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The American Expat's Pursuit of Happiness in Germany

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Abstract

The study explores the micro-level factors associated with American expats' overall happiness and momentary happiness in Germany. The study accomplishes this by investigating the pre-migration and post-migration experiences of 384 American expats reporting over 6,000 dairy entries detailing their momentary happiness, the primary activity conducted, who participated, primary language spoken, and the location of the activity. The initial phase of the investigation was a cursory examination into the relationship of pre-migration factors and characteristics of the expat's move on happiness. The cursory examination was followed by a more in-depth investigation into the relationship of the post-migration factors with momentary happiness.

The results from the investigation into the effects of pre-migration and characteristics of the move factors on American expat happiness were primarily insignificant. The only significant finding was that the American's perspective on the balance of reasons for moving compared to reasons against moving to Germany had a significant positive effect on their happiness (Table 1 & 2).

Further investigation into the post-migration happiness of American expats produced significant results. American expats with higher German language proficiency, a lower percentage of time speaking German but a higher percentage of time interacting with Germans and had a positive outlook on staying in Germany reported higher averaged momentary happiness (Table 3). The genuinely interesting result was that American expats with a higher percentage of time speaking German (compared to speaking English) reported lower averaged momentary happiness while controlling for language proficiency. While in contrast, Americans with a higher percentage of time spent interacting with Germans reported higher averaged momentary happiness. With a higher percentage of time speaking with Germans, these Americans may be more integrated into society, providing them with more potential to find English-speaking Germans. The reduced happiness associated with speaking German could represent a sense of anxiety of stress from the expat as they try to speak like a local and fear failure.

The study's final investigation was into how the interaction partner's nationality, language use, and activity affected momentary happiness. The study discovered that English-speaking activities were related to significantly higher momentary happiness than German-speaking activities. Activities with a combination of both English-speaking and German-speaking were also significantly happier than activities with only German spoken. The effect of the dual English and German-speaking activities was lesser than English only (Table 4).

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1. Introduction

The quest for happiness is an integral part of the American identity. It is so fundamental that it is one of the three central rights identified in the American Declaration of Independence from England in 1776. The second sentence of the declaration states, “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness” (U.S., 1776). While the American Declaration framers knew that happiness was necessary, they did not know how to achieve it directly or measure it for individual Americans.

It was not for almost another 200 hundred years until researchers established a way to measure it with the development of the “Happiness” discipline, including economist Richard Easterlin and Psychologist Ed Diener. Richard Easterlin discovered the “Easterlin Paradox” (1974) that happiness did not directly increase with economic growth. Ed Diener later solidified this desire to understand what effects happiness with the establishment of Subjective Well-Being (SWB) (1984) and the SWB scale (1985). Since these fundamental steps forward for the academic exploration into happiness and life satisfaction with subjective well-being, multiple disciplines have continued to pursue knowledge, including sociology, psychology, management science, political science, and economics. While Subjective Well-Being and Happiness are not synonymous terms, they are interlinked. For simplicity, though, I will use happiness to refer to both subjective well-being and happiness. I will clarify the differences between the two topics later in the Literature Review section.

As discoveries have been made, it has only fueled the fire of curiosity, and more Happiness domains have been established, focusing on specific components of the topic such as National Happiness, Worker Happiness, Migrant Happiness, and Leisure Happiness, among others. These domains can be categorized into macro-focused or micro-focused. Macro-focused domains investigate happiness trends at a large-scale level (national or society level, for example), including using national happiness studies. The micro-focused domains examine the factors of happiness at the individual level utilizing various trait-like characteristics to study their relation to happiness. Of these micro-focused studies, only a few will delve deeper into the factors of daily happiness changes. Both happiness categories provide insights into this study’s topic, investigating the micro-level factors that affect American expats' happiness in Germany.

1.1 American migrants in Germany

The American worker's willingness to work abroad only recently scored comparatively to the global willingness to work abroad score (57%) in 2018 (Strack et al., 2018). However, it will take many years to see if the increase in American willingness to work abroad correlates to an increase in American workers abroad. This is a potential factor in why when *America* appears in immigration studies; it is generally only a destination for workers instead of a point of origin. This is further supported by Hendriks (2015) review of 44 studies from various domains that analyze migrant happiness; none include American migrants.

Additionally, in 2018, Hendriks, Burger, Ray, and Esipova analyzed the Gallup World Poll data from 2009-2016. Even with this substantial data set, no American migrant trends emerged, even though multiple migration trends to the United States were identified. Since most global-scale migrant worker studies do not consider American migrants or do not have enough data to conclude, this paper's research provides a unique opportunity to fill a current gap in migrant happiness literature.

For the American workers willing to work abroad, Germany ranks as the fourth choice, below the English-speaking countries of the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada (Strack et al., 2018). Now to move into some specific data points of those Americans that did choose to move to Germany, as of 2018, there are 121,645 American residents in Germany, which is 1.1% of all foreign nationals (Ausländische Bevölkerung, 2019). American's rank as the 25th highest foreign nationality in Germany, 12th highest non-European Union (EU) foreign nationality, and highest foreign nationality when excluding EU nations, guest worker nations, and asylum-seeking nationalities (Ausländische Bevölkerung, 2019). This number does not consider the 32-35,000 United States Department of Defense (DoD) military and civilian forces stationed in Germany plus their additional associated family members (Knight, 2019; Seliger, 2019; Siebold, 2018).[1]

The American nationality population's distinction is essential because all Americans must acquire a relevant Visa to reside in Germany (Germany Visa, 2017), unlike EU member citizens that can freely move between member nations under the 2009 EU Blue Card Law

[1] While writing this thesis, the U.S. has announced the removal of 9,500-12,000 troops from Germany (Creswell, M. 2020). The ramifications of this decision on the American Presence in Germany are unclear.

(Auswärtiges Amt, 2020).[2] While there is no official definition for an "Expat," the general meaning is any individual that resides outside their native country. Still, the more common usage is a highly skilled individual that has moved to a country for work reasons.

1.3 Primary Aim and Research Question of the Study

No matter how well the Americans may feel they are prepared to move to Germany, it is still a foreign country with potential culture shocks from the more obvious of a different language, currency, government system to the more hidden cultural differences.[3] In addition to the stress of learning and adapting to a new culture and society is the stress of giving up their life in the United States, including their social network, work, and daily routine. The process of moving to another country is a major upheaval in an individual's life and a decision that is not made lightly. This study explores these factors that affected the American expat's decision to move and the subsequent factors influencing American expats' happiness and momentary happiness while living in Germany.

This study's primary research question is what micro-level factors influence the happiness of American expats in Germany?

In order to answer the research question, the investigation is separated into four themes; 1. Investigating the time-constant pre-migration circumstances of the expats, 2. The characteristics of the expats' move, 3. Exploring their time-varying post-migration experiences, and 4. Analyze the daily life experiences of the expats.

This study's core concept is the multi-disciplinary concept of Subjective Well-being, including the domains of life satisfaction and migrant happiness. The study will use two primary components to investigate the three themes identified above. The first component is a baseline survey to gather data on the subject's trait-like characteristics, which will allow a between-subject comparison using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regressions to investigate the first and second themes. The second component is a Day Reconstruction Method (DRM) diary to generate data for a within-subject fixed-effects analysis of how momentary happiness is affected by a

[2] There is a small chance that the American could have dual American-Germany citizenship. This is generally by a child being born to American and German nationality parents. These cases are relatively minor and discouraged by both countries. Further elaborated in 5. Discussion.

[3] Listed differences based upon the author's experience as an American expat in Germany for three years.

combination of activities conducted, language spoken, and the individuals' nationalities who participated in the activities to investigate the third theme. Respondents were incentivized to complete seven days' worth of dairies, but participation varied.

1.4 Primary Findings

This paper's primary findings into the factors related to American expats' happiness in Germany are as follows. There is not enough evidence to conclude how Americans' pre-migration factors and characteristics of their move relate to their reported happiness. The only consistent finding for these two topics is that Americans with a net positive opinion on moving to Germany reported significantly higher happiness (Table 1 & 2). The results held during analysis into pre-migration factors and characteristics of the move with controls for other factors.

Progressing into analyzing the post-migration factors of American expat happiness yielded more significant results. The study found that Americans with a higher percentage of time speaking German reported lower average momentary happiness. But Americans with a higher percentage of time interacting with Germans reported higher average momentary happiness (Table 3). Meaning that speaking German was related to lower happiness but interacting with Germans was related to higher happiness. The results held when controlling for other factors of cultural integration, language proficiency, and time in Germany.

The finding that speaking a higher percentage of English but interacting more with Germans could represent cultural integration, or more accurately worded, cultural reconnaissance. Depending on the location in Germany, it can be challenging to find Germans willing to speak in English. It would take time and effort to develop an extensive network of English-speaking Germans for the American to interact with. The negative effect of speaking German could represent a sense of anxiety from Americans over speaking German improperly or not natively. Further investigating into American expat's momentary happiness found that the interaction partner's nationality did not significantly relate to momentary happiness while the language spoken did. Interactions with English as the primary language were significantly happier than any other language or combination of languages (Table 4).

2. The Search for Happiness through the years

The foundational concept for most modern happiness research, including this study, is Subjective Well-being and utilizing the Day Reconstruction Method to generate data. SWB is the primary concept of how to conduct investigations into happiness on the micro and macro level. Once the Subjective Well-Being principles have been established, next will be identifying factors specific to the American expats' happiness in Germany.

2.1 Subjective Well-being

2.1.1 Principles of Subjective Well-being

The overarching concept utilized in this study is Subjective Well-being. The concept states that self-reports on happiness contain helpful information on the "underlying emotion states" (van Hoorn, 2007). SWB is "a broad category of phenomena that includes people's emotional responses, domain satisfactions, and global judgments of life satisfaction" (Diener et al., 1999). SWB consists of two primary components: the *affective* component, which deals with positive moods and emotions and the absence of negative ones, and the *cognitive* component, evaluation of one's life (Diener E., 1984). The affective component is a "hedonic evaluation" driven by personal feelings and emotional responses. The cognitive component evaluates how one's life measures up to their ideal life and how the individual's life compares to those around them. SWB researchers commonly use surveys to gather data. These surveys consist of specific questions with multiple parts to build redundancy and specificity into the data to generate reliable results with data capable of isolating precise investigation topics.

2.1.2 Day Reconstruction Method

The Day Reconstruction Method is a relatively new and modern measurement method that shares similar principles as the older Experience Sampling Method (ESM) but can be considered less intrusive to the respondent and more practical (Kahneman et al., 2004). As the name implies, the respondent keeps a daily diary (or log) of the events and corresponding feelings that occurred earlier in the day. Since the respondent completes the journal at the end of the day, there is less intrusion into the respondents' everyday routine. Generally, the respondents are asked to break down their day into specified time blocks or activities to report their feelings and events. Like the ESM, there is no specified scale to be used for the DRM method. For

example, Kahneman et al. (2004) simply asked respondents to report how they felt during the time blocks.

2.2 Migration Circumstances

It is essential to break down the migrant journey into mutually exclusive segments of the overall experience to accurately investigate the multitude of factors that can affect migrant happiness. The first segment is the circumstances of the migrant's decision to move and the move's subsequent factors. These pre-migration factors are previous migration experience, pre-migration German language proficiency, and pre-migration German cultural affinity. The following aspects related to the move's characteristics include the reason for migration, whether it is job-related, education-related, as a co-mover, or as an ethnic German. Additional factors of the move are if the migrant moved with a family or partner and if the migrant has close family or friends in Germany before the move.

2.2.1 Pre-Migration

Previous migration experience

One of the four primary reasons migrants do not achieve native-level happiness is being overly optimistic about the ease of migration by underestimating the difficulties or just being unaware of the requirements (Hendriks, 2015; Hendriks et al., 2018). Having prior migration experience should decrease the stress caused by the unknown factor of migration. The individual is more aware of the process and potential pitfalls they may experience along the way.

Migrant's mental perspective on migrating

Moving from one country to another is no easy task. It is a long and complex process with multiple potential unforeseen complications. It is a stressful process for everyone; however, the benefits of relocation can outweigh the negatives. Every American migrant needs to remember their reasons for becoming a migrant to retain their motivation and commitment to a successful move since their mental state can affect how they perceive events (recall bias). This means that people in a happier mood remember events more positively & people in bad moods remember things more negatively. The individual's mindset can also affect how stressful events are to them. It would be reasonable to assume that most American expats viewed the benefits outweigh the drawbacks of relocation. Those who considered relocating as unfavorable probably did not choose to move. The significant effect of an individual's mental state on how they

perceive their environment is essential to identify as the migrant's perspective on migration can significantly affect their choice, i.e., only individuals with a positive opinion on migration may choose to migrate.

Temporary or Permanent Move

The second part of the future American expat's view on the move is if they intend the move to a permanent, only temporary, or if they have no plan. If they have no plan, it could relate to the migrant being more open to ideas and future situations with no preconceived notions of *integration*. Still, they also may be less likely to invest their effort in learning German and integrating into the local society. Similarly, if the American only plans to relocate temporarily, the standard German work visa is two years. It does not provide the American with a large portion of time to learn German and integrate to view the process as too stressful and time-consuming to attempt.

In contrast to the potential temporary perspective is the permanent relocation plan. These Americans who intend to relocate to Germany permanently should be the most likely to spend the time and effort to learn German and the local culture. They are also the group most at risk of having the vision of their move and their German lifestyle not match reality, which could lead to a more stressful integration and disappointment. This paper assumes that Americans that plan to move to Germany permanently will be happier than those that only intend to temporarily move to Germany because the Americans that plan to move to Germany permanently will be more committed to the migration process.

Pre-migration language proficiency

Learning the language can reduce the moving process's stress by increasing the American's sense of control and reducing Germany's "unknown" factor. Learning German while still in the United States can allow the future migrant to learn in a lower-stress environment instead of learning in a foreign country. Additionally, learning the language can also expose the American to some aspects of German culture and institutions. The pre-migration exposure to the German language may help to reduce the feeling of cultural distance between the migrant and the German society, thus reducing stress. If the migrant is taking a class taught by a native German, the teacher can act as a cultural guide. Suppose the future migrant is using a language learning app or other social media connected program. In that case, they may meet other soon-to-be or

new migrants that they can bond with over their similar migration experience. Learning the local language is understood to be a universally effective plan for migrant success by researchers with findings consistently reporting that migrants with a better mastery of the local language reporting significantly higher levels of happiness and economic opportunities (Chiswick & Miller, 1995, 2002; Fong & Isajiw, 2000; Dustmaan & van Soest, 2002; Shields & Price, 2002; Weijters & Scheepers, 2003). However, most of these studies track migrants after they have already immigrated, so language proficiency and native friends' causality is unclear (Kanas et al., 2012). Measuring the pre-migration language proficiency will help isolate its effect and its relation to a successful integration process.

Pre-migration cultural affinity

Studies find that migrants have a higher probability of achieving happiness levels on par with the native population in countries that are culturally closer to their origin. This is because migrants have a dual frame of reference from their host country plus their country of origin. Their cultural heritage (beliefs, values, habits) continues to affect them (Senik, 2011; Voicu & Vasile, 2014). American migrants with a higher cultural affinity to Germany may have reduced stress from not perceiving German culture as foreign but as an extension of their own culture (Vega, Kolody, & Valle, 1987). Increased cultural affinity should reduce the stress created from perceived cultural differences increasing the American's chances of reaching happiness levels similar to native levels.

U.S. state with German Heritage

Another potential source of German cultural affinity for Americans is being raised in a U.S. state with German heritage. Germany has had a significant influence on America's forming. As of 2018, 44 million Americans report having German ancestry (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). German American is the largest reported ancestry group in the survey. The German culture remains strong in many U.S. States with German culture festivals and parades. As previously discussed in the culture factors section, migrants have higher chances of reaching native happiness levels when the cultural distance between the migrant and native cultures is minimized. This means that Americans moving from a U.S. state with an extensive German culture presence have already been exposed to German culture and social practices that may increase their probability of cultural adaptation. Americans coming from a state with German

ancestry should reduce the cultural distance between American expats and Germans, allowing them to achieve higher happiness compared to Americans from U.S. States without German heritage.

H1: The happiness of American expats in Germany is positively associated with the following pre-migration circumstances: (a) having migration experience, (b) a positive aggregate view on moving, (c) planning to permanently move to Germany, (d) pre-migration language proficiency, and (e) being born in a U.S. state with German heritage.

2.2.2 Characteristics of the Move

American expats in Germany voluntarily move for mostly work and study reasons or as a co-moving family member, and in a few rare cases as ethnic Germans.

Continuing effect of mental perspective

Once the actual process of moving commences, the individual's opinion on moving can play a pivotal effect on the level of stress and overall perceived success of the experience. Individuals with a positive outlook on moving to Germany may report lower levels of stress because their positive outlook may help mitigate stressful experiences and help them remember the reasons for choosing to move.

Highly skilled migrant

Moving to a new location is stressful for everyone, especially if it is to a different country. However, not all moves are equal. Many European countries (including Germany) give preferential treatment to highly skilled migrants by granting them a specific work visa referred to as a highly skilled (or highly qualified) migrant visa[4]. The immigration process for these highly skilled migrants can be significantly different from an education migrant. Highly skilled migrants receive prioritized assistance from government agencies.

Additionally, they follow more streamlined immigration procedures and have less uncertainty when moving to another country (Federal Foreign Office, 2020). Highly skilled migrants move with a work contract finalized and usually receive assistance from their employer to find housing, set up utilities, and completing any necessary government registration. In

[4] The term *highly skill migrant* is defined in this paper as Americans that are moving to Germany with a completed work contract and on a highly-quality worker visa as defined by Germany's Skilled Immigration Act.

addition to a less stressful moving experience, highly skilled migrants have considerable exposure to natives through work, which provides them more opportunities to establish contacts with Germans while also having a broader view on life (Kalmijn, 1998).

Education migrant

For educational migrants, they receive none of this assistance. International students are encouraged but not prioritized by the German government. International students may receive guidance from the university on finding housing, but the onus is ultimately on the student to solve their problems. Comparing the highly skilled migrant and education migrant scenarios, the expectation would be that highly skilled migrants have higher average happiness compared to other migrant types due to the advantageous migration experience created by government and employer assistance during their migration process. However, education migrants, like highly skilled migrants, have a larger than average exposure to natives through their education programs, with most students being native Germans (Kalmijn, 1998). The more extensive exposure to native Germans combined with the university's more social environment will increase the opportunities of developing close social contacts with Germans.

European American: The exception to the rule

Everything discussed so far has been based upon the fact that any American that wants to move to Germany must apply for a visa, with the most common type being a work or student visa. However, Americans that also have German or EU citizenship do not need to apply for a visa. The exact number of American expats in Germany that fit this category is unknown since the German government would track them as EU citizens or German citizens. Specifically, German Americans would be relatively limited since Germans who live outside Germany for ten years lose their citizenship. Additionally, their children lose the right to claim German citizenship (Federal Foreign Office, 2020). Migrating as a German citizen is included because the questionnaire used accounts for the option of being an ethnic German as the reason for migration.

Moving with a partner

The pre-migration family status of a migrant can significantly affect the complexity and stress of the move. Moving as a single individual means that the migrant only has themselves to worry about compared to moving with a family. However, a single migrant has no one to share

the duties and stress of migration compared to a migrant family. Additionally, moving with a partner means that even if you are moving to a foreign country, you still know at least one person. Even a single close friend in a foreign country can be a significant social capital source and beneficial for happiness. The potential deficit of social capital caused by moving is compounded by the fact that an individual's spouse is generally their most important friendship and social support source.

Family or friends in Germany

The final factor to be considered is if the American already has friends or family living in Germany. These friends and family can act as forward scouts or advisors to the migrant. They can remove some of the mysteries and unknowns of moving by providing guidance and assistance on the migration process, giving advice on housing, and securing housing before moving. The benefits of friends and family in the host country do not end there; once the new migrant arrives in Germany, these friends and family can help receive them and reduce the stress of moving and adapting to their new country.

H2: The happiness of American expats in Germany is positively associated with the following moving characteristics: (a) being a highly skilled migrant, (b) a positive aggregate view on moving, (c) moving with a partner, and (d) having family or friends in Germany.

2.3 Post-Migration Experiences

The second portion is the post-migration scenario of the migrant's reception and experience exploring and assimilating into Germany.

German language proficiency

The paper first discussed the benefits of learning German in the pre-migration section. These same ample benefits are still applicable. However, the process is still long and potentially stressful. As the Americans learn the local language, it increases the potential interactions they can take and reduces daily stress from uncertain communications (Fong & Isajiw, 2000; Weijters & Scheepers, 2003). In addition to learning the local language, learning and adapting to local cultures can reduce the sense of the migrant as an outsider in a foreign land by becoming more aware of local customs, procedures, and norms (Martinovic, van Tubergen, & Maas, 2009).

Speaking German

A crucial part of becoming proficient in any language is speaking. Transitioning from listening to German to being willing to speak is not an easy task as multiple studies have found that speaking a foreign language can be the most challenging part of learning a language, and the stress of speaking can produce significant anxiety (Marzec-Stawiarsk, 2015; Paradowski, Dmowska, & Czasak, 2015). The studies have found conflicting evidence into the effect of language proficiency on anxiety levels. Some studies found that anxiety decreases with proficiency, and others finding a correlation between higher proficiency and higher anxiety levels. While the studies on speaking foreign languages and anxiety find conflicting effects for language proficiency, most agree that the level of anxiety experienced can manifest physically. While speaking German can be a stressful experience for the American expat, there are significant potential benefits from enduring the process. First, it will significantly increase the population of individuals the expat can interact with and provide a clearer understanding of their environment. Second, for any expat planning on permanently residing in Germany, language proficiency is required for permanent residency. Learning the local language is an essential step for any immigrant. It is especially true for anyone that intends to reside permanently in a foreign country. While the process has substantial rewards, the process itself is stressful, and so the assumption would be that speaking German would be related to decreased happiness.

Interacting with Germans

After moving to a new location, most individuals will need to rebuild their social networks. Interacting with locals will help the American rebuild and develop their social network, whether those interactions occur in English or German. Interacting with more people will increase the potential pool of compatible friends and help to reduce the sense of being an outsider and increase a sense of belonging as they develop connections with their community by learning not only the local language but local customs and traditions (Chiswich & Miller, 2001; Martinovic, van Tubergen, & Maas, 2009).

German Friends

German friends can provide more to the expat than just social capital. They can also offer the migrant job and networking opportunities that the migrant would not otherwise have access to (Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Lin, 1999; Chiswick & Miller, 2002; Dustmann & Van Soest,

2002; Shields & Price, 2002). In general, close friends have a substantial effect on reducing depression symptoms and thus promote happiness, so Americans that rebuild their social network in Germany should be happier (Vega, Kolody, & Valle, 1987). All of this means that American expats with a higher percentage of German friends should be related to higher happiness.

Gaining a partner in Germany

Moving with a family supports the de-stressing portion of social capital but does not help build new social networks with the natives. Gaining a German spouse would increase the native network that the migrant has access to via the spouse's friends & family. Plus, the spouse can act as an interpreter, language tutor, and guide to explain native culture and rules (Chiswick & Miller, 2002; Martinovic, van Tubergen, & Maas, 2009; Kanas et al., 2012). The various benefits affording by having a German partner should translate to Americans that gain a partner in Germany to be related to higher happiness.

Migrant's perspective on Staying in Germany

Just as the American had to weigh the opportunities gained by moving to Germany against the drawbacks, the American will continue to evaluate if they want to stay in Germany, try a different country, or retain back to the United States. For most Americans, staying in Germany is not a right as they must maintain a valid visa to remain in Germany. German visas generally are valid for two to five years, with initial work visas being two years. The finite timespan of German Visas provides a timely event to reevaluate if their expat life is everything they wanted it to be. It would be assumed that those American expats that view their current situation in Germany as unfavorable would be the ones most likely to want to move or actually move. Americans with a negative opinion of Germany may allow their perspective to influence their daily encounters negatively. This could create a negative cycle of the expat being less likely to interact with locals and participate in the integration process.

H3: The happiness of American expats in Germany is positively associated with the following post-migration circumstances: (a) learning German, (b) a lower percentage of interactions speaking German, (c) higher percentage of interactions with Germans, (d) higher percentage of German friends, (e) gaining a partner in Germany, and (f) a positive perspective on staying.

2.4 Daily Life Experiences

A subset of the post-migration scenario is the daily experiences that the migrant has as they navigate their lives in the new country. While global reports on happiness trends, and by extension migrant happiness trends, provide valuable macro-level insights, the aggregation of influences of happiness leave researchers unable to precisely analyze the factors of an individual's experience such as the economic, sociological, and psychological factors (Csikszentmihalyi & Hunter, 2003; Kahneman et al., 2004). Researchers have focused on micro-level factors using daily reports (Csikszentmihalyi & Hunter, 2003; Kahneman et al., 2004; Hendriks et al., 2016). These micro-level studies can provide researchers with more precise insights into the hidden factors that affect an individual's momentary happiness. However, compared to the amount of macro-level migrant happiness studies, there are relatively few micro-level studies to gain insight on how different interactions will affect migrant happiness.

Communicating in English

Learning a new language is a stressful and challenging process. Individuals naturally prefer to interact with individuals similar to themselves (McPherson et al., 2001; Kanas et al., 2012). Interacting in your native language, in this scenario English, is easier for the American due to the reduced effort necessary to articulate their intention to others. Interacting in English should be a less stressful and demanding experience than communicating in German, making the overall experience produce more happiness (Martinovic, van Tubergen, & Maas, 2009).

Speaking German with family and friends

I would also expect that migrants attempting to learn German would report it as a less stressful experience if they practiced with friends or family compared to random unknown Germans. Friends will give them the benefit of the doubt and exert more patience and effort to help the American learn compared to a random shopworker who may not have the time nor patience to deal with them (Kanas et al., 2012).

Active leisure activities

Active leisure can be an essential component of overall happiness. It is a source of good stress, motivation, sense of achievement, growth, interpersonal relationships, and satisfaction (Hribernik & Mussap, 2010; Nikolova & Graham, 2014; Chen, 2018; Guo et al., 2019). The benefits are most present in social, active, and challenging activities, generally producing higher

happiness (Rodriguez et al. 2008). Participating in active leisure can be a critical strategy for any individual, especially migrants who have moved away from their friends, to build their social capital, and improve their overall happiness (Hendriks, 2016). However, migrants report experiencing less enjoyment in the happiness generating activities than natives; this is true for both international and internal migrants (Hendriks et al., 2016; Hendriks et al., 2018; Hendriks & Burger, 2019). The reasoning for this happiness deficit is that migrant's social network and social capital are not as robust or developed as locals (Hendriks et al., 2016). As with learning the local language, investing the time and effort in leisure activities can be a long-term investment of a happiness payoff, but it would still be expected that Americans that invest time into leisure activities report a higher level of happiness.

Speaking German during leisure activities

Leisure activities with others, including playing sports, games, or other interactive hobbies, can create an environment of camaraderie and ease as individuals work together to achieve goals or by merely having a common topic to bond over. This shared experience can allow individuals to interact with each other in a more relaxed and less formal manner. The comfortable environment can reduce the perceived stress of Americans trying to communicate in German. I would expect that Americans would be less stressed communicating in German during leisure activities, thereby reporting a higher level of happiness than speaking German during non-leisure activities.

H4: The happiness of American expats in Germany is positively associated with the following daily life experiences: (a) communicating in English, (b) speaking German with friends & family compared to strangers, (c) speaking German during active leisure activities.

3. Methodology

3.1 Study Design

This thesis is an exploratory study into American expats' happiness factors in Germany utilizing a data set collected from a diverse group of American expats. The data set consists of a self-selected sample of American expats living in Germany between April 2017 and December 2019. The subjects were recruited through various expat community websites (InterNations, Expatica, and LiveAbroad), Facebook expat groups, newsletters, German university international

departments, and various other expat community groups. To encourage subjects to join the study and incentivize them to participate for the study's duration, subjects who completed the baseline questionnaire and seven-day survey were offered a 10€ gift card to D.M. The participation request resulted in 384 respondents completing the baseline questionnaire and 214 respondents continuing to complete at least one DRM questionnaire entry.

The data collection process consisted of two parts. Part One was the initial baseline questionnaire that assessed respondents' trait-like (time-invariant) characteristics. Part Two consisted of a Day Reconstruction Method questionnaire that asked each subject to complete a daily log of all activities conducted between 0800 to 2200. The primary activity undertaken, who participated, their nationalities, and what language was primarily used for communication.

The baseline questionnaire consists of 38 questions to evaluate the subject's experiences as an expat and their life in general. All the questions regarded time in-sensitive traits to act as a baseline for the daily happiness surveys. The responses included the respondent's birth state, German city they reside in, number of children, location of the child(ren)'s birth, how many countries the respondent has lived in, reasons for moving to Germany, whether they received assistance from family or friends while moving, reasons for staying in Germany, health status, and employment status. The remainder of the questions asked the subjects to assess various aspects of their lives on a Likert scale, generally either on a scale of 1("very bad option") to 7("very good option"), or 0("very bad option" to 10 ("very good option"). The Likert scale questions asked the subjects to assess their relocation to Germany and satisfaction with various aspects of their life in Germany. The questions include German language aptitude, German cultural affinity, American cultural affinity, and life satisfaction questions to include self-assessments on overall happiness (Kahneman D., Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004).

The second part of the data collection process had the subjects complete a DRM questionnaire for one week (seven days in total). Subjects received an email with a web link to complete their daily surveys. The DRM questionnaires asked the subjects to identify the main activity conducted per two-hour period from 0800-to-2200. However, respondents could submit diary entries outside of the recommended time block, with 586 entries outside the targeted time.

The categories of activities include sleeping[5], personal care, moving, studying, working, housekeeping, eating, taking care of another, talking to another, leisure activity in their own home, leisure activity outside of their own home, and others. Once the primary activity had been identified, subjects were then given a follow-on question for a more detailed primary activity response. For example, if the primary activity were a leisure activity in their own home, the more refined answer would include options such as surfing the web, reading, listening to music, watching T.V. or Netflix, playing (video) games, relaxing, or other. Follow on questions ask if the subject was alone and if not who else was with them to include the individuals' nationality. Furthermore, subjects were asked to identify the primary language spoken during the activity and evaluate their momentary happiness during the activity on an 11-point Likert scale of 0 (extremely unhappy) to 10 (extremely happy). The final question asked respondents to assess their overall happiness during the full-day diary period, again on an 11-point Likert scale of 0 (extremely unhappy) to 10 (extremely happy). Summary statistics of the sample for both baseline survey and DRM survey data are listed in Appendix A.

Dependent Variable explanations: Happiness and Momentary Happiness

The complete dataset consists of three single-item measures of happiness, *happiness*, *momentary happiness, full-day happiness*. All three of these variables are single-item measures of happiness that allow the respondent to determine the effects of their emotions for an aggregate effect for the activity in question (White & Dolan, 2009). Single-item measures are strongly correlated with multi-item measures (Knabe et al., 2010).

Happiness from the baseline survey will be used as the dependent variable for the study of Hypothesis 1 (pre-migration factors) and Hypothesis 2 (moving characteristics). *Happiness* was selected as the most appropriate measure of happiness since neither analysis includes data collected from the DRM surveys, so it will maximize the sample size since fewer respondents submitted data for *momentary happiness* and *full-day happiness*.

Hypothesis 3 (post-migration factors) analysis will use duration-weighted averaged *momentary happiness* instead of *happiness* as the dependent variable. This variable will reduce the potential data points from 328 to 214. However, the new dependent variable will increase the

[5] Sleeping observations have been dropped from the dataset since there is no potential for interactions with others.

data's precision by relating the happiness valuation to the American expat's daily interactions. Additionally, the inclusion of other data gathered from the DRM entries would reduce the available data points to 214. The usage of averaged momentary happiness as the dependent variable will allow the investigation into whether the long-term orientated variables of interest reveal any patterns related to happiness in the American expat's daily life.

The final investigation into Hypothesis 4 (daily life factors on happiness) is a within-subject analysis. It will be using *momentary happiness* as the dependent variable. Using averaged momentary happiness in the investigation for Hypothesis 3 will act as a bridge between the *happiness* variable of Hypothesis 1 and 2 to the *momentary happiness* variable used in Hypothesis 4.

3.2 Sample Demographics

Diverse Sample Background

An important point of distinction is that most migrant studies survey one specific migrant population type. Generally, national surveys are conducted with household heads, while many academic surveys are conducted with student populations. This data set consists of American migrants from across all ages and backgrounds identified by the reasons for migration, including education, economic, and as co-movers. This means that the sample does not include one distinct population but multiple populations of household heads, spouses, family members, and students. 30% of the sample identify their reason for migration as a co-mover and not the primary decision-maker for the move. Additionally, it is possible that multiple members of the same household participated in the study.

Age & Gender Demographics

The sample of 384 American expats is 37.21% male and 62.79% female, compared to the population that is 55.5% male and 44.5% female. This means that females are overrepresented in the data, and males are under-represented. Respondents' ages range from 20 to 74 years, with an average age of 41 years old, slightly younger than the general American expat population. The younger sample size's expected effect is that the average length of stay for the population is less than the general population. The sample average is 7.56 years and the total population average being 16.90 years living in Germany. Three respondents report moving to Germany as ethnic Germans, and 133 respondents (34.64% of the sample) report having at least one non-American

Parent, including 19 respondents with at least one German parent. This is important because it indicates that these respondents with foreign-born parents may have dual citizenship to Germany or another EU Schengen country, allowing them to freely migrate and reside in Germany without having to qualify for a visa. The presence of dual nationality Americans may affect the finds for hypotheses 1 and 2. The demographic comparison of the sample to U.S. migrants in Germany, including age, gender, and length of stay, is listed in Appendix B.

Distribution of Americans across Germany

The sample consists of expats living in 14 of the 16 Bundeslanders [states], while the American expat population resides in every German Bundeslander. The exempt Bundeslanders account for less than 1% of the total American expat population in Germany.

U.S. State with German Heritage

22.14% of Americans in the sample were born in a U.S. state, with over 20% of the population reporting German ancestry.

3.2.1 Sample Data Specifics

From the combined baseline and DRM questionnaire sample of 214 respondents, six respondents report not talking to anyone during the entirety of their DRM submissions. One of these six respondents reported only a single entry of a 120-minute period, so it is understandable that they did not interact with anyone. However, the other five respondents all recorded 14 hours' worth of activities. Since five of the six silent respondents completed the standard amount of DRM timespan, their entries were not removed from the sample. In contrast to these American hermits, one American reported having 113 German friends, with the second-highest number of friends reported was 20. The *113 friends* data entry appears to be an entry error compared to the respondent's other answers for the total number of friends and friends in Germany. The *113* entry was edited to be *13* instead.

Potential Military Respondents

As mentioned in the introduction, the German governmental data does not consider the 32-35,000 United States Department of Defense (DoD) military and civilian forces stationed in Germany plus their additional associated family members in their Ausländer [foreign resident] data. This is a potential concern that a large proportion of military respondents could affect how accurately the sample reflects the actual population's migration experience. An analysis of the

respondent's locations compared to American population density and American military density in Germany concludes that there is no statistically significant concentration of respondents from *Bundeslanders* [German states] with U.S. governmental presence.

3.3 Research Strategy

Hypothesis 1: Pre-migration factors

The first half of the analysis will test Hypothesis 1 and 2 by examining how the pre-migration and post-migration factors, respectively, of American expats in Germany relate to their momentary happiness using OLS regression models.

The full model for Hypothesis 1 has the following specification:

$$happiness_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 migration\ experience_i + \beta_2 Index\ of\ moving\ factors_i + \beta_3 Permanent\ move_i + \beta_4 language\ proficiency_i + \beta_5 german\ heritage_i + \theta\ controls_i + \mu_i \quad (1)$$

$Happiness_i$ is the respondent's answer to the question "Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?" on an 11-point Likert scale of 0 (extremely unhappy) to 10 (extremely happy). β_0 is a constant. M$igration\ experience_i$ is a dummy variable that is active if the respondent has previously migrated to another country from the United States, excluding Germany. $Index\ of\ moving\ factors_i$ is an index of the respondent's answers to the question "What role did the following reasons play in your decision to move to Germany?: 1. Income/career prospects, 2. Particularities of the surrounding conditions, 3. German people, 4. German culture, 5. Friends, 6. Children, 7. Partner, 8. Parents and/or siblings, 9. Loneliness, 10. Adventure" on a scale of -2 (Major reason for not moving) to 2 (Major reason for moving). $Permanent\ move_i$ is the respondent's answer to "when you moved to Germany, did you intend to stay temporarily or permanently?" with options of temporary, permanent, or no plan. L$anguage\ proficiency_i$ is the respondent's answer to the baseline question "How well did you know the German language before moving to Germany?" on a 7-point Likert scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (very well). G$erman\ heritage_i$ is a dummy variable that accounts for a respondent born in a U.S. state with at least 20% of the population having German heritage. This represents the potential that Americans born in these states may have experience with German culture before moving to Germany. $Controls_i$ is a vector of controls including the respondent's age, age^2, gender, marital status, children, education level, employment status, household income, years since moving to

Germany, health condition, self-reflectiveness, and perceived health. Self-reflectiveness and perceived health act as controls to account for potential response bias (social-desirability bias agreement bias) and response tendencies of subjects to select outlier answers when answering subjective questions. Years in Germany account for potential recall bias (fading affect bias). μ_i is a residual error term. Control variable definitions are listed in Appendix C.

Hypothesis 2: Move characteristics

The full model for Hypothesis 2 has the following specification:

$$Happiness_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 type\ of\ migrant_i + \beta_2 Index\ of\ moving\ factors_i + \beta_3 Partner_i + \beta_4 moving\ help_i + \Theta\ controls_i + \mu_i \quad (2)$$

Happiness$_i$ is the same variable used in Hypothesis 1. β_0 is a constant. T*ype of migrant*$_i$ is a categorical variable of highly skilled migrant, job-seeker, education migrant, co-mover, and other, recoded from respondent's answer to the baseline question "How did you move to Germany?" *Index of moving factors*$_i$ is an index of the respondent's answers to the question "What role did the following reasons play in your decision to move to Germany?: 1. Income/career prospects, 2. Particularities of the surrounding conditions, 3. German people, 4. German culture, 5. Friends, 6. Children, 7. Partner, 8. Parents and/or siblings, 9. Loneliness, 10. Adventure" on a scale of -2 (Major reason for not moving) to 2 (Major reason for moving). *Partner*$_i$ is a dummy variable that is active if the respondent moved to Germany with a spouse or partner. *Moving help*$_i$ is a dummy variable generated from the respondent's answer to "When you moved to Germany, did you have the help of any relatives or friends who already lived in Germany?" *Controls*$_i$ is a vector of controls using the same control from Hypothesis 1 with the addition of *stressful move*. Control variable definitions are listed in Appendix C. μ_i is a residual error term.

3.3.1 Change of dependent variable from Happiness to (Averaged) Momentary Happiness

The second half of the analysis will test how the societal integration process corresponds to happiness in daily life. The analysis will be conducted by exploring the characteristics of the American expat's interaction partners and language spoken and its relation to American expats' momentary happiness in Germany. First, the model for Hypothesis 3 will use OLS regression with *averaged momentary happiness* as the dependent variable. Next, the model for Hypothesis 4 will use within-subject fixed effects regression analysis with *momentary happiness* as the

dependent variable. The regressions for Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 4 utilize the data collected from the DRM questionnaire on momentary happiness, interaction partner's nationality, language spoken, and the expat's familiarity with their interaction partner.

Hypothesis 3: Post-migration factors

The full model for Hypothesis 3 has the following specification:

$$avg\ momentary\ happiness_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 language\ proficency_i + \beta_2 percentage\ of\ interactions\ speaking\ German_i + \beta_3 percentage\ of\ interactions\ with\ Germans_i + \beta_4 percentage\ of German\ friends_i + \beta_5 german\ partner_i + \beta_6 Index\ of\ staying\ factors_i + \Theta\ controls_i + \mu_i \quad (3)$$

Avg momentary happiness$_i$ is the respondent's average happiness calculated by averaging all reported activities' happiness with duration weights of the activity's length. *Momentary happiness* was generated from respondent's answer to the DRM question "How happy you were during this activity?" on an 11-point Likert scale of 0 (extremely unhappy) to 10 (extremely happy). β_0 is a constant. *Language proficiency*$_i$ is "How well do you know the German language now?" on a 7-point Likert scale of 1(Not well at all) to 7 (Very well). *Percentage of interactions speaking German*$_i$ is the percentage of time the respondent spent in interactions with German spoken. Half-weights were given to interactions where German was not exclusively spoken. *Percentage of interactions with Germans*$_i$ is the percentage of time the respondent spent with Germans. Half-weights were given to interactions where Germans were not the only nationality present. *Percentage of German friends*$_i$ is the percentage of the respondent's total friends in Germany who are German. *German Partner*$_i$ is a dummy variable for gaining a partner in Germany generated from the respondent's answer to "How did your relationship status develop over time in Germany?" with options including "single when moved and currently single" to "partnered from moved and now with a different partner." The data available does not mention the new partner's nationality, just the fact that the respondent started a relationship with them after moving to Germany. The most probable source of a new partner in Germany is a German native. *Index of staying factors*$_i$ is an index of the respondent's answers to the question "What role did the following reasons play in your decision to stay in Germany?: 1. Income/career prospects, 2. Particularities of the surrounding conditions, 3. German people, 4. German culture, 5. Friends, 6. Children, 7. Partner, 8. Parents and/or siblings, 9. Loneliness, 10. Adventure" on a

scale of -2 (Major reason for not moving) to 2 (Major reason for moving). $Controls_i$ is a vector of controls including the same controls used for Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 with German affinity, stressful adjustment, the duration of activities conducted, locations of activities, and the interaction partners added to the vector. Control variable definitions are listed in Appendix D. μ_i is a residual error term.

Hypothesis 4: Momentary happiness factors

The full model for Hypothesis 4 has the following specification:

$$momentary\ happiness_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1\ nationality_{it} + \beta_2\ language_{it} + \beta_3\ familiarity_{it} + \Theta\ state\ like\ controls_{it} + \mu_{it} \quad (4)$$

$Momentary\ happiness_{it}$ is the respondent's reported happiness per specific activity. $Nationality_{it}$ is a categorical variable that identifies the interaction partner's nationalities with four options (German, American, other, or a combination of the previous three options). The Mix option was initially tested with specific combinations of German & American, American & Other, German & Other, and all three. But due to the low frequency of data for certain combinations, the mixed combinations were combined. The differences between the two variable combinations are listed in Appendix E. $Language_{it}$ is a categorical variable that identifies the language or languages spoken during each specific activity with four options (German, English, German and English, and other/none). Similar to $nationality_{it}$, $language_{it}$ was initially tested with all seven potential combinations of languages but was consolidated down to the final four categories due to the low number of data points for certain combinations. The breakdowns of the variable combinations are listed in Appendix F. $Familiarity_{it}$ is a categorical variable to identify the respondent's relationship to the interaction partner(s) with eight options (alone, partner, child, relative, friend, colleague, acquaintance, and someone else). $State\text{-}like\ controls_{it}$ is a vector of controls including the specific activity category, location, interaction partner(s), day of the week, and time block per day. μ_{it} is a residual error term.

4. Analysis & Results

4.1 Relationship between pre-migration factors and happiness

Table 1 shows the results of the analysis into the pre-migration factors that are proposed to be positively related to higher happiness. The initial regression contained only the variables of

interest. Of these variables, only the expat's intended length of stay in Germany produced a significant effect at the 10% significance level (Column 1). Americans that intend to move to Germany permanently report higher happiness than those who only plan to move temporarily. The effect of the expat's intended length of stay remains significant once controls were added to the regression. However, all other variables of interest (previous migration experience, pre-migration German language proficiency, and being born in a U.S. state with German heritage) remain insignificantly related to higher happiness at the 10% significance level (column 2).

Additionally, migrants who intend to permanently relocate to Germany, compared to only temporally relocate, report on average a 0.550 higher happiness score, ceteris paribus. This effect is significant at the 5% significance level. Surprisingly, migrants who report having no plans on their length of stay in Germany, compared to planning on only temporally relocating, report, on average, a 0.592 higher happiness score, ceteris paribus. This effect is significant at the 10% significance level. The effect of moving with no plan is larger than the effect of a planned permanent move. However, the significance for moving with no plan is less than the significance for an intended permanent move. Bearing in mind that the values of happiness, the dependent variable, ranging from zero to ten, the effect of a planned permanent move represents an almost six percentage point increase in the happiness score. This effect is not dominant to overall happiness, but it is still noteworthy.

Americans who intend to move to Germany permanently may have a different sense of commitment to the entire process and may have a longer-term perspective. Thus, they are willing to invest more time and energy into endeavors that while in the short run might be stressful but will pay dividends in the long run. Examples of long-run efforts would be learning German and the components of German culture and institutions. Suppose the migrant is only planning on staying temporarily, especially if the planned time is less than two years[6]. In that case, the process of cultural integration may not be worth the effort on top of the typical requirements of any intranational move. The investigation into the relationship of pre-migration factors on happiness does not provide a clear understanding. The magnitude and significance of an intended permanent move to Germany, compared to temporary, would suggest that the most crucial aspect of the variables tested is the migrant's perspective on their decision to move. However, the

[6] The average temporary German work contract is two years.

significance of having no intended plan on length of stay in Germany contradicts the insight drawn from the effect of a planned permanent move to Germany compared to a temporary move. The higher significance level of a permanent move than having no plan would add support to the insights that the expat's intention and mindset could be a significant factor of a successful and happy migration. Overall, the conclusions drawn from Table 1 do not provide evidence to support Hypothesis 1. Thus Hypothesis 1 must be rejected.

Table 1: The relationship between pre-migration factors and happiness

Dependent Variable: Happiness	(1)	(2)
Migration Experience	0.172	0.144
	(0.23)	(0.22)
Pre-migration German proficiency	0.082	0.048
	(0.06)	(0.06)
U.S. birth state with German heritage	0.259	0.122
	(0.24)	(0.22)
Temporary or Permanent Move: (ref. Temp)		
Permanent	0.494*	0.550**
	(0.26)	(0.25)
No plan	0.519	0.592*
	(0.35)	(0.35)
Index of moving factors	0.049	0.222
	(0.16)	(0.15)
Years in Germany		0.001
		(0.02)
Age		-0.128**
		(0.06)
Age2		0.152**
		(0.07)
Overall health		0.466***
		(0.11)
Self-reflective		-0.075
		(0.08)
Female		0.079
		(0.22)
Partner		0.391
		(0.27)
Children		0.258
		(0.23)
Chronic health condition		-0.246
		(0.29)
Bachelor's degree or higher		-0.295
		(0.35)
Employment status: (ref. Employed)		
Unemployed		-1.366***
		(0.45)
Not in labor market		-0.204
		(0.26)

Household Income: (ref. €2.500-€5,000)		
Income: <€2,500		-0.063
		(0.28)
Income: >€5,000		0.309
		(0.28)
Income: Unknown		-0.169
		(0.36)
Constant	6.424***	6.884***
	(0.26)	(1.46)
R^2	0.025	0.222
N	346.000	325.000

Notes: Regression coefficients are displayed with robust standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Summary statistics of control variables are listed in Appendix C

4.2 Relationship between moving characteristics and happiness

Table 2 shows the results from the analysis of the move characteristics and their relation to happiness. The first regression conducted only contained the variables of interest without any controls (Column 1). The only variables of interest that produced a significant result was that having a partner was related to higher happiness at the 5% significance level.

The second regression adds controls, accounting for how stressful the move was, age, health, self-reflectiveness, occupational status, and education to the previous regression (column 2). Household income was not included in the regression to test the correlation effect between migrant type and income. Being a highly skilled migrant compared to being an education migrant is related to an on average 0.561 reported higher happiness, ceteris paribus. This effect is significant at the 10% significance level. The magnitude of having a partner was reduced by 0.06 to 0.499, and the significance was reduced to the 10% significance level. Increasing the net favorable factors by one of the Index of moving factors, on average, increased reported happiness by 0.335, ceteris paribus. This effect is significant at the 5% significance level.

The third regression added *household income* to the previously tested variables and controls (Column 3). With both *migrant type* and *household income* included, there is no significant effect of the type of migrant when compared to being a highly skilled migrant. Having a partner is significant with the effect that, on average, increases reported happiness by 0.458, ceteris paribus. This effect is significant at the 10% significance level. A one-point increase in the expat's net view on moving to Germany, on average, increases reported happiness by 0.331, ceteris paribus. This effect is significant at the 5% significance level. All regressions include standard errors robust to heteroscedasticity.

There is a possibility that since the data represents the respondent's migrant type and not the household's migrant type that the unique characteristics and assistance received by highly skilled migrants are not visible in the data. As the co-mover of an education migrant is coded the same as a co-mover of a highly skilled migrant. Surprisingly, there is no significant effect of household income, compared to the reference of €2.500-€5,000, on reported Happiness. There is not enough evidence to support Hypothesis 2's claims that being a highly skilled migrant nor having friends or family in Germany (as indicated by the help while moving variable) is related to higher happiness. There is evidence supporting hypothesis 2's claim that moving with a partner is related to higher happiness.

Table 2: The relationship between moving characteristics and happiness

Dependent Variable: Happiness	(1)	(2)	(3)
Migrant Type: (ref. highly skilled migrant)			
Job-seeker	0.137	0.065	0.170
	(0.43)	(0.45)	(0.44)
Education Migrant	-0.481	-0.561*	-0.445
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.35)
Co-mover	-0.286	-0.408	-0.339
	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.26)
Other Reasons	0.024	-0.046	0.047
	(0.34)	(0.32)	(0.32)
Partner	0.569**	0.499*	0.458*
	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.27)
Help while moving	0.010	-0.104	-0.086
	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.23)
Index of moving factors	0.183	0.335**	0.331**
	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Stressful move		-0.269***	-0.279***
		(0.06)	(0.06)
Years in Germany		-0.003	-0.003
		(0.01)	(0.01)
Age		-0.137**	-0.148***
		(0.05)	(0.05)
Age2		0.157***	0.168***
		(0.06)	(0.06)
Overall health		0.429***	0.419***
		(0.11)	(0.11)
Self-reflective		-0.014	-0.020
		(0.08)	(0.08)
Female		0.169	0.165
		(0.21)	(0.21)
Children		0.394	0.337

		(0.25)	(0.25)
Chronic health condition		-0.438	-0.446
		(0.29)	(0.29)
Bachelor's degree or higher		-0.114	-0.132
		(0.35)	(0.35)
Household Income: (ref. €2.500-€5,000)			
Income: <€2,500			-0.135
			(0.28)
Income: >€5,000			0.329
			(0.27)
Income: Unknown			-0.113
			(0.36)
Constant	6.695***	8.360***	8.708***
	(0.31)	(1.52)	(1.56)
R^2	0.025	0.233	0.241
N	340	328	328

Notes: Regression coefficients are displayed with robust standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Summary statistics of control variables are listed in Appendix C.

4.3 Relationship of post-migration factors and averaged momentary happiness

Table 3 shows the results of the regressions conducted to test Hypothesis 3, the factors of post-migration happiness. The dependent variable for hypothesis 3 is *averaged momentary happiness* instead of *happiness* used in hypotheses 1 and 2. Averaged momentary happiness was calculated by averaging all momentary happiness reports weighted by each activity's duration for each respondent. The first regression was run with the generally trait-like variables. These variables include German language proficiency, percentage of time spent speaking German, percentage of time spent interacting with Germans, percentage of German friends, gaining a new partner in Germany, and the index of the respondent's opinion on staying (column 1). Of the variables tested, only the percentage of time the expat spent interacting with Germans and their net opinion on staying in Germany produced significant effects at the 10% level, with both being positively associated with averaged momentary happiness.

Next, variables were added to investigate the expat's level of integration with German society. These include measures for how stressful the expat's adjustment to Germany was, their net opinion on moving to Germany, the years they have lived in Germany, and their self-reported affinity to German Culture and how these factors relate to their averaged momentary happiness (column 2). The significance level and magnitude of the percentage of time the expat spent interacting with Germans increased, while the index of staying factors was no longer significant.

Of the new control variables added, only how stressful the expat's adjustment to Germany produced a significant effect.

Additional control variables accounting for age, health, employment, income, gender, and other factors were added to the previous regression (column 3). Expats that had a higher percentage of time interacting with Germans (5% significance level), less stressful adjustment (1% significance level), and have a higher degree of cultural affinity with Germany (10% significance level) reported higher averaged momentary happiness.

Finally, durations by activity, location, and interaction partner were added to the regression (column 4). In the final regression, migrants that are more proficient in German (5% significance level), a lower percentage of time speaking German (10% significance level) and had a higher percentage of time interacting with Germans (10% significance) reported higher averaged momentary happiness. Migrants who had a more stressful adjustment to Germany (1% significance level) reported a lower average momentary happiness. While it is not possible to conclude if the effect of language proficiency or percentage of time spent speaking German is more significant due to the measurement of both variables, the evidence does support the claims from previous research that speaking a foreign language can produce anxiety regardless of the individua's proficiency.

This is an exciting result that American expats increasing the percentage of time speaking German reduces their happiness but increasing the percentage of time they interact with Germans increases their happiness. Higher German language proficiency and a larger percentage of interactions with Germans are two crucial components of cultural integration and would increase the ease of operating in daily life with potential native friends able to help the expat with a social network, assistance with learning German culture, and systems. All analyses were conducted with standard errors robust to heteroscedasticity.

The finding that more culturally integrated expats report higher happiness is not surprising and is in keeping with other migrant happiness studies. Interestingly, the increase in the percentage of time speaking German correlates with lower happiness regardless of language proficiency. However, an increase in the percentage of time interacting with Germans is related to higher averaged momentary happiness. These two findings combined suggest that for American expats interacting with Germans is not detrimental to their averaged momentary

happiness but is instead related to higher momentary happiness if they can avoid the stress of trying to communicate in German. The results show that higher German language proficiency, a lower percentage of time speaking German, and a higher percentage of time spent interacting with Germans are related to higher happiness for American expats in Germany. These findings provide significant evidence to support hypothesis 3. However, there is not enough evidence to support the claim that having a higher percentage of German friends nor gaining a partner in Germany is associated with higher expat happiness. Thus, the claim in hypothesis 3 that having a higher percentage of German friends and gaining a partner in Germany is associated with higher averaged momentary happiness must be rejected.

Table 3: The relationship of post-migration integration factors and averaged momentary happiness

Dependent Variable: Average momentary happiness	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
German language proficiency	0.038	0.029	0.045	0.144**
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
% of time speaking German	-0.418	-0.683	-0.591	-1.249*
	(0.61)	(0.59)	(0.59)	(0.70)
% of time interacting with Germans	0.975**	1.119***	1.018**	0.950*
	(0.47)	(0.43)	(0.42)	(0.54)
% of friends who are German	0.093	-0.146	-0.141	-0.149
	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.27)
New partner in Germany	-0.115	-0.272	-0.159	-0.070
	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.21)
Index of staying factors	0.315*	0.130	0.042	0.095
	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.18)
Stressful adjustment		-0.231***	-0.206***	-0.219***
		(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Index of moving factors		0.164	0.197	0.202
		(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Years in Germany		0.007	-0.007	-0.005
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
German affinity		0.101	0.145**	0.087
		(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Age			-0.026	-0.034
			(0.05)	(0.05)
Age2			0.047	0.054
			(0.05)	(0.06)
Overall health			0.172*	0.058
			(0.09)	(0.08)
Self-reflective			-0.032	-0.006
			(0.08)	(0.07)
Female			0.147	0.036
			(0.19)	(0.21)
Children			0.111	0.254

			(0.23)	(0.30)
Chronic health condition			-0.200	-0.390*
			(0.22)	(0.21)
Bachelor's degree or higher			0.259	0.223
			(0.33)	(0.32)
Migrant type: (ref. Highly skilled Migrant)				
Job-seeker			0.612	0.066
			(0.40)	(0.45)
Education Migrant			0.217	0.063
			(0.31)	(0.32)
Moving with Family			0.577**	0.436
			(0.27)	(0.28)
Other Reasons			0.010	-0.309
			(0.29)	(0.27)
Employment status: (ref. Employed)				
Unemployed			-0.728**	-0.756**
			(0.30)	(0.32)
Not in labor market			-0.022	-0.259
			(0.22)	(0.23)
Household Income: (ref. €2.500-€5,000)				
Income: <€2.500			-0.327	-0.475*
			(0.23)	(0.25)
Income: >€5.000			0.158	-0.034
			(0.26)	(0.27)
Income: Unknown			0.039	-0.113
			(0.31)	(0.31)
Duration by activity	No	No	No	Yes
Duration by location	No	No	No	Yes
Duration by interaction partner	No	No	No	Yes
R^2	0.054	0.167	0.314	0.454
N	214	214	214	214

Notes: Regression coefficients are displayed with robust standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Summary statistics of control variables are listed in Appendix D.

4.4 Relationship between the language spoken and interaction partner's nationality and momentary happiness in daily life

Table 4 shows the fixed-effects model results on the relationship of the nationality of interaction partners, the language spoken, the activity conducted, and the activity's location with the momentary happiness of American expats. First, the effect of the interaction partner's nationality was tested with activity, location, and familiarity of interaction partner without accounting for the language spoken (column 1). The findings show no significant effects of the interaction partner's nationality on the American's momentary happiness. Next was removing nationality from the regression and testing the effect of the language spoken during the

interaction on momentary happiness (column 2). The results are that speaking English, compared to speaking German, significantly increased American expats' momentary happiness at the 5% significance level. Finally, the regression was conducted with both language and nationality included with the previously mentioned identifiers (column 3). The nationality of the interaction partner remained insignificant, and speaking English compared to speaking German remained significant. Americans reported on average being 0.26 points happier when speaking English compared to speaking German at the 5% significance level.

Regressions 1 through 3 used specified interaction partner variables, while regressions 4 through 6 use consolidated interaction partner variables based on familiarity with the American expat. The *Partner*, *Child*, and *Relative* variables were combined into the *Family* variable. The *Colleague* and *Associate* variables were likewise combined into the *Associate* variable. The *Alone*, *Friend*, and *Someone else* variables remain unchanged. All other variables and controls remain unchanged.

Investigating the relationship between nationality, activity, location, and familiarity of the interaction partner on momentary happiness yields similar results to regression 1. The only difference of significance between regression 4 and regression 1 is that being outside is now related to significantly higher momentary happiness compared to being at work at the 10% significance level, ceteris paribus (Column 4). For familiarity, only interacting with a friend produced a significant effect. Interacting with a friend on average increased momentary happiness by 0.642, ceteris paribus. This effect is significant at the 1% significance level. Next is the relationship between language, activity, location, and familiarity on momentary happiness. The results are similar to regression 2, with key differences being interactions where English and Germany are spoken no longer have a significant effect on momentary happiness while conducting personal care compared to working is not related to higher momentary happiness at the 10% significance level, ceteris paribus (Column 5). Being outside compared to being at work continues to be related to higher momentary happiness at the 10% significance level, ceteris paribus. Interacting with a friend continued to produce a significant positive effect on momentary happiness. The final regression included nationality, language, and familiarity with activity and location. Compared to interacting with a German, the interaction partner's nationality had no significant effect on momentary happiness at the 10% significance level. Speaking English, or

speaking German and English compared to only speaking German, was related to higher momentary happiness for American expats. Like the results from the previous two regressions, interacting with a friend was the only familiarity group that significantly affected momentary happiness.

The results support that the American expats' activity does have a significant effect on momentary happiness. Americans, on average, reported being significantly happier during active leisure compared to personal care, being on the move, studying, working, housekeeping, eating, and taking care of someone. The only activity that was related to higher momentary happiness was *Other* activities. In addition to the language spoken and the activity conducted having a significant effect on momentary happiness, the interaction partner mattered. On average, American expats report significantly happier interacting with friends (1% significance level) and acquaintances (5% significance level). When the interaction partners were consolidated, interacting with friends continued to be significantly related to higher momentary happiness. Surprising, American expats interacting with their partner, family, children, or the consolidated family variable did not, on average, have a significant effect on their momentary happiness. The only location that produced a significant effect on momentary happiness was being outside compared to being at work at the 10% significance level. All analyses were run with standard errors robust to heteroscedasticity and clustered by respondent.

Table 4: The relationship between nationality, language use, and familiarity on momentary happiness

Dependent variable: Momentary Happiness	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Nationality: (ref. German)						
American	0.021		-0.073	0.017		-0.076
	(0.14)		(0.16)	(0.14)		(0.16)
Mixed	0.029		-0.022	0.026		-0.023
	(0.10)		(0.10)	(0.10)		(0.10)
Other	-0.072		-0.116	-0.081		-0.120
	(0.17)		(0.18)	(0.17)		(0.18)
None	-0.200		-0.071	-0.097		0.060
	(0.13)		(0.27)	(0.14)		(0.29)
Language: (ref. German)						
English		0.231**	0.258**		0.226**	0.254**
		(0.11)	(0.12)		(0.11)	(0.12)
German & English		0.214*	0.221*		0.193	0.200*
		(0.12)	(0.12)		(0.12)	(0.12)
Other/None		-0.023	0.013		-0.059	-0.020

		(0.24)	(0.25)		(0.24)	(0.25)
Activity: (ref. Work)						
Personal care	0.183	0.191	0.192	0.181	0.191*	0.193*
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.11)
On the move	0.026	0.020	0.021	0.026	0.022	0.024
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Studying	0.008	0.028	0.036	0.018	0.039	0.048
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Housekeeping	-0.096	-0.095	-0.095	-0.100	-0.096	-0.095
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Eating	0.411***	0.404***	0.405***	0.399***	0.396***	0.397***
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Taking care of someone	0.025	0.025	0.025	0.030	0.034	0.036
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Talking to someone	0.413**	0.405**	0.406**	0.398**	0.396**	0.397**
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Passive leisure	0.545***	0.546***	0.546***	0.543***	0.546***	0.546***
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Active or social leisure	0.761***	0.757***	0.756***	0.790***	0.791***	0.790***
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.15)
Other leisure	0.820***	0.813***	0.814***	0.823***	0.820***	0.821***
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Other	-0.041	-0.040	-0.042	-0.038	-0.032	-0.034
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Location: (ref. Work)						
Home	0.140	0.126	0.137	0.155	0.149	0.160
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Outside	0.308	0.303	0.316	0.339*	0.342*	0.356*
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
In a moving vehicle	-0.110	-0.113	-0.105	-0.088	-0.084	-0.077
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Somewhere else inside	0.158	0.170	0.178	0.203	0.221	0.230
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Interaction:						
Alone	0.000	-0.015	0.000			
	(.)	(0.23)	(.)			
Partner	-0.078	-0.079	-0.087			
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)			
Child	0.018	0.014	0.012			
	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.14)			
Relative	-0.343	-0.311	-0.300			
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.24)			
Friend	0.586***	0.574***	0.572***			
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)			
Colleague	-0.087	-0.082	-0.086			

	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)			
Acquaintance	0.264*	0.291**	0.287**			
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)			
Someone else	0.053	0.088	0.093			
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)			
Familiarity:						
Alone				0.000	0.120	0.000
				(.)	(0.25)	(.)
Family				0.064	0.063	0.057
				(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Friend				0.642***	0.631***	0.628***
				(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Associate				0.067	0.086	0.081
				(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Someone else				0.125	0.160	0.164
				(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Time of Day	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day of Week	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R^2	0.150	0.152	0.152	0.147	0.149	0.150
Observations	6,195	6,195	6,195	6,195	6,195	6,195
Individuals	214	214	214	214	214	214

Notes: Regression coefficients are displayed with individual-clustered robust standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Summary statistics of state-like variables are listed in Appendix G.

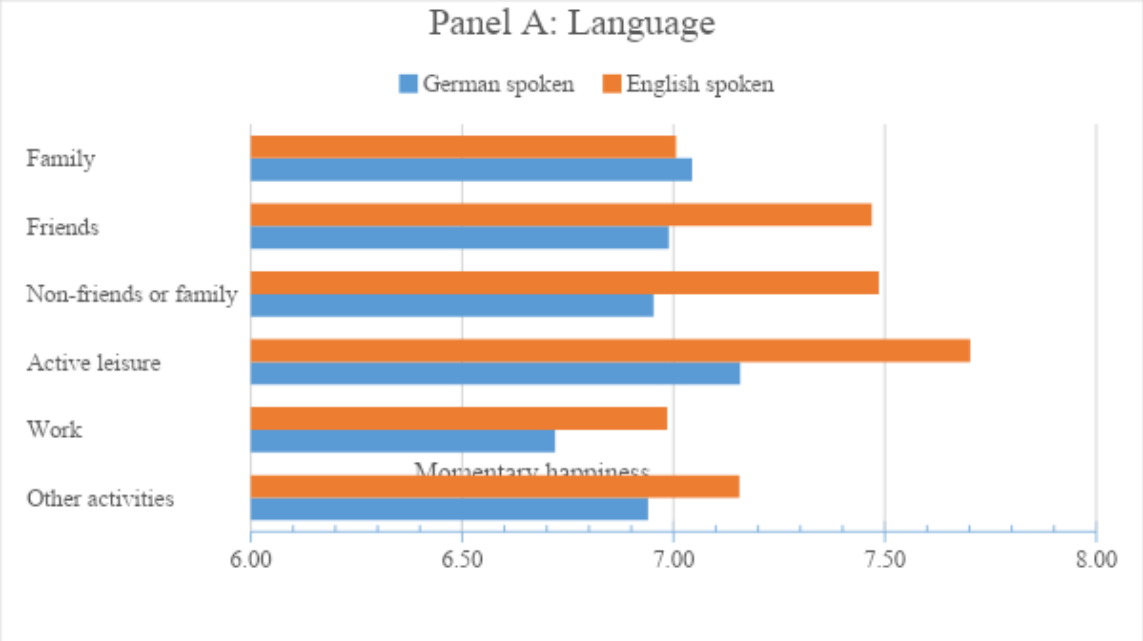
Figure 1 further illustrates the findings from Table 4 of the relationship of American expat's momentary happiness with the interaction partner's language use and nationality. American expats report feeling significantly less momentary happiness when speaking German except for when the expat is talking to their family. An explanation for this is that since Americans feel more at ease around their family, it is less stressful to speak German. Continuing to the language spoken by activity groups, the disparity between momentary happiness in Active leisure is surprising and counter to hypothesis 4. However, it is still the activity with the highest associated momentary happiness speaking German.

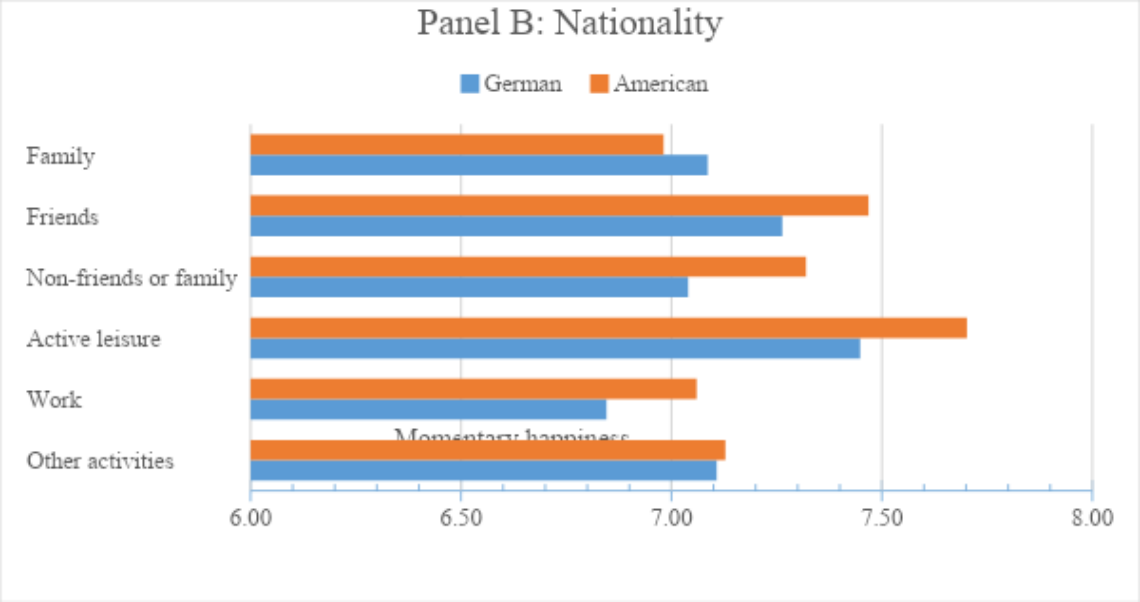
Similar to Panel A, interacting with family is the only scenario where German nationality is related to higher momentary happiness. While Table 3 shows that Americans that interact with a larger percentage of Germans report higher averaged momentary happiness, Panel B shows that interacting with Americans still relates to higher momentary happiness. Across both panels, Work is related to the lowest momentary happiness regarding nationality and language spoken.

Across the findings from both Table 4 and Figure 1, there is significant evidence to support Hypothesis 4 that communicating in English is related to higher momentary happiness.

There is evidence to support that speaking German with family and friends is related to higher momentary happiness compared to speaking with strangers. Speaking German to family members is the only scenario where speaking German is related to higher momentary happiness compared to speaking English. Additionally, there is evidence to support that speaking German during active leisure activities is related to higher momentary happiness than speaking German during non-active leisure activities. However, the difference in momentary happiness between speaking English and German during active leisure is the largest compared to other activities. This evidence violates the assumption that speaking German during an active leisure scenario would help reduce the stress of communicating in German and allow a common frame topic to anchor communication. Considering all the evidence, the claim that speaking German during active leisure activities (claim (c) of Hypothesis 4) cannot be supported, and therefore must be rejected.

Figure 1: The relationship of Language use and Nationality of interaction partner on Momentary Happiness in "Active leisure" and "Work" scenarios





Notes: Family consists of interactions exclusively with family, spouse, and children. *Friends* consists of interactions with friends, colleagues, and acquaintances. *Non-friends or family* consists of all other interactions, including mixed category interactions. *Work* consists of all interactions at work, *Active leisure* consists of all interactions while conducting active or social leisure activities, and *other activities* is everything else. Results for the "German & English" and "Other/None" language categories from Table 4 are not shown.

5. Discussion

This study aimed to explore the factors that affect the happiness of American expats in Germany. Within that overarching mission, the scenario was separated into pre-migration factors, move characteristics, post-migration integration, and daily life factors. The post-migration scenario included investigating the averaged momentary happiness of expats and then a more focused investigation of Americans' momentary happiness using a fixed-effects model to identify the interaction that the interaction partner's and the primary language spoken had on momentary happiness.

Importance of having a favorable view on moving for happiness

The investigation into the pre-migration factors that hypothesis 1 proposed to be related to higher happiness of American expats in Germany was inconclusive and unable to support the assumptions of hypothesis 1. The only significant effect discovered was that Americans with an overall more favorable index of moving factors reported significantly higher happiness. Logically, someone who reports having more reasons supporting their decision to move to Germany should also report having higher happiness. The moving factors index included career prospects, institutions, politics, environment, safety, German people, German culture,

respondent's friends, family, partner, children, loneliness, and adventure. The positive relation with reported happiness is not surprising, but the level of significance is surprising. However, this is still important since humans are generally naturally biased to their current situation (status quo bias) and assessing that the benefits of moving to Germany outweigh what expats are leaving behind, plus the stress directly caused by their decision to move.

There is a potential possibility for reverse causality as the baseline survey asking respondents to evaluate the ten reasons for moving was completed after moving to Germany. Through either recall bias or fading affect bias, Americans that have a more positive view on their current life in Germany may more positively remember their evaluation of deciding to move to Germany (Walker et al., 2003; Gibbons et al., 2011). The study attempts to mitigate these biases by including control variables that measure the individual's overall life satisfaction, general demeanor, and the number of years it has been since moving to Germany. Additionally, there is a concern for self-selection bias for the American expat community. Those who may have had a more unfavorable view on moving to Germany did not end up moving to Germany. The fact that the mean of the index of moving factors is negative alleviates this concern as most of the expats in the sample reported a negative opinion about moving to Germany.

Characteristics of the move discussion & co-mover refinement

The analysis into Hypothesis 2 on the move characteristics that affect happiness continued to yield insignificant results. However, a potential cause for the insignificant results for Hypothesis 1 and 2 may be that the data collection's primary focus was on American expats' momentary happiness in their daily life and not on the time-invariant trait-like characteristics. The data collected was concerned with factors that would influence the American expat's happiness once they were already living in Germany and less concerned with the factors that got them there. For example, the primary reason for the household's decision to move to Germany is missing for co-movers. The data does not differentiate highly skilled migrant co-movers from education co-movers. The potential grouping of the different types of co-movers together could prevent the proper identification of the type of migration process's effect on happiness. Clarifying these variables is a potential area for future research by focusing the baseline questionnaire on the household's reason for migration and how the American was able to acquire approval to move to Germany, and then focus the DRM questionnaire on momentary happiness

factors. The clarification of the co-mover identity in the data may help identify the relationship between the different migration circumstances on happiness. Doing so could help clarify how the incredibly different migration circumstances affect the foundation of the expat's journey and future success. This study has found evidence that the expat's outlook and opinion on the move both before and after the process can significantly impact their happiness.

Potential benefit of ethnicity and dual nationality variables

Another area of further refinement would be the inclusion of a race or ethnicity variable. There may be a correlation between certain ethnicities and their perceived acceptance in German society. Additionally, data was not collected on the gender of interaction partners, which means no analysis can be conducted on gender interaction dynamics in Germany between Americans and Germans. Additionally, there was no exact way to identify Americans that had exemptions from Germany's standard immigration rules. Such exemptions include being a German citizen, having an EU Schengen area passport that would allow them to reside and work in Germany freely, or being married to a German citizen or EU Schengen area passport holder. In addition to German law, the United States actively discourages Americans from holding dual nationality. While the expected percentage of Americans with dual nationalities is statistically small, there is a potential concern that they may be overrepresented in the data of Americans abroad since it is significantly easier for them to move to and live in Germany.

Building on this point, the data used for this study lacks any way to identify dual nationality respondents or respondents married to someone with European nationality that would affect immigration requirements. If the respondent did have another passport, it would then violate the assumption that American workers in Germany are unique because they must overcome regulatory barriers to work and stay in the country compared to EU citizens, unless already noted in the data. Such as the reason for moving being as an ethnic German. I have attempted to mitigate the missing secondary passport knowledge by adding in the *foreign parent* variable that identifies any American expat in the study that identified having at least one foreign-born parent. However, it is impossible to determine if that foreign-born parent was European. Again, like being a European American, having a European parent could reduce the opportunity cost of moving to Germany, potentially causing them to be overrepresented in the dataset.

The perplexing case of the positive effect of interacting with Germans while speaking English

The analysis of post-migration integration factors on averaged momentary happiness found the exciting relationship that American expats with higher German proficiency reported higher average momentary happiness. But Americans with a larger percentage of time spent speaking German reporting reported lower average momentary happiness. To add to this, even more, Americans that reported a higher percentage of time interacting with Germans reported higher average momentary happiness. These results all add up to mean that being proficient in German is positively related to average momentary happiness, but speaking German is negatively related to average momentary happiness. However, speaking English with Germans is positively related to average momentary happiness.

Put simply, speaking German reduces happiness but interacting with Germans increases happiness. This effect remains after accounting for years in Germany & self-reported German cultural affinity. This finding supports earlier studies about how stressful speaking a foreign language is for individuals and the importance of cultural integration of migrants. The negative effect of speaking German exists no matter the level of German language proficiency. The larger percentage of time talking with Germans could relate to a more integrated expat that is more at ease in Germany or has more connections to Germany. While Germany is a very international country, it can be challenging to find Germans and German businesses where both parties can effectively communicate in English. The process of finding German friends and German businesses capable of speaking English is not a simple task. It can represent a large amount of effort invested by the expat to explore and discover their surroundings.

The ability to find English-speaking Germans could also reflect the type of location in Germany that is most likely to lead to migrant success. That being areas that would not commit the expat from becoming completely immersed in the local language and customs. This seems counter-intuitive to the successful integration of migrants into the host nation, which more macro-level studies on migrant happiness would suggest. However, it may reflect the communication safety net allowing the expat to attempt to integrate while knowing that they can fall back onto English if they cannot communicate in German effectively.

Still, interacting with Germans reflects a better-integrated expat with a more expansive social network or at least a more extensive potential network that is significantly larger than the possible network made up exclusively of Americans.

How nationality and language influence American expat's momentary happiness

The study further drilled down into how the factors of each interaction that American expats had related to their reported momentary happiness—using a fixed-effects model to investigate the effects of language use, interaction partner, and activity conducted on momentary happiness. As shown in Table 4, the effect of the interaction partner's nationality was insignificant; only language spoken was significant. Compared to the results in Table 3 were both speaking German and interacting with Germans were significant. Of course, these two Tables use different regression models, with Table 3 representing an OLS model and Table 4 representing a fixed-effects model, but still interesting, they find differing significance. A potential conclusion is that in the moment, or per individual encounter, the effect of nationality is minor, but on the macro-level of interactions over a multi-day period, the importance of the nationality of interaction partners increases.

Further expanding on this thought, interacting with more Germans, if most of those interactions are conducted in English, is beneficial to the American expat's happiness for their daily routine. This remains true after controlling for activity, location, and background and considering that students and highly skilled migrants have better access to English-speaking Germans by their situation. Further, looking into the effect of the American expat's familiarity with their interaction partner produced some noteworthy results. It is not surprising that interacting with friends is related to significantly higher momentary happiness since individuals can choose who they maintain as friends. However, it is surprising that family interactions did not significantly affect momentary happiness, especially interacting with close family members such as the respondent's partner and children. An individual's partner is usually their best source of social capital that supports them and motivates them. It is not unfathomable that interacting with relatives may not be a happy endeavor but interacting with your partner not producing significant positive results is still surprising.

After discussing the study results, it is now time to turn our attention to potential future extensions inspired by this study's findings. These extensions could primarily go in two

directions. The first would be to continue to directly investigate nationality and language's effect on American expats' momentary happiness. The second would be investigating the effect of language and nationality on the momentary happiness of other migrant groups.

Let us discuss the later extension first of exploring the effect of language and nationality on the momentary happiness of other migrant groups. Multiple studies exist already that investigate similar topics with migrant groups in Germany. The primary difference between them and this study is that the other studies investigated primarily macro-level effects. They focused on larger migrant populations, generally Turkish, Bulgarian, Romanian, or Syrian migrants in Germany. A critical difference in the circumstances between the previously mentioned groups and Americans is that they have a large enough population concentration in Germany to create Ethnic enclaves, unlike Americans. The effects of immigrant ethnic enclaves on integration have been investigated in the Netherlands and Germany, with conclusions referenced previously in this study.

The other potential extension would be to investigate further the effect of speaking German on happiness for American expats. Since the study found evidence supporting that for Americans speaking German is related to lower (averaged) momentary happiness even when accounting for German language proficiency. If this same study was replicated but with further attention placed on breaking down German language aptitude into more detailed questions about how well the American can understand German, speak German, and how comfortable they feel about each part. The more detailed language aptitude data may allow researchers to discover if the American's confidence in speaking German is related to a decrease in the negative effect of speaking German. Suppose there is evidence to support that the speaker's confidence reduces the negative impact of speaking. It could support potential conclusions about the importance of learning the native language immediately (preferably before migration) to have time to build confidence in speaking. Additionally, it could support further investigation into ways to mitigate the sense of anxiety/ stress from speaking the native language.

6. Conclusions

In conclusion, this paper aims to study the micro-level factors that influence American expats' happiness and momentary happiness in Germany. American expats being a migrant group

that rarely shows up in migrant studies. The data set on American expats provided a unique opportunity to investigate this unstudied group. The specific research question for the investigation was what micro-level factors influence American expats' happiness in Germany? To better answer the research question, the study was separated into four themes; 1. Investigating the time-constant pre-migration circumstances of the expats, 2. The characteristics of the expats' move, 3. Exploring their time-varying post-migration experiences, and 4. Analyze the daily life experiences of the expats. The data set used to gain insight into American expat happiness was generated from a baseline questionnaire and a DRM questionnaire. Attempts to reach out to American expats in Germany through social groups, social media pages, business organizations, and university groups resulted in 384 Americans completing the baseline questionnaire. Of these respondents, 214 completed at least one DRM questionnaire.

The investigation into Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 into the pre-migration factors and characteristics of the move, respectively, resulted in insignificant evidence to support either hypothesis, so both must be rejected. The only significant finding from the investigation into pre-migration factors (hypothesis 1) was the expat's intended length of stay in Germany. Americans who had no plan or intended to move to Germany permanently reported higher happiness than those that only planned to move to Germany temporarily. For the investigation into characteristics of the move was the significant findings included the positive benefit of having a partner, how stressful the move was, and the effect of the expat's opinion of having more reasons supporting moving to Germany than against the decision. Essentially, the migrant viewed the move as opening more new opportunities than giving up their current opportunities, friends, and situation. The presence of a partner potentially allowed the American to share the duties and the stress of the move with someone else. Since the primary focus of the data collected was on factors affecting American expats' momentary happiness, the questions were focused on the individual's circumstances instead of their household circumstances. The finding of the significant effect of the American's perspective on moving to Germany is not surprising. However, it is still vital as an individual's perspective on their life situation drives their interpretation of life events.

The investigation into the post-migration integration factors on American expat's averaged momentary happiness yielded more significant results. The analysis found that for

Americans speaking German reduced their reported happiness but interacting with Germans increases happiness. This effect remains after accounting for years in Germany & self-reported German cultural affinity. These findings support earlier studies about the importance of cultural integration of migrants. The larger percentage of time speaking with Germans probably relates to a more integrated expat that is more at ease in Germany or has more connections to Germany.

An American expat's ability to find a build a network of English-speaking Germans could reflect a different sense of integration than is commonly understood. As previous studies have mentioned, migrants of all types generally have less developed social networks than natives. The finding that American expats are happier when interacting with more Germans is evidence that integrating into the local culture is beneficial to happiness. Of course, the long-term goal for every migrant should be the complete integration into the host nation by learning the culture, customs, and local language. While learning the local language can be a long and stressful process, making new native friends can motivate them to continue their integration journey. Especially since the American expat population in Germany is relatively small, it would not be possible for an American to live in an ethnic enclave and not interact with Germans.

In closing, the results show that higher German language proficiency, having more close German friends, and experiencing a less stressful adjustment to Germany are related to higher happiness for American expats in Germany. These findings provide significant evidence to support hypothesis 3. However, there is not enough evidence to support the claim that gaining a partner in Germany is associated with higher expat happiness. Thus, the claim in hypothesis 3 that gaining a partner in Germany is associated with higher averaged momentary happiness must be rejected.

The final portion of the study was investigating the daily influences of the momentary happiness of American expats. This remains true after controlling for activity, location, and background, taking into account that students and highly skilled migrants have better access to English-speaking Germans by the circumstance of their migration type. Further, looking into the effect of the American expat's familiarity with their interaction partner produced some noteworthy results. Across the findings from both Table 4 and Figure 1, there is significant evidence to support Hypothesis 4 that communicating in English is related to higher momentary happiness. There is evidence to support that speaking German with family and friends is related to higher momentary happiness compared to talking with strangers. Speaking German to family

members is the only scenario where speaking German is related to higher momentary happiness compared to speaking English.

Additionally, there is evidence to support that speaking German during active leisure activities is related to higher momentary happiness than speaking German during non-active leisure activities. However, the difference in momentary happiness between speaking English and German during active leisure is the largest compared to other activities. This evidence violates the assumption that speaking German during an active leisure scenario would help reduce the stress of communicating in German and allow a common frame topic to anchor communication. Considering all the evidence, the claim that speaking German during active leisure activities (claim (c) of Hypothesis 4) cannot be supported, and therefore must be rejected.

Advice for American Expats

Before closing this paper, it is crucial to advise current and future American expats based upon this study's insights. The first bit of advice would be to understand, and remember, that moving is a stressful process, which is especially true for international moves. You will face many hurdles during the process, and many of these will be unexpected. It is essential to enter the process, understanding this, and be proactive throughout the journey. With that out of the way, the second piece of advice is to start learning German as soon as possible, preferably before moving, because learning German is a long and potentially stressful process. But it is fundamental to successful integration and a requirement for permanent residency if that is your goal. Understand that speaking German can be create anxiety, so it is important on overcoming that stress by practicing speaking with someone you feel comfortable with and accepting that you will make mistakes but do not get hung up on them. If you can choose where to move to in Germany, it is recommended to select an area with a higher English-language aptitude. Since learning German is a long-term objective, a short-term goal should be to make friends with locals that can speak English. If they are fellow expats, you can share the stress of relocating with them and receive advice from them on the process. If they are German, they can act as interpreters for you and provide knowledge of German culture and society and help explore your local area. Making friends with Germans can be a daunting task, so a recommendation to help find German friends is to find hobbies or activities to share with locals, especially if the English language is involved.

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8. Appendix

Appendix A: Summary statistics of variables

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Happiness	371	6.95	2.03	0.00	10.00
Averaged momentary happiness (duration-weighted)	214	6.95	1.43	2.30	10.00
Index of moving factors	384	-0.27	0.71	-2.00	1.80
Index of staying factors	384	0.09	0.66	-2.00	1.80
Stressful move	350	3.97	1.71	1.00	7.00
Stressful adjustment	348	4.01	1.72	1.00	7.00
Prior migration experience	382	0.54		0.00	1.00
# of countries lived in excluding US & Germany	194	1.97	1.36	1.00	8.00
Affinity with Germany	345	4.47	1.64	1.00	7.00
Pre-migration German language proficiency	352	2.42	1.76	1.00	7.00
German language proficiency	345	4.70	1.93	1.00	7.00
German Friends	345	2.10	2.51	0.00	20.00
Friends in Germany	344	3.53	3.39	0.00	25.00
% German language usage	214	0.19	0.21	0.00	1.00
% Interaction with Germans	214	0.31	0.25	0.00	1.00
% German friends	384	0.58	0.40	0.00	1.00
Years in Germany	339	7.56	10.34	0.00	50.00
Feeling at home in Germany	345	4.83	1.55	1.00	7.00
Age	340	41.25	12.57	20.00	74.00
Health	343	5.73	1.24	1.00	7.00
Self-reflection	344	5.88	1.23	1.00	7.00
Female	344	0.63		0.00	1.00
Partner	341	0.74		0.00	1.00
New Partner in Germany	384	0.23		0.00	1.00
Children	344	0.44		0.00	1.00
Chronic health condition	344	0.26		0.00	1.00
Bachelor's degree or higher	344	0.88		0.00	1.00
Employed	344	0.63		0.00	1.00
Unemployed	344	0.09		0.00	1.00
Not in labor market	344	0.28		0.00	1.00
Income: <2,500€	384	0.32		0.00	1.00
Income: 2,500-5,000€	384	0.23		0.00	1.00
Income: >5,000€	384	0.21		0.00	1.00
Income: Unknown	384	0.24		0.00	1.00
Migrant: Highly-skilled migrant	350	0.31		0.00	1.00
Migrant: Job-seeker	350	0.05		0.00	1.00
Migrant: Education	350	0.13		0.00	1.00
Migrant: Co-Mover	350	0.33		0.00	1.00

Migrant: Other reasons	350	0.19		0.00	1.00
Planned temporary move	384	0.62		0.00	1.00
Planned permanent move	384	0.19		0.00	1.00
Help from friends in Germany when moving	350	0.48		0.00	1.00
U.S. state with German heritage	384	0.22		0.00	1.00
Activity: % time spent on Personal care	214	7.67	8.36	0.00	48.48
Activity: % time spent on Moving	214	10.70	10.49	0.00	59.26
Activity: % time spent Studying	214	4.22	10.52	0.00	60.00
Activity: % time spent Working	214	22.07	21.32	0.00	88.95
Activity: % time spent Housekeeping	214	8.08	9.44	0.00	44.62
Activity: % time spent Eating	214	12.61	10.52	0.00	66.67
Activity: % time spent Taking care of others	214	4.42	10.13	0.00	78.57
Activity: % time spent on Talking to others	214	2.13	4.42	0.00	33.33
Activity: % time spent on Passive leisure	214	12.68	12.31	0.00	60.00
Activity: % time spent on Active leisure	214	6.29	8.84	0.00	42.86
Activity: % time spent on Other leisure	214	5.69	8.76	0.00	58.76
Activity: % time spent on Other activities	214	3.44	10.13	0.00	100.00
Location: % time spent at Home	214	52.72	24.71	0.00	100.00
Location: % time spent at Work	214	15.19	21.07	0.00	76.40
Location: % time spent Outside	214	13.05	15.90	0.00	100.00
Location: % time spent in a Vehicle	214	6.87	9.38	0.00	68.82
Location: % time spent Somewhere else	214	12.17	13.28	0.00	60.00
Interaction: % time Alone	214	41.50	26.41	0.00	100.00
Interaction: % time with Partner	214	25.94	28.64	0.00	100.00
Interaction: % time with Child	214	14.03	25.99	0.00	100.00
Interaction: % time with Relative	214	2.79	9.64	0.00	97.96
Interaction: % time with Friend	214	9.89	14.08	0.00	85.71
Interaction: % time with Colleague	214	14.33	19.92	0.00	88.95
Interaction: % time with Acquaintance	214	3.85	9.40	0.00	71.43
Interaction: % time with Others	214	6.35	13.47	0.00	100.00

Note: Standard deviations for dummy variables not reported. The percentage of time spent with each type of interaction partner does not sum up to one because multiple interaction partners could be present. Sleeping entries were excluded from the analysis.

Appendix B: Sample Demographics Comparison

Variable	Category	Sample	Population*
Gender	Male	37.21%	55.50%
	Female	62.79%	44.50%
Age	20-29	21.47%	16.73%
	30-39	27.35%	18.73%
	40-49	24.12%	15.28%
	50-59	18.53%	17.75%

	60-69	7.65%	12.13%
	70+	0.88%	3.79%
Years in Germany		7.56	16.90
Location by State	Baden-Württemberg	10.14%	14.37%
	Bavaria	21.74%	21.02%
	Berlin	14.20%	17.78%
	Brandenburg	0.29%	0.97%
	Bremen	1.74%	0.96%
	Hamburg	5.22%	3.73%
	Hesse	11.59%	12.65%
	Lower Saxony	2.61%	4.43%
	North Rhine-Westphalia	24.35%	11.71%
	Rhineland-Palatinate	3.77%	6.88%
	Saarland	0.58%	0.66%
	Saxony	2.61%	1.74%
	Schleswig-Holstein	0.58%	1.75%
	Thuringia	0.58%	0.56%

*Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, Fachserie 1 Reihe 2, 2019

Appendix C: Regression 1 & 2 controls

Controls for Regressions 1 & 2		
Indicator	Measure	Scale /classification
Stressful Move	The respondent's self-reported rating of how stressful moving to Germany was.	1 (not stressful) - 7 (Most stressful)
Years in Germany	The respondent's self-reported total number of years living in Germany.	In years
Age & Age^2	Age & Age^2 represent the relationship of Age & happiness	In years
Perceived health	In general, how is your health?	1 (very bad) - 7 (very good)
Self-reflective	How self-reflective would you say you are?	1 (not at all self-reflective) - 7 (very self-reflective)
Gender		0 = male; 1= female
Partner		0 = Does not have a partner 1 = Has a partner
Children		0 = Has no children 1 = has children
Chronic health condition	Do you have a chronic health condition?	0 = no; 1 = yes
Education level: Bachelor's degree or higher	What is the highest educational level that you have completed? a) Primary school b) GED (General Educational Development) c) Regular high school diploma d) Associate degree or certificate	0 = categories a-d 1 = categories e-f

	e) Bachelor's degree f) Master's degree or higher	
Employment status	What is your current job status? a) Full-time employed (>30 hours per week) b) Part-time employed (<30 hours per week) c) Self-employed d) Searching for a job e) Student f) Retiree g) Stay-at-home wife/husband	Employed = categories a-c Unemployed = category d Not in the labor market = categories e-g
Monthly household income	What is your average monthly household income (after taxes)?	Response separated into quartiles of: a) <2,000€ b) 2,000-3,500€ c) >3,500€ d) unknown
Migrant type	How did you move to Germany? a) I was (temporarily) relocated to Germany by my employer b) I received a job offer from a company located in Germany c) As a job-seeker d) As a student or vocational trainee e) As an ethnic German f) As a spouse, child, or other family member g) Other	highly-skilled migrant = categories a-b Job-seeker = c education migrant = category d Co-moving family member = category f Other = categories e & g

Regression 2 additional controls

Indicator	Measure	Scale /classification
Stressful move	how stressful would you rate your move to Germany?	1(not stressful at all) - 7(The most stressful event ever).

Appendix D: Additional controls added for Regression 3

Indicator	Measure	Scale /classification
German affinity	To what extent do you feel an affinity with German culture, customs, and traditions?	1(No Affinity) - 7(Very much affinity)
Stressful adjustment	how stressful would you rate your adjustment to Germany?	1(not stressful at all) - 7(The most stressful event ever).
Activity*	DRM: What main activity did you do?	a) Personal care b) On the move c) Studying d) Working e) Housekeeping f) Eating g) Taking care of someone else h) Talking i) Passive leisure (surfing the web, reading, listening to music, watching tv, playing (video) games, relaxing)

		j) Active or social leisure (sports, party, bar, cinema, restaurant, theater, concert, shopping, church, sightseeing) k) Other leisure l) Other activities
Location	DRM: Where were you?	a) Home b) Work c) Outside d) In a moving vehicle e) Somewhere else inside
Interaction partner	DRM: Who was with you?	a) Alone b) Partner c) Child(ren) d) Other relative(s) e) Friend(s) f) Colleague(s)/customer(s) g) Acquaintance(s) h) Other

Note: The above control variables have been added to the previously used controls from regressions 1 & 2. *Activity: Sleeping was removed from the data due to no interaction.

Appendix E: Nationality variable

Discrete nationality variable

	Freq.	Percent
None	2,827	44.41%
German	1,397	21.95%
American	578	9.08%
German & American	619	9.73%
Other nationality(s) & American	71	1.12%
German & Other nationality(s)	339	5.33%
Other nationality(s)	390	6.13%
German, American, & Other	144	2.26%
Total	6,365	100%

Consolidated nationality variable

	Freq.	Percent
German	1,397	21.95%
American	578	9.08%
Mixed	1173	18.43%
Other	390	6.13%
None	2,827	44.41%
Total	6,365	100%

Appendix F: Language variable

Discrete language variable

	Freq.	Percent
None	2,890	45.40%
German spoken	751	11.80%
English spoken	1,930	30.32%
German & English spoken	663	10.42%
Other language(s) & English spoken	89	1.40%
German & Other language(s) spoken	8	0.13%
Other language(s) spoken	29	0.46%
All languages spoken	5	0.08%
Total	6,365	100%

Consolidated language variable

	Freq.	Percent
German	751	11.80%
English	1,930	30.32%
German & English	668	10.49%
Other/None	3,016	47.38%
Total	6,365	100%

Appendix G: Summary statistics of state-like variables

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Momentary happiness	6,195	7.03	1.87	0	10
Activity: Personal care	6,195	0.09	0.28	0	1
Activity: On the move	6,195	0.13	0.34	0	1
Activity: Studying	6,195	0.04	0.20	0	1
Activity: Working	6,195	0.17	0.37	0	1
Activity: Housekeeping	6,195	0.09	0.29	0	1
Activity: Eating	6,195	0.15	0.35	0	1

Activity: Taking care of someone	6,195	0.04	0.20	0	1
Activity: Talking to someone	6,195	0.03	0.16	0	1
Activity: Passive Leisure	6,195	0.13	0.33	0	1
Activity: Active or social leisure	6,195	0.06	0.24	0	1
Activity: Other leisure	6,195	0.05	0.22	0	1
Activity: Other	6,195	0.02	0.15	0	1
Location: Home	6,195	0.55	0.50	0	1
Location: Work	6,195	0.11	0.32	0	1
Location: Outside	6,195	0.12	0.33	0	1
Location: In a moving vehicle	6,195	0.09	0.29	0	1
Location: Somewhere else inside	6,195	0.12	0.33	0	1
Interaction: Alone	6,195	0.43	0.49	0	1
Interaction: Partner	6,195	0.30	0.46	0	1
Interaction: Child	6,195	0.14	0.34	0	1
Interaction: Relative	6,195	0.03	0.18	0	1
Interaction: Friend	6,195	0.09	0.29	0	1
Interaction: Colleague	6,195	0.11	0.31	0	1
Interaction: Acquaintance	6,195	0.04	0.20	0	1
Interaction: Other	6,195	0.06	0.23	0	1
Familiarity: N/A	6,365	0.42	0.49	0	1
Familiarity: Family	6,365	0.33	0.47	0	1
Familiarity: Friends	6,365	0.07	0.26	0	1
Familiarity: Associates	6,365	0.13	0.34	0	1
Familiarity: Strangers	6,365	0.05	0.23	0	1
Nationality: German	6,365	0.22	0.41	0	1

Nationality: American	6,365	0.09	0.29	0	1
Nationality: Mixed	6,365	0.18	0.39	0	1
Nationality: Other	6,365	0.06	0.24	0	1
Nationality: None	6,365	0.44	0.50	0	1
Language spoken: German	6,365	0.12	0.32	0	1
Language spoken: English	6,365	0.30	0.46	0	1
Language spoken: German & English	6,365	0.10	0.31	0	1
Language spoken: Other/None	6,365	0.47	0.50	0	1

Notes: Nationality of interaction and language spoken was set to "None" when the respondent was alone.

Appendix H: The moderating role of familiarity in the relationship between the language spoken and momentary happiness.

	(1)	(2)
Language: (ref. English)		
German	-0.838***	-0.856***
	(0.18)	(0.18)
German & English	-0.591***	-0.600***
	(0.22)	(0.22)
Other/None	-0.436**	-0.422**
	(0.21)	(0.21)
Language*Familiarity:		
German	0.218***	0.219***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
German & English	0.189***	0.186***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Other/None	0.053	0.051
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Activity, location, & interaction partner	Yes	Yes
Nationality of interaction partner(s)	No	Yes
Time of day	Yes	Yes
Day of week	Yes	Yes
R^2	0.157	0.157
Individuals	214	214
Observations	6,195	6,195

Notes: Regression coefficients are displayed with individual-clustered robust standard errors in parentheses.
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Appendix I: The moderating role of familiarity in the relationship between having a German interaction partner and momentary happiness.

	(1)	(2)
Nationality: (ref. German)		
American	0.598**	0.462*
	(0.25)	(0.25)
Mixed	0.779***	0.714***
	(0.18)	(0.18)
Other	0.096	0.020
	(0.24)	(0.24)
Nationality*Familiarity		
American	-0.194***	-0.177**
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Mixed	-0.255***	-0.249***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Other	-0.053	-0.039
	(0.08)	(0.08)
Activity, location, & interaction partner	Yes	Yes
Language(s) spoken	No	Yes
Time of day	Yes	Yes
Day of week	Yes	Yes
R^2	0.155	0.157
Individuals	214	214
Observations	6,195	6,195

Notes: Regression coefficients are displayed with individual-clustered robust standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Appendix J: The moderating role of integration in the relationship between the language spoken and momentary happiness.

	(1)	(2)
Language: (ref. English)		
German	-1.918***	-1.922***
	(0.35)	(0.35)
German & English	-1.039***	-1.051***
	(0.31)	(0.31)
Other/None	-0.410**	-0.414**
	(0.18)	(0.18)
Language*German affinity:		
German	0.111**	0.111**
	(0.05)	(0.05)
German & English	0.096**	0.097**
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Other/None	0.025	0.025
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Language*German proficiency:		

German	0.200***	0.201***
	(0.05)	(0.05)
German & English	0.068	0.068
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Other/None	0.040	0.041
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Language*German use:		
German	-0.699	-0.701
	(0.46)	(0.46)
German & English	0.235	0.232
	(0.62)	(0.63)
Other/None	-0.435	-0.444
	(0.37)	(0.37)
Language*German friends:		
German	0.134	0.130
	(0.19)	(0.19)
German & English	0.259	0.255
	(0.20)	(0.20)
Other/None	-0.028	-0.029
	(0.12)	(0.12)
Language*Interaction with Germans:		
German	0.239	0.256
	(0.37)	(0.38)
German & English	0.017	0.034
	(0.39)	(0.39)
Other/None	-0.163	-0.142
	(0.25)	(0.27)
Activity, location, & interaction partner	Yes	Yes
Nationality of interaction partner(s)	No	Yes
Time of day	Yes	Yes
Day of week	Yes	Yes
R^2	0.158	0.158
Individuals	214	214
Observations	6,195	6,195

Notes: Regression coefficients are displayed with individual-clustered robust standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01