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Measuring the integration of labour migrants abroad: the case of Moldova

Vladimir Ganta

CARIM-East Research Report 2013/34



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CARIM-East
Creating an Observatory of Migration East of Europe

Research Report
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**Measuring the integration of labour migrants abroad:
the case of Moldova**

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This project which is co-financed by the European Union is the first migration observatory focused on the Eastern Neighbourhood of the European Union and covers all countries of the Eastern Partnership initiative (Belarus, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) and Russian Federation.

The project's two main themes are:

- (1) migration from the region to the European Union (EU) focusing in particular on countries of emigration and transit on the EU's eastern border; and
- (2) intraregional migration in the post-Soviet space.

The project started on 1 April 2011 as a joint initiative of the European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy (the lead institution), and the Centre of Migration Research (CMR) at the University of Warsaw, Poland (the partner institution).

CARIM researchers undertake comprehensive and policy-oriented analyses of very diverse aspects of human mobility and related labour market developments east of the EU and discuss their likely impacts on the fast evolving socio-economic fabric of the six Eastern Partners and Russia, as well as that of the European Union.

In particular, CARIM-East:

- builds a broad network of national experts from the region representing all principal disciplines focused on human migration, labour mobility and national development issues (e.g. demography, law, economics, sociology, political science).
- develops a comprehensive database to monitor migration stocks and flows in the region, relevant legislative developments and national policy initiatives;
- undertakes, jointly with researchers from the region, systematic and *ad hoc* studies of emerging migration issues at regional and national levels.
- provides opportunities for scholars from the region to participate in workshops organized by the EUI and CMR, including academic exchange opportunities for PhD candidates;
- provides forums for national and international experts to interact with policymakers and other stakeholders in the countries concerned.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: <http://www.carim-east.eu/>

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1. Introduction

For countries where immigrants represent an important (and increasing) population sub-group the question of integration is very important for understanding and managing the sustainable and fair development of society.

For sending countries, the study of integration is important because the integration of its citizens (especially labour migrants) into another society increases the chances that these citizens will not return: they will also likely bring their families. “Losing citizens” means losing the development potential carried by them: fertility, labour force, remittances, and votes.

In Moldova, the intention of returning home is particularly discussed. The general perception is that most Moldovans working abroad will not return. They will, in fact, do anything to stay abroad. Available data seem to support this perception. Much attention is paid to the factors that make people go abroad and almost none to factors that help them to stay.

As the main push-factor for Moldovan labour migrants is the “lack of well paid jobs”, the general perception is that this is also the factor that prevents them from returning to Moldova. Of course, a significant development in the Moldovan economy, based on job creation will make migrant workers come back, but how many of them will do so?

It is difficult to answer this question but the experience of other countries suggests the following: the more time migrants spend abroad, the more likely they will be to make/take families abroad, interact with a new culture, and finally integrate into the host-society (European Commission, 2003).

Therefore, it is important to study how and to what degree migrants from Moldova succeed in integrating into countries where they work. This knowledge would help policy makers in both Moldova and receiving countries.

The aim of the paper is to assess the determinants favoring the successful integration of Moldovan labour migrants abroad. To this end, a Probit Model has been developed.

2. Definitions and indicators

2.1 Definition

The concept of migrant integration is not clear. How, after all, can we say when a migrant becomes “integrated”. What characteristics a migrant should have as to be considered integrated and are these characteristics objective and measurable?

There are several definitions for social integration. But all of these are based on the idea that integration refers to the “inclusion of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes towards the society. It is the result of the conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation of individuals and groups” (EFILWC, 2003).

Integration is mostly seen as a process and if this process is successful, then migrants become integrated into society. The completion of the process means equal participation of migrants in the social, economic and political life of the host-society.

Any assessment of the integration process depends on: the policies applied in the host-countries (assimilation vs. inclusion and participation);¹ migrants' personal attitudes toward host-societies; and data availability.

As integration is a process through which an outsider gradually becomes an insider. It needs to be assessed not only at once the process is finished (successfully or not) but continuously, so as to measure any progress.

Accordingly, sociologists look at the integration of migrants as a sequence of multiple processes (domains of integration). Successful integration depends on migrants' achievements in specific domains. Some achievements are the preconditions for others.

According to Entzinger (2007) there are three domains of integration:

- Legal and political rights;
- Social and economic integration;
- Cultural integration.

Esser (2000) proposes four basic forms of integration:

- **Acculturation** (also termed socialisation): the process by which an individual acquires the knowledge, cultural standards and competencies needed to interact successfully in a society.
- **Placement**: an individual gains a position in society, in the educational or economic systems, in the professions, or as a citizen. Placement also implies the acquisition of rights associated with particular positions and the opportunity of establishing social relations and of gaining cultural, social and economic capital. Acculturation is a precondition for placement.
- **Interaction**: the formation of relations and networks, by individuals who share a mutual orientation. These include friendships, romantic relationships and marriages, or more general membership of social groups.
- **Identification**: an individual's identification with a social system, the person sees him or herself as part of a collective body. Identification has both cognitive and emotional aspects (EFILWC, 2006).²

Combining ideas from both approaches it is possible to establish another framework and use it to assess the integration of migrants.

In Entzinger's model **legal integration** is the pre-condition for the successful integration of migrants: migrants can equally and fully participate in the life of host-societies only if they are protected by law and consequently have access to the same rights as the native population.

Of course, equal rights are not, alone, a guarantee of integration. Migrants may be targets of discrimination or they may not even try using their rights.

In the Esser's model, the acquisition of rights is included in **Placement**, but it is better to have it as a separated stage during any assessment of integration.

Acculturation from Esser's model is also a key element and a precondition for **legal integration**, not least because in order to acquire rights in a foreign country a person should know how to do so.

¹ Assimilation is here defined as a model used for migrants and groups allowed to settle, designed to turn immigrants into nationals, by getting them to give up their distinct languages and cultures. Inclusion and participation policies are here defined as a public policy model designed to ensure the full socio-economic and political participation of all members of an increasingly diverse population. It implies that immigrants should be granted equal rights in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their diversity, although usually with an expectation of conformity to certain key values.

² European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2006

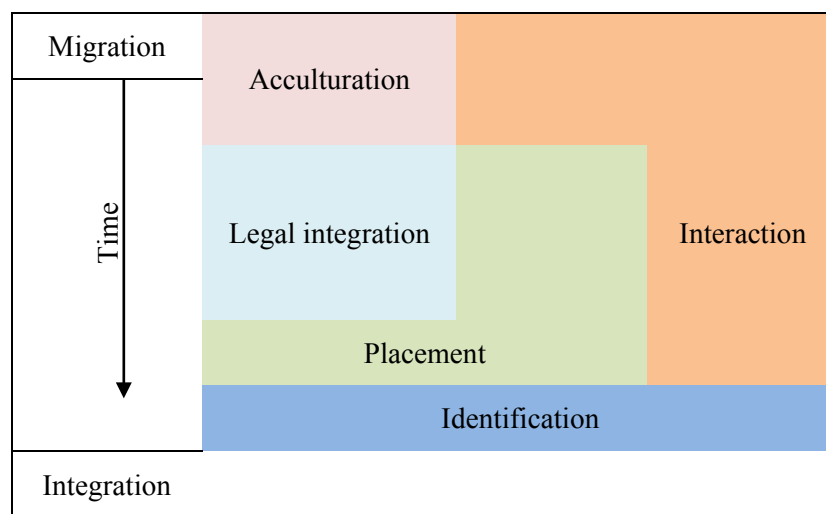
Social and economic integration from Entzinger’s model corresponds to **Placement** and **Interaction** from the Esser’s model. **Placement** happens generally after **Acculturation** and **Legal integration**.

Interaction can happen even before **Acculturation**. It is the easiest part of integration and often represents the reason why people migrate (e.g. marriage). **Interaction** and **Placement** happen simultaneously.

Identification is the last phase of integration and if successful, the migrant becomes a part of society. Generally, a migrant starts to identify himself/herself with the host-society after having passed through all previous phases of integration.

As identification is the result of cognitive and emotional processes, the contribution of each integration phase to the final result differs from migrant to migrant. All the processes described above are presented by the following scheme (figure 1)

Figure 1. Various stages of migrants’ integration process



2.2 Indicators

In order to make the model useful to each phase of the integration process indicators should be attached. At the EU level, Eurostat (the European Commission for statistics) conducted the Zaragoza pilot study on common integration indicators as to identify “to what extent existing harmonized data sources can provide adequate data on migrant populations and to identify where the indicators cannot reliably be produced due to limitations in the data sources – predominantly due to sampling and other methodological issues related to the surveys”³.

Eurostat tested a list of indicators that could be used to measure migrant integration:

1. Labor market

- Activity rate
- Unemployment rate
- Employment rate
- Overqualification rate
- Self-employment rate

³ Eurostat, 2011

2. Education

- Highest educational attainment
- Low-achieving 15-year-olds in reading, mathematics and science
- Tertiary educational attainment
- Early leavers from education and training

3. Income

- Median disposable income
- Risk of poverty or social exclusion
- Risk of poverty after social transfers

4. Housing

- Property ownership

5. Health

- Self-perceived health status

6. Legal

- Acquisition of citizenship
- Residence permits

In order to obtain these indicators, Eurostat used data from two large European surveys (EU-LFS, EU-SILC) and associated administrative data.

These indicators were used to assess the participation of immigrants in the social, economic and political life of EU countries (receiving countries).

For a sending country, like Moldova, that wants to assess the integration of its citizens into host-societies these indicators are useful only if the destination countries can compute these indicators for the sub-group of immigrants from Moldova. This is a difficult task as, in the EU, these indicators are computed using survey data, where the sample of Moldovan immigrants is rather small.

About 250,000 Moldovans work in Russia, the main destination for Moldovan labour⁴. Of the total population residing in Russia aged 15-64 years, these stand at 0.2%. There is, then, only a small probability of inclusion in a random sample of any survey conducted in Russia (1 migrant per 500 sampled respondents). Plus, it is well known that labour migrants are very hard to cover in household surveys. They tend to live where they work (e.g. construction sites, factories) and even if found, they would most probably not want to participate in any survey.

Consequently, a small, sending country like Moldova needs to be able to assess the integration of its citizens abroad using its own data. It can complement this by any data offered by destination country.

Therefore, a list of indicators developed and used by researchers to assess the integration of migrants in receiving countries has to be adapted to the sending country. Such a perspective would be useful not only for policy makers from the sending country, but also for those from the receiving country. For example: policies developed according to indicators in the receiving country migrants would be good but inefficient because migrants do not want to be integrated. They plan only to work for a couple of years then to return to their countries⁵.

⁴ Moldovan LFS data, average value for 2011

⁵ Many migrants working for several years abroad, especially the older ones wish to work as much as possible obtain a pension from the foreign government then to return to Moldova.

On the next pages we present the integration indicators for assessing the integration of Moldovan migrants abroad, given the available data.

1. Acculturation

- Share of migrants having no problems with language;
- Share of migrants who did not find a job because they did not understand/speak the language;
- Share of migrants who prepare themselves for migration: if the person took care of all the preparation, it is supposed that the persons knew enough about the country from others or from experience;
- Share of migrants who contacted employers directly from the host-country, while searching for work, before going abroad (such persons should know to communicate).

2. Legal integration

- Share of migrant holding citizenship of the host-country;
- Share of working migrants holding residence and work permits, and an employment contract;
- Share of migrants holding temporary registration or residence permits;
- Share of migrants who had problems with local authorities.

3. Placement

- Average number of years spent by migrants abroad;
- Share of migrants having a job abroad;
- Share of working migrants who had basic social benefits in their last job;
- Share of migrants having spouses and children in Moldova.

4. Interaction

- Share of migrants who were deceived in their job;
- Share of migrants who were forced in their job;
- Share of migrants who were exploited in their job.

5. Identification

- Share of migrants who settled abroad or would like to do so.

This list of indicators is mostly a list of proxies identified in the available data that will be tested and only those found to be relevant will be retained for further analysis.

2.3 Data source

These indicators can be computed using the Labour Migration Survey (LMS) data, collected in the second quarter of 2008.

LMS was conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics as a module to the Labour Force Survey (LFS). LFS is a continuous, two-stage stratified cluster sample survey. At the first stage 150 Primary Sampling Units (PSU) were selected with probabilities proportional to population size. In each PSU 25 households are sampled monthly, resulting in a sample of 12,000 households per year.

LFS interviewers record data on all members of each sampled household, which agreed to offer information, including on those missing while working or searching for work abroad.

LMS was conducted in the 2nd quarter of 2008 as a LFS module, having the same sampling plan but a larger sample and additional questionnaires. There were three questionnaires:

- **LMS-A** for labour migrants staying abroad at the moment of the interview (proxy interview);
- **LMS-C** for labour migrants staying in Moldova at the moment of the interview (direct interview);
- **LMS-B** for persons staying in Moldova, who never worked or searched for work abroad (direct interview) who were used as a control group

LMS questionnaires were designed to collect specific data on labour migration: labour status before leaving Moldova; push-factors; means of migration; persons/organization that helped find a job abroad; basic characteristics of the job; problem faced; and future plans.

3. Measures of integration

Eurostat's indicators measure integration from the perspective of the "equal" participation of migrants in the social and economic lives of the host-society. Therefore, indicators presented in this paper for Moldovan migrants measure integration from the perspective of what society is expecting from an immigrant to do/achieve as to consider him/her a part of it. Also, these indicators measure the intensity of the integration process, rather than a state of things (integrated vs. not integrated)

For example, by comparing the activity rate of the EU citizens and of immigrants staying in the EU27, generally speaking, one may say that immigrants do not "equally" participate in the EU labour market⁶, and, therefore, that they are not integrated.

Using the indicator "share of Moldovan labour migrant who found a job in the EU" it is not possible to say if Moldovan migrants "equally" participate or not in the EU labour market. However, it is possible to say if migrants succeed in entering that market. A higher rate could mean better interaction, better acculturation, and, therefore, higher integration probability.

Plus, a higher share of immigrants who work is probably better for receiving societies. These would prefer to have immigrants support themselves and their families by working than by performing asocial activities: a higher rate would indicate higher integration chances.

In the next table, the indicators proposed for measuring the integration of Moldovan migrants are presented in more details.

⁶ 77% vs. 69% in 2011, source Eurostat database:
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/search_database

Table 1. Indicators proposed to measure integration of migrants

	Indicator	Formulae	Interpretation
Acculturation			
1	Share of migrants having no problems with language	Number of labour migrants who had no difficulties in living and working in the host-country due to language barriers, divided by the total number of labour migrants and multiplied by 100.	The higher the percentage, the better acculturation for migrants and the better any chance of being accepted by the host-society (Esser, 2006).
2	Share of migrants who made all preparations for migration	Number of labour migrants who took care of all preparations for their trip abroad, divided by the total number of labour migrants and multiplied by 100.	The higher the percentage, the better acculturation for migrants. The assumption is that taking care of all things related to migration requires a lot of knowledge about the host-country, especially about its legislation: even if the objective is to migrate illegally.
3	Share of migrants who contacted employers directly from the host-country, while searching for work.	Number of labour migrants who, before going abroad, during a job search, contacted employers directly from the host-country, divided by the total number of labour migrants and multiplied by 100.	The higher the percentage, the better acculturation for migrants. The assumption is that contacting employers directly from another country requires workers to, at the very least, speak the language, and understand how relations between employers and employees work in a particular country (even if informal).
Legal integration			
4	Share of migrants holding citizenship of the host-country	Number of labour migrants holding citizenship of the host-country, divided by the total number of labour migrants and multiplied by 100.	The higher the percentage, the better legal integration. Theoretically, for successful integration a migrant should have equal rights to participate in society. Therefore, 100% would indicate full legal integration, the best possible situation for further integration. On the other hand, obtaining citizenship can be seen as a recognition of migrants' achievements on their way to integration. In both cases a higher percentage means better chances for successful integration.

5	Share of working migrants holding residence and work permits, and employment contracts.	Number of working migrants holding residence and work permits, and an employment contract, divided by the total number of working migrants and multiplied by 100.	<p>The higher the percentage, the better legal integration. Having a residence and work permit, and an employment contract is a precondition for legal work, which means 'fair play' on the labour market.</p> <p>Migrants who 'play fair' have better chances of being accepted by the host-society.</p> <p>Migrants 'playing fair' face much less exploitation, having less negative feelings towards the host-society.</p>
6	Share of migrants holding temporary registration or residence permits	Number of migrants holding temporary registration or residence permits, divided by the total number of migrants and multiplied by 100.	<p>The higher the percentage, the better legal integration.</p> <p>Migrants who do not satisfy the elementary condition of staying legally on the territory of a host-country cannot have rights to fully participate in the life of the country and risk exploitation.</p>
7	Share of migrants who had 'problems' with local authorities	Number of migrants who had 'problems' with host-country authorities, divided by the total number of migrants and multiplied by 100.	<p>The lower the percentage, the better legal integration.</p> <p>'Problems' mean situations where migrants were retained, arrested, or had to pay a fine for illegal actions (including illegal stay, working without contract, etc).</p> <p>Asocial behavior of immigrants is one of the main reasons why integration policies may suffer. Even if only few immigrants commit illegalities, all or large parts of society may oppose integration policies.</p>
Placement			
8	Average number of years spent by migrants abroad	Average number of years elapsed since migrants went to the host-country, for the first time, and the interview date (second quarter of 2008).	<p>The higher the number, the better the placement level for migrants.</p> <p>The assumption is that, in general, the longer migrant live in the host-country, the stronger the connections with that country.</p>
9	Share of migrants having a job abroad	Number of migrants having a job, divided by the total number of migrants and multiplied by 100.	<p>The higher the percentage, the better the placement level for migrants.</p> <p>Having a job is considered one of the most important preconditions for successful integration as it offers a) opportunities to</p>

			communicate with members of the host-society, b) opportunities to establish professional contacts and c) means for existence.
10	Share of working migrants who had basic social benefits in their last job	Number of migrants having a job as employees, divided by the total number of migrants working as employees and multiplied by 100.	<p>The higher the percentage, the better the placement level for migrants.</p> <p>“Basic social benefits” include: paid sick leave, contributions to the pension fund, compensation in case of accidents at work, paid annual leave, rest day(s), additional payment for hours worked over the program.</p> <p>Migrants covered by “basic social benefits” are better placed in the host-society than those who do not have these in the sense that they have greater possibilities to fully and equally participate in the social and economic life of the country.</p>
11	Share of migrants having children in Moldova	Number of migrants having children (persons below 18 years) in Moldova, divided by the total number of migrants and multiplied by 100.	<p>The lower the percentage, the better the placement level for migrants.</p> <p>The assumption is that having children in Moldova is a factor that reduces the chances that a migrant would like to become a part of the host-society and settle abroad.</p> <p>Of course, under certain conditions, the wish to take the family abroad could serve as a factor that speeds-up integration.</p>
Interaction			
12	Share of migrants who were deceived in their jobs	Number of migrants deceived in their jobs, divided by the total number of working migrants and multiplied by 100.	<p>The lower the percentage, the more positive any interaction of migrants with the host-society.</p> <p>“The deceived” are considered migrants who: were given a job different from the one agreed upon; worked in worse condition than promised; were paid less than promised; worked in other locations than promised; worked with other employers than agreed upon; were offered worse living conditions than promised by the employer; were imputed greater/unexplained deductions from the salary; and were imputed unexplained debts.</p>

			It is logical to expect that migrants who had negative interaction experience with a host-society (in this case through the labour market) will be less willing to become a part of it, even if they continue working (only to make money).
13	Share of migrants who were forced into a job	Number of migrants forced in their jobs, divided by the total number of working migrants and multiplied by 100.	The lower the percentage, the more positive any interaction of migrants with the host-society. “The forced” are migrants who against their will, under menace/penalty and through coercion worked in a job that they did not want; performed tasks they did not want to do; offered sexual services; left an employer for another; worked excessive hours/days; performed illegal acts; lived in houses/apartments offered by unknown persons; and worked longer than planned, waiting to be paid.
Identification			
14	Share of migrants who settled abroad or intend to do it	The number of migrants who moved abroad or who intended to do so, divided by the total number of migrants and multiplied by 100.	The higher the percentage, the better the level of identification. Identification is the result of cognitive and emotional processes. Probably it is impossible to assess this through some objective measures that do not involve personal (subjective) attitudes towards the host-society. The assumption is that a migrant who undertakes efforts or who has a strong wish to settle in a country (society), feels comfortable there, and wants to be a part of it, links his/hers aspiration to said society. Therefore, the value of this indicator is that it offers an estimate of the share of migrants integrated in the host-countries.

In the table below, values of the indicators by regions and specific countries are given.

Table 2. Indicators of integration for Moldovan migrants, by regions and specific countries, second quarter 2008

	Total	EU27	Italy	CIS	Russia	Other ⁷
Acculturation						
Ind 1 + ⁸	79,2	36,6	37,6	96,3	96,4	63,7
Ind 2 +	21,8	11	11,4	25,3	24,6	25,7
Ind 3 +	23,6	15	15,4	26	25,4	30,7
Legal integration						
Ind 4 +	1,2	1,5	1,9	1,1	1,1	0,9
Ind 5 +	17,7	25,7	23,3	13,7	14	27,1
Ind 6 +	40,5	19,7	21,7	50,6	51,7	16
Placement						
Ind 7 -	9,8	5,7	4,4	11,6	11,5	7
Ind 8 +	1,9	2,8	2,9	1,5	1,6	2,1
Ind 9 +	97,7	98,9	99,5	97,2	97,1	99,2
Ind 10 +	3,9	6,9	5,3	3	2,9	2,1
Ind 11 -	18,7	19,3	20,4	18,4	19,1	20
Interaccion						
Ind 12 -	48,8	53,4	47,5	47,8	48,3	45,7
Ind 13 -	14,7	10,2	9,9	16,8	16,6	10,7
Identification						
Ind 14 +	2,2	3,5	2,5	1,8	1,2	0,8

Measurement of acculturation

Judging by the proposed indicators, acculturation is stronger in CIS countries, particularly Russia, where almost 65% of migrants work.

According to LMS data, 79% of Moldovan labour migrants had no language problems abroad (Indicator 1⁹). In Russia the share is the highest. This is not surprising as the Russian language is spoken a lot in Moldova, a former Soviet country. Even at present, Russian is studied in schools, starting at fifth grade.

In the EU27¹⁰ only about 37% of labour migrants had no problems in communicating in a foreign language¹¹. In Italy, where 16% of all Moldovan migrants work, the share is 1 p.p. higher. Romanian

⁷ In this group, countries with most Moldovan migrants are Turkey (50%), Israel (35%) and the US (9%).

⁸ The “+” sign indicates that higher the indicator, stronger the integration. The “-” sign indicates that higher the indicator, weaker the integration.

⁹ Share of migrants who contacted employers directly from the host-country, while searching for work, before going abroad

¹⁰ 27 countries, member states of the European Union, as of 1 January 2007

is very close to the Italian, French and Spanish. Migrants usually learn to communicate in these languages in a couple of months but it is not as easy as with Russian, which is like a second mother-tongue (especially for older migrants).

In other countries (mainly Turkey, Israel and US) the “language problem” is a moderate one as the share of those having no such problems stood at about 64%. Probably, this is mostly due to the fact that most Moldovan migrants in Turkey are *Gagauz*, people with Turkish origins coming from the south of Moldova. These people speak mostly Russian and a Turkish dialect. According to the LMS data, 95% of Moldovan migrants in Turkey come from the south of the country.

The other two indicators on acculturation (indicator 2 and 3¹²) are strongly correlated with the first one as the ability to communicate in the language of the host-society is a precondition for establishing contacts with its members. Still, speaking the language is not enough to set a solid base for integration, a lot of other knowledge on how the society functions is needed. Differences between Indicator 1 and Indicators 2 and 3 (especially in the case of Russia) may be proof of this.

Measurement of legal integration

Only 1.2% of Moldovan migrants reached the highest degree of legal integration, holding the citizenship of the host-country¹³ (indicator 4). In the EU the share was 1.5¹⁴% (Italy 1.9%), in CIS countries 1.1% (Russia 1.1%) and in other countries less than 1%.

The share is low in all regions and this is not surprising, as obtaining the citizenship of a country is a lasting and strictly regulated process.

The group of working migrants holding residence and working permits, and employment contracts¹⁵ is larger: 17.7%. Judging by this indicator, legal integration works better in EU27 and other countries than in CIS countries, regardless of better acculturation. Taking into account the share of informal employment among local workers in CIS countries¹⁶, migrants, probably, could not hope for better conditions.

The share of migrants having only temporary registration or residence permits¹⁷ is higher, almost 41%. This is the effect of the Russian immigration regulations, namely: visa-free regime for Moldovan migrants and simple registration procedures. While this indicator was 19.7% in the EU27 (21.7% in Italy), it was 50.6% in the CIS countries (51.7% in Russia). In other countries the indicator was closer to the EU27 value: 16.0%. One other important difference between legal integration in Russia and EU27 is that in Russia indicator 5 is lower than indicator 6, while in the EU27 it is vice-versa. Again, this is the effect of more relaxed immigration regulation in Russia, but it could also mean that working legally in Russia (making efforts to obtain a working permit and a contract) does not offer as many benefits as working legally in the EU27.

(Contd.) _____

¹¹ As Romania is a member of EU27 and official language in Moldova is Romanian (even if in the Constitution it is called Moldovan) one may think that this indicator is biased. Indeed, if computing this indicator for EU26 (excluding Romania) it will decrease by 1 p.p. But this decrease is not statistically significant.

¹² „Share of migrant who made all preparations for migration” and “Share of migrants who directly contacted employers from the host-country, while searching for work, before going abroad”

¹³ These estimates do not include those persons who permanently emigrated from Moldova.

¹⁴ As Romania is part of the EU27 and it is known that many Moldovans regained Romanian citizenship (lost by parents and grandparents after Soviet occupation in the Second World War) the estimate may seem biased. The share of Moldovan migrants staying in Romania, having Romanian citizenship is 33.3%, still due to a low number of labour migrants in Romania; it does not affect significantly the share computed for the EU27.

¹⁵ Indicator 5

¹⁶ http://laborsta.ilo.org/informal_economy_E.html

¹⁷ Indicator 6

Finally, the last indicator on legal integration¹⁸ shows that almost 10% of Moldovan labour migrants had “problems” with local authorities because they failed to conform to legal requirements. Again, there are significant differences between Russia and other countries. In Russia the share was 11.6%, in the EU27 it was 5.7% and 7.0% in other countries. It seems that (a) more relaxed immigration regulations actually increase the probability that migrants will not follow them and that (b) the penalty for not following Russian regulations is not as important as in the EU27.

The four indicators show weak overall legal integration of Moldovan labour migrants abroad. Stronger legal integration happens in countries with stricter immigration regulations, where following these regulations results in better opportunities.

Measurement of placement

On average Moldovan labour migrants spent 1.9 years abroad¹⁹: 2.8 years in the EU27, 1.5 years in CIS and 2.1 years in other countries. There are more reasons why migrants stay longer in the EU27. First of all, it takes more efforts and resources to get there and find a job, therefore, migrants stay as long as possible, working, in order to make enough money to pay debts and to buy whatever they planned to buy. Then, for migrants staying illegally in the EU27, returning home is costly and risky because they may be deported if identified when crossing the border.

Almost all migrants find a job abroad (97.7%)²⁰. The share is practically the same in all regions.

Only 3.9% of working migrants had basic social benefits in their last jobs²¹. This share differs by regions and is higher in the EU27, where it reached almost 7.0%. This share is also much lower than the share of migrants working legally²² which may seem absurd, but this is explained by high rates of “deceived” and forced labour migrants (indicators 12 and 13, see below).

About 19.0% of migrants have children (persons aged 0 to 17 years) in Moldova²³, this share is practically the same in all regions.

Measurement of interaction

Interaction with host-societies is not a positive experience for Moldovan labour migrants, at least judging by the share of deceived migrants²⁴, which is almost 50.0%. In the EU27, the share is highest (53.4%), in the CIS it is around 48.0%.

The second indicator²⁵ is lower but high enough to spot interaction problems: 14.7% of labour migrants were forced in their jobs. The highest share of forced migrants was in the CIS countries (16.8%), the lowest in the EU27 countries, about 10.0%.

Measurement of identification

Only 2.2% of all Moldovan migrants decided to settle abroad or plan to do so²⁶. So, if taken as a measure of integration, in general, few migrants integrate into the host-societies by reaching the last stage of identification. The share of integrated migrants is higher in the EU27 (3.5%) than in the CIS (1.8%).

¹⁸ Indicator 7

¹⁹ Indicator 8

²⁰ Indicator 9

²¹ Indicator 10

²² Indicator 5

²³ Indicator 11

²⁴ Indicator 12

²⁵ Indicator 13

4. Probit model

In order to identify which factors affects the chances of a migrant reaching the final stage of the integration process, a Probit model was set up.

In the model, the dependant variable is indicator No. 13 (measure of identification, from Table 1). The other indicators (from 1 to 12) are the independent variables. The model was constructed using unweighted LMS data from 2936 questionnaires.

The Probit model retained five factors which significantly²⁷ affect the chances of identification with the host-society of Moldovan labour migrants:

Legal integration		Marginal effect
Indicator 4	Share of migrant holding citizenship of the host-country	22,6%
Indicator 5	Share of working migrants holding residence and work permits, and an employment contract	1,6%
Placement		
Indicator 10	Share of working migrants who had basic social benefits in their last job	3,2%
Indicator 11	Share of migrants having children in Moldova	-1,3%
Interaction		
Indicator 13	Share of migrants who were forced in their jobs	-0,9%

As expected, the contribution of legal integration to the identification of migrants with the host-society is crucial: obtaining the citizenship of the host-country increases the probability of identification by 22.6%. Legal integration into the labour market²⁸ increases the chances of identification by other 1.6% all other factors have no marked effect.

Indicators of placement also behave as expected. Having basic social benefits in the job, increases migrant's integration probability by 3.6%, while having children in Moldova decreases it by 1.3%.

Finally, negative interaction experience with the host-society, measured by a n indicator of 13, decreases integration by 0.9%. Although statistically significant, the influence is very low, but it is negative, as expected.

The model was built using available data, not specially collected, following the theoretical integration model described. Therefore, it doesn't contain some variables, maybe more relevant than those used in the model.

(Contd.) _____

²⁶ Indicator 14

²⁷ For a 0.05 significance level

²⁸ Holding residence and work permits, and an employment contract

For example, the indicators on interaction used in the model are, in fact, indicators of negative experience in communicating with members of host-society. But maybe “positive” interaction has a lot more influence on the integration processes, but there are no such indicators.

The Probit model did not retain any of acculturation indicators. This could mean both: that those indicators are not good in measuring acculturation or that for Moldovan labour migrants acculturation is not an issue.

Still, with all limitations, the model succeeded in identifying and quantifying the influence of some integration processes an identification, as expected from the theoretical model proposed.

5. Conclusions

The results reported in the previous section prove that available data can be used to measure and explain the integration processes. They also prove the viability of the proposed approach, to looking at integration of migrants from the perspective of a sending country.

This approach completes the picture and could help policy makers from receiving countries design better policies by offering useful information on factors that have impact on migrants’ decision to become a part of their society.

6. Recommendations

Policy makers from receiving countries should make use of the potential of migration data available in the countries from which migrants come.

Assessing the successfulness of the integration process depends on theoretical models adopted when designing integration policies. In order to establish a set of indicators that could be used to measure and compare the integration of migrants in different countries, researchers should identify conditions that are considered equally important in different societies. For example, whatever integration policy applied (assimilation or transnationalism) in both cases host-societies expect immigrants to have a job or to run a business, in order to earn money.

Policy makers should take into account that integration is a two-way process and that it depends a lot on the cognitive and emotional reactions of migrants against a host-society. Therefore, indicators measuring these cognitive and emotional processes are needed while assessing policies, especially in situations where policies based on integration theories like multiculturalism or transnationalism are developed.

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