

Attitudes towards emigration. A quantitative approach



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Objectives:

- ∞ To explore the utility or necessity of studying ATE
- ∞ To propose a measure of ATE
- ∞ To validate the proposed measure of ATE
 - internally
 - externally (by exploring the determinants of ATE)



Outline:

- ☞ Objectives
- ☞ What are the attitudes towards emigration (ATE)?
- ☞ Why are ATE understudied?
- ☞ Drivers of ATE
- ☞ Data
- ☞ Romania a proper space for studying ATE?
- ☞ Measuring ATE and ATE determinants
- ☞ Discussion





Conceptualization



What are ATE?

- Brubaker's strategy (2005): usage of the collocation on the Internet:

	Attitudes towards emigration	Attitudes towards immigration
Hits on Google	948	25,300
Hits on Google Scholar	168	2600

(18 th of February 2015)



What are ATE? *(ctd)*

Reading the literature:

1. ATE = intentions to migrate
2. ATE = stance (positive/negative) of a group (e.g. elites, political actors, NGO-s, authorities) towards migration
3. ATE = attitudes of citizens of one country towards those ones living abroad and/or towards the phenomenon of emigration



What are ATE? *(ctd)*

OR

ways in which people **position themselves**
with respect to emigration

ATE = attitudes of citizens of one country towards
(similar to the way attitudes towards immigration are conceptualized)
those ones living abroad and/or towards the
phenomenon of emigration



Are ***attitudes towards emigration*** different
than ***attitudes towards emigrants***?



Why are ATE(E) understudied?

Why the attitudes towards *immigration* (*immigrants*) are (so) studied?

Numbers; Consequences; Policy

Mix of reasons:

- ∞ intrinsic characteristics associated with emigration prone to generate considerable **less visibility** of the phenomenon and **less worries** associated with it
- ∞ migration studies are **overcentred on destination** country perspective
- ∞ Newer phenomena?



Which themes are addressed by ATE?

Literature:

- ∞ the impact on families,
- ∞ the freeriding behaviour towards the country of origin,
- ∞ the deserting of the nation,
- ∞ the betrayal.
- ∞ hopes of remittances, both of material, financial, and social kind.



ATE as attitudes

- ∞ Evaluations of a certain object (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005)
- ∞ Dependent of personal situation
- ∞ Manifestations of values (Jagodzinsky, 2004)
- ∞ Determined by ideology



Determinants/Covariates of ATE

- ☞ Controlling for resources/different type of publics: gender, **age**, education, income, employment status controls
- ☞ Individual propensity to migrate: discontent with the present environment Assessment
- ☞ Experience with (e)migration Migration-related
- ☞ Values/ideologies: Nationalism
 - Proud of being part of a nation
 - Traditionalism as option to preserve existing order
 - Risk aversion Outmigration. as a risky act
 - Valuing the money Neoclassical economy's explanation of migration





Methodology



Data

- WVS Romania 2012. (national probabilistic sample; 1503 respondents)
- Special battery on ATE, designed by our team:

Here there are two statements about migrating abroad. How justified is in your opinion to ...

		Very little	Little	Much	Very much	DK	NA
x210	To migrate for a while in another country	1	2	3	4	98	99
X211	To migrate for good in another country	1	2	3	4	98	99

To which extent do you agree with the following statements regarding migration abroad?

		Very little	Little	Much	Very much	DK	NA
X3	People in Romania should stay in their country	1	2	3	4	98	99
X4.	Everyone is due to contribute to the wealth of the country they were born in	1	2	3	4	98	99
X5.	Romania loses through the migration of its citizens to other countries	1	2	3	4	98	99
X7.	The families of the ones that left are suffering	1	2	3	4	98	99



Methods

- ∞ CFA for internal validation of the measurement
- ∞ OLS for relationships with various confounders



Romania a proper space for studying ATE?

- ☞ Consistent outmigration: 2.5 – 3 millions of Romanians living abroad (over 10% of the total population)
- ☞ Liberal democracy/developed country
- ☞ Consistent migration policy (emigration and diaspora component) (Șerban, 2014)
- ☞ Migration for work – an issue for the permanent agenda of the media, especially after 2007 – “institutionalization” of migration in Romanian media. (Beciu, 2012)





Findings

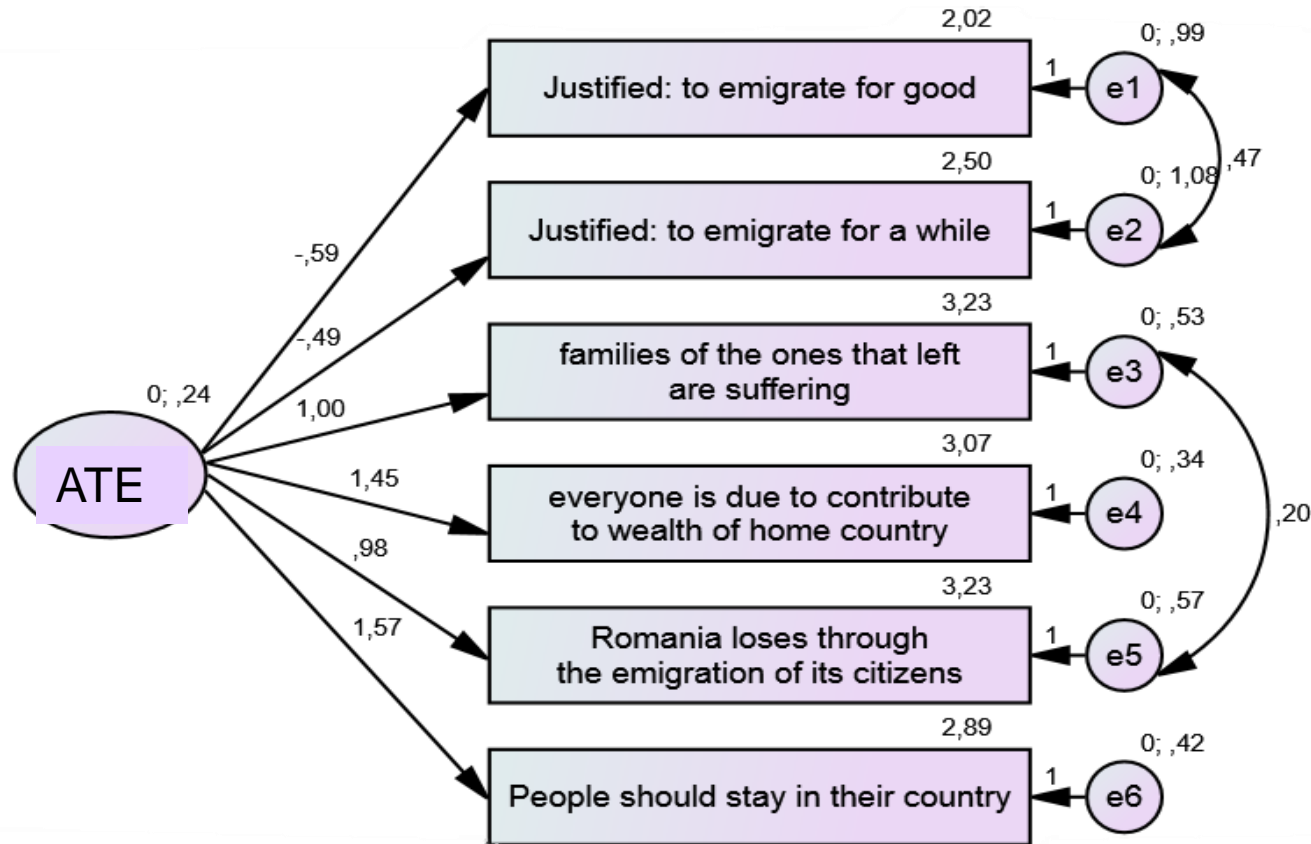


Descriptives

	Very little	Little	Much	Very much	DK	NA	Total
Justified: to migrate for a while in another country	20%	23%	28%	21%	5%	1%	100%
Justified: to migrate for good in another country	36%	28%	16%	13%	6%	2%	100%
Agreement: People in Romania should stay in their country	11%	23%	29%	32%	4%	1%	100%
Agreement: Everyone is due to contribute to the wealth of the country they were born in	8%	15%	38%	35%	4%	1%	100%
Agreement: Romania loses through the migration of its citizens to other countries	6%	11%	34%	45%	3%	1%	100%
Agreement: The families of the ones that left the country are suffering	6%	13%	33%	44%	3%	1%	100%



Measuring ATE – internal validation



The goodness of fit indicators have acceptable values (Chen, 2002):
RMSEA=0.077, CFI=0.972. All the relations are significant at $p < .005$.



Determinants of ATE – external validation

- ☞ We predict ATE to see if it makes sense
- ☞ Three models
 - Pooled sample
 - Non-migrants,
 - Returnees, in order to control for the migration experience



external validation

DETERMINANTS

ATE varies from rejecting emigration to positive representations.

4 outliers were removed.

controls

Woman
Highest educational level attained
Ethnic Minority
Employment status
Income
Age

Migration-related

No. of former destination countries
Family members abroad
Time spent abroad

Assessment

Life Satisfaction
Country goes in the right direction

Nationalism

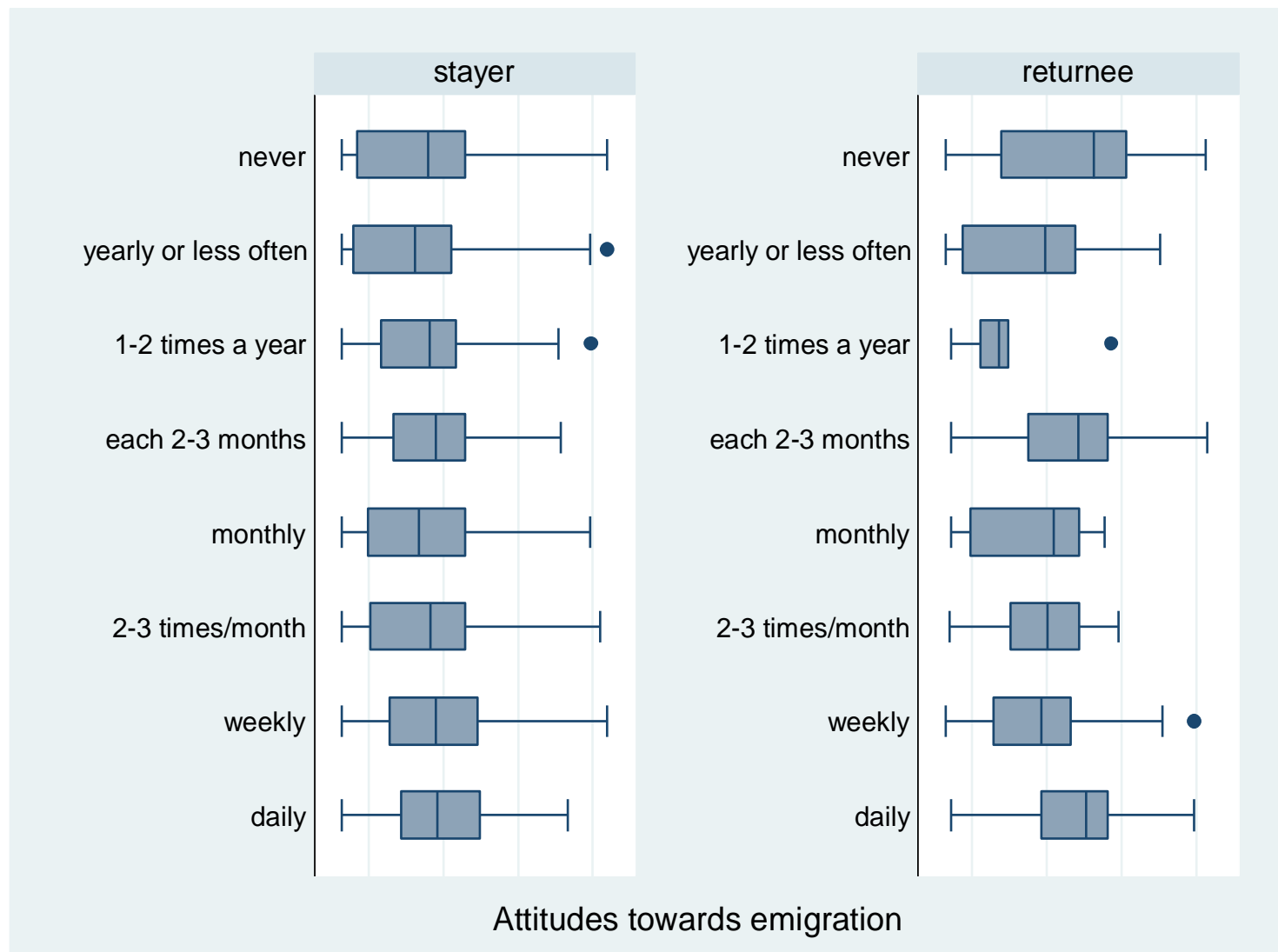
Proud of being a Romanian citizen

Schwartz values

Tradition
Valuing Money
Adventure and taking risks



Boxplots of ATE depending on frequency of interaction with migrant peers



OLS, POOLED SAMPLE

external validation

woman	-0.04	0.07	0.12	0.12	0.15
educ	0.11*	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.06
Unemployed	-0.19	-0.02	0.02	0.03	0.16
Retired	-0.87*	-0.73†	-0.78†	-0.77†	-0.85†
Housewife	-0.71†	-0.44	-0.44	-0.44	-0.47
Students	-0.55	-0.24	-0.09	-0.10	-0.05
income	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.02
rural	0.40	0.53*	0.46†	0.45†	0.40
LifeSat	-0.14*	-0.09	-0.10†	-0.10†	-0.09
EthMinor	0.54	0.07	0.12	0.11	-0.13
age	-0.19***	-0.16**	-0.16**	-0.16**	-0.19***
agesq	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**
children	-0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.05
couple	-0.31	-0.21	-0.13	-0.14	-0.01
divorced	-0.15	-0.36	-0.13	-0.16	-0.02
widowed	-0.89	-0.97	-0.91	-0.92	-0.81
proud		-0.83***	-0.81***	-0.86***	-0.79***
Aventura		0.12	0.13	0.13	0.10
Traditia		-0.46***	-0.48***	-0.48***	-0.47***
returnee			0.68†	-0.27	0.61
frecINT=1.0			-0.85†	-0.85†	-0.83†
frecINT=2.0			-0.65	-0.65	-0.58
frecINT=3.0			0.63	0.63	0.61
frecINT=4.0			-0.89*	-0.87*	-0.84†
frecINT=5.0			-0.75	-0.73	-0.71
frecINT=6.0			-0.14	-0.12	-0.16
frecINT=7.0			-0.02	0.02	-0.06
FamMig			0.22	0.22	0.18
intProud				0.30	
directia					0.09
Constant	-10.50***	-7.13***	-7.34***	-7.14***	-6.89***
Observations	1252	1219	1208	1208	1109
Adjusted R-squared	0.08	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.13

The sign of the relations is the expected one.

Age and values are the only ones to matter

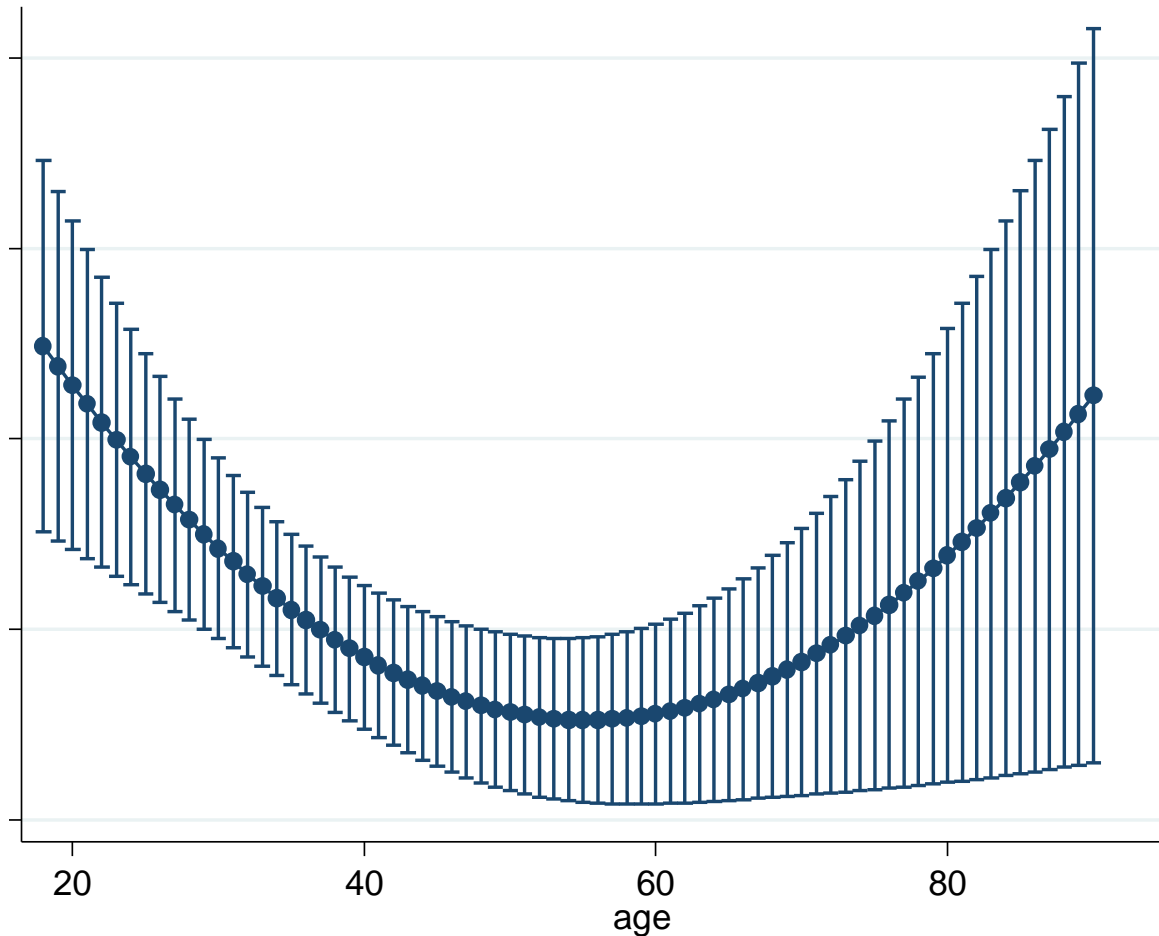
† p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001



OLS, POOLED SAMPLE

The Impact of AGE

external
validation



OLS, RETURNS

external validation

woman	-0.61	-0.46	-0.71	-0.60	-0.60	-0.94
educ	0.04	-0.10	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Unemployed	-1.16	-1.14	-1.43	-1.24	-1.24	-1.26
Retired	-0.30	-0.26	0.79	0.22	0.22	0.32
Housewife	-0.08	0.31	0.78	0.70	0.70	0.97
Students	-0.03	-0.12	-0.03	-0.06	-0.06	-0.20
income	-0.30	-0.23	-0.11	-0.12	-0.12	-0.09
rural	0.54	0.76	0.86	0.70	0.70	0.40
LifeSat	0.20	0.27	0.34†	0.33†	0.33†	0.37*
EthMinor	-0.47	-0.76	-1.20	-1.26	-1.26	-1.24
age	-0.24	-0.15	-0.10	-0.08	-0.08	-0.07
agesq	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
children	-0.13	-0.19	0.00	0.14	0.14	0.23
couple	-1.97†	-1.74	-1.85†	-1.74†	-1.74†	-1.58
divorced	0.63	-0.14	-0.09	0.08	0.08	0.76
widowed	-2.97	-2.55	-2.21	-2.73	-2.73	-2.40
proud		-0.90†	-0.69	-0.81	-0.81	-0.84
Aventura		0.11	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13	-0.15
Traditia		-0.67*	-0.83**	-0.78**	-0.78**	-0.67*
lnTimeH			-2.46*	-2.48*	-2.48*	-2.80*
time2			-0.51*	-0.52*	-0.52*	-0.55*
FamMig			-0.06	0.35	0.35	0.30
frecINT=1.0				-1.88	-1.88	-2.15
frecINT=2.0				-3.91†	-3.91†	-4.19†
frecINT=3.0				-0.12	-0.12	-0.38
frecINT=4.0				-2.58*	-2.58*	-2.67*
frecINT=5.0				-2.50*	-2.50*	-2.12†
frecINT=6.0				-2.33*	-2.33*	-2.45*
frecINT=7.0				-2.15†	-2.15†	-2.68*
intProud					0.00	0.00
directia						-0.00
Constant	-8.07†	-4.73	-4.12	-2.93	-2.93	-2.97
Observations	183	178	169	169	169	158
Adjusted R-squared	0.03	0.09	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.14

The sign of the relations is the expected one.

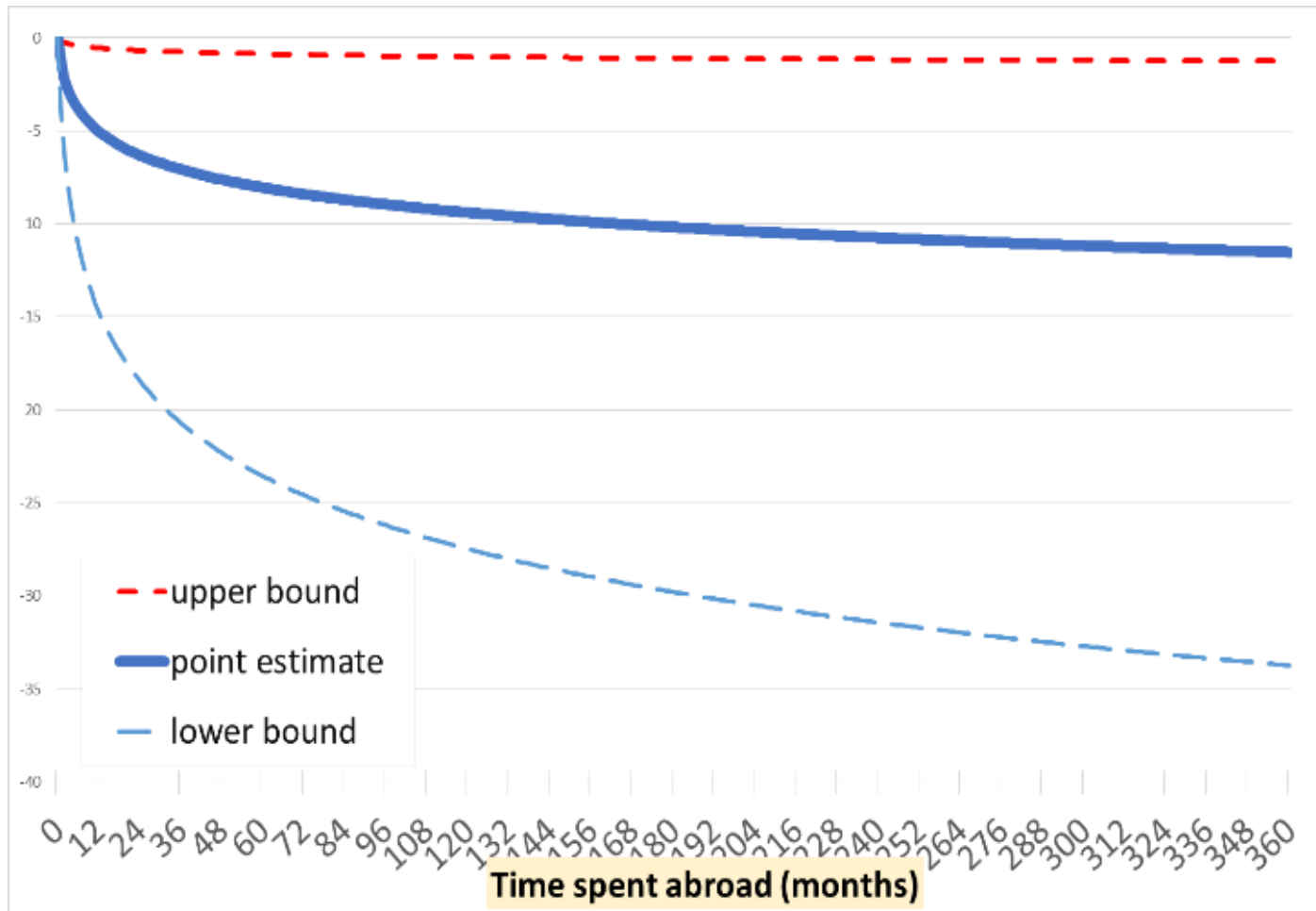
Not so much variation.

Only values matter?



OLS, RETURNEES Time Spent in Migration

external
validation



Comparing samples

	all13	retu3	stay3
woman	0.12	-0.71	0.11
educ	0.05	-0.02	0.06
Unemployed	0.02	-1.43	0.46
Retired	-0.78†	0.79	-0.74†
Housewife	-0.44	0.78	-0.45
Students	-0.09	-0.03	0.02
income	0.04	-0.11	0.07
rural	0.46†	0.86	0.36
LifeSat	-0.10†	0.34†	-0.15*
EthMinor	0.12	-1.20	0.30
age	-0.16**	-0.10	-0.17**
agesq	0.00**	0.00	0.00**
children	0.02	0.00	0.01
couple	-0.13	-1.85†	0.37
divorced	-0.13	-0.09	0.01
widowed	-0.91	-2.21	-0.29
proud	-0.81***	-0.69	-0.85***
Aventura	0.13	-0.13	0.14
Traditia	-0.48***	-0.83**	-0.40***
returnee	0.68†		
frecINT=1.0	-0.85†		-0.75†
frecINT=2.0	-0.65		-0.23
frecINT=3.0	0.63		0.60
frecINT=4.0	-0.89*		-0.51
frecINT=5.0	-0.75		-0.33
frecINT=6.0	-0.14		0.37
frecINT=7.0	-0.02		0.19
FamMig	0.22	-0.06	0.12
lnTimeH		-2.46*	
time2		0.51*	
Constant	-7.34***	-4.12	-7.43***
Observations	1208	169	1030
Adjusted R-squared	0.12	0.14	0.12





Discussion



Discussion

- ☞ The proposed measure for ATE seems valid.
- ☞ The results show a consistent covariance between ATE, on one hand, and ideology and values, on the other suggesting, as in the case of ATI, the "highly symbolic nature of the construct" (Meulemann et al, 2012);



Discussion

- ☞ ATE forms as joint effect of:
 - Representations upon personal wellbeing
 - National ideology
 - Traditionalist values
 - (Period of) early socialization



Discussion

- ∞ The experience of migration (direct/indirect) seems to have at most a weak influence on the way ATE are structured;



Consequences // future pathways?

- ∞ The increase in the level of (e)migration has an effect on bringing the issue on the public agenda and probably on pressing for action

But

- ∞ ATE are not directly affected by the development of the phenomenon
(to further check this with regional-level indicators)



Further challenges (I)

- ∞ Generalization?
- ∞ Local/Regional variations?
- ∞ Further testing of other mechanisms in ATE formation
 - Intention to migrate
 - Reasons for returning
- ∞ To refine the ATE scale (by including more items on the positive consequences of emigration)
- ∞ To refine the items measuring the individual experience of migration (last migration, subjective evaluation of the migration experience)



Further challenges (II)

∞ To assess the impact of regional-level variables



Implications for policy formation

- ∞ Attitudes as drivers for policy formation (Druckman, 2014; Page & Shapiro, 1982)
- ∞ If public opinions about emigration are influencing migration policies at origin, then these policies are prone to be created by reference to the value orientation of the stayers (and returnees).
- ∞ They heavily depend on Nationalism and Traditionalism
- ∞ Economic/'Rational' motivations (direction, life satisfaction) are **to a lesser extent** part of the mix



The Romanian presidential elections 2014

- ∞ conservative government (as compared to the other parties)
- ∞ The Prime Minister run for a Presidential Mandate (the president has little, but symbolic power)
- ∞ No incumbent
- ∞ Few voting booths were set up abroad
- ∞ Long queues were shown in social media all over the globe
- ∞ Strong emotional reaction at home
- ∞ Higher turnout than expected
- ∞ Surprisingly defeat of the Prime Minister



Diolch Grazie Gracias Arigatō Tack
Tak Shukrān Dik
Danke MULTUMIM Merci
THANK YOU
ありがとう Dank u Дякую 謝謝
Mersi Dziękí Ευχαριστώ Takk
Спасибо Köczí Tasahürler Asante
Obri 十
Hvala うも Ta

