

Scared Straight? Threat and Assimilation of Refugees in Germany

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- Refugee migration on the rise across the world
 - More than 6 million refugees from Ukraine in the last 7 weeks
 - Over 70 million forcibly displaced individuals in the world today
 - Climate change induced refugees projected to 1 billion by 2050

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 - More than 6 million refugees from Ukraine in the last 7 weeks
 - Over 70 million forcibly displaced individuals in the world today
 - Climate change induced refugees projected to 1 billion by 2050
- Debate on the forces that favor or hinder refugees' assimilation
 - Large literature on government (forced) assimilation policies (Bandiera et al., 2019; Abdelgadir&Fouka, 2020; Dahl et al., 2021)
 - Less is known about local environment (e.g., natives' openness)

This Paper

- Study the effects of locals' hostility on cultural and economic assimilation of refugees
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 - Novel survey data on refugees' preferences and habits over time
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 - Comparable measures of cultural preferences for natives at baseline
 - Consider also questions on "core traits" available only for refugees

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 - Consider also questions on "core traits" available only for refugees
- Use standard proxies for economic assimilation
 - Labor force participation and wages
 - Validate survey responses with administrative data

Preview of Empirical Strategy

- Exploit quasi-random variation across NUTS-2 regions over time
 - Use region of assignment to derive an intention to treat (ITT)
- Construct a "threat index" combining multiple dimensions of hostility
 - Attacks against mosques; support for anti-immigrant parties
 - Natives' attitudes towards openness and diversity
 - Historical pogroms; support for Nazi Party

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 - Natives' attitudes towards openness and diversity
 - Historical pogroms; support for Nazi Party
- Estimate individual level regressions that account for
 - District and survey wave fixed effects
 - Refugees' characteristics (including year of arrival)
- Compare cultural and economic assimilation of refugees
 - Arrived at different points in time
 - Assigned to regions with different levels of hostility

- Refugees converge to local culture and assimilate economically

Preview of Results

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- Faster cultural convergence in regions with higher hostility
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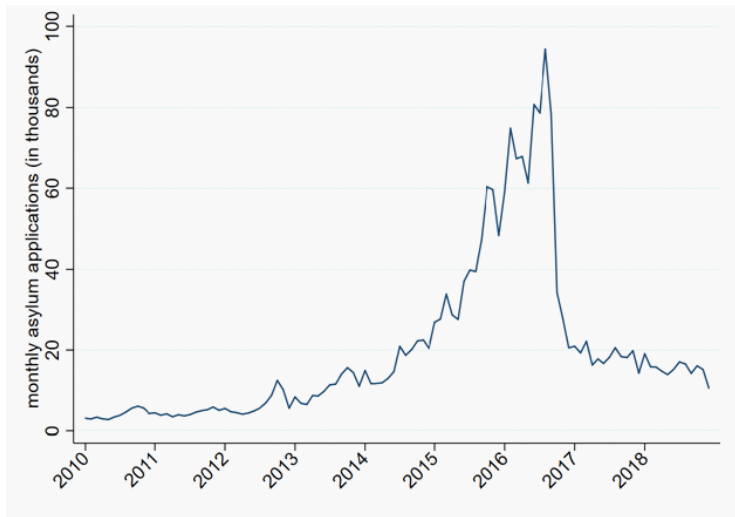
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 - Only when natives' cooperation is not needed
 - Driven by vulnerable refugees and towards employed natives
 - Jumps in the 1st year (vs gradual economic assimilation)
- Refugees trigger natives' hostility in high-threat regions
 - Despite faster cultural assimilation in these areas

Road Map

- ① Refugee Migration in Germany
- ② Data and Measures of Assimilation
- ③ Empirical Strategy
- ④ Main Findings
- ⑤ Mechanisms and Additional Results
- ⑥ Conclusions

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Refugee Inflows to Germany



From 2015 to 2018, 1.6M refugees

Allocation of Refugees Across Regions

- Three largest sending countries account for 85% of all refugees
 - Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq
- *Königsteiner Schlüssel* to allocate refugees across states
 - Economic capacity (tax revenues)
 - Population
- Within states, independent but similar criteria
- Allocation depended on availability of local housing
- Pace of inflows forced states to resort to alternative solutions
 - Hotels, vacant houses, old schools
 - Military barracks, improvised container colonies and tents

Every immigrant has an indispensable obligation to integrate; he must adapt to his new homeland, not vice versa.

AfD Manifesto

...A large part of the refugees are unlikely to be integrated...in the foreseeable future. [T]he majority of refugees come from countries whose prevailing societal images deviate significantly from our Western values.

Open letter of CDU members to Angela Merkel

- 1 Refugee Migration in Germany
- 2 **Data and Measures of Assimilation**
- 3 Empirical Strategy
- 4 Main Findings
- 5 Mechanisms and Additional Results
- 6 Conclusions

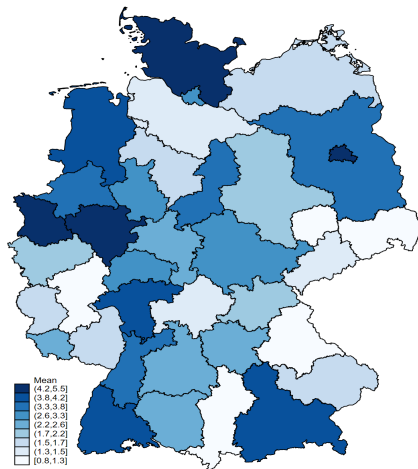
- IAB-BAMF-SOEP survey of refugees
 - Representative sample of around 8,000 asylum seekers in Germany
 - Conducted in 2016, 2017, and 2018
 - Demographic and economic characteristics; attitudes and preferences
- German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP)
 - Representative longitudinal study of 34,000 private households
 - Large sample size allows to measure regional heterogeneity in attitudes
- Regional and district level characteristics from German Federal Statistical Office
- Data on local threat and hostility from multiple sources

Preferences

Characteristics

Other Data

Distribution of Refugees in Our Sample



Refugees in Germany

Measuring Assimilation

Index of cultural similarity between refugees and locals

- Same set of preferences and beliefs for the two groups
 - Risk attitudes; reciprocity; generalized trust; locus of control; leisure (type and frequency); interest in politics; views over fairness

Measuring Assimilation

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- Same set of preferences and beliefs for the two groups
 - Risk attitudes; reciprocity; generalized trust; locus of control; leisure (type and frequency); interest in politics; views over fairness
- Compute Euclidean distance

$$D_{ir} = \sqrt{\sum_j (p_{irj} - \bar{p}_{rj})^2}$$

- p_{irj} : preference of refugee i assigned to region r over issue j
- \bar{p}_{rj} : average (baseline) preferences over issue j among locals
- Invert so that higher values refer to higher similarity
- Robust to other measures of cultural similarity (Canberra index)

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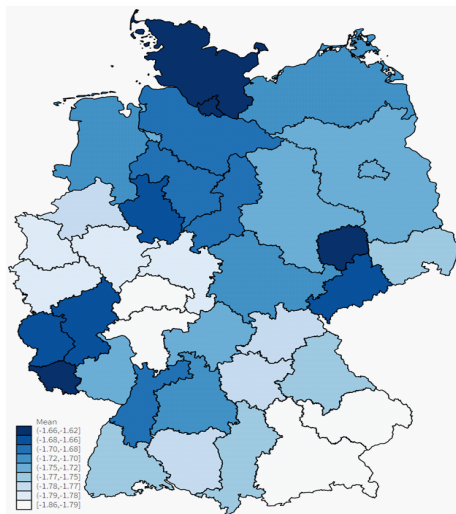
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Standard outcomes for economic assimilation

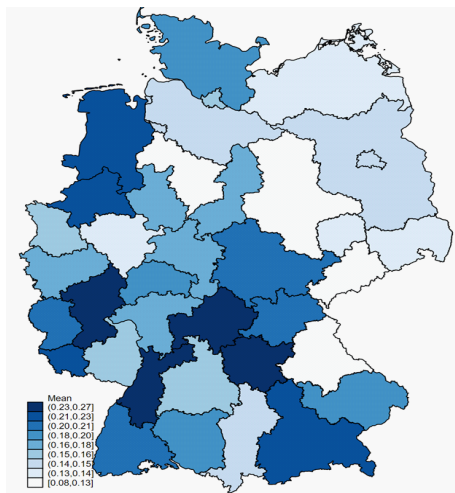
- Labor force participation and wages at time of the interview

Cultural Similarity Index (2016-2018)



Darker color \implies higher cultural similarity

Self-Reported Employment of Refugees (2016-2018)



Darker colors \implies higher employment

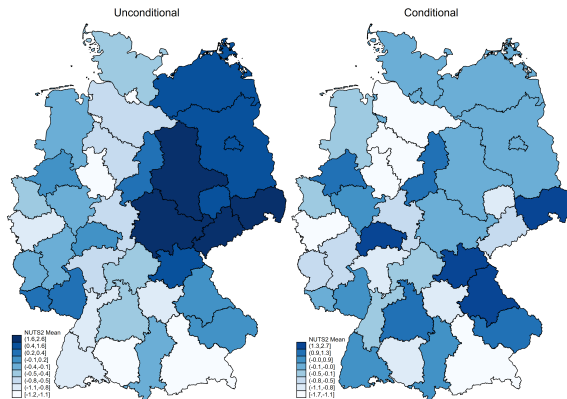
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 - Attacks against mosques (2001-2011)
 - Vote share for NPD (2013) far-right marches (2005-2012)
 - Historical pogroms and vote share for Nazis in 1933
 - Attitudes of locals taken from ALLBUS and personality traits (Big-5)

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 - Historical pogroms and vote share for Nazis in 1933
 - Attitudes of locals taken from ALLBUS and personality traits (Big-5)
- Validation: \uparrow threat \implies refugees more worried about xenophobia

Threat Index



Darker colors \implies higher threat

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- Estimate individual level regressions of the form

$$y_{irdt} = \alpha_d + \gamma_t + \beta_1 MSA_{it} + \beta_2 (MSA_{it} \times T_r) + \mathbf{W}_{dt} + \mathbf{X}_{it} + u_{irdt}$$

Estimating Equation

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- y_{irdt} : assimilation of refugee i in district d of region r in survey year t
- MSA_{it} : months spent in Germany by refugee i in year t
- T_r : threat index in region r
- α_d and γ_t : district and survey year fixed effects
- \mathbf{X}_{it} and \mathbf{W}_{dt} : individual and district level controls

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- α_d and γ_t : district and survey year fixed effects
- \mathbf{X}_{it} and \mathbf{W}_{dt} : individual and district level controls

- β_2 : effect of one extra month spent in a region with higher threat
 - $\beta_2 > 0 \implies$ threat increases assimilation

Identifying Assumption

- Key assumption: no change in allocation process over time
 - Conduct several robustness checks

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Ex-ante selection

- No change in probability of assignment to regions over time
 - Based on pre-entry characteristics
 - Across regions with different characteristics, including threat
- No change in cultural composition of refugees over time

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- Key assumption: no change in allocation process over time
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 - Based on pre-entry characteristics
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- No change in cultural composition of refugees over time

Ex-post sorting

- ITT: use region of assignment rather than region of residence
- Replicate results exploiting residency obligation policy
 - A subset of refugees in the sample prohibited from relocating
- Test for "selected" out-migration of locals or relocation of refugees
- No differential attrition across regions

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Refugees Converge to Local Culture

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|--|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Dep. variable: <i>Cultural similarity index</i> (mean: -1.905) | | | | | | |
| MSA | 0.081** | | | | | |
| | (0.040) | | | | | |
| Person-Year observations | 12,334 | | | | | |
| Person observations | 6,691 | | | | | |
| R2 adjusted | 0.344 | | | | | |
| Individual controls | Yes | | | | | |
| Fixed Effects | | | | | | |
| Federal-State | No | | | | | |
| NUTS-2 | No | | | | | |
| District | No | | | | | |
| District controls * survey year | No | | | | | |

Refugees converge culturally as they spend time in Germany

Refugees Converge to Local Culture

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----|
| Dep. variable: <i>Cultural similarity index</i> (mean: -1.905) | | | | | | |
| MSA | 0.081** (0.040) | 0.076* (0.042) | 0.094** (0.041) | 0.113*** (0.041) | 0.118*** (0.042) | |
| Person-Year observations | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | |
| Person observations | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | |
| R2 adjusted | 0.344 | 0.347 | 0.368 | 0.374 | 0.392 | |
| Individual controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | |
| Fixed Effects | | | | | | |
| Federal-State | No | No | Yes | No | No | |
| NUTS-2 | No | No | No | Yes | No | |
| District | No | No | No | No | Yes | |
| District controls * survey year | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | |

1 extra year in Germany \implies 3% \uparrow cultural similarity

Refugees Assimilate Economically

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----|
| Dep. variable: <i>Refugees' relative employment (mean: -0.504)</i> | | | | | | |
| MSA | 0.778*** (0.029) | 0.757*** (0.042) | 0.760*** (0.041) | 0.776*** (0.041) | 0.771*** (0.042) | |
| Person-Year observations | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | |
| Person observations | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | |
| R2 adjusted | 0.155 | 0.161 | 0.172 | 0.181 | 0.196 | |
| Individual controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | |
| Fixed Effects | | | | | | |
| Federal-State | No | No | Yes | No | No | |
| NUTS-2 | No | No | No | Yes | No | |
| District | No | No | No | No | Yes | |
| District controls * survey year | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | |

1 extra year in Germany \implies 20% \downarrow (relative) employment gap

Faster Cultural Convergence in High-Threat Regions

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Dep. variable: <i>Cultural similarity index (mean: -1.905)</i> | | | | | | |
| MSA | 0.081** (0.040) | 0.076* (0.042) | 0.094** (0.041) | 0.113*** (0.041) | 0.118*** (0.042) | 0.125*** (0.042) |
| MSA * Threat | | | | | | 0.075** (0.032) |
| Person-Year observations | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 |
| Person observations | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 |
| R2 adjusted | 0.344 | 0.347 | 0.368 | 0.374 | 0.392 | 0.392 |
| Individual controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Fixed Effects | | | | | | |
| Federal-State | No | No | Yes | No | No | No |
| NUTS-2 | No | No | No | Yes | No | No |
| District | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| District controls * survey year | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Moving from 25th to 75th pctile of threat \implies cultural convergence \uparrow 70%

No Differential Effect on Economic Assimilation

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Dep. variable: <i>Refugees' relative employment (mean: -0.504)</i> | | | | | | |
| MSA | 0.778*** (0.029) | 0.757*** (0.042) | 0.760*** (0.041) | 0.776*** (0.041) | 0.771*** (0.042) | 0.772*** (0.042) |
| MSA * Threat | | | | | | 0.016 (0.032) |
| Person-Year observations | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 |
| Person observations | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 |
| R2 adjusted | 0.155 | 0.161 | 0.172 | 0.181 | 0.196 | 0.195 |
| Individual controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Fixed Effects | | | | | | |
| Federal-State | No | No | Yes | No | No | No |
| NUTS-2 | No | No | No | Yes | No | No |
| District | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| District controls * survey year | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Higher threat \implies no differential economic convergence

Additional Forces and Horse Race

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| | Dep. variable: <i>Cultural similarity index (mean: -1.905)</i> | | | | | | | |
| MSA | 0.111*** (0.042) | 0.101** (0.042) | 0.105** (0.042) | 0.103** (0.042) | 0.115*** (0.042) | 0.105** (0.042) | 0.106** (0.042) | 0.095** (0.042) |
| MSA * Threat | 0.069** (0.032) | | | | | | | 0.093** (0.040) |
| MSA * Network size | | 0.043 (0.032) | | | | | | 0.090*** (0.034) |
| MSA * Network employment | | | 0.018 (0.029) | | | | | 0.106*** (0.033) |
| MSA * Task diversity | | | | 0.016 (0.028) | | | | 0.085** (0.033) |
| MSA * Skill complexity | | | | | 0.089*** (0.028) | | | 0.156*** (0.036) |
| MSA * Local cultural distinctiveness | | | | | | -0.017 (0.027) | | -0.034 (0.028) |
| MSA * Local cultural dispersion | | | | | | | 0.008 (0.027) | 0.016 (0.028) |
| R2 adjusted | 0.392 | 0.392 | 0.392 | 0.392 | 0.392 | 0.392 | 0.392 | 0.393 |
| Person-Year observations | 12,053 | 12,053 | 12,053 | 12,053 | 12,053 | 12,053 | 12,053 | 12,053 |
| Person observations | 6,528 | 6,528 | 6,528 | 6,528 | 6,528 | 6,528 | 6,528 | 6,528 |
| Individual controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Fixed Effects | | | | | | | | |
| District | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| District controls * survey year | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

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Interpretation of Results

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- Refugees converge to local culture and assimilate economically
- Local threat associated with faster cultural convergence
- No differential effect for economic assimilation
- Our interpretation
 - Higher threat \implies higher effort among refugees
 - But, successful assimilation also depends on locals' acceptance
 - Level of effort needed to assimilate higher in more hostile regions

Convergence only for One-Sided Outcomes

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|--|---|---|---|------------------------------------|
| | Voluntary integration course | Mandatory integration course | Language skills (1 bad - 5 good) | Time spent with Germans (1 never - 6 daily) | Partner German born (among females) | Partner German born (among males) | Headscarf (1 never 4 always) |
| MSA | 0.507*** (0.061) | 0.619*** (0.056) | 3.296*** (0.128) | 2.291*** (0.203) | 0.380* (0.216) | 0.278* (0.144) | -1.713*** (0.622) |
| MSA * Threat | 0.090** (0.042) | 0.021 (0.040) | 0.048 (0.100) | 0.041 (0.157) | 0.075 (0.112) | -0.079 (0.074) | 0.126 (0.718) |
| Person-Year obs. | 12,101 | 12,243 | 12,334 | 12,302 | 773 | 1,398 | 823 |
| Person obs. | 6,605 | 6,665 | 6,691 | 6,683 | 440 | 734 | 823 |
| R2 adjusted | 0.117 | 0.211 | 0.299 | 0.117 | 0.498 | 0.478 | 0.167 |
| Dep. var. mean | 0.556 | 0.534 | 3.012 | 3.721 | 0.173 | 0.121 | 2.463 |
| Individual controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Fixed Effects | | | | | | | |
| District | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| District cntrls * survey year | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Convergence Driven by More Vulnerable Refugees

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| | Baseline | Gender | | Age | | Child in household | | Education abroad | |
| | | Female | Male | 18-30 | > 30 | Yes | No | Non-certified | Certified |
| MSA | 0.125*** (0.042) | 0.144** (0.064) | 0.096* (0.058) | 0.123* (0.067) | 0.105* (0.056) | 0.087 (0.056) | 0.149** (0.070) | 0.059 (0.065) | 0.106* (0.058) |
| MSA * Threat | 0.075** (0.032) | 0.126** (0.053) | 0.032 (0.040) | 0.076 (0.048) | 0.074* (0.043) | 0.094** (0.044) | 0.046 (0.050) | 0.091* (0.051) | 0.054 (0.041) |
| Person-Year observations | 12,334 | 4,719 | 7,615 | 5,175 | 7,159 | 7,074 | 5,007 | 5,449 | 6,830 |
| Person observations | 6,691 | 2,663 | 4,028 | 3,107 | 3,830 | 4,015 | 2,888 | 3,026 | 3,636 |
| R2 adjusted | 0.392 | 0.396 | 0.389 | 0.378 | 0.408 | 0.391 | 0.391 | 0.415 | 0.376 |
| Dep. var. mean | -1.905 | -1.945 | -1.880 | -1.885 | -1.920 | -1.929 | -1.876 | -1.943 | -1.875 |
| Individual controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Fixed Effects | | | | | | | | | |
| District | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| District controls * survey year | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Group-Specific Convergence

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| | Baseline | Gender | | Age | | Employment of locals | |
| | | Own group | Other group | Own group | Other group | Yes | No |
| MSA | 0.125*** (0.042) | 0.111*** (0.043) | 0.138*** (0.044) | 0.119*** (0.044) | 0.129*** (0.042) | 0.130*** (0.043) | 0.109*** (0.040) |
| MSA * Threat | 0.075** (0.032) | 0.076** (0.033) | 0.074** (0.032) | 0.082** (0.034) | 0.072** (0.032) | 0.090*** (0.033) | 0.041 (0.030) |
| Person-Year observations | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 | 12,334 |
| Person observations | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 | 6,691 |
| R2 adjusted | 0.392 | 0.376 | 0.395 | 0.366 | 0.394 | 0.379 | 0.421 |
| Dep. var. mean | -1.905 | -1.900 | -1.897 | -1.895 | -1.906 | -1.895 | -1.922 |
| Individual controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Fixed Effects | | | | | | | |
| District | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| District controls * survey year | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Effects also for Deep-Rooted Preferences

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|---|
| | Women's rights | Importance of democracy | Importance of religion (1 low – 4 very important) | Freq. church and relig. (1 never – 5 daily) |
| MSA | 0.442*** (0.143) | 0.303* (0.166) | -0.247 (0.153) | 0.392*** (0.137) |
| MSA * Threat | 0.223* (0.132) | 0.460** (0.156) | 0.039 (0.145) | -0.211* (0.120) |
| Person-Year observations | 5,925 | 4,737 | 4,954 | 8,004 |
| Person observations | 5,925 | 4,737 | 4,954 | 5,127 |
| R2 adjusted | 0.075 | 0.079 | 0.085 | 0.176 |
| Individual controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Fixed Effects | | | | |
| District | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| District controls × survey year | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

- ① Refugee Migration in Germany
- ② Data and Measures of Assimilation
- ③ Empirical Strategy
- ④ Main Findings
- ⑤ Mechanisms and Additional Results
- ⑥ **Conclusions**

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- Many questions ahead
 - What are the long run effects of threat-induced cultural convergence?
 - Does refugees' backlash arise after a threshold value of threat?

BACK-UP SLIDES

Cultural Preferences of Locals and Refugees

| | Mean | Std. deviation | Min. | Max. | Observations |
|--|------|----------------|------|------|--------------|
| <i>Panel A. Refugees</i> | | | | | |
| Risk preferences (0 low - 10 high) | 3.94 | 3.42 | 0 | 10 | 12122 |
| Negative reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 1.77 | 1.26 | 1 | 7 | 6399 |
| Positive reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 6.68 | 0.62 | 1 | 7 | 6526 |
| Positive self-attitude (1 disagree - 7 agree) | 6.29 | 1.19 | 1 | 7 | 6333 |
| General trust (1 low - 4 high) | 2.17 | 0.59 | 1 | 4 | 3417 |
| Locus of control (1 low - 7 high) | 4.46 | 0.86 | 1 | 7 | 3884 |
| Social inclusion (1 incl. - 5 excl.) | 2.57 | 1.09 | 1 | 5 | 6748 |
| Society exploit-selfish (=1), fair-helpful (=2) | 1.57 | 0.43 | 1 | 2 | 3307 |
| Interest in politics (1 not at all - 4 very strong) | 1.66 | 0.87 | 1 | 4 | 12525 |
| Leisure and cultural activ. (1 never - 5 daily) | 1.78 | 0.63 | 1 | 4 | 8273 |
| Satisfaction with life, health, flat (0 low - 10 high) | 7.23 | 1.94 | 0 | 10 | 12681 |
| Worries: econ., health (1 low - 3 high) | 1.83 | 0.58 | 1 | 3 | 12607 |
| <i>Panel B. Locals</i> | | | | | |
| Risk preferences (0 low - 10 high) | 4.86 | 2.26 | 0 | 10 | 27903 |
| Negative reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 3.04 | 1.42 | 1 | 7 | 18720 |
| Positive reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 5.84 | 0.91 | 1 | 7 | 18764 |
| Positive self-attitude (1 disagree - 7 agree) | 5.58 | 1.28 | 1 | 7 | 18817 |
| General trust (1 low - 4 high) | 2.37 | 0.53 | 1 | 4 | 25756 |
| Locus of control (1 low - 7 high) | 4.61 | 0.73 | 1 | 7 | 18868 |
| Social inclusion (1 incl. - 5 excl.) | 2.02 | 0.75 | 1 | 5 | 25767 |
| Society exploit-selfish (=1), fair-helpful (=2) | 1.52 | 0.42 | 1 | 2 | 25618 |
| Interest in politics (1 not at all - 4 very strong) | 2.35 | 0.81 | 1 | 4 | 20773 |
| Leisure and cultural activ. (1 never - 5 daily) | 2.14 | 0.63 | 1 | 5 | 25790 |
| Satisfaction with life, health, flat (0 low - 10 high) | 7.24 | 1.48 | 0 | 10 | 26772 |
| Worries: econ., health (1 low - 3 high) | 1.91 | 0.61 | 1 | 3 | 27886 |

Cultural Preferences of Refugees, by Threat

| | Mean | Std. deviation | Min. | Max. | Observations |
|--|------|----------------|------|------|--------------|
| <i>Panel A. Refugees in low threat regions</i> | | | | | |
| Risk preferences (0 low - 10 high) | 3.96 | 3.37 | 0 | 10 | 5793 |
| Negative reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 1.77 | 1.26 | 1 | 7 | 3075 |
| Positive reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 6.70 | 0.61 | 2 | 7 | 3159 |
| Positive self-attitude (1 disagree - 7 agree) | 6.32 | 1.16 | 1 | 7 | 3075 |
| General trust (1 low - 4 high) | 2.21 | 0.61 | 1 | 4 | 1678 |
| Locus of control (1 low - 7 high) | 4.47 | 0.86 | 1 | 7 | 1666 |
| Social inclusion (1 incl. - 5 excl.) | 2.54 | 1.09 | 1 | 5 | 3255 |
| Society exploit-selfish (=1), fair-helpful (=2) | 1.61 | 0.43 | 1 | 2 | 1626 |
| Interest in politics (1 not at all - 4 very strong) | 1.70 | 0.88 | 1 | 4 | 5993 |
| Leisure and cultural activ. (1 never - 5 daily) | 1.80 | 0.64 | 1 | 4 | 4123 |
| Satisfaction with life, health, flat (0 low - 10 high) | 7.24 | 1.93 | 0 | 10 | 6066 |
| Worries: econ., health (1 low - 3 high) | 1.83 | 0.59 | 1 | 3 | 6037 |
| <i>Panel B. Refugees in high threat regions</i> | | | | | |
| Risk preferences (0 low - 10 high) | 3.93 | 3.46 | 0 | 10 | 6329 |
| Negative reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 1.76 | 1.26 | 1 | 7 | 3324 |
| Positive reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 6.66 | 0.63 | 1 | 7 | 3367 |
| Positive self-attitude (1 disagree - 7 agree) | 6.26 | 1.22 | 1 | 7 | 3258 |
| General trust (1 low - 4 high) | 2.14 | 0.57 | 1 | 4 | 1739 |
| Locus of control (1 low - 7 high) | 4.46 | 0.87 | 1 | 7 | 2218 |
| Social inclusion (1 incl. - 5 excl.) | 2.60 | 1.10 | 1 | 5 | 3493 |
| Society exploit-selfish (=1), fair-helpful (=2) | 1.53 | 0.44 | 1 | 2 | 1681 |
| Interest in politics (1 not at all - 4 very strong) | 1.63 | 0.86 | 1 | 4 | 6532 |
| Leisure and cultural activ. (1 never - 5 daily) | 1.75 | 0.62 | 1 | 4 | 4150 |
| Satisfaction with life, health, flat (0 low - 10 high) | 7.22 | 1.94 | 0 | 10 | 6615 |
| Worries: econ., health (1 low - 3 high) | 1.84 | 0.58 | 1 | 3 | 6570 |

Cultural Preferences of Locals, by Threat

| | Mean | Std. deviation | Min. | Max. | Observations |
|--|------|----------------|------|------|--------------|
| <i>Panel A. Locals in low threat regions</i> | | | | | |
| Risk preferences (0 low - 10 high) | 4.83 | 2.29 | 0 | 10 | 12277 |
| Negative reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 3.01 | 1.43 | 1 | 7 | 7779 |
| Positive reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 5.83 | 0.91 | 1 | 7 | 7803 |
| Positive self-attitude (1 disagree - 7 agree) | 5.58 | 1.29 | 1 | 7 | 7825 |
| General trust (1 low - 4 high) | 2.41 | 0.53 | 1 | 4 | 11315 |
| Locus of control (1 low - 7 high) | 4.63 | 0.74 | 1 | 7 | 7845 |
| Social inclusion (1 incl. - 5 excl.) | 2.00 | 0.75 | 1 | 5 | 11319 |
| Society exploit-selfish (=1), fair-helpful (=2) | 1.54 | 0.42 | 1 | 2 | 11255 |
| Interest in politics (1 not at all - 4 very strong) | 2.40 | 0.81 | 1 | 4 | 8894 |
| Leisure and cultural activ. (1 never - 5 daily) | 2.19 | 0.62 | 1 | 5 | 11326 |
| Satisfaction with life, health, flat (0 low - 10 high) | 7.34 | 1.47 | 0 | 10 | 11732 |
| Worries: econ., health (1 low - 3 high) | 1.88 | 0.62 | 1 | 3 | 12280 |
| <i>Panel B. Locals in high threat regions</i> | | | | | |
| Risk preferences (0 low - 10 high) | 4.88 | 2.23 | 0 | 10 | 15626 |
| Negative reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 3.07 | 1.42 | 1 | 7 | 10941 |
| Positive reciprocity (1 low - 7 high) | 5.84 | 0.91 | 1 | 7 | 10961 |
| Positive self-attitude (1 disagree - 7 agree) | 5.59 | 1.26 | 1 | 7 | 10992 |
| General trust (1 low - 4 high) | 2.34 | 0.54 | 1 | 4 | 14441 |
| Locus of control (1 low - 7 high) | 4.60 | 0.72 | 1 | 7 | 11023 |
| Social inclusion (1 incl. - 5 excl.) | 2.03 | 0.76 | 1 | 5 | 14448 |
| Society exploit-selfish (=1), fair-helpful (=2) | 1.50 | 0.43 | 1 | 2 | 14363 |
| Interest in politics (1 not at all - 4 very strong) | 2.31 | 0.81 | 1 | 4 | 11879 |
| Leisure and cultural activ. (1 never - 5 daily) | 2.10 | 0.63 | 1 | 4 | 14464 |
| Satisfaction with life, health, flat (0 low - 10 high) | 7.17 | 1.48 | 0 | 10 | 15040 |
| Worries: econ., health (1 low - 3 high) | 1.94 | 0.61 | 1 | 3 | 15606 |

Respondents' Characteristics

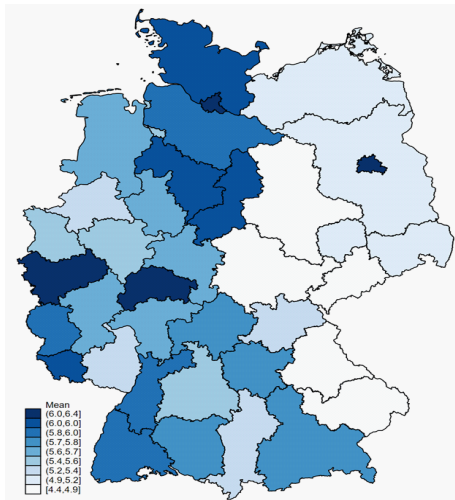
| | All | | | | | Threat below median | | | | | Threat above median | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|--------|-----|-----|---------------------|-------|--------|-----|-----|---------------------|-------|--------|-----|-----|
| | mean | sd | N | min | max | mean | sd | N | min | max | mean | sd | N | min | max |
| Refugees | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Months since arrival to Germany | 29.56 | 16.23 | 12,681 | 0 | 392 | 30.37 | 16.22 | 6,066 | 0 | 392 | 28.81 | 16.21 | 6,615 | 0 | 282 |
| Age (in years) | 34.09 | 10.22 | 12,681 | 18 | 66 | 34.02 | 10.47 | 6,066 | 18 | 66 | 34.15 | 9.98 | 6,615 | 18 | 66 |
| Gender: female | 0.382 | 0.486 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.400 | 0.490 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.366 | 0.482 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| Years of work exp. before arrival | 7.35 | 9.23 | 11,920 | 0 | 48 | 7.28 | 9.25 | 5,783 | 0 | 48 | 7.42 | 9.22 | 6,137 | 0 | 47 |
| Finished educ. before arrival: No | 0.445 | 0.497 | 12,622 | 0 | 1 | 0.458 | 0.498 | 6,042 | 0 | 1 | 0.434 | 0.496 | 6,580 | 0 | 1 |
| with school leaving certificate | 0.238 | 0.426 | 12,622 | 0 | 1 | 0.225 | 0.418 | 6,042 | 0 | 1 | 0.249 | 0.433 | 6,580 | 0 | 1 |
| with secondary school leaving certificate | 0.317 | 0.465 | 12,622 | 0 | 1 | 0.317 | 0.465 | 6,042 | 0 | 1 | 0.317 | 0.465 | 6,580 | 0 | 1 |
| No Partner | 0.334 | 0.472 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.335 | 0.472 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.333 | 0.471 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| lives in household | 0.576 | 0.494 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.576 | 0.494 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.577 | 0.494 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| elsewhere in Germany | 0.013 | 0.112 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.013 | 0.111 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.013 | 0.112 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| not in Germany | 0.061 | 0.240 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.059 | 0.235 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.064 | 0.244 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| Nationality: Germany | 0.000 | 0.000 | 12,681 | 0 | 0 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 6,066 | 0 | 0 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 6,615 | 0 | 0 |
| Syria | 0.522 | 0.500 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.497 | 0.500 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.545 | 0.498 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| Afghanistan | 0.129 | 0.335 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.132 | 0.338 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.126 | 0.331 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| Iraq | 0.130 | 0.336 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.146 | 0.353 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.115 | 0.319 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| Africa | 0.083 | 0.275 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.090 | 0.286 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.076 | 0.266 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| Western Balkans | 0.025 | 0.156 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.023 | 0.151 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.026 | 0.160 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| Other | 0.112 | 0.316 | 12,681 | 0 | 1 | 0.113 | 0.316 | 6,066 | 0 | 1 | 0.112 | 0.315 | 6,615 | 0 | 1 |
| Natives | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Age (in years) | 51.66 | 18.52 | 61,265 | 17 | 103 | 51.37 | 18.70 | 26,337 | 17 | 99 | 51.91 | 18.36 | 34,928 | 17 | 103 |
| Gender: female | 0.510 | 0.500 | 63,161 | 0 | 1 | 0.509 | 0.500 | 27,248 | 0 | 1 | 0.510 | 0.500 | 35,913 | 0 | 1 |
| Finished educ.: No | 0.102 | 0.302 | 80,770 | 0 | 1 | 0.118 | 0.322 | 35,636 | 0 | 1 | 0.088 | 0.283 | 45,134 | 0 | 1 |
| with school leaving certificate | 0.010 | 0.101 | 80,770 | 0 | 1 | 0.011 | 0.102 | 35,636 | 0 | 1 | 0.010 | 0.100 | 45,134 | 0 | 1 |
| with secondary school leaving certificate | 0.888 | 0.315 | 80,770 | 0 | 1 | 0.872 | 0.335 | 35,636 | 0 | 1 | 0.902 | 0.297 | 45,134 | 0 | 1 |
| Nationality: Germany | 0.913 | 0.282 | 80,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.902 | 0.297 | 35,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.922 | 0.268 | 45,000 | 0 | 1 |
| Africa | 0.002 | 0.046 | 80,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.002 | 0.049 | 35,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.002 | 0.043 | 45,000 | 0 | 1 |
| Western Balkans | 0.008 | 0.092 | 80,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.007 | 0.081 | 35,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.010 | 0.099 | 45,000 | 0 | 1 |
| Poland | 0.004 | 0.059 | 80,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.005 | 0.073 | 35,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.002 | 0.044 | 45,000 | 0 | 1 |
| Turkey | 0.018 | 0.134 | 80,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.022 | 0.148 | 35,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.015 | 0.120 | 45,000 | 0 | 1 |
| Italy | 0.010 | 0.098 | 80,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.010 | 0.098 | 35,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.010 | 0.098 | 45,000 | 0 | 1 |
| Other | 0.044 | 0.205 | 80,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.050 | 0.218 | 35,131 | 0 | 1 | 0.039 | 0.194 | 45,000 | 0 | 1 |

Regional Variables

| | mean | sd | N | min | max |
|---|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
| District-level controls, measured in 2012 | | | | | |
| Unemployment rate | 6.84 | 2.98 | 12,681 | 1 | 16 |
| Population density | 955 | 1,105 | 12,681 | 38 | 4,468 |
| Share of refugees | 0.74 | 0.37 | 12,681 | 0 | 2.35 |
| Mediator variables (at NUTS2-level): | | | | | |
| Local-national cultural distance (Euclidean) | 0.41 | 0.18 | 12,681 | 0.19 | 1.29 |
| Local cultural dispersion (within-region sd) | 0.79 | 0.02 | 12,681 | 0.75 | 0.84 |
| First threat PC (AfD, NPD, crimes) | 0.00 | 1.64 | 12,681 | -1.48 | 6.96 |
| Right-wing vote (AfD 2017) (percentage) | 12.31 | 4.52 | 12,681 | 7.80 | 29.66 |
| Right-wing vote (NPD 2013) (percentage) | 1.26 | 0.70 | 12,681 | 0.50 | 3.65 |
| Hate crimes against refugees (per 100k inhabitants) | 1.95 | 2.23 | 12,681 | 0.16 | 12.70 |
| Share of refugees (percentage) | 0.68 | 0.25 | 12,681 | 0.28 | 1.44 |
| Immigrants from origin region (percentage) | 0.67 | 0.61 | 12,117 | 0.05 | 4.44 |
| Refugees' cultural similarity | -1.75 | 0.13 | 12,681 | -1.97 | -1.45 |
| Employment rate of immigrants from origin region | 18.06 | 6.46 | 12,117 | 2.73 | 54.19 |
| Gross wage of immigrants from origin region (Euro) | 1,087 | 235 | 12,117 | 426 | 1,526 |

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Locals' Views: Refugees' Impact on Culture



Darker colors \implies more positive views

Summary of Robustness Checks

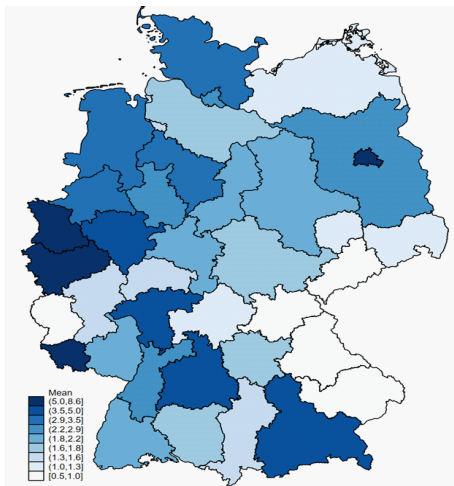
- Rule out ex-ante selection and ex-post sorting
- Include economic controls potentially correlated with threat
- No differential attrition
 - In more hostile regions
 - For refugees with different baseline levels of cultural distance
- Results robust to
 - Clustering standard errors at different levels
 - Using different measures of cultural distance
 - Focusing on different levels of geography

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Locals' Attitudes Deteriorate in High Treat Regions

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | Impact of refugees on | | | Refugee risk or chance | |
| | Economy (1 bad - 11 good) | Cultural life (1 undermine - 11 enrich) | Germany as a place to live (1 worse - 11 better) | Short-run (1 risk - 11 chance) | Long-run (1 risk - 11 chance) |
| Refugee share | 2.308 (5.070) | -4.330 (5.062) | -4.561 (4.569) | 0.823 (4.702) | 5.156 (5.114) |
| Refugee share * Threat | -13.223*** (2.933) | -8.023*** (2.974) | -11.812*** (2.774) | -11.172*** (2.823) | -7.499** (3.063) |
| Person-Year observations | 39,287 | 39,287 | 39,287 | 39,287 | 39,287 |
| Person observations | 25,009 | 25,009 | 25,009 | 25,009 | 25,009 |
| R2 adjusted | 0.114 | 0.128 | 0.114 | 0.059 | 0.140 |
| Dep. var. mean | 5.571 | 5.580 | 5.081 | 3.922 | 5.403 |
| Individual controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Fixed Effects | | | | | |
| District | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| District controls * survey year | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Distribution of Refugees across Regions (2018)



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