Abstract

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

Keywords: goal pursuit, motivation, migration, repatriation, adjustment, well-being

Goal Pursuit During the Three Stages of the Migration Process

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

Aim of the Literature Review

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

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

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

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

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

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

Migration Stages

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

& Collins, 2018; DaVanzo, 1976; Tabor & Milfont, 2011). Our theoretical framework is

based on these three stages, because it is readily applicable to the chronology of the decisions

people take during the migration process and as such provides an excellent organizing

principle.

Goals and their Facets

Goals are the internal representations of desired states (outcomes, events, or

processes) that a person is committed to attain (Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Milyavskaya &

Werner, 2018). Goals are often organized in hierarchy and are interrelated to each other

(Carver & Scheier, 1982; Kruglanksi et al., 2002). Broader goals are part of a value structure

(Austin & Vancouver, 1996). For instance, a sub-goal to do well on a test might be part of a

broader goal to have good career opportunities, which might be part of the value of

competence. Goals exist in a temporal structure and are almost exclusively future oriented

(Kruglanski et al., 2002; Milyavskaya & Werner, 2018).

As a second organizing principle of our review, we build on Austin and Vancouver's

(1996) distinction of various goal facets who proposed a framework to help understand the

various levels and layers of the goal construct. They distinguished between *goal structure*,

goal process, and *goal content*. *Goal structure* refers to the hierarchical organization of goals

and the properties and dimensions of goals within and between persons. Such goal dimensions

can be a goal's importance, difficulty level, specificity, temporal range, and level of

consciousness. Relevant studies for our review that focus on goal structure could, for instance,

deal with the impact of having multiple commitments (e.g., keeping contact with people in the

home country while obtaining a good job in the host country) or the effect of short-term

versus long-term goals on cultural adjustment and well-being.

Goal process refers to the temporal cycle of establishing, planning, striving toward,

and revising goals (Austin & Vancouver, 1996). The goal process is sensitive to

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach to the Literature Review

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

previous reviews (Hendriks, 2015; Massey, Gebhardt, & Garnefeski, 2008; Naragon-Gainey,

McMahon, & Chacko, 2017).

Literature Search Strategy

In our literature search, we set out to find journal publications that focused on the

relationship between various goal-related constructs and people`s emotions, perceptions, and

behavior in a migration setting. First, we embarked on a comprehensive search of the

academic literature by conducting keyword searches on PsycInfo. Search terms included

migrant* or immigrant* or sojourner* or international student* combined with goal* or

aspiration* or need* or motiv*. We filtered for empirical papers written in English. Articles

that used the aforementioned search terms in the title or in the keywords were added to our

preliminary article list. Second, we used the reference sections of these studies to find relevant

articles that were not listed among our search hits. To ensure research quality, we focused on

publications in scholarly, peer-reviewed journals. We included studies that appeared before

April 2019.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Our keyword search generated a total of 311 articles (200 articles based on title and

306 based on keywords, the total number determined after removing duplicates). To identify

studies relevant to our review, we developed the following inclusion criteria: The study must

(a) include a relevant goal-related construct at the migrant level (i.e., goals, aspirations, needs,

motives of migrants), (b) take place in a first-generation international migration setting (that

is, the migration involves moving from one country to another), (c) focus on adult migrant

population (not children or adolescents), (d) include an outcome variable at the migrant level

(i.e., migrants' own cognition, emotion, or behavior, or other migration success indicators),

and (e) empirically test hypotheses and assumptions (either qualitatively or quantitatively). By

using these inclusion criteria, we excluded studies that merely listed potential needs and

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

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

Extracted information

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

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

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

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

Structure of Goals in the Pre-Migration Stage

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

Goal Process in the Pre-Migration Stage

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

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

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

Goal Content in the Pre-Migration Stage

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

During Migration: Goals and Motives in the New Country

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

Goal Structure and Process in the Migration Stage

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

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

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

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

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

Goal Content in the Migration Stage

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Goal Process

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

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

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

Goal Content in the Repatriation Stage

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

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Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Avenues for Future Research

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Limitations of the Review

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

Table 1

Summary of articles

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

					workers in the United Kingdom ($N = 50$)
Kitsantas (2004)	Content	Motivational differences to study abroad (enhancing cross-cultural skills, becoming more proficient in subject matter, socializing)	Cross-cultural skills and global understanding	Cross-sectional, quantitative	International students with U.S. origin in various European countries ($N = 232$)
Lui & Rollock (2012)	Content	Motivational differences to migrate (e.g., better opportunities, finding a job, political situation)	Psychological adjustment, Social support	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Asian immigrants in the United States ($N = 1638$)
Masgoret (2006)	Content	Motivational differences for foreign work experience (e.g., teaching experience, cultural experience) and language learning (integrative vs. instrumental)	Sociocultural and work adaptation	Cross-sectional, quantitative	British university students in Spain ($N = 127$)
Pinto, Cabral-Cardoso, & Werther (2012)	Content	Motivational differences (compelled and non-compelled motivation)	Expatriation adjustment, general assignment satisfaction, withdrawal intentions, acceptance of another assignment and recommendation of an assignment to others	Interview, qualitative	Portuguese international expats ($N = 30$)
Portes, McLeod, & Parker (1978)	Process	Past goal attainments and skills	Aspiration of migrants	Interview, qualitative	Cuban and Mexican immigrants in the United States ($N = 1412$)
Tartakovsky & Schwartz (2001)	Content	Motivational differences (preservation, self-development, materialistic goals)	Subjective well-being	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Potential Jewish emigrants from Russia ($N = 158$)
Tharmaseelaan, Inkson, & Carr (2010)	Content	Motivational differences (exploration, escape, family, economic, career)	Career success (objective and subjective)	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Sri Lankan immigrants in New Zealand ($N = 210$)

Udahemuka & Pernice (2010)	Content	Motivational differences (exploration, escape, family, economic, career)	Acculturation preferences (adaptation vs. maintenance)	Cross-sectional quantitative	Forced and voluntary migrants in New Zealand ($N = 105$)
Winter-Ebmer (1994)	Content	Motivational differences (economic, political, family)	Financial success	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Turkish and former Yugoslavian immigrants in Austria ($N = 469$)
Yang, Zhang, & Sheldon (2018)	Content	Level of autonomy (self-determined motivation: amotivation, external regulation, negative introjected regulation, positive introjected regulation, identified regulation, intrinsic motivation), Basic Psychological Need Satisfaction	Culture shock, Subjective well-being	Cross-sectional, quantitative	International students in the United States ($N = 131$)
Zimmermann et al. (2017)	Content, Structure	Pre-departure sojourn goals (personal growth, career, social approval, education, animation)	Congruence of pre-departure goals and sojourner experience (psychological and sociocultural adjustment)	Longitudinal, quantitative	German students in international exchange program (before and after move) (T1 $N = 359$, $N = 188$)
Bernardo, Clemente, & Wang (2018)	Structure, Process	Goal engagement-promoting pathway vs. Goal disengagement-promoting pathway	Socioeconomic mobility expectations	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Filipino immigrant workers in Macau ($N = 246$)
Carrasco (2010)	Structure, Process	Dual engagement and belongings of transnational workers	Emotional experience	Multiple sampling, mixed-method (ethnography, observation, in-depth interview, household survey)	Peruvians living in Chile ($N = 373$).

During migration	Gezentsvey-Lamy, Ward, & Liu (2013)	Content	Motivation to ethnocultural continuity	Dating behavior and endogamy intentions	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Chinese and Jewish immigrants and Maoris in New Zealand ($N = 306$)
	Gong (2003)	Content	Differences in dispositional goal orientations (learning goals and performance goals)	Academic and interpersonal adjustment	Cross-sectional, quantitative	International university students in the United States ($N = 85$)
	Gong & Fan (2006)	Content	Differences in dispositional goal orientations (learning goals and performance goals); Social self-efficacy, Academic self-efficacy	Academic and interpersonal adjustment	Cross-sectional, (Multi-study) quantitative	International exchange students in the United States ($N = 165$)
	Recker, Milfont, & Ward (2017)	Content	Motivation for cultural maintenance vs. motivation for cultural exploration	Acculturation behavior and psychological and sociocultural adaptation	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Immigrants in New Zealand (N = 280)
	Yoon & Lee (2010)	Structure	Importance and attainment of social connectedness (to ethnic and mainstream society)	Acculturation and Well-being	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Korean immigrants in the United States ($N = 204$)
	Yu & Downing (2012)	Content	Motivational differences (integrative vs. instrumental motivation)	Sociocultural and academic adaptation	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Asian and Western international students in China ($N = 118$)
	Zhang & Zhang (2017)	Content	Motivational differences (Intrinsic vs. Extrinsic)	Spiritual values	Mixed-method (Cross-sectional quantitative and interview)	International students in New Zealand (Quantitative: $N = 200$, Qualitative: $N = 24$)
	Zhou (2014)	Content, Structure	Motivational patterns	Persistence on ongoing task	Interview, qualitative	Asian PhD students in the United States ($N = 6$)
Post-migration, repatriation	Sener (2008)	Process	Adjustment, motivation to repatriate	Readjustment	Interview	Turkish repatriates from Germany and the United States (N = 80)
	Tartakovsky, Patrakov, & Niculina (2017)	Content	Motivational differences (preservation-, self-development-, materialistic goals)	Subjective well-being; Economic and psychological	Cross-sectional, quantitative	Returning Jews to Russia ($N = 151$), compared to non-emigrated Jews in Russia ($N = 935$)

			adjustment, (Group identification)		
Yehuda-Sternveld & Mirsky (2014)	Structure, Process	Motivation to migrate, adjustment	Motivation to return, readjustment	Interview, qualitative	American Jewish repatriates from Israel to the United States ($N = 14$)

Table 2

Migration Studies per Goal Construct Level

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

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

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