the past week on a scale from 0 (*rarely or none of the time*) to 3 (*most or all the time*).

Results Study 3

Preliminary analyses

Descriptives and intercorrelations of the study variables are provided in Table 5. In line with our hypotheses we found a significant positive correlation between acculturation and life satisfaction ($r = .43$, p < .01) and a negative correlation between acculturation and depression ($r = -.54$, p < .01). Furthermore, intrinsic goal attainment had a positive correlation with life satisfaction ($r = .49$, p < .01) and acculturation ($r = .32$, p < .01) and a negative correlation with depression ($r = -.44$, p < .01).

Hypothesis Testing

To test our model (see Figure 1) and hypotheses we conducted regression analysis for which we relied on the Hayes Process macro in SPSS (Process model 7)[1]. Again, we entered intrinsic goal attainment as the predictor variable, perceived well-being as the dependent variable (one analysis with life satisfaction as dependent variable and one analysis with depression as dependent variable), and perceived acculturation as the mediator. Intrinsic goal importance was the moderator variable between intrinsic goal attainment and acculturation.

The results revealed a significant main effect of intrinsic goal attainment on life satisfaction ($b = 0.50$, $p < .01$) and on acculturation ($b = 0.37$, $p < .01$) and a negative main effect on depression ($b = -0.15$, $p < .01$). Interestingly, a significant negative main effect of goal importance on acculturation ($b = -0.26$, $p < .01$) was unveiled. We found a significant positive relationship between acculturation and life satisfaction ($b = 0.42$, $p < .01$) and a

significant negative relationship between acculturation and depression (b = -0.23, $p < .01$).

Supportive of Hypothesis 1a, acculturation emerged as significant mediator for the effect of intrinsic goal attainment on life satisfaction when importance was high (*index* = 0.14, 95% *CI* [0.08, 0.20]) and low (*index* = 0.17, 95% *CI* [0.11, 0.24]). Similarly, acculturation mediated the effects of the predictors on depression at high (*index* = -0.07, 95% *CI* [-0.10, -0.05]) and low values of the moderator (*index* = -0.09, 95% *CI* [-0.12, -0.06]). We found no interaction effect between goal attainment and goal importance on acculturation, disconfirming Hypothesis 2.

Discussion

The beneficial effects of intrinsic goal pursuit on well-being are well established (Diener, 1984; Freund & Baltes; 2002; Niemiec et al., 2009; Wiese & Freund, 2005), but little is known about whether the attainment of important goals contributes to migrants' acculturation. In our paper we set out to investigate whether goal attainment predicts well-being via acculturation. Furthermore, we aimed to test whether acculturation is the function of the interaction between goal attainment and goal importance. We proposed that by feeling acculturated upon realizing important goals, migrants will be satisfied with their lives and will feel less depressed. Through two scenario experiments (Study 1 and Study 2a) and two field studies (Study 2b and Study 3), we found that the attainment of intrinsic goals is positively related to (perceived) acculturation and life satisfaction and negatively to (perceived) depression. In all four studies the mediating role of acculturation between the interactive effect of goal attainment and goal importance and well-being was confirmed, supporting our first hypothesis.

According to our findings, the attainment of important goals makes migrants feel more culturally adjusted to the host country and, in turn, helps them to feel satisfied with their lives and less depressed. Apparently attaining goals that support innate needs such as

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autonomy, competence, and connectedness (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Sheldon, Ryan, Deci, & Kasser, 2004) helps migrants to fit into a new culture and aids them through the challenges that a culture change brings. Pursuing and attaining intrinsic goals serve migration success through acculturation and life satisfaction and shields them from depression. However, we found support for the moderating role of goal importance between goal attainment and acculturation (see Hypothesis 2) in only two of the studies (Study 1 and Study 2b). Across the studies the effect of goal importance on acculturation differed significantly. Although goal importance had no significant effect on acculturation in most of the studies, in Study 3 we found that goal importance significantly and negatively affected acculturation. Perhaps there is a third variable that explains this finding. Certain sample characteristics might moderate the moderating effect of goal importance on goal attainment and acculturation; if so, those characteristics should be investigated in future studies.

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

We consider the mixed-method approach to be the particular strength of the present paper. Whereas the sole use of the experimental design is often criticized for its limited external validity, cross-sectional field studies often meet criticism for their limited internal validity (Houdek, 2017). By using both designs, we aimed to increase the overall viability of our findings. In Study 1, we relied on a sample of non-migrant individuals. Admittedly, these individuals had limited firsthand knowledge of the migrant experience, and their answers merely reflected their perception of a hypothetical scenario. To overcome this limitation, we replicated the study with migrants, first in a similarly designed scenario experiment, then in two field studies (Studies 2b and 3). We attempted to enrich acculturation research by including high numbers of working-age, self-initiated migrants. Self-initiated migrants are not easily sampled in scientific research (Doherty & Dickman, 2008), as evidenced by their low representations in paid online sampling panels (Qualtrics, 2018). We made our best

efforts to include a minimum of 300 migrants in each study, and we greatly exceeded that number in Study 3. Notably, we used the same sample of migrants for Study 2a and 2b. It might be that reading the intrinsic goal attainment scenarios and considering the hypothetical acculturation experiences of 'Mia' had an impact on what type of self-set goals migrants reported later, and perhaps on their own acculturation responses. Despite that such sampling is not ideal, the questions were placed well apart from each other in order to prevent the emergence of biased answer patterns.

To enhance the validity of our findings we limited our focus to one specific migrant group and also tried to limit the number of home and host countries. For this reason, we only included people of Central and Eastern European origin (e.g., from Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic) living in Western Europe (The Netherlands and the UK). In future migrant-goal-pursuit studies, however, it would provide further insight to open these geographic boundaries and to include different types of migrants in the analysis.

To measure goal attainment and goal importance, we relied primarily on the intrinsic goal dimension of the Aspiration Index questionnaire (Kasser & Ryan, 1996). We posited that these goals are the ones worth striving for in order to feel happy (Schmuck et al., 2000; Sheldon, Ryan, Deci, & Kasser, 2004). However, this might have oversimplified the circle of goals that motivates migrants in their daily lives in their host country. As migration often comes with existential challenges (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001), there might be more external or even "lower-level goals" (i.e., physical, safety, or esteem motives) that migrants value and that just as strongly catalyze their actions. By asking migrants to describe their personal goals in Study 2b, we attempted to expand the circle of goals to test our model. We found confirmation of both our hypotheses, which further enhanced our belief that acculturation benefits from the attainment of important goals. However, our measure did not differentiate between different types of goals (e.g., work or existential), which would be

necessary to deepen our knowledge on the topic. Further research with more extensive self-set goal measures, and the identification of domain-specific goals, would provide valuable information to further understand the pillars of migration success.

Although we have established the relationship between goal pursuit and migrant well-being and identified acculturation as a potential underlying mechanism in this relationship, we need replication studies to confirm the relationship. There are also many questions that were not part of the scope of the present study. There might be underlying personality and/or cognitive factors that would be crucial to consider in order to understand how and why goal pursuit enhances acculturation. For instance, self-efficacy beliefs may further enhance, or even explain, the positive relationship of goal pursuit success and acculturation. Similarly, future relocation (or repatriation) plans might alter the effect of goal pursuit on acculturation. Furthermore, strictly controlled sampling of migrants (by geographic factors, original motivation, or demographic characteristics) would allow us to understand nuanced differences in migrants' goal pursuit characteristics and the differences in the levels of acculturation. In the present study we focused on self-initiated migrants and have not considered other types of migrants. It would be important, for instance, to gain insight into how the limited goal pursuit opportunities of refugees affect their acculturation outcomes.

Conclusion and Practical Implications

In the present study we tested whether goal pursuit helps migrants adjust to their host country and live happy lives in the changed context. We posited that goal pursuit enhances well-being by contributing to successful acculturation. By helping to organize one's efforts, determine one's actions, and frame feedback on one's progress, goals are important anchors for people. As the migration process is closely linked to maximizing goal potentials, the benefits of goal-directed behavior are particularly evident here. The realization of important goals gives a structure to the everyday life of migrants. Realizing goals may give migrants a

sense of control that enables them to navigate their new context and manage the unknown and uncertain. It might even legitimize migrants' choice to change countries and make them feel it is worthwhile to stay despite hardship. It might be fruitful for migrants and for people who are about to emigrate to set out realistic, tangible goals across various life domains to prevent getting engaged in unrealistic aspirations that leave them without any anchor for the course of their everyday lives. There is an elevated need for psychological counseling among migrants (Balkir Neftci & Barnow, 2016). It might be useful for clinicians to focus on helping migrants find motivating goals, goals for which attainment is feasible and rewarding. Helping to establish realistic goals might catalyze migrants' cultural adjustment, which in turn will shield them from negative thoughts and help them conduct a content life.

Table 1

Model Estimation Results in Study 1 for Assessing Moderated Mediation Wherein Intrinsic

Goal Attainment and Intrinsic Goal Importance Interact to Influence Well-being (SWLS) and

Depression (GAD-7) Through Acculturation

	Mediator variable model (DV = Acculturation)				
Predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t(378)*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*
Constant	4.42	0.04	96.43[**]	4.33	4.51
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	1.38	0.09	14.99[**]	1.19	1.56
Intrinsic Goal Importance	0.16	0.09	1.73	-0.02	0.34
Int.Goal Att. × Int.Goal Imp.	0.55	0.18	3.01[**]	0.19	0.91
	Conditional effect of the predictor at values of the moderator				
	Index	SE		LLCI	ULCI
Acculturation if importance low	1.11	0.12		0.86	1.36
Acculturation if importance high	1.67	0.13		1.40	1.93
	Dependent variable model (DV = SWLS)				
Predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t(378)*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*
Constant	0.61	0.25	2.35[*]	0.10	0.12
Acculturation	0.78	0.06	13.56[**]	1.40	1.91
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	1.66	0.13	12.72[**]	0.66	0.89

	Conditional indirect effects of the predictor at values of the moderator			
	Index	*Boot SE*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*
SWLS if goal importance low	0.87	0.11	0.66	1.09
SWLS if goal importance high	1.30	0.14	1.03	1.59
	Dependent variable model (DV = GAD-7)			
Predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t(378)*	*LLCI* *ULCI*
Constant	3.50	0.16	22.04**	3.19 3.82
Acculturation	-0.38	0.03	-3.61**	-0.45 -0.31
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	-0.28	0.08	-10.91**	-0.44 -0.13
	Conditional indirect effects of the predictor at values of the moderator			
	Index	*Boot SE*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*
GAD-7 if goal importance low	-0.43	0.06	-0.57	-0.30
GAD-7 if goal importance high	-0.64	0.07	-0.80	-0.50

* p < .05; ** < .01 (two-tailed significance)

Table 2

Model Estimation Results in Study 2a for Assessing Moderated Mediation Wherein Intrinsic

Goal Attainment and Intrinsic Goal Importance Interact to Influence Well-Being (SWLS) and

Depression (GAD-7) Through Acculturation

	Mediator variable model (DV = Acculturation)

Predictor	B	SE	t(306)	LLCI	ULCI
Constant	4.29	0.05	83.16**	4.19	4.39
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	2.23	0.10	21.58**	2.02	2.43
Intrinsic Goal Importance	0.07	0.05	1.28	-0.37	0.18
Int.Goal Att. × Int.Goal Imp.	0.00	0.11	0.05	-0.21	0.22

	Dependent variable model (DV = SWLS)				
Predictor	B	SE	t(306)	LLCI	ULCI
Constant	0.56	0.23	2.36*	0.09	1.03
Acculturation	0.79	0.05	14.60**	0.68	0.90
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	1.60	0.15	10.26**	1.29	1.91

	Conditional indirect effects of the predictor at values of the moderator			
	Index	Boot SE	LLCI	ULCI
SWLS if goal importance low	1.77	0.18	1.42	2.13
SWLS if goal importance high	1.78	0.19	1.41	2.15

	Dependent variable model (DV = GAD-7)				
Predictor	B	SE	t(306)	LLCI	ULCI
Constant	3.88	0.15	24.66**	3.57	4.19
Acculturation	-0.41	0.03	-11.41**	-0.48	-0.33
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	-0.32	0.10	-3.17**	-0.52	-0.12

	Conditional indirect effects of the predictor at values of the moderator

	Index	Boot SE	LLCI	ULCI
GAD-7 if goal importance low	-0.91	0.08	-1.08	-0.74
GAD-7 if goal importance high	-0.92	0.10	-1.14	-0.71

* p < .05; ** < .01 (two-tailed significance)

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics, Cronbach`s Alpha, and Intercorrelations of the Study Variables in Study 2b.

Variables	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. SWLS	4.19	1.34	(.90)				
2. GAD-7	1.99	0.73	-.39**	(.91)			
3. Acculturation	5.00	0.87	.28**	-.33**	(.86)		
4. Self-set goal importance	6.46	0.70	-0.01	0.06	0.02	(.63)	
5. Self-set goal attainment	3.80	1.36	.46**	-.33**	.28**	.13*	(.70)

Table 4

Model Estimation Results in Study 2b for Assessing Moderated Mediation Wherein Self-Set Goal Attainment and Self-Set Goal Importance Interact to Influence Well-being (SWLS) and Depression (GAD-7) Through Acculturation

	Mediator variable model (DV = Acculturation)				
Predictor	B	SE	t(290)	LLCI	ULCI

Constant	4.99	0.05	98.52**	4.89	5.09
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	0.12	0.03	3.14**	0.04	0.19
Intrinsic Goal Importance	0.006	0.08	0.06	-0.15	0.16
Int.GoalAtt. × Int.GoalImp.	0.18	0.07	2.59**	0.04	0.32

	Conditional effect of the predictor at values of the moderator				
	Effect	*Boot SE*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*	
Acculturation if importance low	0.03	0.06	-0.08	0.14	
Acculturation if importance high	0.21	0.04	0.12	0.30	

	Dependent variable model (DV = SWLS)				
Predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t(290)*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*
Constant	2.56	0.41	6.13**	1.74	3.39
Acculturation	0.32	0.08	3.92**	0.16	0.48
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	0.42	0.05	7.95**	0.31	0.52

	Conditional indirect effects at values of the moderator				
	Effect	*Boot SE*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*	
SWLS if importance low	0.01	0.02	-0.02	0.05	
SWLS if importance high	0.07	0.02	0.03	0.11	

	Dependent variable model (DV = GAD-7)				
Predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t(290)*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*

Constant	3.08	0.23	13.32**	2.62	3.54
Acculturation	-0.22	0.04	-4.81**	-0.31	-0.12
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	-0.15	0.03	-5.26 **	-0.21	-0.09
	Conditional indirect effects at values of the moderator				
	Effect	*Boot SE*		*LLCI*	*ULCI*
GAD-7 if importance low	-0.006	0.01		-0.03	0.02
GAD-7 importance high	0.05	0.01		-0.08	-0.02

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics, Cronbach`s Alpha, and Intercorrelations of the Study Variables in Study 3.

Variables	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. SWLS	5.19	1.17	(.86)				
2. CES-D	1.58	0.45	-0.59**	(.90)			
3. Acculturation	4.93	0.86	0.43**	-0.54**	(.89)		
4. Intrinsic goal importance	6.11	0.61	0.07*	0.01	-0.01	(.85)	
5. Intrinsic goal attainment	5.05	0.91	0.49**	-0.44**	0.32**	0.39**	(.90)

*p < .05; ** < .01 (two-tailed significance). Cronbach's alpha coefficients are displayed on the diagonal in parentheses.

Table 6

Model Estimation Results in Study 3 for Assessing Moderated Mediation Wherein Intrinsic Goal Attainment and Intrinsic Goal Importance Interact to Influence Well-being (SWLS) and Depression (CES-D) Through Acculturation

	Mediator variable model

	(DV = Acculturation)				
Predictor	B	SE	$t(540)$	$LLCI$	$ULCI$
Constant	4.94	0.03	132.83[**]	4.87	5.01
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	0.37	0.04	8.92[**]	0.29	0.45
Intrinsic Goal Importance	-0.26	0.06	-4.01[**]	-0.38	-0.13
Int.GoalAtt. × Int.GoalImp.	-0.07	0.05	-1.17	-0.18	0.04
	Dependent variable model (DV = SWLS)				
Predictor	B	SE	$t(540)$	$LLCI$	$ULCI$
Constant	3.13	0.25	12.41[**]	2.63	3.62
Acculturation	0.42	0.05	10.54[**]	0.31	0.51
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	0.50	0.05	14.60[**]	0.41	0.59
	Conditional indirect effects of the predictor at values of the moderator				
	$Effect$	$Boot\ SE$		$LLCI$	$ULCI$
SWLS if importance low	0.17	0.03		0.11	0.24
SWLS if importance high	0.14	0.03		0.08	0.21
	Dependent variable model (DV = CESD-D)				
Predictor	B	SE	$t(540)$	$LLCI$	$ULCI$
Constant	2.72	0.09	29.01[**]	2.54	2.91
Acculturation	-0.23	0.02	-12.29[**]	-0.27	-0.19
Intrinsic Goal Attainment	-0.15	0.01	-8.26[**]	-0.18	-0.11

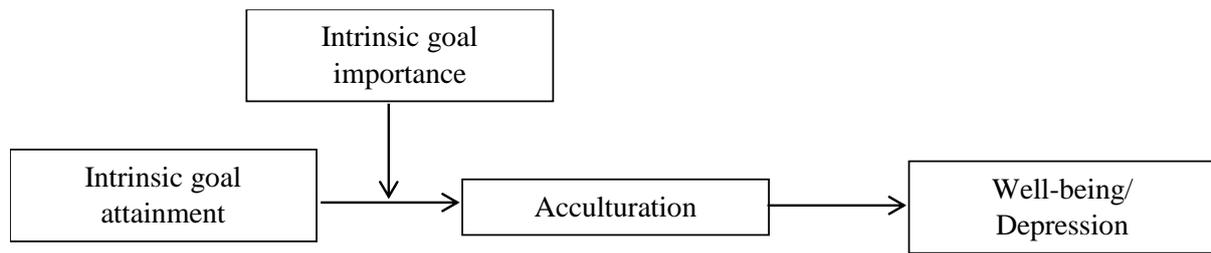|	Conditional indirect effects of the predictor at values of the moderator			
	Effect	*Boot SE*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*
CES-D if importance low	-0.09	0.01	-0.12	-0.06
CES-D if importance high	-0.07	0.01	-0.10	-0.05

Figure 1. The proposed conceptual model of the effects of goal attainment on acculturation
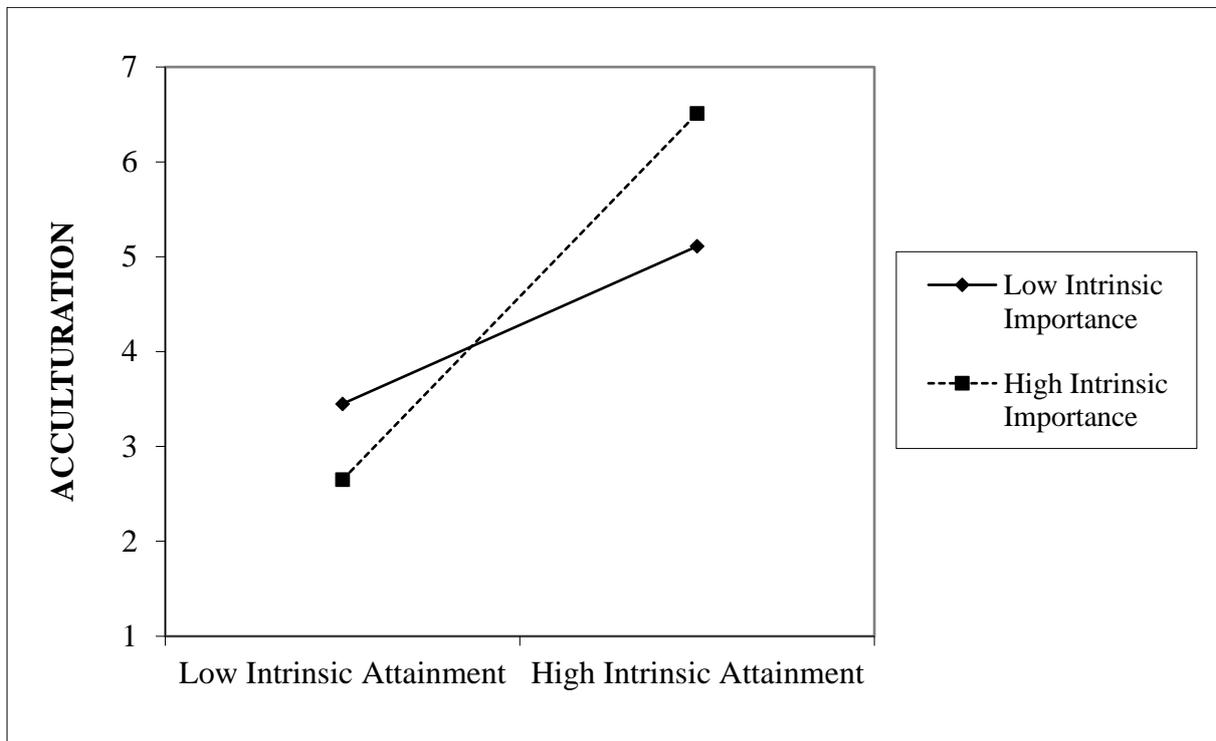
and well-being.

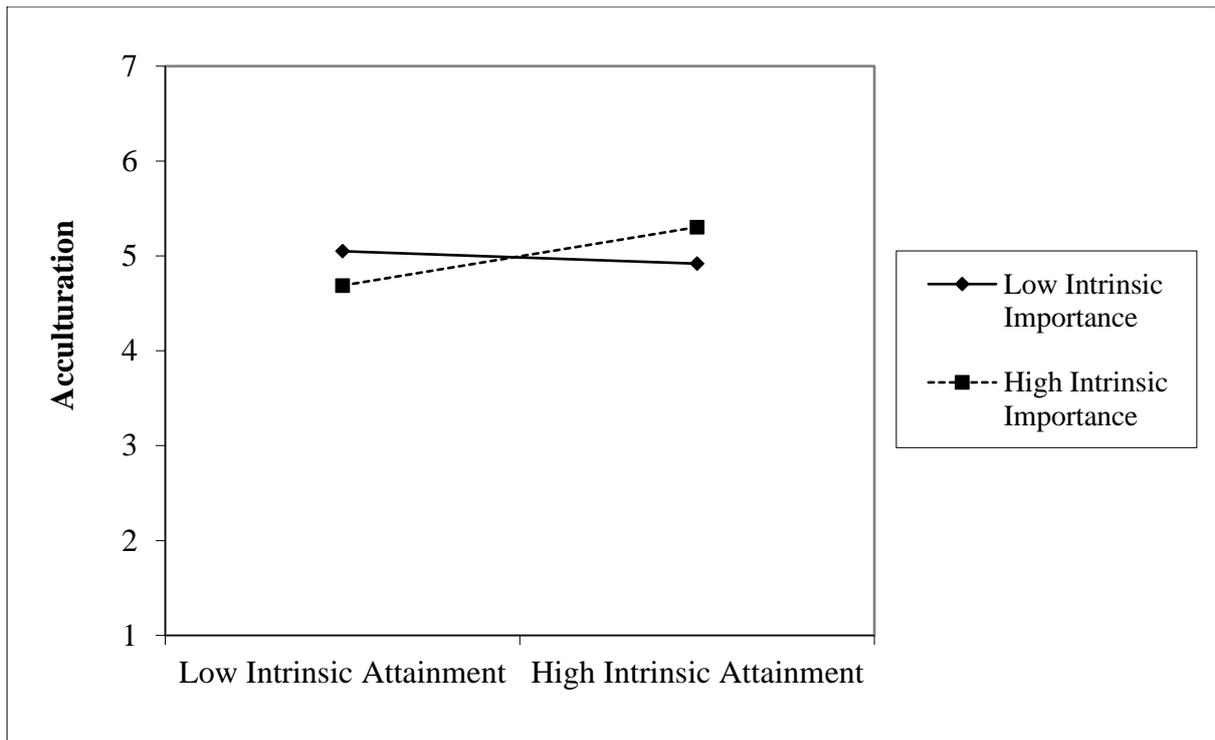*Figure 2.* Acculturation as a function of intrinsic goal attainment and goal importance (±1SD)

Figure 3. Acculturation as a function of intrinsic goal importance and goal attainment in

Study 2b.

Chapter 4

IN PURSUIT OF A CAREER: THE ROLES OF MIGRANTS' CAREER IMPORTANCE AND SELF-EFFICACY IN PREDICTING PERCEIVED CAREER SUCCESS AND ACCULTURATION

Abstract

Many migrants leave their home country in order to pursue work-related goals. However, little is known about the determinants and consequences of career success in the lives of migrants. Present research focused on the question if the importance migrants place on their careers actually helps them to achieve career success, and if this success, in turn, facilitates their acculturation? Moreover, given that self-efficacious migrants may act proactively in search of better career opportunities and take more initiative to develop in their career, we posited that self-efficacy will act as a moderator in the career importance-career success relationship. In a longitudinal study of Hungarian migrants, we found, as expected, that career importance predicted perceived career success two years later for people with high self-efficacy, but not for people with low self-efficacy. Furthermore, we found that career success mediated the relationship between career importance and acculturation among people with high self-efficacy but not among people with low self-efficacy. These results underpin the important role of self-efficacy in realizing work-related goals for people who have to face the hardships of migration. Furthermore, the findings draw attention to the fact that migrants' work-related goals and aspiration, and the realization of these goals are important cornerstones of their sociocultural adjustment in the host country.

In Pursuit of a Career: The Roles of Migrants' Career Importance and Self-Efficacy in

Predicting Perceived Career Success and Acculturation

Self-initiated migrants are people who voluntarily depart from their home country,

cross borders, and take on a new life abroad without any specific plans to return at a

predetermined time (Jokinen, Brewster, & Suutari, 2008). The most common motivation for

self-initiated migration is to pursue work-related goals—to find a better job, expand career

opportunities, and acquire a higher income (Andresen, Bergdolt, Margenfeld, & Dickmann,

2014; IOM, 2013). However, we know relatively little about the determinants and

consequences of career success in the lives of migrants. Indeed, self-initiated migrants may

deem their careers important, but does the importance migrants place on their careers actually

help migrants to achieve career success?

Studies from other research domains suggest that having important goals in mind does

not necessarily result in the attainment of those goals. It takes perseverance, overcoming

distractions, and a belief in one's own capabilities to turn a vision into reality (Bandura &

Locke, 2003; Lippke, Wiedemann, Ziegelmann, Reuter, & Schwarzer, 2009). Self-efficacy,

or the belief in one's own ability to exercise control over challenging demands and to

positively affect one's own functioning (Bandura, 1997), therefore increases the likelihood

that one will carry out plans, translate intentions into behavioral actions, and achieve goals

(Appelbaum & Hare, 1996; Bandura & Cervone, 1983; Lippke et al, 2009). We expect that

the same may hold true in the migration context: The felt importance of increasing career

prospects may foster (perceived) career success, but particularly so for those migrants who

have a higher level of self-efficacy.

Moreover, we argue that career success is particularly relevant in the migration

context because career success may benefit the acculturation process. Attaining important

career goals in the host country may help migrants feel that they are valuable members of the

society (Wassermann, Fujishiro, & Hoppe, 2017), reduce the uncertainty that often characterizes migration (Brett, 1980), and shield migrants from negative experiences in other life domains (Lyons, Brenner, & Fassinger, 2005). This, in turn, may foster acculturation and feelings of adjustment. Therefore, we expect that the interactive effects of the level of importance migrants place on their careers and their level of self-efficacy on perceived career success will have further downstream consequences for their acculturation level. In other words, migrants' perceived career success will be an underlying mechanism explaining why migrants' career importance is positively related to acculturation, particularly for those migrants with higher self-efficacy (see Figure 1).

Information about predictors of migrant career success is important because it may help to facilitate successful self-management and informed decision-making in migrants (Quigley & Timon, 2006; Tjaden, Morgenstern, & Laczko, 2018). Moreover, as previous research has shown that migrants' careers is often hampered by existing stereotypes and prejudice against migrants (Evans & Kelley, 1991, 2019; Fussel, 2014), migrants may be eager for information about what they themselves can do to foster their careers. In addition, the current study could help to identify and address problems that may hinder migrant acculturation.

Career Success: **The Influence of Career Importance and Self-Efficacy**

Self-initiated migrants' focus on acquiring success in their careers raises the question of how we understand the concept of career success. For decades, career success was measured by objective indicators such as pay, promotion, and occupational status (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Heslin, 2005), but this conceptualization of career success does not address the importance of individuals' own valuation of their situation. Subjective career success, or an individual's own assessment of career accomplishments, received research attention much later and has often come to be viewed as equivalent to job satisfaction (Judge, Higgins,

Thoresen, & Barrick, 1999; Heslin, 2005). However, the concept of career success is broader than that of job satisfaction, as it denotes an evaluation of one's work life over a longer time span than one's current job (Greenhaus, Callanan, & Godshalk, 2010; Spurk, Abele, & Volmer, 2011). Moreover, career success also entails a broader spectrum of outcomes that may include, apart from pay and status, concepts like meaningfulness (Wrezniewski, 2002), challenge, work-life balance, and sense of identity (Law, Meijers, & Wijers, 2002). In the current study, we focus specifically on migrants' own perception of their career success. Migrants' career success may be less fruitfully assessed using narrow, objective standards, because migrants have diverse backgrounds, varied motivations, and the tendency to self-evaluate using other relevant standards, (such as comparing their success to that of members of both the host and the home culture; Heslin, 2005; Nieswand, 2011). As such, in the current paper we will also focus on migrants' perceived career success.

Notably, the perceived achievement of career success may be seen from a goal pursuit perspective. Successful goal pursuit has been conceptualized as something that requires the ability to carry out tasks associated with the four phases of goal pursuit (Gollwitzer & Brandtstadter, 1997; Heckhausen & Gollwitzer, 1987). In the first, pre-decisional phase of goal pursuit the person reflects on his or her wishes and decides which of the wishes is worth pursuing. In the second, pre-actional phase the person has established the intention of pursuing a certain goal and starts planning when, where, and how to get started. In the third, actional phase the person shows the necessary goal-directed behaviors to successfully obtain the goal. Finally, in the post-actional phase the person evaluates his or her progress and considers whether adjustments need to be made and whether further goal pursuit is necessary. In a similar way, (prospective) migrants may reflect on all their desires and options and decide that their career is important and worth striving for. After a planning period in which they decide what to do to increase their career success, they may start displaying the

behaviors that are expected to lead to career success. Then, by evaluating what has been achieved compared to the initial desire, these migrants may make plans for corrections or set further goals.

In general, successful goal pursuit starts with an individual's assessment that a certain goal is important and worth striving for. Indeed, perceived goal importance is positively related to the likelihood that the goal will be obtained (Zimmermann, Bandura, & Martinez-Ponts, 1992; Locke & Latham, 2002). However, success at achieving a goal that one finds important is not always easy, and the goal pursuit process can derail during any of the four phases. The inability to devote attention to the demands of the task at hand, to ignore distracting information, and/or to transform plans into action may all explain why perceived goal importance may not always lead to actually reaching those goals (Gollwitzer & Brandtstadter, 1997; Lippke et al., 2009). One key factor in this respect is self-efficacy. Bandura and Locke (2003) define self-efficacy as "the core belief that one has the power to produce desired effects" (p. 87). Self-efficacy thus refers to a personal judgement of how well one can execute the behaviors required to deal with prospective situations. As self-efficacy determines how long a person will sustain effort in the face of difficulties and obstacles, it will increase one's chances of successful goal pursuit (Bandura & Cervone, 1986; Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998). Although self-efficacy has certain state-like characteristics—that is, it may vary depending on the situation (Bandura, 1997)—several scholars have argued that self-efficacy can be considered a much more stable, trait-like feature of individuals (Rotter, 1975; Speier & Frese, 1997). In fact, self-efficacy is assumed to be a cornerstone of core self-evaluation or positive self-concept, alongside self-esteem, emotional stability, and internal locus of control (Judge, Lock, & Durham, 1997; Judge & Bono, 2001).

The importance of self-efficacy in the goal pursuit process is apparent from several studies. For instance, self-efficacy has been found to moderate the relationship between

planning and health behavior (Gutierrez-Dona, Lippke, Renner, Kwon, & Schwarzer, 2009; Lippke et al., 2009), such that only people with sufficiently high levels of self-efficacy acted upon their plans to exercise regularly. In two longitudinal-experimental studies Luszczynska, Schwarzer, Lippke, and Mazurkiewicz (2011) found that people with low self-efficacy did not benefit from self-generated plans to maintain or improve their physical activity level. Linnenbrink-Garcia, Tyson, and Patall (2008) reviewed studies on achievement motivation and academic achievement, and found that whereas student self-efficacy did not moderate the goal orientations and achievement outcomes in correlational studies, it did in experimental ones. Self-efficacy made goal orientation – achievement relationships more positive (or less negative), and as such increased the likelihood that goal pursuit was succesful. Ballout (2009) posited and found that the commitment to career goals is more likely to result in career success when the person has high self-efficacy beliefs. He argued that self-efficacious people are more likely to maximize the chances of attaining their goals by developing realistic plans, taking initiatives, strengthening their skills and abilities, and using interpersonal facilitation (i.e., networking); as a result, they are more likely to see their careers as successful.

We posit that self-efficacy beliefs could also help migrants in realizing the career goals that they find important. Self-efficacious migrants may be able to take initiatives, expand their networks, proactively search for better career opportunities, engage in various career challenges, and more generally show sustained effort despite the fact that migration may make career advancement less easy (e.g., language and communication issues and uncertainty about situational requirements). High self-efficacy therefore may strengthen the relationship between career importance and (perceived) career success. Moreover, Black, Mendenhall, and Oddou (1991) posited that self-efficacious migrants are more likely to exhibit new behaviors and to maximize their chances of receiving feedback. Based on this feedback they further clarify expectations and correct their behavior to respond to these

expectations. In this paper, we argue that through sustained effort and a willingness to explore and to respond to the environments' expectations better, self-efficacious migrants are able to translate their important career goal into career success.

In sum, and based on the above theories, we posit that the importance migrants' place on their careers will be positively related to their perceived career success to the extent that these migrants have higher self-efficacy levels (*Hypothesis 1*).

Downstream Effect of Perceived Career Success: Acculturation

We argue that migrants' perceived career success may be an important precursor for their self-perceived acculturation level. The concept of acculturation refers to all the changes that flow from contact between individuals of different cultural backgrounds (Sam & Berry, 2006). Acculturation in that sense can be seen as a dynamic, reciprocal process between migrant individuals or groups and host nationals (Berry, 1997; Ozer, 2017; Rudmin, 2009), upon which affective and behavioral changes take place in both parties (Sam & Berry, 2006; Trimble, 2003). In this study, we are particularly interested in the degree to which migrants experience those changes and are able to balance two cultures while adapting to the prevailing culture of the society. Acculturation has two distinct individual-level indicators, namely psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). While the psychological adaptation refers to how content and comfortable the individual feels in the changed cultural context (Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Searle & Ward, 1990), sociocultural adaptation refers to the ability of the person to fit into the new culture and entails the practical and behavioral aspects of the adjustment (Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Searle & Ward, 1990). In the present paper we test to what extent career goal pursuit benefits sociocultural adjustment, namely the feeling of fitting in the host culture, and managing the new environment effectively (Searle & Ward, 1990). We posit that the more strongly migrants believe that their career is successful, the more likely it is that they feel they have the behavioral competence

necessary to fit into the new culture. This would be an important finding because there is evidence that migrants who feel adjusted in the host culture have lower risks of developing mental health problems, psychosomatic problems, problems related to drug and alcohol use, and depression (Sam & Berry, 2006; Ward et al., 2001).

The work-related antecedents of acculturation have received some scholarly attention. For instance, Brett (1980) argued that certain aspects of the work context facilitate adjustment by reducing uncertainty. He argued that international relocation causes disruption in routines, which results in uncertainty that can be counterbalanced by characteristics of the work context such as role clarity and social support from colleagues (Pinder & Schroeder, 1987). Perceived career success may also facilitate sociocultural adjustment, because being successful in one's career indicates that one can thrive in the country of settlement. Likewise, acculturation may be hampered for migrants who feel that they are relatively less successful. Wassermann, Fujishiro, and Hoppe (2017) found that migrants who were overqualified for their jobs experienced lower work-related well-being and were less adjusted to the host society. The authors argued that being overqualified at a job hinders migrants' opportunities to use their skills and to realize their full potential, which limits their possibilities for meeting their basic needs, such as those tied to economic and career advancement. Moreover, doing work for which one is overqualified may lead migrants to believe that they are relatively unsuccessful and that they are not fully respected and lacking recognition within the host society (Nabi, 2003; Wassermann et al., 2017), which in turn negatively affects acculturation. Researchers have argued that when migrants experience rejection or discrimination from the host society, they are more likely to reject the society in return, making acculturation less likely (Sam & Berry, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009).

In the present paper we argue that when migrants feel that their career is successful, they will be more socioculturally adjusted, because perceived career success is likely to mitigate feelings of uncertainty, to feedback migrants that they are able to successfully master their environment, and to foster feelings of being valued as members of the host society. Thus, we expect that the interactive effects of the importance migrants place on their careers and their self-efficacy on perceived career success will have further downstream consequences for their sociocultural adaptation (*Hypothesis 2*).

Method

Participants and Design

In a longitudinal study design, we aimed to test if career importance (Time 1) predicts migrants' acculturation levels (Time 2) via perceptions of career success (Time 2), and if that relationship is contingent on migrant self-efficacy (Time 2) as such that the relationship between career importance and career success is stronger for migrants whose self-efficacy is higher. We sampled from the population of Hungarian migrants living in the Netherlands who were over 18 years old and had no predetermined end of stay (i.e., not seasonal workers or assigned expatriates). Of the 540 people who responded to our questionnaire at Time 1, a total of 378 (70%) provided their email addresses because they were interested in participating in a follow-up study. Nearly half of the people who provided their email addresses participated at Time 2. After excluding four people from the analysis who indicated that they were retired (making career plans less relevant), a total of 170 people (68% women) made up our final sample ($M_{age} = 37.67$, $SD = 8.44$). On average, respondents had lived in the host country for 7 years ($SD = 5.83$). Seventy-six percent of the participants had a tertiary education (college degree or higher). Eighty-four percent of the respondents currently had a job, of which more than half (55%) were employed full-time, 10% were employed part-time,

and 11% were entrepreneurs. People who did not have a job were out of work, students, or women on maternity leave.

Procedure

This study was part of a larger investigation into the lives of Hungarian migrants in the Netherlands that focused on various topics, including demographic characteristics, goal pursuit, career success, acculturation, well-being, and depression. Respondents were recruited through different forums: social media, formal and informal Hungarian associations, communities, and schools. Various people with widespread connections to Hungarian communities and migrant populations volunteered to help promote the questionnaire by providing a link to the survey. During the recruitment period, a documentary about the lives of Hungarian migrants in the Netherlands was promoted in Hungary and in the Netherlands. A link to the Time 1 questionnaire was added to the movie's promotion materials.

Respondents were invited to complete the Time 1 questionnaire and to provide their email address for further contact, that is, the Time 2 questionnaire. At Time 1 we assessed career importance and sociodemographic variables. The Time 2 questionnaire was administered 24 months after the Time 1 questionnaire. Both questionnaires were in Hungarian. We used respondents' email addresses to match the Time 2 responses to the Time 1 responses. We removed the email addresses from the dataset once the two data were combined. We assured respondents that their participation was voluntary and guaranteed the confidentiality of their data. All respondents gave their informed consent before participation; there was no inducement for participation. We obtained approval from the ethics committee of the university prior to data collection.

Measures

Career importance. We measured career importance with five items, asking respondents to indicate on a 7-point scale from 1 (*Not at all important*) to 7 (*Very important*)

how important they found the following: "to realize my career goals," "to be successful in my career," "to have a meaningful career," "to achieve what I find important in my career," and "to continuously develop myself in my career." These five items were modelled after the five items of the goal importance dimension of Kasser and Ryan`s (1996) Aspiration Index, which measures the importance of seven life goals (e.g., health, relationship, and personal growth).

Perceived career success. We developed a five-item scale to measure migrants' perceived career success. Items were as follows: "How successful do you think your career is?"; "How successful do you think your career is compared to a Hungarian person with a similar professional background?"; "How successful do you think your career is compared to a Dutch person with similar professional background?"; "How successful do people close to you think your career is?"; and "Considering your age, how do you see your career progressing? - Is it right on track, or does it progress slower or faster?" Respondents rated the questions on a scale from 1 (*not at all successful*) to 5 (*very successful*) or, for the career progress item, from 1 (*much slower*) to 5 (*much faster*). For scale construction, we relied on the Career Satisfaction Scale (Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990), which incorporates both success and progress aspects of career satisfaction. Additionally, we followed Heslin's (2005) guidelines on how to improve the measurement of career success. First, we interpreted career success broadly, leaving room for different success criteria (e.g., income, challenge, or secure position) and different career types (e.g., employee or entrepreneur). Second, we took into account that people often evaluate their success by comparing their situation to that of others. Migrants in particular might see their success in the light of double standards, both from the host- and home-country perspective (i.e., status paradox hypothesis, Nieuwsand, 2011).

Self-efficacy. We used the Hungarian version of the 10-item General Self-Efficacy questionnaire (Kopp, Schwarzer, & Jerusalem, 1995) to assess respondents' general sense of

perceived self-efficacy. Participants indicated on a 4-point scale from 1 (*not at all true*) to 4 (*completely true*) how well each item described them. Items were statements such as *"*I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough" and "I am confident that I could deal efficiently with unexpected events."

Sociocultural adaptation. We used the 12 items of the Brief Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (BSAS, Demes & Geeraert, 2014) to measure how well-adjusted respondents felt to certain situations and aspects of the host country (e.g., climate, practicalities, values, and beliefs). Respondents rated their agreement with each item on a 7-point scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*completely*).

<div align="center">

Results

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Preliminary Analysis

Descriptives and intercorrelations of the study variables are provided in Table 1. We found significant positive correlations between career importance and career success ($r = .19$, $p = .01$) and between perceived career success and sociocultural adaptation ($r = .18$, $p = .02$). Self-efficacy showed a significant association to both perceived career success ($r = .29$, $p < .01$) and sociocultural adaptation ($r = .28$, $p < .01$).

Prior to conducting our main analysis, we performed a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on our predictor variable items (career importance, career success and self-efficacy) as well as on our dependent variable (sociocultural adaptation- BSAS). Regarding our predictor variables we compared a three-factor structure to alternative models with fewer factors. The best fitting model was the three-factor model where career importance, career success and self-efficacy loaded on their own factors, $\chi^2(167) = 230.15$, p<.001; CFI=0.96; TLI=0.95; RMSEA= 0.05, SRMR=0.05. This indicates that our variables are not only theoretically but also empirically distinct from each other.

Regarding our dependent variable, we tested our one factor model, and found that our single factor model for sociocultural adaptation (BSAS) measure had a good fit to the data. $\chi^2(461)=699.22$, p<.001; CFI=0.90; TLI=0.89; RMSEA=0.05; SRMR=0.08.

Hypothesis Testing

To test our model (see Figure 1) we conducted regression analysis using Hayes' Process macro in SPSS (model 7). We entered career importance as the predictor variable, sociocultural adjustment as the dependent variable, and perceived career success as mediator. Self-efficacy was entered as the moderator variable between career importance and perceived career success[2].

The moderated mediation analysis (see Table 2) revealed a significant main effect of career importance on perceived career success ($b = 0.10$, $p = .03$), indicating that migrants who deemed their career more important were more positive about how successful their career was 2 years later. We also found a significant main effect of self-efficacy on career success ($b = 0.51$, $p < .01$), indicating that migrants with higher self-efficacy scores were more positive about the successfulness of their career. We posited that migrant career importance would be positively related to perceived career success and that this relationship would be stronger to the extent that the person is self-efficacious (*Hypothesis 1*), which in turn would be positively related to migrants' perceived sociocultural adjustment (*Hypothesis 2*). Confirming Hypothesis 1, we found an interaction effect between career importance and self-efficacy on perceived career success ($b = 0.23$, $p = 0.03$): Career importance predicted perceived career success for people with high self-efficacy (*effect* = 0.20, 95% *CI* [0.06, 0.34]), but not for people with low self-efficacy (*effect* = 0.02, 95% *CI* [-0.09, 0.13]). The result is illustrated in Figure 2. Confirming Hypothesis 2, we found that career success

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[2] Note that by adding gender, age and educational level as control variables, the pattern of results of the moderated mediation analysis does not alter.

predicted sociocultural adaptation (b=0.17, p=.02) and that career success mediated the relationship between career importance and sociocultural adaptation among people with high self-efficacy (*index* = 0.03, *SE* = 0.01, 95% *CI* [0.002, 0.08]), but not among people with low self-efficacy (*index* = 0.003, 95% CI [-0.01, 0.02]).

Discussion

In a longitudinal field study, we tested the role of self-initiated migrants' career pursuit and self-efficacy in the acculturation process, namely in sociocultural adaptation. We proposed that in order to turn intentions into success, one must believe in one's ability to achieve desired outcomes (Bandura, 1997; Lippke et al., 2009). Furthermore, we expected that career importance, would, via career success, positively predict sociocultural adaptation, particularly for those with higher levels of self-efficacy.

First, we found support for the proposed interaction effect between career importance and self-efficacy on perceived career success: For migrants with higher self-efficacy, career importance predicted perceived career success 2 years later. For migrants with lower self-efficacy, career importance did not predict perceived career success. Our results suggest that migrants who believe they have what it takes to succeed and cope with challenges (Bandura, 1997) are able to attain important career goals and feel successful despite the hardships of the transition of their professional and personal lives (Zikic, Bonache, & Cerdin, 2010). This result aligns with previous findings wherein self-efficacy moderated the relationship between aspirations and the realization of goals (see Ballout, 2009; Gutierrez-Dona et al., 2009). Finding support for such a relationship in the migration context is in line with the notion that general self-efficacy is particularly important in new and ambiguous situations (Rotter, 1975; Speier & Frese, 1997).

Second, perceived career success emerged as the mediator between career importance and sociocultural adaptation among individuals with higher self-efficacy. As a consequence,

this study draws attention to the notion that migrants' professional aspirations and success are important pillars of their acculturation. As such, our findings support the person-environment fit theory perspective (see Theory of Work Adjustment, Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Dawis, 2005), namely that for self-initiated migrants who feel successful in their career by attaining important career goals, the host environment has apparently been able to meet migrants' career goals and offer career opportunities through which migrants could fulfil their aspirations. This congruence between the migrants' goals and the environment's reinforcers enhances the migrants' acculturation level, perhaps by making them feel valuable to the host society (Wassermann et al, 2017) or by reducing the uncertainty that is strongly tied to the migration experience (Brett, 1980).

Strengths, Weaknesses, and Future Directions

How work and career contribute to migrants' acculturation has received relatively little research attention. In the present paper we have drawn attention to this gap in scientific knowledge by applying a goal pursuit perspective and studying the role of migrant self-efficacy. We employed a longitudinal study design to capture how aspirations affect goal attainment over time, providing a tentative insight into the chain of events predicting sociocultural adaptation. Although our study elucidated the role of career pursuit and self-efficacy in the acculturation process, there are questions our study did not answer and that may be taken into consideration in future research. First, we focused our attention on relatively privileged, self-initiated migrants (see Andresen, Bergdolt, Margenfeld, & Dickmann, 2014). Our sample mainly consisted of young, highly educated, white people (the majority of them women) with potentially better career opportunities than other groups of migrants have. It would be interesting to expand the research question to migrant groups whose move was involuntary or who cannot easily return to their home countries (e.g., refugees and economic migrants). Second, our study does not clarify the underlying

mechanism by which the fulfilment of career aspirations predicts acculturation among self-efficacious migrants. Perhaps being successful in their career causes migrants have to be more involved in career-related behavior (Leung & Clegg, 2001), increase the degree of identification with host nationals (see Wassermann et al., 2017), feel more valuable and respected in the host country (Tharmaseelaan, Inkson, & Carr, 2010), and/or reduce uncertainty and stress (Berry, 1997; Brett, 1980), -all of which may affect acculturation-, but our data does not allow us to test these potential explanatory mechanisms. Third, we used rather generic, broad terms to measure both career importance and attainment and did not focus on the possible subjective meanings and interpretations of what exactly career goals and career success entail for different people. Knowing more about the particular content of migrants' career aspirations and career success could enrich our knowledge about the impact of migrants' career pursuit on acculturation. For instance, it could be valuable to investigate migrants' perceptions of what type of career advancements they aspire, and how they measure their career success. Fourth, future research could shed more light on the dynamic processes involved with changes in career aspirations and perceived career success over time. For instance, some career related aspects (like the importance of salary, position security, and other indicators of objective career success; see Abele & Spurk, 2009) that may have been important upon arrival in the host country, might become less important over time, and what used to make freshly migrated individuals feel at home might not serve that purpose indefinitely. Future studies using a longitudinal design that span over several years or even over several decades are necessary to expand the scope and deepen our understanding of the relationship of career pursuit and acculturation.

Implications

Building on our results, we underline the importance of prospective migrants having realistic expectations and making informed decisions about migration. Migrants often rely on

personal anecdotes or biased information prior to migrating, which can make their acculturation difficult (Pecoud, 2010; Tjaden et al., 2018). Black et al. (1991) emphasized the role of anticipatory adjustment, stating that migrants who make appropriate anticipatory adjustments regarding their careers and who have realistic expectations of the host country will be more adjusted in the host country. Arriving with realistic, fact-based expectations to a host country is a good way to avoid later disappointment (which may, for instance, be reflected in low perceived career success). As we argued earlier, migrants may feel more strongly that they fit into their environment if their needs and aspirations are in line with what the environment has to offer (Dawis, 2005). In case of incompatibilities, there are a couple of things migrants can do to increase the congruence between what they want and what they can get in their environment to reduce adjustment problems. These action points might also be relevant for professionals (e.g., psychologists, social workers, student counsellors, and HR professionals) who work with migrants with adjustment problems. In line with the Theory of Work Adjustment, discrepancies can be addressed by altering the environment, modifying the aspirations, or improving skills to be able to fulfil the requirements of the environment (Bandura & Cervone, 1986; Eggerth, 2008). To alter the environment migrants could proactively negotiate for conditions that better suit their aspirations and skills level. They may reshape the boundaries of their tasks, change how much time and effort they allocate to certain tasks, and change how, where and with whom they interact for the successful completion of their tasks (see Berg, Dutton & Wrezniewsky, 2013). Migrants may also need to modify their aspirations to the opportunities of the foreign job market to avoid unnecessary disappointment arising from unrealistically high expectations. Moreover, they might need to allocate some time to improve crucial skills for better job opportunities. The lack of ability to speak the host country's language, for instance, might be a serious limitation at certain jobs, (Adsera & Pytlikova, 2015; Bleakley & Chin, 2004, 2010). In addition, efforts geared at

gaining official qualifications from host country institutions usually pays off, aiding migrants to reach better positions (Iacono & Demireva, 2018). If none of these options are possible or preferred, migrants might decide to repatriate or onward migrate to places where they have a prospect to more ideal employment.

Based on our results, migrants could also profit from enhancing their self-efficacy beliefs. Although self-efficacy beliefs may be long-lasting and stable (Rotter, 1975), new ways of self-evaluation might improve self-efficacy. Healthcare professionals working with migrants should keep in mind that migrants can enhance their self-efficacy beliefs by focusing on accomplishments, regardless of their magnitude; by attributing success to their own efforts; and by setting more specific subgoals when trying to meet their aspirations (Van de Laar & Van der Bijl, 2001). Additionally, by improving their ability to use and build on the feedback they receive at work, migrants might become more effective and successful at their jobs, which can further strengthen their self-efficacy beliefs (Black et al., 1991; Van de Laar & Van der Bijl, 2001). In sum, realistic career expectations, informed decision-making before migration, active shaping of self and environment, and strengthening self-efficacy may provide more successful careers and better acculturation for migrants.

All in all, we hope that the current study sheds some light on what can be done to foster acculturation (by migrants and inhabitants of the host country). Indeed, as previous research has shown that migrants' careers is often hampered by existing stereotypes and prejudice against migrants (Evans & Kelley, 1991, 2019), migrants (and others) may be eager for information about what can be done to foster careers and increase acculturation. Notably, migrants' careers are truly boundaryless (see Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Arthur, 2014) and protean, and often characterized by a self-determined career orientation, where the person is in charge rather than the organization and where career decisions are driven by personal goals (see Hall, 1996, 2004; Zikic, Bonache, & Cerdin, 2010). In that sense, understanding

migrants' career pursuits could enhance our knowledge about the careers of the people of the 21st century and about new ways of career self-management.

Conclusion

In an attempt to shed more light on migrant career pursuit and acculturation, we integrated career, self-efficacy, and goal pursuit research. In due course we found that migrants' perceived career importance positively predicted their acculturation level via perceived career success, particularly for those with higher levels of self-efficacy. Thus, it appears that successfully managing important career goals aid the migrant to fit in a foreign culture, perhaps by feeling as a valuable member of the host society.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics, Cronbach`s Alphas, and Intercorrelations of the Study Variables

Variables	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Career Importance	5.65	1.36	(.94)			
2. Self-efficacy	3.16	0.44	.20*	(.86)		
3. Career Success	3.47	0.86	.19*	.29**	(.88)	
4. Sociocultural adaptation	5.14	0.79	-.01	.28**	.18*	(.80)

*p < .05; ** < .01 (two-tailed significance). Cronbach's alpha coefficients are displayed on the diagonal in parentheses.

Table 2

Model Estimation Results for Assessing Moderated Mediation Wherein Career Importance and Self-Efficacy Interact to Influence Acculturation Through Career Success.

	Mediator variable model (DV = Career Success)				
Predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t(170)*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*
Constant	3.44	0.63	54.29**	3.32	3.57
Career Importance	0.10	0.05	2.15*	0.01	0.19
Self-efficacy	0.51	0.14	3.54**	0.22	0.79
Career Imp. × Self-efficacy	0.23	0.11	2.09*	0.13	0.44
	Conditional effect of the predictor at values of the moderator				
	Index	SE		LLCI	ULCI
Career success if self-efficacy low	0.02	0.06		-0.09	0.13
Career success if self-efficacy high	0.20	0.07		0.06	0.34

Predictor	Dependent variable model (DV = Sociocultural adaptation)				
	B	*SE*	*t(170)*	*LLCI*	*ULCI*
Constant	4.54	0.25	17.71	4.03	5.05
Career Importance	-0.03	0.04	-0.62	-0.11	0.61
Career Success	0.17	0.07	2.40*	0.03	0.31
	Conditional indirect effects of the predictor at values of the moderator				
	Index	*Boot SE*		*LLCI*	*ULCI*
Acculturation if self-efficacy low	0.003	0.009		-0.01	0.02
Acculturation if self-efficacy high	0.03	0.02		0.001	0.06

* p < .05; ** < .01 (two-tailed significance)

Figure 1. The proposed conceptual model of the effects of career importance on career
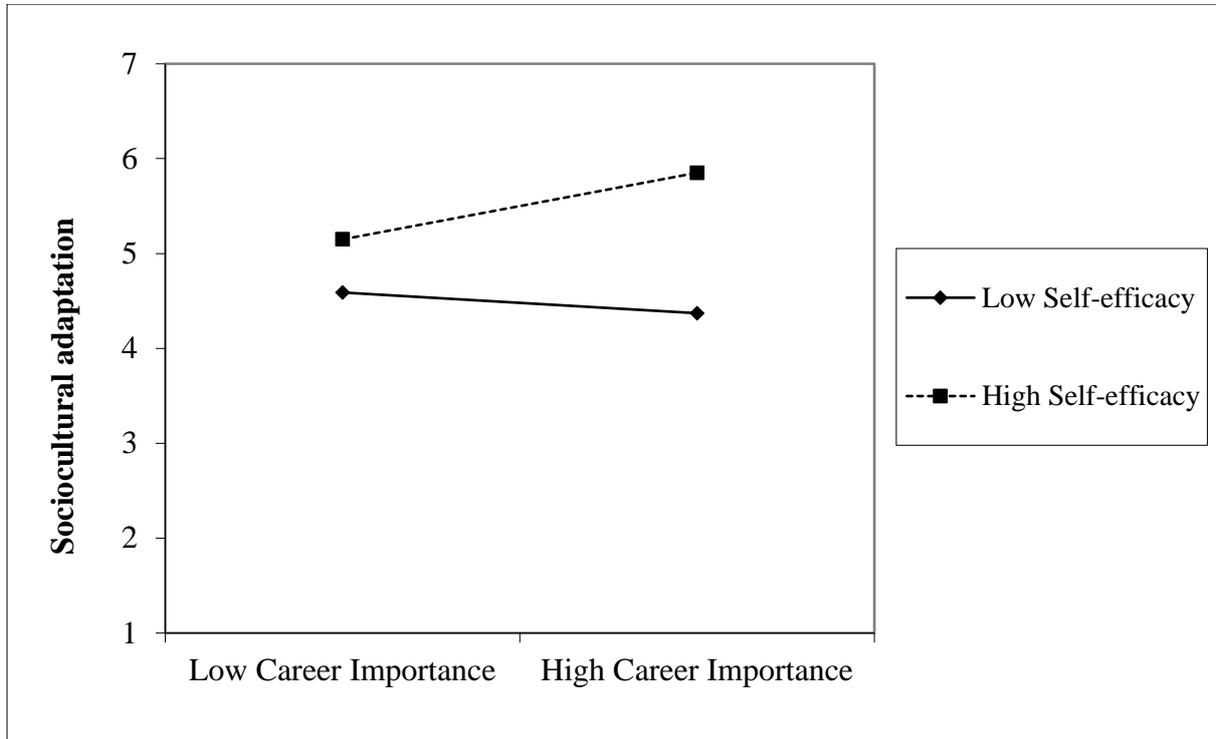
success and acculturation.

Figure 2. Career success as the function of career importance and self-efficacy.

Chapter 5

THE IMPACT OF GOAL ATTAINMENT AND GOAL IMPORTANCE ON SATISFACTION WITH LIFE – A POLYNOMIAL REGRESSION AND RESPONSE SURFACE ANALYSIS

Abstract

Most people want to be happy in their lives and actively try to achieve some degree of contentment. Previous studies have shown that pursuing goals can increase peoples' well-being and that in order to understand the role of goals in well-being, it is important to differentiate between the importance and the attainment of both extrinsic and intrinsic goals. Yet, the issue of how the congruence between goal importance on the one hand and goal attainment on the other affects well-being has rarely been addressed. We investigated if well-being is a function of goal pursuit, or more precisely, if the extent to which people are satisfied with their lives is a result of their success in achieving goals that are relatively important to them. We expected that goal attainment would be a stronger predictor of well-being than goal importance. We also expected that the congruence between intrinsic goal attainment and importance would be positively related to subjective well-being. In addition, we explored whether the congruence between extrinsic goal attainment and importance would be negatively or positively associated with subjective well-being. A survey of 149 Hungarian adults was conducted (70% female). To test our hypotheses, we used bivariate polynomial regression and response surface analysis. This tool is ideal to measure the joint effect of two predictor variables on a third variable, such as the goal importance and goal attainment on well-being. Intrinsic goal attainment is positively related to well-being, while goal importance has no such effect. We also found that the congruence between intrinsic goal importance and goal attainment is positively related to well-being. The polynomial regression with well-being as the dependent variable and extrinsic goal attainment and importance as the predictor variables showed that whereas extrinsic goal importance has a negative relationship with well-being, goal attainment has a positive one. Moreover, we found that well-being is higher when extrinsic goal attainment is higher than extrinsic goal importance and that well-being increases more sharply to the extent that the degree of discrepancy increases. Based on

our results it seems that the congruence between intrinsic goal attainment and goal importance enhances our well-being. While valuing extrinsic goals does not seem to increase happiness, attaining those goals does so.

The Impact of Goal Attainment and Goal Importance on Satisfaction with Life –

A Polynomial Regression and Response Surface Analysis

Most of us want to be happy and satisfied with our lives. Although people strive for happiness in many ways, the road leading to satisfaction has yet to be discovered. Some researchers suggest that all striving for happiness is futile, because people have a genetically determined "happiness set point", which is relatively stable no matter what the circumstances are (Brickman & Campbell, 1971; Lykken & Tellegen, 1996). However, others argue that people do have the chance to affect their own happiness and, in fact, play a decisive role in the extent to which they are satisfied with life (Diener, 1984; Diener, Lucas, & Scollon, 2006; Emmons, 1986). In the present paper, we explore the latter perspective and investigate if well-being is a function of goal pursuit, or more precisely, if the extent to which people are satisfied with their lives is influenced by their success in achieving goals that are relatively important to them. In line with current theorizing, we differentiate between the importance and the attainment of both extrinsic (wealth, fame and image) and intrinsic goals (personal growth, loving relationships, health and community, Kasser & Ryan, 1996).

Although previous research on determinants of well-being has focused on goal pursuit (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999; Sheldon & Kasser, 1998), the issue of how the congruence between goal importance and goal attainment affects well-being has rarely been addressed. This is unfortunate, because well-being can be expected to be dependent on the correspondence (or discrepancy) of what people find important to achieve and their actual success in achieving those goals. We argue, however, that to understand the joint effect of goal importance and goal attainment on well-being it is crucial to differentiate between intrinsic and extrinsic goals.

With respect to intrinsic goals, existing theory is relatively straightforward: Attaining important intrinsic goals should increase our well-being (Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Sheldon,

Ryan, Deci, & Kasser, 2004). Yet, for extrinsic goals theoretical perspectives diverge. Perspectives rooted in Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1991; Ryan & Deci, 2000b) suggest that striving for and actually attaining extrinsic goals is detrimental to well-being. These theoretical perspectives would thus support the expectation that well-being will be reduced to the extent that both goal importance and attainment increase. Yet, other perspectives argue that any kind of personal striving and attainment –also if it concerns external goals- is beneficial to well-being (Emmons, 1986; Srivastava, 2001). Therefore, based on these theoretical perspectives one would argue that well-being will be increased to the extent that both goal importance and attainment increase. The present study aims to offer a test of these two theoretical perspectives.

In addition, whereas previous studies often used a difference score to assess the combined effect of intrinsic and extrinsic goal striving measures (Kasser & Ryan, 2001; Sheldon et al., 2004), we investigate extrinsic and intrinsic goal pursuit separately. Moreover, instead of relying on difference scores, we employ a more advanced methodological approach by using a specific case of polynomial regression analysis for two variables, the bivariate polynomial regression and response surface analysis (Edwards, 1994, 2001, 2002). This approach is ideally suited to measure the joint effect of two predictor variables (and their congruency or discrepancy) on a third variable and as such it represents an excellent way to assess the combined effect of goal attainment and goal importance on well-being.

The Role of Goal Attainment of Personally Valued Goals in Happiness

Well-being, denoting a state of contentment and happiness (Deci & Ryan 2008; Wright & Cropanzano, 2004) is of such importance to human beings, that it has been a major research area for many years. Yet, discussions about the components of well-being are still ongoing (Diener, Fujita, Tay, & Biswas-Diener, 2012; Dodge, Daly, Huyton, & Sanders, 2012). Many scholars argue that life satisfaction is one of the major parts of individuals'

well-being (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985; Luhmann, Hofmann, Eid, & Lucas, 2012). Indeed, life satisfaction, being the cognitive appraisal of someone's life as a whole, has shown to be a good indicator of people's overall happiness (Diener et al., 1985). While some scholars argue that being happy or not is a matter of personal disposition (Solberg, Diener, Wirtz, Lucas, & Oishi, 2002), motivational and goal theorists would argue that people actually can be actively involved in achieving happiness in their lives (Emmons, 2003; Lyubomirsky, Dickerhoof, Boehm, & Sheldon, 2011; Sheldon et al., 2010) and that both setting and attaining goals that are deemed important can affect peoples' well-being.

Firstly, goal setting is important for well-being, because people often set goals as milestones in attempts to fulfill ambitions and life plans (Chekola, 1974). Diener (1984) argues that having goals that are important (objectives that are personally desired and valued) is central to someone's satisfaction with life. The argument is that having goals is like having a compass: The goals inform us about what we need to do; they organize our efforts, and determine our actions. As such, goals give meaning and structure to our lives. Empirical findings support this notion, showing that, in general, people who pursue valued goals report higher well-being than those who are missing this sort of goal-directedness (Emmons, 1986; Freund & Baltes, 2002).

Secondly, attaining goals is also important for well-being (Brunstein, 1993; Carver & Scheier, 1990; Emmons & Diener 1986; Little, 1989; Wiese & Freund, 2005). Indeed, when people achieve what they set out to accomplish they feel satisfied and happy. Notably, it is particularly the attainment of personal goals (Brunstein, 1993; Emmons, 1986) or self-concordant goals -those that express personal interests and values- (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999) that enhance peoples' well-being. Nonetheless, we can conclude that both the pursuit of valued goals and the progress in these goals have been found to be relevant for well-being.

When looking at the question of what contributes more to happiness, goal importance or goal attainment, the literature provides a less clear answer. On the one hand, having achieved goals boosts peoples' sense of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997) and increases their feelings of competence (Bahrami-Ehsan & Cranney, 2015; Raynor, 1982). Goal achievement thus provides the information that one is able to overcome obstacles through effort, which in turn enhance well-being (Emmons, 1986; Niemiec, Ryan, & Deci, 2009). On the other hand, the mere striving for goals that are deemed important but are not yet attained is often accompanied with a sense of longing and the feeling that needs are not fully satisfied (Mayser, Scheibe, & Riediger, 2008). This, in turn, can lead to impaired mood and decrease in emotional well-being (Schultheiss, Jones, Davis, & Kley, 2008). Therefore, goal attainment seems to be more critical for well-being than goal importance. We thus expect that the degree of discrepancy (i.e., incongruity) between (intrinsic and extrinsic) goal attainment and goal importance will be associated with well-being, such that particularly as goal attainment exceeds goal importance, people will experience an increase in well-being (*Hypothesis 1*).

Another question with regards to goal pursuit relates to the content of personally valued goals: So far, we have discussed literature that suggests that setting important goals and achieving them contributes to well-being, but is this true for all types of goals? Does it matter if goal pursuit is related to, for instance, maintaining a happy marriage or becoming rich? The first perspective on the matter comes from Self-Determination theorists (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Kasser & Ryan, 1996). They make a distinction between goals that are advantageous and disadvantageous to happiness. They argue that only intrinsic goals, including goals related to personal growth, loving relationships, community feeling and health, support our basic, innate psychological needs of autonomy, relatedness and competence and therefore are beneficial to our well-being (Kasser & Ryan, 1993; 1996;

Niemiec et al., 2009; Sheldon, Ryan, Deci, & Kasser, 2004). Extrinsic goals, such as financial advancement, having an appealing appearance and fame, may be relevant to people across various cultures (Ryan, Chirkov, Little, Sheldon, Timoshina, & Deci, 1999; Schmuck et al., 2000), but are not serving to satisfy inherent needs. Instead they engender public admiration and status and people strive to obtain them mostly for external rewards and approval (Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Kasser & Ryan, 2001). According to SDT striving for extrinsic goals is considered to be detrimental to well-being (Kasser & Ryan, 1993; 1996). Several studies indeed show that the extent to which people place importance on extrinsic goals is associated with lower well-being (Kasser & Ryan, 2001; Schmuck et al., 2000, Sheldon et al., 2004). Moreover, SDT also argues that the successful chase for extrinsic goals does not engender an increased level of well-being. When people actually obtain the wealth, fame or the image they wished for, their well-being does not improve. In sum, according to this perspective the attainment of extrinsic goals does not lead to an increase in well-being (Niemiec et al, 2009).

The second perspective on if the type of goal that people strive for is important for happiness comes from authors who argue that any goal or ambition (Emmons, 1986) can be beneficial to our well-being (Carver & Baird, 1998; Emmons & Diener, 1986; Srivastava, 2001). They regard goal content as not necessarily beneficial or detrimental; it is the motive behind the goal that makes the difference for well-being. For instance, Srivastava (2001) found that the well-being of a person who is focused on becoming famous or wealthy can be just as high as of a person who is focused on meaningful relationships if he or she pursues these goals for reaching a higher sense of autonomy. Other scholars also seem to think that the actual content of the goal has little impact. For instance, according to Multiple Discrepancy Theory, people use different standards to judge how they are doing in life (Michalos, 1985). When they assess what they obtained, they compare with what relevant others have gotten, what they like to have, or what they had earlier. The theory posits that it is

the gap between what people have and various standards that determines their happiness and satisfaction, not so much whether what one has or wants is related to intrinsic or extrinsic goals. Solberg and colleagues (2002) for instance found that the discrepancy between people's financial desires and actual state has a causal influence on their satisfaction. Therefore, according to this perspective both internal and external strivings can lead to happiness.

In sum, in line with both the SDT and the general goal pursuit theories, our hypothesis regarding intrinsic goal attainment and goal importance is straightforward: The congruence between intrinsic goal attainment and importance will be positively related to subjective well-being (*Hypothesis 2*). In other words, we expect that goal attainment and goal importance contribute to well-being, in such a way that well-being increases to the extent that both goal importance and attainment increase (simultaneously). With regard to extrinsic goals however, the literature is less clear. Both perspectives on how the pursuit of different kind of goals affect well-being seem to have merit, and there seems to be no a-priori reason to select one of those perspectives as a basis for our hypothesis. As a consequence, we have two competing hypotheses: The congruence between extrinsic goal attainment and importance will be negatively associated with subjective well-being (*Hypothesis 3a*); and: The congruence between extrinsic goal attainment and importance will be positively associated with subjective well-being (*Hypothesis 3b*).

Method

Participants and Procedure

A total of 149 adult Hungarian people participated in the study. Many of them are teachers, psychologists and psychology students who responded to our published advertisement of the questionnaire on various social media forums or to our public announcement in university lectures. The average age of the respondents is 32 years (SD =

11.62 years) and 75% of them are women. All participants have a high school diploma or higher.

The survey served as a pilot study for a broader research on happiness and aspirations of Hungarian migrants living abroad (ethical approval number is 2016/35 from the ELTE PPK KEB).

Measures

To measure the attainment and importance of various life goals, the Hungarian version of Kasser and Ryan`s (2001) *Aspiration Index* was used (V. Komlósi, Rózsa, Bérdi, Móricz, & Horváth, 2006). The scale assesses the importance and attainment of four types of intrinsic goals (personal growth, relationship, community, health) and three types of extrinsic goals (wealth, fame, image). Participants were presented with a total of 35 individual goals (5 items per subscale) and were asked to indicate how important that given goal is to them and on to what extent they had attained that goal. Both dimensions were measured on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*). A higher score on the scale indicated greater importance or higher attainment of the specific goal. Intrinsic and Extrinsic goal importance and attainment scores were created by computing the average from the items of the relevant subscales (Kasser & Ryan, 2001). The Cronbach's alphas of all four scales (Intrinsic attainment, Intrinsic importance, Extrinsic attainment, Extrinsic importance) are all above .80 (see *Table 1*).

To measure subjective well-being, we used the *Satisfaction with Life Scale* (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985; Martos, Sallay, Désfalvi, Szabó, & Ittzés, 2014). The scale has five items, measuring the satisfaction with life as a whole. An example item is: "In most ways my life is close to my ideal". The scale uses a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). A higher score on the scale meant greater life satisfaction. The Cronbach's alpha of the scale is .89.

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Strategy of Analysis

The polynomial regression and response surface analysis is used to assess the impact of the discrepancy between two predictor variables on an outcome variable and to visualize this result in a three-dimensional space (Edwards, 1994, 2002; Edwards & Parry, 1993; Shanock, Baran, Gentry, Pattison, & Heggestad, 2010). The analysis allows us to look at the extent to which combinations of two predictor variables relate to one dependent variable, particularly when our key concern is the effect of the (in)congruence of the two predictor variables (Edwards, 2002; Shanock et al., 2010). For decades these types of discrepancy and congruence measures were handled by calculating a difference score, a variable that is formed by subtracting one variable from another which then is treated "as a concept on its own right" (Edwards, 2001, p. 265). Despite of its widespread use, there are multiple methodological issues with the use of a difference score (Edwards, 1994, 2001, 2002). First, there is a problem with reduced reliability, which means that the difference score is often less reliable than either of its component measures (Edwards, 2002). Second, a difference score handles two conceptually distinct measures as one single score and that leads to a potentially ambiguous interpretation. This may be because with algebraic differences, the variances of absolute differences give greater weight to the component measure with larger variance (Edwards, 2002). Third, the coefficient relating a difference score to an outcome is supposed to capture the effect of congruence and not the effects of the components of the difference score. However, since the difference score is computed from its component measures, it fails to capture more than the combined effects of the component measures. These effects are then confounded once they are reduced to one single coefficient (Edwards, 2002). Last but not least, "difference scores reduce an inherently three-dimensional relationship between the component measures and the outcome to two dimensions…. [thus] discard information and oversimplify the relationship of the components with the outcome" (Edwards, 2002, p. 359).

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A central premise of polynomial regression is that the effects of component measures on the outcome have to be conceptualized in three dimensions. The response surface methodology provides a framework to both analyzing and interpreting these surfaces that are created in a three-dimensional space (Edwards, 2002). Due to its clear advantages, the methodology has been gaining popularity over the last decade, and its application is starting to appear in studies on well-being and identification (cf., Hoffmeister, Gibbons, Schwatka, & Rosecrance, 2015; Kazén & Kuhl, 2011; Lipponen, Wisse, & Jetten, 2017; Mähönen, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2013; Zyphur, Zammuto, & Zhang, 2016). Usage of this methodology in studies that look at well-being from a self-determination perspective and multi-discrepancy theory is however not common. Since the technique can be used whenever the two predictor variables are commensurate (meaning that the predictors represent the same conceptual domain) and measured on the same numeric scale (Edwards, 2002; Shanock et al., 2010), it offers us an excellent way to test our hypotheses.

Tools

For the polynomial regression analysis, we follow the guidelines described in Edwards (2002) and Shanock et al. (2010) and run the analysis in SPSS 24. To interpret the results, it is advised to use the response surface pattern, rather than directly interpret the results from the polynomial regression analyses (Edwards, 1994, 2002; Shanock, 2010). The general form of the polynomial regression function used in the analysis is $Z = b0 + b1X + b2Y + b3X^2 + b4XY + b5Y^2$, where Z is the dependent variable (Well-being), X is predictor 1 (Goal Importance), and Y is predictor 2 (Goal Attainment). Well-being is regressed on each of the two predictor variables (X and Y), the interaction between the predictor variables (XY), and the squared values of the two predictors (X^2 and Y^2). First, we centered the predictors (Goal Attainment and Importance) around the midpoint of their scales. We achieved this by subtracting 4 from each score because both goal importance and attainment

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was measured on a 7-point Likert scale. After centering the predictors, we create three new variables: the square of the centered first predictor (goal importance), the square of the second predictor (goal attainment), and the interaction of the two centered predictor variables. We followed this procedure both for intrinsic goal attainment and importance and for extrinsic goal attainment and importance. The results of the polynomial regression analyses are evaluated to four surface test values: *a1*, the slope of perfect agreement (a1 = b1+b2); *a2*, the curvature along the line of perfect agreement (a2 = b3+b4+b5); *a3*, the slope of the line of incongruence (disagreement), indicating the direction of discrepancy (a3 = b1-b2), and *a4*, the curvature of the line of incongruence (a4 = b3-b4+b5). To find support for our Hypothesis 1, namely that goal attainment exceeds goal importance in its effect on well-being, we need to find a significant, negative slope along the line of incongruence (so a3 needs to be negative and significant). Given that our Hypothesis 2 is that congruence between intrinsic goal attainment and importance will be positively related to well-being, we expect significant positive slope along the line of perfect agreement (X = Y). In other words, we expect the surface test *a1* to be significant and positive. It would mean that the outcome variable (well-being) increases as intrinsic goal importance and intrinsic goal attainment increase. With our third hypothesis, we aim to test two competing theories and try to answer the question if well-being decreases when extrinsic goals are both obtained and found important (*Hypothesis 3a*), as SDT suggests, or that well-being increases when extrinsic goals are both obtained and found important (*Hypothesis 3b*). A significant negative a1 would denote support for Hypothesis 3a (meaning that well-being decreases as both extrinsic goal importance and goal attainment increase). A significant positive a1 would denote support for Hypothesis 3b (meaning that well-being increases as both extrinsic goal importance and goal attainment increase.

Results

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics and intercorrelations of our variables. Intrinsic goal importance has a significant positive correlation with well-being ($r = .24, p < .01$), while extrinsic goal importance does not relate significantly to well-being. Moreover, Intrinsic ($r = .49, p < .01$) and Extrinsic goal attainment ($r = .41, p < .01$) are both positively related to well-being. It seems that, in contrast to SDT, extrinsic goal attainment is not detrimental to well-being in our sample. Goal attainment and goal importance are positively correlated to each other for intrinsic goals ($r = .46, p < .01$), as well as for extrinsic goals ($r = .29, p < .01$).

Hypotheses testing

Table 2 shows the regression coefficients, curvatures, and slopes associated with the polynomial regression equation for well-being as the dependent variable and intrinsic goal attainment and importance as the predictor variables. All results are shown after controlling for age and gender. We found that intrinsic goal attainment has a main effect on well-being ($b = .77, p = .04$), while goal importance has no such effect.

In line with our second hypothesis, we find that indeed, there is a linear relationship along the line of perfect agreement ($a1 = 1.29, p = .04$). This indicates that the congruence between intrinsic goal importance and goal attainment is positively related to well-being. As *Figure 1* shows, the lowest level of well-being can be found when both goal attainment and goal importance are low, and it increases towards the end of the graph where both goal attainment and goal importance are both high. We do not find that the curvature of discrepancy, which would show that attainment matters more in the equation than importance, is significant. Therefore Hypothesis 1 does not seem to be supported for intrinsic goal pursuit.

We also analyzed the several sub-scales of the intrinsic goal importance and attainment. We see that in three out of four cases the line of perfect agreement ($a1$) is significant and positive. This indicates that for goals related to growth ($b = 1.29, SE = .57, p$

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= .02), relationship (b = .51, SE = .24, p = .03) and physical health (b = 1.95, SE = .74, p = .01) congruence or agreement between goal importance and goal attainment is positively related to well-being. Only for the community subscale the line of perfect agreement is not significant (b = .17, SE = .12, p = .17). In addition, for the personal growth subscale we find that the slope along the line of incongruence (a3) is significant and positive (b = 1.94, SE = .29, p = .02). This indicates that regarding personal growth goals, well-being is higher when the importance of the goal is higher than the attainment of the goal. Interestingly, we find furthermore a curvilinear effect of two of the intrinsic subscales, namely relationship (b = −.36, SE = .15, p = .02) and growth (b = −.51, SE = .17 p = .003) goal importance. This means that an increase in both relationship and personal growth goal importance is associated with an increase in well-being up to a point, after which a further increase in both goal importance is associated with a decrease in well-being. In other words, there seems to be an optimal midrange for relationship and growth goal importance.

Table 3 shows the regression coefficients, curvatures, and slopes associated with the polynomial regression equation for well-being as the dependent variable and extrinsic goal attainment and importance as the predictor variables. Again, all results are shown after controlling for age and gender. First of all, the results show that both extrinsic goal importance (b = −.32, SE = .14 p = .02) and goal attainment (b = .51, SE = .19 p = .007) have a significant relationship with well-being, but while goal importance has a negative effect, goal attainment has a positive one. This indicates that valuing extrinsic goals is detrimental to well-being (which is congruent with predictions of SDT); however, the attainment of such goals is positively related to it (which is in contrast to predictions of SDT). The bivariate polynomial regression analysis does not show the expected significant line of the perfect agreement (a1). Therefore, we do not find support for either of the two competing hypothesis. We do find however, that the slope of the line of incongruence is significant and

negative ($a3 = -.84$, $p = .005$), indicating that well-being is higher when extrinsic goal attainment is higher than extrinsic goal importance. This is in line with our first hypothesis. Additionally, the curvature along the line of incongruence is significant ($a4 = -.41$, $p = .03$), showing that well-being increases more sharply to the extent that the degree of discrepancy increases. *Figure 2* shows a three-dimensional chart of the results. It shows for instance that when goal attainment is high and goal importance low well-being is relatively high as compared to the situation where extrinsic goal attainment is low and goal importance is high.

We also analyzed the sub-scales of the extrinsic goal importance and attainment (wealth, fame, and image). In two out of the three cases the line of perfect disagreement (a3) is significant and negative, indicating that regarding wealth- ($b = .76$, $SE = .27$, $p = .006$) and image goals ($b = -.61$, $SE = .18$, $p = .001$), well-being is higher when the discrepancy is towards the attainment and not the importance. In addition, our data reveals a significant positive line of perfect agreement (a1) on the image goal content ($b = .33$, $SE = .02$, $p < .001$), showing that when the importance and attainment of image goals are in agreement, well-being increased.

Discussion

Happiness is a function of "the extent to which important goals, needs, and wishes have been fulfilled" (Frisch, 1998, p. 35). In the present paper, we explored if the extent to which people are satisfied with their lives is a result of their success in achieving goals that are important to them. In doing so we differentiated between the importance and attainment of both extrinsic goals and intrinsic goals. With our study we made an attempt to find empirical evidence related to the interplay of intrinsic and extrinsic goal importance and goal attainment. As Niemiec et al. (2009) points out, much more studies have focused on the relationship between psychological well-being and the importance of intrinsic or extrinsic goals, and very few included the consequences of the attainment of these goals for well-

being. In our investigation of the effects of the relationship between goal attainment and importance on well-being, we made use of bivariate polynomial regression analysis. Previous research usually relied on difference scores in these situations, but this practice comes with serious methodological problems (Edwards, 1994, 2001). Employing polynomial regression analysis allowed us to look at the combined effect of goal attainment and goal importance on well-being in greater depth and with more accuracy.

First, in agreement with the predictions of SDT, we found that intrinsic goal attainment is positively related to well-being, and that extrinsic goal importance is negatively related to well-being. However, we also found that two out of four subscales of intrinsic goal importance have a curvilinear relation to well-being, and that extrinsic goal attainment is positively related to well-being. The curvilinear effect is particularly interesting here; because it suggests that there can be 'too much of a good thing': Having important intrinsic goals can make people happy, but placing too much importance on such goals may have the effect that they become a burden rather than a benefit to well-being. The current findings suggest that future studies may fruitfully take such curvilinear relationships into account.

Our results also suggest that the agreement between intrinsic goal importance and goal attainment is positively related to well-being, thus supporting our second hypothesis. These findings corroborate the Self-Determination Theory and the findings of previous studies showing that the progress in personally important goals has important implications for well-being (e.g. Brunstein, 1993). Interestingly, our results also show that neither of our two competing hypotheses on the effect of extrinsic goal pursuit on well-being (Hypotheses 3a and 3b) found support. The congruence between extrinsic goal importance and goal attainment was neither positively nor negatively related to well-being. Present findings thus suggest that the realization of extrinsic goals that are considered important is not harmful, but also not beneficial to our well-being. Notably, Niemiec and colleagues (2009) also found that

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the progress in attainment of extrinsic goals does not have significant effects on well-being. They explain this by arguing that extrinsic goal pursuit does not promote the satisfaction of basic psychological needs, but they also consider alternative explanations. First, following the argument of Bandura and Locke (2003), they mention that it can be that the positive effects of extrinsic goal aspirations are temporary and short-term compared to intrinsic aspirations therefore it has no detectable effect on happiness on the long run. Second, they mention the possibility that chasing and eventually attaining extrinsic aspirations interfere with other life domains - such as maintaining loving relationships -, which in turn weakens the positive effect of goal attainment on happiness. Perhaps the fact that we found no effects on the congruence between extrinsic goal importance and goal attainment on well-being can also be explained by the argument that extrinsic goal pursuit indeed does not support our innate needs; that potential beneficial effects are short lived and temporary (also see the hedonic treadmill theory; Brickman & Campbell, 1971); or that it simply just takes time from more fulfilling goal pursuit. Notably, our study examined overall subjective well-being, and did not focus on satisfaction with a specific life domain. Perhaps further research may examine whether the discrepancy between importance and attainment contributes positively or negatively to satisfaction with various domains in one's life.

Our results also show that whether or not goal attainment exceeds goal importance in its relation to well-being depends on the specific goal type. For intrinsic goals we find no evidence that attainment is more consequential than importance. In fact, for one of the sub-scales we even found the opposite: The importance of personal growth goals adds more to a person's well-being than having attained them. Apparently, sometimes having a goal in your life that is important to you, is more important than having realized that goal. For extrinsic goals however, we do indeed find that well-being is higher when the attainment of extrinsic

goals exceeds the importance of these goals. It seems that, when it comes to money, fame or beauty it is better to have it than to appreciate and want it.

Strengths and Weaknesses

Clearly, the cross-sectional single-source design of our study is suboptimal as it may inflate direct relationships between variables. Therefore, it would be valuable if future field studies would test these relationships with a design that does not suffer from this problem (for instance by measuring well-being by asking partners or close relatives to make an assessment). Importantly, however, common source or method bias cannot account for quadratic or interactive effects (Siemsen, Roth, & Oliveira, 2010), and thus forms no threat to the validity of a large part of our conclusions. Also, a substantial portion of the respondents were (prospective) helping professionals (teachers, psychologists, psychology students) which raises the question whether the type of goals they consider important is illustrative for a larger population. Intrinsic goals related to the community or relationships maybe of lesser importance to people who have jobs that signify a less pro-social orientation (Jacobsen, Eika, Helland, Lind, & Nyborg, 2011; Stevens et al., 2012). Yet another concern derives from the nature of the questionnaire we used for measuring goal importance and attainment. The Aspiration Index questionnaire contains a certain set of goals. However, we do not know whether in reality these are the goals that are personally the most valued and interesting to the respondents (also see Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). Perhaps in a future study it would be useful to rely on a set of goals that people generate themselves, so that we get an even better understanding of how the discrepancy of goal importance and attainment relates to well-being. In the present study we also did not investigate any underlying constructs that may help explain the intricate relationship between goal importance, goal attainment and well-being. Some previous studies suggest that constructs such as need satisfaction (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999), commitment to goals (Brunstein, 1993), and the actual mental representation of

the goal progress (Huang, Zhang, & Broniarczyk, 2012) can be important. Finally, in the current study we focused on goal attainment and goal importance, which we measured using the Aspiration Index (Kasser & Ryan, 2001). Interestingly, this scale also includes an additional goal dimension, namely the expected likelihood of goal attainment (indicating the future prospect of achieving the given goal). Although we did not discuss this dimension in present paper, future studies may fruitfully investigate how future expectations of goal attainment (and their interplay with goal importance) affect well-being.

Conclusions

People are active agents in crafting their own happiness. One way of doing so is by setting goals and progressing towards them. However, our study shows that not all goal pursuit contributes to happiness. We found that particularly the congruence between intrinsic goal attainment and goal importance adds to our satisfaction in life. So, when people value personal growth, loving relationships and physical health and feel that they have been able to reach those goals they are relatively happy. People should be careful though: Our findings also suggest that too much importance placed on loving relationships and personal growth can be harmful, and be detrimental to happiness. Moreover, valuing extrinsic goals also does not seem to increase our happiness, but attaining those goals does. Indeed, well-being is higher when extrinsic goal attainment exceeds extrinsic goal importance. Fortunately, most people have the natural craving for loving relationships and community, good health, and personal development so it might be comforting to know that we can make steps towards our happiness by actively working towards the achievement of these goals.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics, Cronbach's alphas, and intercorrelations for the study variables

Variables	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1.Satisfaction with Life	4.95	1.25	(.89)				
2.Intrinsic Goal Importance	6.13	.63	.24**	(.88)			
3.Intrinsic Attainment	5.00	.87	.49**	.46**	(.88)		
4.Extrinsic Goal Importance	3.76	1.01	.06	.28**	.04	(.89)	
5.Extrinsic Attainment	3.37	0.87	.41**	.29**	.55**	.60**	(.86)

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $< .01$ (two-tailed significance). Cronbach's alpha coefficients are displayed on the diagonal in parentheses.

Table 2. Summary of polynomial regression analyses (Intrinsic)

	Satisfaction with life	
Variable	*b*	SE
Constant	4.34***	.72
Age	–.02*	.008
Gender	.04	.20

Intrinsic Imp (b_1)	.50	.64
Intrinsic Att (b_2)	.77*	.38
Intrinsic Imp^2 (b_3)	−.14	.18
Intrinsic Imp × Att (b_4)	−.08	.18
Intrinsic Att^2 (b_5)	.11	.11
F	7.70***	
R^2	.24	
Surface tests		
a1 ($b_1 + b_2$)	1.29*	.63
a2 ($b_3 + b_4 + b_5$)	−.12	.18
a3 ($b_1 - b_2$)	−0.27	.85
a4 ($b_3 - b_4 + b_5$)	.04	.29

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 3. Summary of polynomial regression analyses (Extrinsic)

	Satisfaction with life	
Variable	*b*	SE
Constant	5.90***	.40
Age	−0.01*	.008
Gender	.07	.19
Extrinsic Imp (b_1)	−.32*	.14
Extrinsic Att (b_2)	.51**	.19
Extrinsic Imp^2 (b_3)	.05	.09
Extrinsic Imp $\times$ Att (b_4)	.12	.16
Extrinsic Att^2 (b_5)	−.34**	.13
F	8.47***	
R^2	.26	
Surface tests		
a1 ($b_1 + b_2$)	.19	.15
a2 ($b_3 + b_4 + b_5$)	−.17	.11
a3 ($b_1 - b_2$)	−0.84**	.30
a4 ($b_3 - b_4 + b_5$)	−0.41*	.19

*Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

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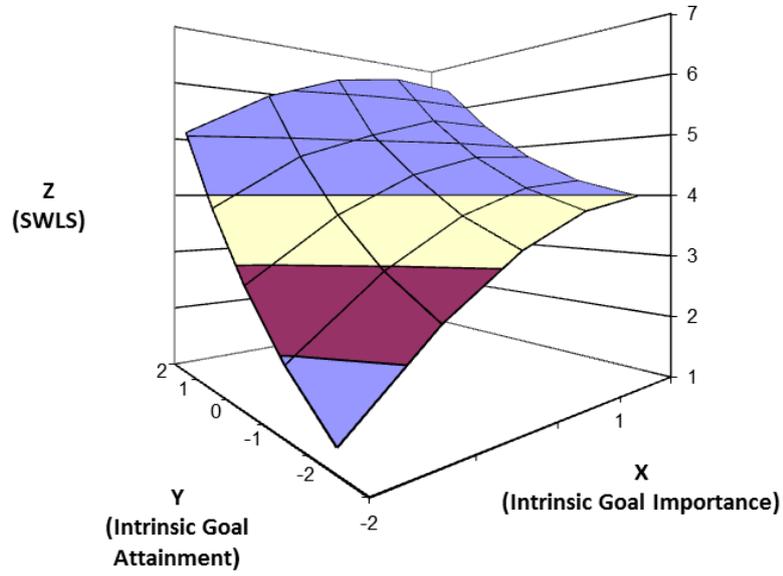**Satisfaction with Life and Intrinsic Goal Pursuit**

Figure 1. Satisfaction with Life as the result of the discrepancy between Intrinsic Goal Importance and Goal Attainment
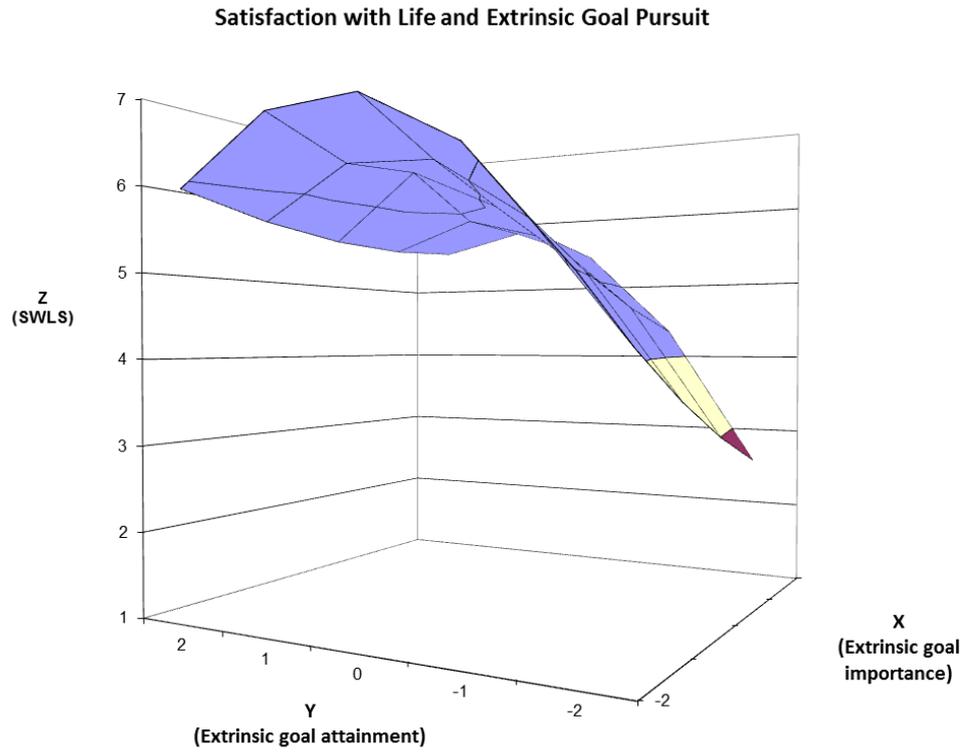
Figure 2. Satisfaction with Life as the result of the discrepancy between Extrinsic

Goal Importance and Goal Attainment

Chapter 6

GENERAL DISCUSSION

People create mental representations of desired end states, which fuel their everyday behavior and regulate their actions (Heckhausen & Gollwitzer, 1987; Kruglanski et al., 2002), giving structure to their everyday lives. The pursuit of these desired end-states (or goals) is often viewed as means towards a fulfilling life (Emmons, 2003; Lyubomisrky et al., 2011). Indeed, both the striving towards goals that are deemed important and the attainment of these goals have been found to play an important role in peoples' happiness and well-being (e.g., Brunstein, 1993; Niemiec et al., 2009). Goal pursuit, however, is not independent from the context in which it takes place (Brandstadter, 2009). People often have to adjust their goals to meet the changes in their opportunities, demands and resources (Salmela-Aro, 2009). Likewise, depending on the context in which people operate, some goals are harder to reach than others and their (lack of) attainment may have differential effects.

This dissertation focuses on goal pursuit in the migration context. Goals seems highly relevant to the migration context. For instance, migration often requires people to adjust their goals, set new goals, or reconsider to which goals they should give precedence to. Moreover, the whole migration process is often set in motion in order to maximize one's goal potential. Yet, we know little about how goal pursuit contributes to the success of migration, namely to acculturation and well-being.

The aim of this dissertation is to provide an overview of our current knowledge in the field of migrant motivation and goal pursuit (Chapter 2), and to further explore the relationship between goal pursuit and adjustment, by providing more insight into how the attainment of important personal goals predicts acculturation and/or well-being (Chapter 3, 4, 5). In due course, this dissertation presents a holistic overview of the role of goal structure, processes and content in explaining migration success in general; and provides insight into the role of goal importance and goal attainment (e.g., intrinsic and extrinsic goals, career goals) in explaining acculturation and/or well-being in particular.

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Below, we will first summarize our main findings. Further, we will discuss the implications of our findings and highlight some potentially fruitful avenues for future research. Moreover, we address the strengths and limitations of our research and also outline the practical implications of our findings.

Summary of the Main Findings

Chapter 2. In Chapter 2, we reviewed the literature on the current knowledge of how goal pursuit contributes to migration success. Research on the influence of the motivation of migrants on their acculturation and well-being is not well developed (either conceptually or methodologically) and missing a clear theoretical framework. Contemporary motivation theories are awaiting to be applied in migration research (Chirkov et al, 2007). In this chapter, we aimed to provide a framework that helps to understand the current state of knowledge, is suited to identify gaps in our knowledge and assists with pointing to specific areas that need further research. We distinguished between the three stages of the migration process (pre-migration, during migration and potential repatriation and onward migration); and the three different goal facets (content, structure, process; see Austin &Vancouver, 1996). By conducting a systematic literature search we identified 30 articles that took place in a first-generation migration setting, and included both a relevant goal-related predictor variable and an outcome variable at the migrant level (e.g. adjustment, well-being, career success, political integration). Our systematic literature study yielded some interesting findings. For instance, research on goal content in the pre-migration and during migration stages seemed to be most developed, and indicated that various motives (e.g., motives focusing on economic aspects, political aspects, cultural exploration, etc.) may have an impact on migrants' well-being and acculturation, however the findings are not always consistent. Differences in the 'type' (international students, expats etc.) and the origin of migrants (their home country) seem to have effects on the relationship between goal content and migration outcomes. In addition, in

line with the predictions of SDT (Deci & Ryan, 2000), autonomy seems to be beneficial to adjustment for various groups of migrants. Research on the structure and process of goals is more scarce. We know little about how migrants establish their goals, how they monitor their progress and under what circumstances they adjust them, and we know even less about the effects these issues have on migration success. Notably, despite its relative scarcity, the existing studies on repatriation give us particularly valuable insights into the complex and dynamic nature of migration motivation. These studies tend to take the whole migration trajectory into account and view the return decision and the readjustment to the home country in light of the pre-migration motives and previous experiences in the host country (see Sener, 2018; Yehuda-Sternfeld & Mirsky, 2014).

Taken together, this chapter shows that using the goal pursuit and motivation perspective can be a fruitful approach to increase our understanding of acculturation, however we need a lot more research on the topic. A couple of the many possible avenues for future research are, for instance, research on the personal relevance (goal importance, -commitment and -engagement) and on the hierarchy of goals in relation to acculturation; research on how migrants modify their goals and how such modifications relate to their success and further migration desires; or research on how differences in the type of migration, the cultural heritage of migrants, and the geographic characteristics of the move (e.g., sending and receiving countries) play a role in later migration success.

Chapter 3. In Chapter 3, we empirically tested the relationship between goal pursuit and acculturation and life satisfaction. Previous research demonstrated the beneficial role of having intrinsic goals on well-being (Kasser & Ryan, 1996, 2001; Niemiec et al., 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2000a) and showed how such goals shield from depression and anxiety (Rijavec et al, 2006; Sheldon & Kasser, 1995). The relationship between intrinsic goals and adjustment, however, has received much less research interest (Sheldon & Houser-Marko, 2001; Chirkov

et al., 2007). Yet, as we discussed in this chapter, there are reasons to expect that intrinsic goals are important for adjustment of migrants. As such, we investigated the interplay of intrinsic goal importance and goal attainment on acculturation and subsequent well-being. First, we hypothesized that the positive relationship between migrant intrinsic goal attainment and migrant satisfaction with life is mediated by migrant acculturation level. Second, we hypothesized that the negative relationship between migrant intrinsic goal attainment and migrant depression is mediated by migrant acculturation. Lastly, we predicted that the relationship between intrinsic goal attainment and acculturation is moderated by goal importance. Specifically, we expected that the relationship between goal attainment and acculturation is stronger for goals that are deemed important. As a first test of our hypotheses, we conducted an experiment (Study 1) with non-migrant individuals in which we manipulated goal importance and goal attainment. After reading a scenario of a fictional migrant, participants filled out a series of questions regarding the perceived well-being and acculturation of the described migrant. The finding of the first study were in line with our hypotheses, confirming both our mediation hypothesis and our proposed moderation effect. In Study 2a we aimed replicate the experiment with a migrant sample. In this study we manipulated goal attainment and used migrants' own perceptions as the measure of goal importance. While we found confirmation of our mediation hypotheses, this study did not reveal an interaction effect between goal attainment and goal importance on acculturation. In two subsequent studies (Study 2b and Study 3) we used migrants' self-report questionnaires to test the proposed relationships. In Study 2b we asked Central-Eastern European migrants to list three of their current goals and assess their importance and attainment and we then asked them to fill out scales assessing their acculturation, life satisfaction and depression. We found confirmation of both the mediation and the moderation hypothesis. In Study 3, we tested the proposed relationship using Kasser and Ryan`s (1996) Aspiration Index to measure

intrinsic goal attainment and goal importance of Hungarian migrants living in the Netherlands, and found that acculturation indeed served as a mediator between goal pursuit and well-being. However, the data did not reveal a significant moderation effect of goal importance. In sum, while the mediating role of acculturation in the relationship between goal attainment and well-being (and depression) was consistently confirmed, the role of goal importance in the relationship between goal attainment and acculturation is less clear. There is some indication that the relationship is stronger if the goal is perceived important but further research is necessary to clarify this effect.

Chapter 4. In Chapter 4, we further investigated the effect of the interplay between goal importance and goal attainment on acculturation, this time focusing on a domain specific context, namely career goals. We argued that attaining important career goals in the host country increases the extent to which migrants feel to be valuable members of the society (Wassermann, Fujishiro, & Hoppe, 2017), which potentially shields them from uncertainty or negative experiences from other life domains (see Brett, 1980; Lyons, Brenner, & Fassinger, 2005). This, in turn, may foster acculturation and feelings of adjustment. We also posited that realizing important career goals is easier for those migrants who are self-efficacious (see Gutierrez-Dona et al., 2009; Lippke et al., 2009), as self-efficacious migrants may take more initiative, are more likely to expand their networks, search for better opportunities and more generally show sustained effort (see Ballout, 2009; Black, Mendenhall, & Oddou, 1991). In a longitudinal study, we tested whether Time 1 career importance in interaction with self-efficacy predicts migrant career success and subsequent acculturation in Time 2. As expected, our result revealed that career importance predicted perceived career success for people with high self-efficacy, but not for people with low self-efficacy. Furthermore, we found that career success mediated the relationship between career importance and acculturation among people with high self-efficacy, but not among people with low self-efficacy. These results

underpin the important role of self-efficacy in realizing work-related goals for people who have to face the difficulties of migration. Furthermore, the findings draw attention to the fact that migrants' work-related goals and the realization of these goals are important cornerstones of their sociocultural adjustment in the host country.

Chapter 5. In Chapter 5 we zoomed in on how the congruence between goal importance and goal attainment affects well-being. In this chapter, we broadened our perspective and focused on intrinsic as well as extrinsic goals. Moreover, this time our sample consisted of Hungarian adults (not necessarily migrants). First, we hypothesized that the degree of discrepancy between intrinsic goal attainment and goal importance will be associated with well-being, such that particularly if goal attainment exceeds goal importance, people will experience an increase in well-being. Furthermore, in line with the Self-Determination Theory (SDT, see Deci & Ryan, 2000; Kasser & Ryan, 1996), we predicted that the congruence between intrinsic goal attainment and importance will be positively related to subjective well-being. With regard to extrinsic goals we had two competing hypotheses: The first one being that the congruence between extrinsic goal attainment and importance will benefit well-being (similarly to intrinsic goals). The second one being that the congruence between extrinsic goal attainment and importance will be negatively associated with well-being. We used polynomial regression and response surface analysis to test our hypotheses. This analysis is ideal to assess the joint effect of two predictor variables (and their congruence or discrepancy) on a third variable (see Edwards, 1994, 2001). Our results showed that the impact of intrinsic goal attainment does not outweigh that of intrinsic goal importance. The impact of extrinsic goal attainment, however, does outweigh that of extrinsic goal importance. Moreover, as expected, we found that the congruence between intrinsic goal attainment and importance is positively related to well-being. Interestingly, certain intrinsic goal sub-dimensions (personal development and relationship) showed a

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curvilinear effect on well-being, denoting that placing too much importance on these goals may be harmful rather than beneficial to well-being. Finally, in relation to extrinsic goals, none of our competing hypotheses were confirmed: seemingly, the realization of extrinsic goals that are considered important is neither harmful, nor beneficial to well-being. Our findings underpin the unique impact of the specific goal content on well-being, and highlight the joint effect of goal attainment and importance on well-being. It also shows that it may be worthwhile to apply polynomial regression and response surface analysis when investigating the joint effect of goal importance and goal attainment on well-being and acculturation in the migration context.

Theoretical Implications and Future Directions

The research we presented in this dissertation aimed to expand our understanding of the role of motivation and goal pursuit in the migration success and well-being. We relied on different theoretical underpinnings and applied it to the migration context. Particularly, we were interested in whether or not the theoretical assumptions of how goal pursuit contributes to well-being could be expanded to explain the adjustment of migrants. In due course, we focused on questions, such as: What do we already know about the relationship between goal pursuit and migration success? Would particularly the attainment of important goals predict adjustment and subsequent well-being? Do all goal types contribute to acculturation and well-being to the same extent? Does career success affect acculturation? We believe that our literature review and empirical research contributes to the existing knowledge on the role of motivation in acculturation processes and shows that the goal pursuit perspective may be a fruitful novel approach in the study of acculturation and well-being of migrants. While the traditional frameworks of acculturation, namely the stress-and coping, social learning, and social identification theories (e.g., Berry, 1997; Kuo, 2014; Phinney et al., 2001; Ward & Kennedy; 1994) often emphasize the effects of the external challenges a migrant has to face,

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the motivational approach shifts the focus to intra-individual processes and zooms in on how these are related to the outcomes of migration for the migrant him- or herself. Because specific theoretical implications and directions for future research are discussed in each individual chapter, in this section, we will only highlight some more overarching theoretical contributions of this dissertation.

This dissertation provides empirical evidence for the notion that the attainment of (important) goals makes migrants feel more culturally adjusted to the host country, which in turn, helps them to feel satisfied with their lives and feel less depressed or anxious. Goal attainment seem to benefit migrants across different goal domains. The pursuit of intrinsic goals that support innate needs such as autonomy, competence and connectedness (see Deci & Ryan, 2000; Kasser & Ryan, 1996) not only foster the extent to which people are satisfied with their lives, but also predict how well migrants fit in the host culture. Across various samples we provided evidence that attaining intrinsic goals, such as good relationships, personal development, feeling useful for the larger community and having good physical health, make migrants feel acculturated. We provided further evidence on the beneficial role of goal attainment, showing that the attainment of any self-selected goals and specific career goals also enhances migrants' acculturation. In contrast, goal importance seems to contribute little to both well-being and acculturation by itself. In fact, intrinsic goal importance was associated to lower levels of acculturation among Hungarian migrants. Additionally, we found some curvilinear effects of intrinsic goal importance on well-being, denoting that there is an optimal point up to which goal importance is beneficial to well-being. These findings are somewhat conflicting with previous assumptions focusing on the positive effects of setting and striving for (intrinsic) goals (e.g., Diener, 1984; Emmons; 1986; Kasser & Ryan, 1996) on well-being. Seemingly, the mere striving for goals does not make migrants adjusted and satisfied in their host country. Goal importance explains well-being and acculturation

best when it is viewed in conjunction with goal attainment. Earlier, Zimmermann et al. (2017) reported the benefits of the joint effect of goal importance and attainment on international students' adjustment. Our results, showing that acculturation is highest when goals are achieved and also considered important, are in line with these findings. Some of our results, however, did not confirm this assumption, as goal importance did not significantly enhance the positive effect of goal attainment on acculturation in each and every study that we conducted. Perhaps sometimes placing high importance on certain goals are representative of high expectations or pressure on the migrant, which may hinder the positive effects of goal setting and goal attainment.

Feeling successful at one's career, despite the challenges of living and working in a foreign environment is not always easy. We found evidence that migrants' professional goal pursuit is an important pillar of their cultural adjustment. In fact, being able to turn important career goals into career success may benefit migrants' feelings of fitting in the host society. However, we also found that only self-efficacious migrants seem to be able to turn important career goals into attainment, and boost their sociocultural adjustment through their career goal pursuit. Self-efficacious migrants might be more likely to persistently work towards their goals, attempting to change their environment in a way so it fits their aspirations (see the goal engagement-promoting pathway; Shane & Heckhausen, 2013; Bernardo et al., 2018). Our findings on the one hand indicate that individuals' self-efficacy beliefs can make a fundamental difference explaining why some migrants feel successful in their environment and others not. The findings also draw attention to the benefits of career goal pursuit on acculturation.

Another important finding of the present dissertation is that goal pursuit enhances migrants' overall well-being via their acculturation. In a context that carries new challenges, threats and opportunities, adjustment seem to mediate between goal pursuit and well-being.

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This finding has an important implication for motivation research, indicating that in new and changed contexts, goal pursuit might boost people's well-being via their adjustment. For instance, research on understanding the relationship between the motivation and the success (e.g., well-being, performance) of students, or newcomers in an organization, should take their adjustment into account. It might hold important information on why they perform well or feel satisfied despite of the challenges of their altered situation.

There are certain questions and areas, however, that present dissertation does not provide enough insight to. First, while we touched upon certain goal dimensions, such as intrinsic-, career-, and broadly measured individual goals (referred to as self-set goals), we might need more sensitive goal measures, taking the content of the goals, the hierarchy of these goals, and even their temporal structure (e.g., long-term vs. short term) into account. This could give us a more dynamic view on how goal pursuit benefits acculturation. Second, in Chapter 4, we found that career importance measured in one time point predicts career success two years later. At this point however we do not know exactly what happens between setting important goals and eventually attaining them. This process might be linear, such as that people systematically work towards a goal without interruption; or non-linear, involving for instance unexpected events, setbacks, and temporary individual fatigue hindering goal striving (Austin & Vancouver, 1996). What happens if goal pursuit is thrown off its track for shorter or longer time? How do migrants replenish their energy to pursue their goal? How do they allocate their resources, and how do they deal with potentially conflicting goals? How do such processes influence migrants' adjustment, and their willingness to stay in the host country, to go back, or to move on? Third, our results stem from a first-generation adult self-initiated migrant population, and provides first-hand information on the goal pursuit of people whose time abroad does not necessarily have a pre-determined end-point and whose migration decision was under their own control. Our sampling is special in the sense that

previous research on the relationship between motivation and acculturation is mainly derived from international students whose time in the host-country is often limited and their purpose of stay is univocal. Future research should, however, take other migrant groups into account, for instance economic migrants, trailing spouses, or refugees whose goal pursuit opportunities are more restricted. Lastly, our empirical research was centered on migrants who moved from one developed country to another. While we focused our research mainly on Central-Eastern European migrants in Western Europe (as such increasing generalizability to a certain group of migrants), further research on this topic should regard other types of geographic flows of migration, such as migrants from undeveloped countries to developed countries, etc., as it might have important implications for goal pursuit.

Strengths and Limitations

In the dissertation we aimed to provide both a theoretical and an empirical overview on how goal pursuit contributes to well-being and acculturation. In our literature review we gave a systematic overview of the available research evidence on the role of goal pursuit in the migration success. To our knowledge, such review, addressing the goal pursuit perspective in the migration setting, did not exist previously. Despite that systematic literature reviews are conducted to ensure rigor, transparency and replicability (Mallett, Hagen-Zanker, Slater, & Duvendack, 2012), they are not without potential drawbacks. For instance, it is often difficult to draw clear conclusions and implications due to the inconsistency in methodological approaches (see Mallett et al., 2012). In addition, such review does not provide information on effect sizes, which otherwise carries important information about for instance to what extent the significant results are meaningful in practice (Mullen & Ramirez, 2006). In this dissertation, empirical findings from scenario experiments, cross-sectional-, and longitudinal field-studies are also reported. It is known that each methodology has their own pitfalls, in terms of validity and generalizability (see Babbie,

2016; Houdek, 2017). We believe that the combination of experimental studies and correlational field studies (cross-sectional and longitudinal) bolsters the confidence in our findings because by doing so, we may have counterbalanced the weaknesses of one methodology with the strengths of the other. In addition, our results stem from different samples (e.g., migrants with different sending and receiving countries; and majority members of different host societies), which further enhances the reliability of our findings.

Research on migrants' motivation, so far, focused mainly on the content of goals, such as economic and political goals. The present dissertation expanded the research focus on goal content, by providing evidence for the contribution of intrinsic goals to migrants' acculturation and well-being. In addition, our research also provided insight into certain aspects of goal structure, namely on issues concerning the impact of the interplay of goal importance and goal attainment on acculturation. However, current research does not provide much information on the goal processes of migrants; certain questions remain open. We emphasize that future research focus should be directed to the process of how migrants establish, monitor, and adjust their goals and what implications these processes hold to migrants' cultural adjustment.

The way we operationalized and measured migrants' goals reflected the notion that goal pursuit is a conscious process and that migrants are able to access, recall and evaluate their goals. However, even though oftentimes people are well aware of their goals and of their goal related thoughts and feelings, goals sometimes also operate in more implicit ways, affecting behavior and well-being without conscious intention and effort (e.g., Chartrand & Bargh, 1996; Dijksterhuis & Aarts, 2010; Ferguson, Hassin, & Bargh, 2008; Kruglanski et al., 2002). For instance, it may be that people are motivated by needs that are not consciously initiated or detected; or it can be that the goal pursuit is consciously initiated but that the connection between goal and response is not detected (Moskowitz, 2014). In addition, there is

compelling evidence showing that implicit motives and explicit goals do not always align (Brunstein, Schultheiss, & Grassmann, 1998). Moreover, a growing number of studies show that emotional well-being is high in individuals who pursue and realize personal goals that fit their implicit motives (i.e., that are congruent with them), whereas emotional well-being is impaired (sometimes even leading to depression) when explicit goals do not fit their motives (i.e., that are incongruent with them; see Brunstein, 2010; Pueschel, Shulte, & Michalak, 2011). In either case, by measuring goal importance and attainment with previously set goal content categories (such as intrinsic or extrinsic goals or specific career goals) we might have missed important information on the effects of migrants' implicit motives and goals. Future research may consider including measures of implicit motives, and the congruence between migrants' motives and their actual goals.

Practical Implications

By shedding light on the impact of motivation on acculturation and well-being, this dissertation may offer some tentative suggestions for migrants and professionals on how to improve migration success. First, the content of the chapters highlights that migrants themselves can actively try to affect their acculturation and well-being in the host country. Despite the drastic contextual change that migrants face when leaving their home country, dreams and ambitions can be formed, pursued and obtained and in due course give rise to the feeling of being at home and being happy in the host society. As such, migrants should bear in mind that their move should not impede their pursuit of personally valued goals. Specifically, it may be better if they do not lose focus of goals that enhance their autonomy, competence and relatedness. Of course, this might be difficult because migrants often struggle with reaching lower level motives (e.g., finding accommodation, compelling work, etc.), or overestimate the importance of attaining financial goals (Doerschler, 2006). Over time, however, migrants may benefit from not losing the big picture and from actively

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pursuing their goals. Moreover, those who are planning to migrate, but did not move yet, might also profit from a mindful perspective on goal pursuit before the move. Having realistic expectations, and the right set of goals in mind before the move might facilitate adjustment and well-being after the move. Gaining information and exploring the means of realizing important goals in the (potential) host country, may contribute to migrants' successful goal pursuit in the foreign environment.

Helper professionals working with migrants could also benefit from keeping a goal pursuit perspective in mind. Past research showed that having too abstract, too general goal representations may decrease goal attainability perceptions and lead to depression (Dickson & Moberly, 2013). Therefore, helper professionals may support migrants setting attainable goals, or help break down general life goals to more short-term, concrete goals. For instance, the desire of "making it in the new country" should be cropped up to certain realistic steps that provide an anchor and guidance to the migrant, involving goal setting in different life domains, such as work, friendships, contact with family and friends in the country of origin, finding a place to live, understanding the administrative process in the host country etc. In the meantime, helper professionals may aid the migrants not to lose focus on superordinate goals, as these provide (and sustain) meaning, purpose and identity. In addition, helper professionals might want to help migrants with noting the progress they make in realizing their goals. This may increase feelings of self-efficacy and self-esteem, which are important stimulants of consequent goal pursuit and overall well-being (Bandura, 1997).

Concluding Remarks

Migration is profoundly tied to motivational forces; people often move in order to maximize their goal potential and to fulfill their life dreams. Despite its motivational nature, the success of migration has rarely been addressed from a goal pursuit perspective. In this dissertation we gave an overview of the current knowledge on how motivation contributes to

migration success, and further explored the role of goal pursuit in acculturation and well-being. We have demonstrated that setting important goals (from general intrinsic goals to career-related domain specific goals) and attaining them has an important role in enhancing cultural adjustment and well-being. We hope that the present findings provide a good theoretical and empirical basis for further research on goal pursuit in the migration context.

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Acknowledgements

Throughout the process of working on the Phd, many people supported me, for which I am tremendously grateful. It did not only help me to get over obstacles and work effectively, but I also felt grounded in my life. Knowing that I have so many people around me who are willing to help me out in various spheres of my life makes me feel very lucky.

First of all, I am outmost grateful for my wonderful supervisors, Barbara Wisse and Klára Faragó, who stood behind me and supported me with my research, my writing and also balancing life and work. Beyond the tremendous work that they invested in me, providing guidance and feedback on my work, they formed my identity as a person. They made me feel I am capable of anything, continuously setting high bars and motivating me when I felt I'm failing. They provided me a sense of meaning and purpose, making me feel that I have place in the academic world. They have supported me in different roles in my life: As a researcher, as a student, as a teacher, and as a woman professional. I could never ask for better bosses than they have been to me. I truly wish people to be able to work with leaders as they are.

Tanárnő, you set me off to this journey, and you gave me a helping hand that came at the best possible time in my life. Working with you opened doors to me that I have never thought it would be possible. You always provided me a hinterland that I couldrely on, which made me feel safe. At the same time, you empowered me, and supported me in those not so straight-forward situations, such as establishing a double degree abroad. From my master's years onwards, you imporved my writing, my presentation and any work that I have done. You've always supported me as a young psychologist, as well as a teacher. Thank you for always willing to share experiences, and always listening open heartedly. Your office and your house have been open for your students and collegaues, which made me (and I think all of us) feel appreciated. Working with you on any projets was always an honor. Thank you for standing behind me and guiding me on this path.

Barbara, you are one of the most empowering persons in my life. You have done so much to make me who I am today. You challenged me continuously for the better, and even on my weak spots, you accepted no compromises. You made me walk the talk, and by giving me a chance, (and then a 1000 other ones), I felt as a successful 'migrant' who is able to make it abroad. By giving me a work and a fantastic work environment in Groningen, The Netherlands became home to me. Thank you for making me feel that I have something to offer. I have always been amazed by your knowledge and your ability to see through complex situations very quickly. I learned so much from you, things that make me a better professional and a more confident person. I want to believe that by now, I am able to think before I speak, and understand that less is sometimes more. It is a very valuable gift that all the things I learned from you and learned by working close to you, will escort me in any jobs I'll be doing. Thank you so much for giving me a chance and taking me on board.

Thank you both for taking me seriously and be so incredibly responsive to any subjets I turned to you with.

Mom, Dad, thank you for the unconditional support I got from you during the time of my PhD. I am beyond grateful for your help with Flora. I'm quite sure she often had a lot more fun time with you than with anyone else. Mom, you took time off from your own job, so I can go back to work, and you took care of Flora in the unknown. Hardly any parent would take such sacrifice abroad and still being able to be the best grandmother. I really don't know how to thank you for this. Thinking back to this time, I realize what a great experience this was to me; I felt very safe and happy. Dad, thank you so much for letting this happen, and come on board any time we needed your support, being perfectly flexible and understanding.

Friso, you are the basis why I could take on such a project. Thank you for your support! Difficult to summarize what role you played in me getting here…. You are the cornerstone of it, yet you never expected a 'thank you'. You think it is natural that you support me in any work I do, the weird times I'm sometimes working at, and to bear my stress occasionally. Well, I am incredibly grateful to you and thank you for all your support. It is also very empowering to feel that you have had absolutely no doubt whatsoever that I can do this…and more. It makes me confident every day.

I am tremendously grateful for Ajna Uatkán, who from the beginning helped me to gain the statistical knowledge I needed to get here. I believe you know it very well that whitout your teaching and patient explanations I would hardly have the skills what I have now. Thank you so much for your time and genuine help that I don't even know how to return.

Thanks to my colleague and friend, Luca, to be with me in the ups and downs of being a PhD student, and also in the quest of how to be a 'good' mom while delivering results at work. I am grateful to this PhD journey because it gave me a friend like you.

Thank you for the world's best friends, Ditti, Zizi, Meli and Virág to be there for me any time. You have been there when I needed to vent, or I was stressed ("massaging my spiritual Achilles"), or even unresponsive. You always give me emotional support and never ask anything in return. Thank you for keeping me sane in any given time. Having you through this work, made me feel like an athlete who has the best and loudest supporters, just as in my dream when I was 6.

Thank you for Joni and Tjitsche, my very best Dutch friends, to be there for me any time (and accept it when I couldn't). I cherish every memory of chatting over a beer/cake/movie (literally chatting over it). It always recharged me, giving me strength to get going.

Thanks to my friends and colleagues from the uni, Darya, Kiryaki, Elissa, Stacey, Jesus, Ben, Kiki, Friederike, being delightful people to work with. You were always a good

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reason to go in to work. Always open for a coffee and a chat, helping me in case doubting about a project or a result. Thank you, Erik, Pontus, Suzanne, José and Anita, to provide me guidance whenever I got hung up on something and needed professional advice. This department makes me aware of what place I would like to work at, and what people I would like to be surrounded with.

Thank you, Barbara, Anita and Charissa to organize everything so smoothly and be so responsive to any little questions. You made the workflow smooth.

Thanks for my friends in Brunei who have been very supportive and patient, givng me a call, even at times when I was hiding in my office for good. A special thanks to you Rachel Laramee for all your suggestions regarding my English, and your helpful comments to improve my writing.