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Documentation of the causal effect of liberalizing legal requirements on naturalization intentions

Yuliya Kosyakova and Andreas Damelang

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Nuremberg, 2024

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OVERVIEW

The objective of this research project is to understand the mechanisms by which the institutional framework governing the naturalization process influences the intentions of various immigrant groups in Germany to pursue citizenship. To achieve this, we implement an experimental design across three distinct data sources: the German Socioeconomic Panel, the IAB-SOEP Migration Sample, and the IAB-BAMF-SOEP Sample of Refugees. Within this framework, we systematically manipulate the prerequisites and conditions for naturalization. Subsequently, we assess the immigrants' hypothetical intentions to naturalize by soliciting their responses to these varied scenarios. This approach allows us to capture the potential impacts of institutional settings on naturalization decisions across diverse immigrant groups.

State of research

Research addressing the conditions within destination countries highlights a negative correlation between restrictive legal frameworks and naturalization rates (Dronkers and Vink 2012). This association is notably more pronounced among non-citizens from less developed nations (Jensen et al. 2021; Vink, Prokic-Breuer, and Dronkers 2013). Although these studies underscore the significance of destination country conditions on naturalization frequencies, they are limited in their ability to infer causal mechanisms due to their empirical design constraints.

In contrast, our study enhances the field by employing an experimental design to causally examine the effects of the destination country's legal requirements on naturalization. Our approach builds upon a limited number of studies that have employed causal analysis to explore how institutional contexts affect non-citizens' decisions to naturalize. Notable topics in this realm include acceptance of dual citizenship (Peters and Vink 2023; Vink et al. 2021), the implementation of fee waivers (Yasenov et al. 2019), the effectiveness of informational nudges (Hotard et al. 2019), discretionary decision-making procedures (Hainmueller, Hangartner, and Ward 2019), and the provision of voting rights (Slotwinski, Stutzer, and Bevelander 2020). These studies utilize natural experiments – specific changes in legal requirements – to draw causal conclusions, typically focusing on the impact of individual legal modifications in isolation. Our research extends this inquiry by systematically varying multiple aspects of legal frameworks to more comprehensively understand their influence on naturalization decisions.

Hypotheses

We propose that immigrants are more inclined to pursue citizenship under certain conditions: shorter required residency duration (H1), absence of a formal language test (H2), and no mandatory naturalization test (H3). Additionally, the likelihood of immigrants investing in citizenship increases if the process duration is shorter (H4), the citizenship certificate is ceremonially handed over in person (H5), and if there is an option for a family-based application (H6). Conversely, the requirement to renounce previous citizenship (H7) and the imposition of a naturalization fee (H8) are expected to deter immigrants from seeking citizenship.

Moreover, we hypothesize that the institutional framework of the naturalization process presents greater challenges for refugees in Germany, compared to other groups such as economic and family migrants, due to their typically more complex migration histories. However, refugees generally exhibit a longer-term intent to reside in the host country, which may increase their likelihood to naturalize. Therefore, the impact of the institutional framework on naturalization intentions might be comparatively less significant for refugees than for other immigrant groups in Germany.

Data

We implement a standardized vignette study across three distinct data sources: the German Socioeconomic Panel (SOEP-CORE), the IAB-SOEP Migration Sample (IAB-SOEP-MIG), and wave six of the IAB-BAMF-SOEP Sample of Refugees in Germany (IAB-BAMF-SOEP-REF).

SOEP-CORE is a representative, annual panel survey of private households in Germany that commenced in 1984 in West Germany and expanded to include East Germany after 1990. Initially, it oversampled immigrants from Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, and former Yugoslavia (Sample B in 1984) and later included immigrants arriving post-1984 mainly from Eastern Europe and other developing countries (Sample D in 1994-1995) (SOEP Group 2023).

The IAB-SOEP-MIG, a collaboration between the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) and SOEP, initiated in 2013, is conducted annually using the Integrated Employment Biographies register data from the Federal Employment Agency as the sampling frame. This sample is representative of the population that immigrated to Germany between 1995 and 2013, including second-generation immigrants born after 1976 and their household members. Refreshment samples in 2020 and 2021 included recent migrants from the EU (arrived 2016-

2018) and third-country nationals (arrived 2019-2020) following the skilled worker migration law (SOEP Group 2023).

The IAB-BAMF-SOEP-REF, established in 2016 through a partnership between the IAB, the research center of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMDPF), and the SOEP, surveys annually. Anchor persons for this survey are selected from the Central Register of Foreigners (Ausländerzentralregister, AZR), a comprehensive registry of all foreign nationals in Germany. The sample represents asylum seekers and refugees who have arrived in Germany since 2013 and their household members (Brücker, Rother, and Schupp 2017; Kroh et al. 2017).

Description of sample

The vignette experiment was incorporated into the surveys conducted in 2021 and 2022.¹ In 2021, it was specifically directed at panel respondents from the IAB-BAMF-SOEP-REF who did not hold German citizenship, representing approximately 80.5% of that cohort (own calculation). The fieldwork for this segment was carried out in the latter half of the year. In 2022, the experiment expanded to include respondents from the SOEP-CORE, the IAB-SOEP-MIG, and non-refugee participants of the IAB-BAMF-SOEP-REF² who also did not have German citizenship and were engaged through computer-assisted methods such as CAPI, CATI, CASI, and CAWI. This group constituted 3.8% of the SOEP-CORE, 77.8% of the IAB-SOEP-MIG, and 10.4% of the IAB-BAMF-SOEP-REF participants (own calculation). The main phase of data collection for this expanded scope occurred in the first half of 2022.

To accommodate potential language barriers, the survey instruments and related materials were provided in various languages spoken by the major immigrant groups, in addition to German (SOEP Group 2023).

Construction of the vignette experiment

In this vignette experiment, we describe the institutional context for naturalization in Germany, detailing the various dimensions that vary across the vignettes. These dimensions are outlined in Table 1 and include factors such as (1) dual citizenship, (2) the waiting period length, (3) requirements for language and (4) citizenship tests, (5) the duration of bureaucratic procedures, (6) fees associated with naturalization, (7) options for family applications, and the methods for

¹ The experimental design was pre-registered in the SOEP following similar procedure as in the SOEP-Innovation Sample application process. For details on the pretest, refer to Appendix A.

² Non-refugee respondents in the IAB-BAMF-SOEP-REF are household members without a refugee background or those who fled to Germany as minors.

delivering the citizenship certificate. Following our theoretical considerations, dimensions (1) to (4) address legal requirements and dimensions (5) to (8) address implementation of naturalization laws.

Table 1 Dimensions and levels of the institutional context in the vignette experiment

Dimensions	Levels
<i>Dual citizenship</i>	Old citizenship must be renounced Old citizenship does not have to be renounced
<i>Length of the waiting period</i>	Eight years living in Germany Four years living in Germany
<i>Language test</i>	Formal language test that one can express him-/herself orally and in writing in coherent sentences. No formal language test necessary, one must only be able to express him/herself orally and in writing in simple sentences.
<i>Naturalization test</i>	Formal naturalization test to prove knowledge of the German legal and social system. No formal naturalization test to prove knowledge of the German legal and social system.
<i>Duration of the bureaucratic procedure</i>	Twelve months Three months
<i>Bureaucratic fees</i>	255 Euro No costs
<i>Family application</i>	Individual application Family application
<i>Delivery of the certificate</i>	At the citizenship office, without an official naturalization ceremony Handed over in person, as part of an official naturalization ceremony

In Table 1, each dimension is presented with a base level that represents the current legal and procedural norms, and a liberalized level, which shows more permissive and inclusive options. This arrangement facilitates a comparative analysis between the current and liberalized conditions, helping to illustrate the potential impact of making the naturalization process more inclusive and less restrictive. This structured comparison aims to provide insight into how changes in these dimensions could affect immigrants' intentions to naturalize, offering a realistic view of how liberalization could influence decision-making in this area.

First, regarding the dimension dual citizenship, one must either renounce the old citizenship or be allowed to keep it. Second, we distinguish whether the length of the waiting period is eight or four years. Third, the applicant must be able to express and communicate himself/herself very well linguistically both orally and in writing (corresponds to language level B1) and a formal language test proves applicants' skills. In the liberalized level, a formal language test is not necessary, and the applicant only need to be able to express himself/herself orally and in writing in simple sentences. Fourth, we vary whether or not a successful naturalization test is required that proves the knowledge of the German legal and social system. Fifth, we distinguish whether the duration of the bureaucratic procedure is twelve or three months. Sixth, we describe

the cost of the procedure as 255 euros or that no costs are incurred. Seven, naturalization applications apply only to the applicant, not to the entire family. We formulate the possibility that family members are automatically entitled to naturalize as well if the applicant has successfully completed the naturalization procedure. Eighth, we vary a procedural dimension that expresses the welcoming culture of the destination country. The government delivers the naturalization certificate either with or without an official naturalization ceremony.

The experiment employs a 2^8 factorial design, leading to a total of 256 unique vignette scenarios. Each respondent is randomly assigned one vignette to evaluate, a method that simplifies the decision-making process compared to experiments where multiple vignettes are rated. This focused approach is particularly useful in handling the complex nature of the decision to naturalize.³

Table 2 provides an example of one such vignette, while the introduction to the experiment gives respondents a foundational understanding of the naturalization process in Germany. This background information includes the benefits of naturalization, such as voting rights and freedom of movement, alongside essential requirements like adherence to the democratic order, financial independence, and a clean criminal record. This preparatory information ensures that all respondents have a uniform base of knowledge from which to consider their vignette, facilitating a clearer assessment of how varying institutional settings influence their willingness to apply for German citizenship.

Following the introduction, each respondent is presented with one vignette describing a hypothetical institutional context, followed by a question on the respondents' intention to apply for German citizenship under these conditions (yes, definitely; yes, probably; rather unlikely; definitely not).

³ The large number of cases in the samples ensures that vignette dimensions are not confounded with respondents' characteristics. Auspurg and Hinz (2015, 58) recommend that each vignette description be answered by at least five respondents

Table 2 Example of a vignette (best-case)

Introduction

In the following part of the survey, we would like to learn more about your naturalization intentions. Naturalization in Germany offers you a number of advantages, such as the general right to vote, legal equality and protection, as well as other opportunities to participate in society. You can choose your profession freely and have access to civil servant status. In addition, you benefit from freedom of movement and travel in Europe and can also travel outside Europe to many countries without a visa to many countries.

However, naturalization is subject to conditions. You need an unlimited or permanent right of residence at the time of naturalization, and you must be committed to the free democratic basic order of the Basic Law. In addition, you must be able to support yourself dependents and must not have been convicted of a criminal offense.

In addition, there are further requirements, but also exceptions and exemptions. In the following, we will show you a hypothetical situation, i.e., that is, one way in which naturalization could be legally structured. This does not mean that the naturalization requirements in Germany are actually as described here and we cannot offer you naturalization in the context of this interview.

Please consider whether you would apply for naturalization under these conditions.

Vignette description

To become a naturalized citizen, you must have lived in Germany for at least four years.

No formal language test is required, you just need to be able to express yourself orally and in writing in simple sentences.

You do not have to take a naturalization test to prove your knowledge of the German legal and social system. You do not have to give up your previous citizenship.

After you submit all the documents, the procedure takes an average of three months and there are no costs.

You will receive the naturalization certificate in person, at an official naturalization ceremony.

If you have successfully completed the naturalization procedure, your family members are automatically entitled to naturalize as well. Your family members then do not have to complete any further naturalization procedures.

Decision

Would you apply for German citizenship under these conditions?

- Yes, definitely
 - Yes, probably
 - Rather unlikely
 - Definitely not
-

In scenarios where respondents indicate a disinclination to apply for citizenship, noted by the choices "rather unlikely" and "definitely not," they are further asked to specify their reasons for not pursuing naturalization. Additionally, they are required to rank these reasons according to their perceived importance. The reasons included in the survey for not applying are designed to uncover the underlying factors that may deter individuals from naturalization, such as economic, social, or procedural barriers. Following reasons were included:

- (1) The naturalization procedure is too expensive for me
- (2) The naturalization procedure is too expensive for me
- (3) The naturalization procedure takes too long for me
- (4) I generally do not see any benefit for me in naturalization
- (5) I do not meet the formal requirements

- (6) I do not feel connected to Germany
- (7) I plan to return to my home country soon
- (8) I do not want to give up my previous citizenship
- (9) Other or not applicable
- (10) No answer

Appendix B and C includes extracts from the corresponding questionnaires.

VIGNETTE DIMENSIONS: VARIABLES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION IN THE IAB-BAMF-SOEP SURVEY OF REFUGEES 2021 (v39), IAB-SOEP MIGRATION SAMPLE 2022 (v39), SOEP-CORE 2022 (v39), SURVEY YEARS 2021-2022

Variable	Description
year	Survey year
plj0737i01	Varying situation description 1: Length of the waiting period
plj0737i02	Varying situation description 2: Language test
plj0737i03	Varying situation description 3: Naturalization test
plj0737i04	Varying situation description 4: Dual citizenship
plj0737i05	Varying situation description 5: Duration of the bureaucratic procedure and bureaucratic fee
plj0737i06	Varying situation description 6: Delivery of the certificate
plj0737i07	Varying situation description 7: Family application
plj0738	Apply for German citizenship
plj0739i01	Reasons not to apply: complex
plj0739i02	Reasons not to apply: expensive
plj0739i03	Reasons not to apply: long
plj0739i04	Reasons not to apply: no use
plj0739i05	Reasons not to apply: no requirements
plj0739i06	Reasons not to apply: no connection to Germany
plj0739i07	Reasons not to apply: return to Homeland
plj0739i08	Reasons not to apply: retain citizenship
plj0739i09	Reasons not to apply: other
plj0740i01	most important reason: complex
plj0740i02	most important reason: expensive
plj0740i03	most important reason: long
plj0740i04	most important reason: no use
plj0740i05	most important reason: no requirements
plj0740i06	most important reason: no connection to Germany
plj0740i07	most important reason: return to Homeland
plj0740i08	most important reason: retain citizenship
plj0740i09	most important reason: other

Survey year

syear

Value	Label	n
2021	Surveyed in 2021	20401
2022	Surveyed in 2022	28704
<i>N</i>		49105

Length of the waiting period

plj0737i01

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	49	18969
-1	Missing value	-	-
1	Naturalization requires at least eight years of residence in Germany	1098	2306
2	Naturalization requires at least four years of residence in Germany	1025	2204
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Language test

plj0737i02

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	49	18969
-1	Missing value	-	-
1	Formal language test showing that you can speak and write in complete sentences	1097	2183
2	No formal language test required, only need to speak and write in simple sentences	1026	2327
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Naturalization test

plj0737i03

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	49	18969
-1	Missing value	-	-
1	Requires citizenship test to prove knowledge of German law and society	1121	2285
2	Requires no citizenship test to prove knowledge of German law and society	1002	2225
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Dual citizenship

plj0737i04

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	49	18969
-1	Missing value	-	-
1	Renounce previous citizenship	1060	2207
2	No need to renounce previous citizenship	1063	2303
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Duration of the bureaucratic procedure and bureaucratic fee

plj0737i05

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-

-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	49	18969
-1	Missing value	-	-
1	Naturalization process takes about twelve months and incurs a naturalization fee of 255€	545	1138
2	Naturalization process takes about three months and incurs no naturalization fee	517	1046
3	Naturalization process takes about twelve months and incurs no naturalization fee	520	1169
4	Naturalization process takes about three months and incurs a naturalization fee of 255€	541	1157
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Delivery of the certificate

plj0737i06

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	49	18969
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	49	18970
-1	Missing value	-	-
1	Receiving naturalization certificate at civil registry office without official naturalization ceremony	1119	2265
2	Receiving naturalization certificate personally during an official naturalization ceremony	1004	2245
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Family application

plj0737i07

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	49	18969
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	49	18970
-1	Missing value	-	-

1	No automatic right for family members to naturalize; they must undergo their own naturalization process	1041	2211
2	Family members have automatic eligibility for naturalization without additional procedures	1082	2299
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Intentions to apply for German citizenship

plj0738

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	49	18969
-1	Missing value	13	-
1	Yes, definitely	1850	1138
2	Yes, probably	217	1046
3	Rather unlikely	22	1169
4	Certainly not	21	1157
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

The naturalization procedure is too time-consuming

plj0739i01

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2164	23277
-1	Missing value	2	38
1	Mentioned	6	164
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

The naturalization process is too expensive

plj0739i02

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2166	23357
-1	Missing value	2	38
1	Mentioned	4	84
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

The naturalization process takes too long

plj0739i03

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2163	23324
-1	Missing value	2	38
1	Mentioned	7	117
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

I generally see no benefit for me in naturalization

plj0739i04

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2166	23111
-1	Missing value	2	38
1	Mentioned	4	330
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

I do not meet the formal requirements

plj0739i05

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2150	23352
-1	Missing value	2	38
1	Mentioned	20	89
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

I do not feel connected to Germany

plj0739i06

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2169	23356
-1	Missing value	2	38
1	Mentioned	1	85
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

I plan to return to my home country soon

plj0739i07

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-

-2	Does not apply	2169	23321
-1	Missing value	2	38
1	Mentioned	1	120
<i>N</i>		20401	28705

I do not want to give up my previous citizenship

plj0739i08

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2156	22762
-1	Missing value	2	38
1	Mentioned	14	679
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Other or not applicable

plj0739i09

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2164	23324
-1	Missing value	2	38
1	Mentioned	6	117
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Most important reason: complex

plj0740i01

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-

-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2165	23349
-1	Missing value	4	15
	1	1	27
	2	1	39
	3	1	35
	4	-	8
	5	-	3
	6	-	3
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Most important reason: expensive

plj0740i02

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2166	23410
-1	Missing value	4	14
	1	-	7
	2	1	15
	3	1	16
	4	-	9
	5	-	5
	6	-	3
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Most important reason: long

plj0740i03

Value	Label	2021	2022
-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-

-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2166	23371
-1	Missing value	4	9
	1	2	20
	2	-	36
	3	-	19
	4	-	19
	5	-	4
	6	-	-
	7	-	-
	8	-	1
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Most important reason: no use

plj0740i04

-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2164	23253
-1	Missing value	4	18
	1	3	66
	2	1	97
	3	-	24
	4	-	13
	5	-	5
	6	-	1
	7	-	2
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Most important reason: no requirements

plj0740i05

-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225

-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2163	23418
-1	Missing value	4	4
	1	2	12
	2	1	29
	3	2	7
	4	-	6
	5	-	1
	6	-	2
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Most important reason: no connection to Germany

plj0740i06

-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2167	23402
-1	Missing value	4	8
	1	-	10
	2	-	32
	3	-	18
	4	1	6
	5	-	2
	6	-	1
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Most important reason: return to Homeland

plj0740i07

-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2167	23406

-1	Missing value	4	11
	1	-	18
	2	-	23
	3	-	16
	4	-	2
	5	1	2
	6	-	-
	7		1
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Most important reason: retain citizenship

plj0740i08

-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2164	23164
-1	Missing value	4	25
	1	1	190
	2	3	66
	3	-	23
	4	-	6
	5	-	5
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

Most important reason: other

plj0740i09

-8	Question not part of the question program this year	-	-
-7	Only available in a less limited edition	-	-
-6	Questionnaire version with modified filter guidance	-	-
-5	Not included in questionnaire version	18229	5225
-4	Inadmissible multiple answers	-	-
-3	Implausible value	-	-
-2	Does not apply	2166	23442
-1	Missing value	4	11
	1	-	9
	2	2	10

	3	-	5
	4	-	2
<i>N</i>		20401	28704

RESULTS FROM THE VIGNETTE EXPERIMENT

First results from the vignette experiment were published in Kosyakova & Damelang (2024) and Kosyakova & Damelang (in press). In their study, the authors differentiate among various immigrant groups, including refugees, European Union (EU) citizens, and non-EU citizens. Using the vignette method, they empirically analyzed the impact of liberalizing legal requirements and implementing more inclusive naturalization procedures on the intentions to acquire German citizenship. This analysis compared current versus liberalized requirements and less versus more inclusive naturalization procedures, providing a realistic scenario of how such changes affect naturalization intentions.

The findings indicate that liberalizing legal requirements, particularly enabling dual citizenship and reducing the waiting period, positively influences naturalization intentions. However, the extent of these effects varies among the different immigrant groups, largely due to divergent perceptions of the benefits of naturalization. Conversely, making the naturalization procedure more inclusive did not significantly influence immigrants' intentions to naturalize. These results underline the importance of citizenship policy for the naturalization intentions of non-citizens. However, the results also show nuanced reactions to liberalized requirements stressing the importance of group-specific cost-benefit considerations.

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APPENDIX A: PRETEST

Initially, we crafted the experimental framework by delineating various dimensions derived from theoretical frameworks, leading to the construction of 16 specific statements representing each of the eight identified dimensions. Following a preliminary review by factorial survey specialists, we refined the phrasing of these statements. Notably, we consolidated two dimensions—procedure duration and naturalization fee—into a single statement, reducing the total to 14 statements to enhance readability and shorten the survey length.

Subsequently, we adapted this expert-reviewed version for deployment in an online survey format. The survey served dual purposes: it functionally tested the instrument and elicited direct feedback on the individual dimensions and specifications through open-ended responses. Conducted in late May and early June, the survey garnered participation from 15 individuals, comprising both seasoned migration experts and individuals with personal migration and naturalization experiences.

Feedback from this phase prompted four substantive revisions to our design. First, we refined the temporal dimension of the procedure to more distinctly contrast durations of twelve and three months. Second, we altered the phrasing in the certificate handover dimension to better differentiate between impersonal pickup and official handover treatments. Third, we eliminated a dimension deemed irrelevant to the naturalization decision-making process, which initially aimed to evaluate the impact of having a designated contact person within the naturalization authority. Lastly, we introduced a new dimension regarding family application policies to reflect the inclusiveness of national policies, recognizing its significant theoretical and policy relevance.

B016b IAB Modul: Einbürgerungsabsichten

Q113a;plj0014_v3=2

Q113g Im folgenden Teil der Befragung möchten wir mehr über Ihre Einbürgerungsabsichten erfahren. Die Einbürgerung in Deutschland bietet Ihnen einige Vorteile, wie das allgemeine Wahlrecht, rechtliche Gleichstellung und Schutz sowie weitere Möglichkeiten der gesellschaftlichen Teilhabe. Sie können Ihren Beruf frei wählen und haben Zugang zum Beamtenstatus. Zudem profitieren Sie von Freizügigkeit und Reisefreiheit in Europa und können auch außerhalb Europas ohne Visum in viele Länder reisen.

Jedoch ist die Einbürgerung an Voraussetzungen geknüpft. So benötigen Sie ein unbefristetes oder auf Dauer angelegtes Aufenthaltsrecht zum Zeitpunkt der Einbürgerung und müssen sich zur freiheitlichen demokratischen Grundordnung des Grundgesetzes bekennen. Zudem müssen Sie den Lebensunterhalt für sich und die unterhaltsberechtigten Angehörigen eigenständig sichern können und dürfen nicht wegen einer Straftat verurteilt sein.

Darüber hinaus gibt es noch weitere Voraussetzungen, aber auch Ausnahmen und Erleichterungen. Im Folgenden zeigen wir Ihnen eine hypothetische Situation, das heißt eine Möglichkeit, wie man eine Einbürgerung rechtlich gestalten könnte. Das heißt nicht, dass die Einbürgerungsvoraussetzungen in Deutschland tatsächlich so sind wie hier beschrieben, und wir können Ihnen im Rahmen dieses Interviews auch keine Einbürgerung anbieten.

Bitte überlegen Sie sich, ob Sie unter den genannten Rahmenbedingungen einen Einbürgerungsantrag stellen würden.

Q113a;plj0014_v3=2

Q113h Situationsbeschreibung, variierend

Um sich einbürgern lassen zu können, müssen Sie seit mindestens acht Jahren in Deutschland leben. 1

Um sich einbürgern lassen zu können, müssen Sie seit mindestens vier Jahren in Deutschland leben. 2

Q113h:piabvignsit1 soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder piabvignsit1

Durch eine formale Sprachprüfung müssen Sie nachweisen, dass Sie sich mündlich und schriftlich in zusammenhängenden Sätzen ausdrücken können. 1

Es ist keine formale Sprachprüfung notwendig. Sie müssen sich nur in einfachen Sätzen mündlich und schriftlich ausdrücken können. 2

Q113h:piabvignsit2 soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder piabvignsit2

Sie müssen einen Einbürgerungstest machen, um ihre Kenntnisse der deutschen Rechts- und Gesellschaftsordnung nachzuweisen. 1

Sie müssen keinen Einbürgerungstest machen, um ihre Kenntnisse der deutschen Rechts- und Gesellschaftsordnung nachzuweisen. 2

Q113h:piabvignsit3 soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder piabvignsit3

Sie müssen ihre bisherige Staatsangehörigkeit aufgeben. 1

Sie müssen ihre bisherige Staatsangehörigkeit nicht aufgeben. 2

Q113h:piabvignsit4 soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder piabvignsit4

Nachdem Sie alle Unterlagen eingereicht haben, dauert das Verfahren durchschnittlich zwölf Monate und es fallen Kosten in Höhe von 255 € an. 1

Nachdem Sie alle Unterlagen eingereicht haben, dauert das Verfahren durchschnittlich drei Monate und es fallen keine Kosten an. 2

Q113h:piabvignsit5 soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder piabvignsit5

Die Einbürgerungsurkunde bekommen Sie beim Bürgeramt, ohne eine offizielle Einbürgerungsfeier. 1

Die Einbürgerungsurkunde bekommen Sie persönlich übergeben, im Rahmen einer offiziellen Einbürgerungsfeier. 2

Q113h:piabvignsit6 soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder piabvignsit6

Wenn Sie das Einbürgerungsverfahren erfolgreich absolviert haben, sind Ihre Familienmitglieder nicht automatisch berechtigt, sich auch einbürgern zu lassen. Ihre Familienmitglieder müssen dann jeweils ein eigenes Einbürgerungsverfahren absolvieren. 1

Wenn Sie das Einbürgerungsverfahren erfolgreich absolviert haben, sind Ihre Familienmitglieder automatisch berechtigt, sich auch einbürgern zu lassen. Ihre Familienmitglieder müssen dann keine weiteren Einbürgerungsverfahren absolvieren. 2

Q113h:piabvignsit7 soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder piabvignsit7

Q113a:plj0014_v3=2

Q113i Würden Sie unter diesen Rahmenbedingungen die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit beantragen?

Ja, ganz sicher 1

Ja, wahrscheinlich 2

Eher unwahrscheinlich 3

Ganz sicher nicht 4

Keine Angabe -1

Q113i:piabvignentsch soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder piabvignentsch

Q113a:plj0014_v3=2 & Q113i:piabvignentsch=3,4

Q113j Es gibt viele Gründe, nicht die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft zu beantragen. Welche der folgenden Gründe waren für Ihre Entscheidung zutreffend?

Bitte geben Sie alles Zutreffende an!

Das Einbürgerungsverfahren ist mir zu aufwendig			1
Das Einbürgerungsverfahren ist mir zu teuer			1
Das Einbürgerungsverfahren dauert mir zu lang			1
In der Einbürgerung sehe ich generell keinen Nutzen für mich			1
Ich erfülle die formalen Voraussetzungen nicht			1
Ich fühle mich nicht mit Deutschland verbunden			1
Ich plane bald in mein Heimatland zurückzukehren			1
Ich möchte meine bisherige Staatsbürgerschaft nicht aufgeben			1
Sonstiges bzw. nicht zutreffend			1
keine Angabe			-1
Q113j;piabvign1	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign1	
Q113j;piabvign2	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign2	
Q113j;piabvign3	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign3	
Q113j;piabvign4	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign4	
Q113j;piabvign5	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign5	
Q113j;piabvign6	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign6	
Q113j;piabvign7	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign7	
Q113j;piabvign8	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign8	
Q113j;piabvign9	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign9	

Q113a;plj0014_v3=2 & Q113j;piabvignentsch=3,4 & min. 2 Gründe in Q113j ausgewählt

Q113k Und welche dieser Gründe waren für Sie am wichtigsten?

Ziehen Sie dazu die Gründe in das Ranking-Feld und ordnen Sie sie dort ihrer Wichtigkeit nach an. 1 steht für den wichtigsten Grund und [max aus Q113j] für den am wenigsten wichtigen Grund.

Das Einbürgerungsverfahren ist mir zu aufwendig			1:[max aus Q113j]
Das Einbürgerungsverfahren ist mir zu teuer			1:[max aus Q113j]
Das Einbürgerungsverfahren dauert mir zu lang			1:[max aus Q113j]
In der Einbürgerung sehe ich generell keinen Nutzen für mich			1:[max aus Q113j]
Ich erfülle die formalen Voraussetzungen nicht			1:[max aus Q113j]
Ich fühle mich nicht mit Deutschland verbunden			1:[max aus Q113j]
Ich plane bald in mein Heimatland zurückzukehren			1:[max aus Q113j]
Ich möchte meine bisherige Staatsbürgerschaft nicht aufgeben			1:[max aus Q113j]
Sonstiges bzw. nicht zutreffend			1:[max aus Q113j]
Q113k;piabvign11	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign11	
Q113k;piabvign21	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign21	
Q113k;piabvign31	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign31	
Q113k;piabvign41	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign41	
Q113k;piabvign51	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign51	
Q113k;piabvign61	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign61	
Q113k;piabvign71	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign71	
Q113k;piabvign81	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign81	
Q113k;piabvign91	soep-core-2021-p-m3456-wieder	piabvign91	

Kann / möchte ich nicht beantworten 1

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE 2022

SOEP-Core

Person (techn) 2022

203a:plj0023_v4 pnat2nr 203a:plj0743i01=1
 203a:plj0726_v3 pnat3nr 203a:plj0743i02=1
 203a:plj0744i02 pnat4nr 203a:plj0743i03=1
 203a:plj0744i03 pnat5nr 203a:plj0743i04=1
 203a:plj0744i04 pnat6nr 203a:plj0743i05=1

Aktuelle ISO3N-Länderliste

scale: „cat“ statt „chr“ answer_list: „9091+“ statt „“

198:plj0014_v3=2

204 Was für einen Aufenthaltsstatus haben Sie in Deutschland?

Staatsbürgerschaft der EU bzw. des europäischen Wirtschaftsraumes	8
Blaue Karte EU	2
Visum	5
Eine Niederlassungserlaubnis, d.h. ein unbefristetes Daueraufenthaltsrecht in Deutschland	1
Befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis	3
Aufenthaltsgestattung	7
Duldung	4
Kann / möchte ich nicht beantworten	-1

204:plj0722 pstat

answer_list: „14+“ statt „4465M4652“

204a Einbürgerungsabsichten

204a:1

text_de: „Einbürgerungsabsichten“ statt „IAB Modul: Einbürgerungsabsichten“

198:plj0014_v3=2

204b Im folgenden Teil der Befragung möchten wir mehr über Ihre Einbürgerungsabsichten erfahren. Die Einbürgerung in Deutschland bietet Ihnen einige Vorteile, wie das allgemeine Wahlrecht, rechtliche Gleichstellung und Schutz sowie weitere Möglichkeiten der gesellschaftlichen Teilhabe. Sie können Ihren Beruf frei wählen und haben Zugang zum Beamtenstatus. Zudem profitieren Sie von Freizügigkeit und Reisefreiheit in Europa und können auch außerhalb Europas ohne Visum in viele Länder reisen.

Jedoch ist die Einbürgerung an Voraussetzungen geknüpft. So benötigen Sie ein unbefristetes oder auf Dauer angelegtes Aufenthaltsrecht zum Zeitpunkt der Einbürgerung und müssen sich zur freiheitlichen demokratischen Grundordnung des Grundgesetzes bekennen. Zudem müssen Sie den Lebensunterhalt für sich und die unterhaltsberechtigten Angehörigen eigenständig sichern können und dürfen nicht wegen einer Straftat verurteilt sein.

Darüber hinaus gibt es noch weitere Voraussetzungen, aber auch Ausnahmen und Erleichterungen. Im Folgenden zeigen wir Ihnen eine hypothetische Situation, das heißt eine Möglichkeit, wie man eine Einbürgerung rechtlich gestalten könnte. Das heißt nicht, dass die Einbürgerungsvoraussetzungen in Deutschland tatsächlich so sind wie hier beschrieben, und wir können Ihnen im Rahmen dieses Interviews auch keine Einbürgerung anbieten.

Bitte überlegen Sie sich, ob Sie unter den genannten Rahmenbedingungen einen Einbürgerungsantrag stellen würden.

soep-core:soep-core-2022-pe2

162

198;plj0014_v3=2

204c Situationsbeschreibung, variierend

- Um sich einbürgern lassen zu können, müssen Sie seit mindestens acht Jahren_ in Deutschland leben. 1
- Um sich einbürgern lassen zu können, müssen Sie seit mindestens vier Jahren_ in Deutschland leben. 2
- 204c:plj0737i01 piabvignsit1
- Durch eine formale Sprachprüfung_ müssen Sie nachweisen, dass Sie sich mündlich und schriftlich in zusammenhängenden Sätzen ausdrücken können. 1
- Es ist keine formale Sprachprüfung_ notwendig. Sie müssen sich nur in einfachen Sätzen mündlich und schriftlich ausdrücken können. 2
- 204c:plj0737i02 piabvignsit2
- Sie müssen einen Einbürgerungstest_ machen, um ihre Kenntnisse der deutschen Rechts- und Gesellschaftsordnung nachzuweisen. 1
- Sie müssen keinen Einbürgerungstest_ machen, um ihre Kenntnisse der deutschen Rechts- und Gesellschaftsordnung nachzuweisen. 2
- 204c:plj0737i03 piabvignsit3
- Sie müssen ihre bisherige Staatsangehörigkeit aufgeben_. 1
- Sie müssen ihre bisherige Staatsangehörigkeit nicht aufgeben_. 2
- 204c:plj0737i04 piabvignsit4
- Nachdem Sie alle Unterlagen eingereicht haben, dauert das Verfahren durchschnittlich zwölf Monate_ und es fallen Kosten in Höhe von 255 €_ an. 1
- Nachdem Sie alle Unterlagen eingereicht haben, dauert das Verfahren durchschnittlich drei Monate_ und es fallen keine Kosten_ an. 2
- Nachdem Sie alle Unterlagen eingereicht haben, dauert das Verfahren durchschnittlich zwölf Monate_ und es fallen keine Kosten_ an. 3
- Nachdem Sie alle Unterlagen eingereicht haben, dauert das Verfahren durchschnittlich drei Monate_ und es fallen Kosten in Höhe von 255 €_ an. 4
- 204c:plj0737i05 piabvignsit5
- Die Einbürgerungsurkunde bekommen Sie beim Bürgeramt, ohne eine offizielle Einbürgerungsfeier_. 1
- Die Einbürgerungsurkunde bekommen Sie persönlich übergeben, im Rahmen einer offiziellen Einbürgerungsfeier_. 2
- 204c:plj0737i06 piabvignsit6
- Wenn Sie das Einbürgerungsverfahren erfolgreich absolviert haben, sind Ihre Familienmitglieder nicht automatisch berechtigt, sich auch einbürgern zu lassen. Ihre Familienmitglieder_ müssen dann jeweils ein eigenes Einbürgerungsverfahren absolvieren_. 1
- Wenn Sie das Einbürgerungsverfahren erfolgreich absolviert haben, sind Ihre Familienmitglieder automatisch berechtigt, sich auch einbürgern zu lassen. Ihre Familienmitglieder_ müssen dann keine weiteren Einbürgerungsverfahren_ absolvieren. 2

soep-core:soep-core-2022-pe2

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204c:plj0737i07 piabvignsit7

Hier werden bis zu 256 randomisierte Kombinationen aus optimalen und erschwerenden Items zum Einbürgerungsprozess erzeugt. Dazu wird zu den folgenden 7 Themen jeweils eines der Items ausgewählt; Merkposten für Formatierung: _text_ soll unterstrichen dargestellt werden.

198:plj0014_v3=2

204d Würden Sie unter diesen Rahmenbedingungen die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit beantragen?

Ja, ganz sicher	1
Ja, wahrscheinlich	2
Eher unwahrscheinlich	3
Ganz sicher nicht	4
Kann / möchte ich nicht beantworten	-1

204d:plj0738 piabvignentsch

(198:plj0014_v3=2)&(204d:plj0738=3,4)

204e Es gibt viele Gründe, nicht die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft zu beantragen. Welche der folgenden Gründe waren für Ihre Entscheidung zutreffend?

Bitte geben Sie alles Zutreffende an!

Das Einbürgerungsverfahren ist mir zu aufwendig	1
Das Einbürgerungsverfahren ist mir zu teuer	1
Das Einbürgerungsverfahren dauert mir zu lang	1
In der Einbürgerung sehe ich generell keinen Nutzen für mich	1
Ich erfülle die formalen Voraussetzungen nicht	1
Ich fühle mich nicht mit Deutschland verbunden	1
Ich plane bald in mein Heimatland zurückzukehren	1
Ich möchte meine bisherige Staatsbürgerschaft nicht aufgeben	1
Sonstiges bzw. nicht zutreffend	1
Kann / möchte ich nicht beantworten	-1

204e:plj0739i01 piabvign1

204e:plj0739i02 piabvign2

204e:plj0739i03 piabvign3

204e:plj0739i04 piabvign4

204e:plj0739i05 piabvign5

204e:plj0739i06 piabvign6

204e:plj0739i07 piabvign7

204e:plj0739i08 piabvign8

204e:plj0739i09 piabvign9

204e:2

(198;plj0014_v3=2)&(204d;plj0738=3,4)&((EGEN multiple_gruende = anycount(plj0739i*), VALUES (1))>=2)

204f Und welche dieser Gründe waren für Sie am wichtigsten?

Ziehen Sie dazu die Gründe in das Ranking-Feld und ordnen Sie sie dort ihrer Wichtigkeit nach an. 1 steht für den wichtigsten Grund und [max aus Q204f] für den am wenigsten wichtigen Grund.

Das Einbürgerungsverfahren ist mir zu aufwendig 1:[max aus Q204f]

Das Einbürgerungsverfahren ist mir zu teuer 1:[max aus Q204f]

Das Einbürgerungsverfahren dauert mir zu lang 1:[max aus Q204f]

In der Einbürgerung sehe ich generell keinen Nutzen für mich 1:[max aus Q204f]

Ich erfülle die formalen Voraussetzungen nicht 1:[max aus Q204f]

Ich fühle mich nicht mit Deutschland verbunden 1:[max aus Q204f]

Ich plane bald in mein Heimatland zurückzukehren 1:[max aus Q204f]

Ich möchte meine bisherige Staatsbürgerschaft nicht aufgeben 1:[max aus Q204f]

Sonstiges bzw. nicht zutreffend 1:[max aus Q204f]

204f:plj0740i01 piabvign11

204f:plj0740i02 piabvign21

204f:plj0740i03 piabvign31

204f:plj0740i04 piabvign41

204f:plj0740i05 piabvign51

204f:plj0740i06 piabvign61

204f:plj0740i07 piabvign71

204f:plj0740i08 piabvign81

204f:plj0740i09 piabvign91

Kann / möchte ich nicht beantworten 1

204f:2

Nur Items anzeigen, die in Q204f ausgewählt wurden

(198;plj0014_v3=2)&((201;plj0024_v1=2)&(202;plj0175=2))

205 Welches Land ist Ihr Herkunftsland bzw. das Herkunftsland Ihrer Eltern?

Wenn Sie selbst nicht in Deutschland geboren wurden, geben Sie bitte Ihr Geburtsland an. Wenn Sie in Deutschland geboren wurden, geben Sie bitte das Geburtsland Ihrer Eltern an, bei welchem es sich nicht um Deutschland handelt. Wurden Ihre beiden Eltern in verschiedenen Ländern außerhalb Deutschlands geboren, nennen Sie bitte das Land, das Ihnen am wichtigsten erscheint.