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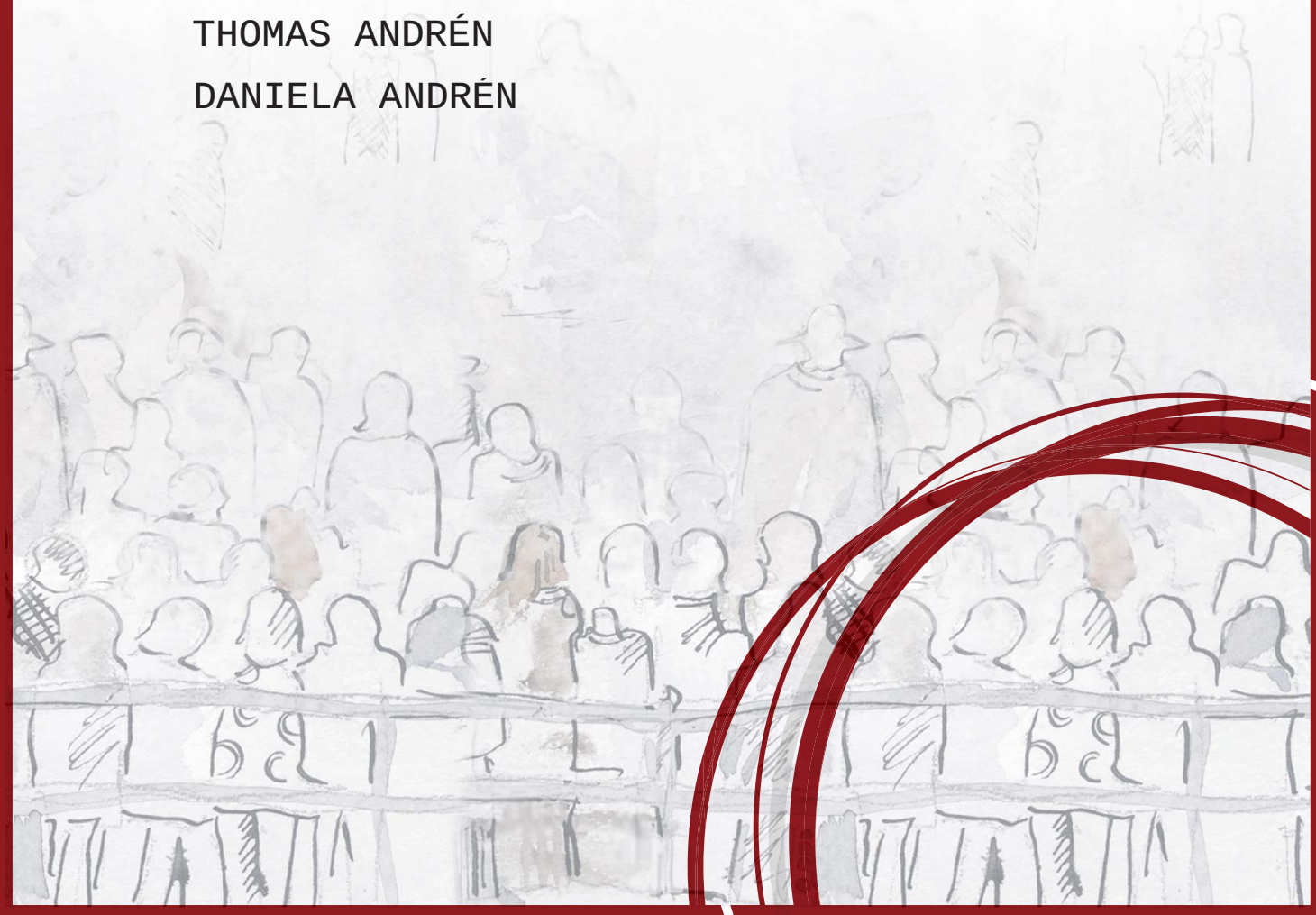

NEVER GIVE UP? THE PERSISTENCE OF WELFARE PARTICIPATION IN SWEDEN

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ABSTRACT

Never give up?
The persistence of welfare participation in Sweden

Welfare persistence is estimated and compared between Swedish-born and foreign-born households during the 1990s. This is done within the framework of a dynamic discrete choice model controlling for the initial conditions problem and permanent unobserved heterogeneity. We control for three types of persistence in terms of observed and unobserved heterogeneity, serial correlation, and structural state dependence, the focus being on the latter measure. The results show that state dependence in Swedish welfare participation is relatively strong. This effect is three times as large for the foreign-born compared to Swedish-born, but when this effect is distributed over time, it disappears after three years for both groups. Contrary to previous studies, our results for foreign-born are that both country of origin and time in the country of destination have only small impacts on welfare participation.

Keywords: social assistance, welfare persistence, state dependence, unobserved heterogeneity, initial condition, dynamic probit model, GHK simulator

JEL Classification: I30, I38, J18

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The two dominant approaches in microlevel migration research are considering remittances as an explanatory factor in the well-being of origin households, or explaining remittances in terms of altruism, pure self-interest or 'tempered altruism' (Stark and Lucas 1988). Both of these approaches are relevant to the understanding of migration processes. However, focusing exclusively on these two approaches has the disadvantage of neglecting the fact that remitting is part of interfamily social group processes and can not simply be reduced to a 'variable analysis' (Blumer 1956). Its full relevance for development can not be derived from the pure algebra of the variables. It has interpretation components that are strongly embedded into the lifeworlds of immigrants. It is true that remittances are sometimes contextualised, but this is rarely the case and is mainly limited to kinship relations (Vullnetari and King 2011). The purpose of our study is to contribute to re-embedding remittances into a broader scope of the lifeworlds of which they are a part. This will be carried out by quantitative analysis including subjective variables, composite indices, typologies of transnational lifeworlds of immigrants, and multilevel models. Before describing the methodological details of this study, we present the framework of the analysis. We include, firstly, a section on challenges in the analysis of remittances, and secondly, a section on the principles of re-embedding remittances in the lifeworlds of immigrants. The next chapter on data and hypotheses will be followed by the results and conclusions.

Current challenges in the analysis of remittances

The consequences approach relates to the impact of remittances at micro- and macrolevel. There are both optimistic and pessimistic views on the topic. The idea that remittances are positive and that they generate development is disputed by those who consider that remittances have high costs or that they frequently involve unsustainable development. The effects of migration and remittances on places of origin are increasingly being considered in a contextual way as being dependent on opportunities for circular migration, investment and the effective functioning of national and regional institutions (De Haas 2005).

Unwritten contractual arrangements between migrants and their families involve intertemporal exchanges of which remittances are a part, and reciprocal altruism functions as an environment of low transaction costs in a similar way to trust and loyalty (Stark and Lucas 1988). The alternative to solidarity with the family who are left behind would be self-interest based on investment plans (Dustmann and Mestres 2010), waiting for property rights, and consolidating status and prestige in the home community (Stark and Lucas 1988: 470). Sometimes remitting is considered to be a mechanism for dissuading less qualified potential migrants to emigrate and to compete for immigrants' jobs (Stark 1999). This is not exactly a motive for sending home remittances, but is a factor that could influence the motivation of money transfer behaviours.

A key challenge in the analysis of remittances derives from how they relate to immigrants' intentions to return home. The relationship is particularly difficult to analyse because remittances are measured as a period stock variable (how much money has been transferred home in a certain period of time) and return intensions are recorded as moment states (do you intend to return to your home country?). In most surveys that are not of the panel type, the researcher is put in the position of assessing the relationship between a past-time stock of remittances and a future-oriented behaviour as regards returning home. The usual hypothesis is that return intentions influence the probability and amount of remitting. Even if one distinguishes between different reasons for remitting (family support, saving for

later, other reasons), the findings support the hypothesis. One of the methodological difficulties in testing the hypothesis is that the effect (stock of remittances) is measured for a time that occurs before recording the cause (intention to return). The challenge could be addressed in panel research by using lag correlations and imputing last-period remittances to return intentions at the beginning of the reference period. This is the procedure adopted for a large data set on immigrants living in Germany, using as dependent variables the probability of remitting and the amount of money sent home, and keeping under control relevant status predictors (Dustmann and Mestres 2010). This approach is not possible in non-panel surveys. In fact, several studies concur with the conclusion that 'While the association between remittances and return or visits is clear, the causal mechanisms are complex' (Carling 2008a: 590).

Even if the dominant influence on remittances seems to be the intention to return, this is also likely to have a reverse effect in some circumstances. What happens in real life is a continuous set of interacting processes of reciprocal adaptation of return intentions and remitting through the medium of communication with the community at home and through re-interpretations of the dynamic of transnational lifeworlds. Decisions in the interplay between remitting and return plans involve the continuous (re)interpretation by the migrant of the life space in terms of job, income, family, housing and social services in the origin and destination countries. The complexity of such a web of interactions could suggest that it is only qualitative research that meets the requirements for disentangling the relationships involved. There is no doubt that multisided ethnography (Marcus 1995) has much to contribute to illuminating the multiple interactions between remitting and returning plans in the process of perpetual re-definition of transnational life spaces of immigrants. Quantitative analysis could also reach such interactions by building on cognitive and behavioural variables in composite indices and in social typologies.

Another loop that complicates the analysis of the abovementioned relationship is the possible influence of future estimated income and remittances as a conditioning factor for the current intention to return home. Its emergence is especially probable in times of crisis. Some immigrants come with rather precise plans regarding how much they will earn before returning home. Declining markets that bring fewer employment opportunities or lower incomes could impact on expected incomes and, implicitly, on return plans. It is difficult to say how frequently this occurs. However, the fact that the situation is plausible induces the probability of correlated errors between predicted remittances and return intention as a predictor.

Finally, the practice of measuring return intentions using a single question (for example, 'do you intend to return home?') creates a high probability of measurement errors. In measuring such plans it is important to assess not only the mere intention but also the probability of return and the likely timescale. One of the studies (Sandu 2010b) that considered this complex measurement identified a consistent variation in the amount of remittances by return intentions (late but sure, soon and sure, late but unsure, soon but unsure, no return intention). Remittances for immigrant construction workers ranged from the highest in absolute terms for 'return for sure to the home country in the long run', through 'return soon and sure', 'return soon but unsure' and 'return later but unsure', to the lowest levels for 'no intention to return' (Sandu 2010b: 27). The pattern for immigrants involved in house-keeping is different, with a maximum value of remitting for those intending to return home soon.

Re-embedding remittances in lifeworlds

These details relating to the complexity of measuring the relationship between remitting and intentions to return, together with the associated literature, indicate the need to expand the approach in order to integrate a new frame of reference for finding the solution. One such possible extension would be to adopt the lifeworld perspective (Schutz and Embree 2011). Lifeworld is 'my world' and 'consists of my actual and previous experiences of known things and their interrelations…and certain more or less empty anticipations of things not experienced thus far, and therefore not known but nevertheless *accessible* to my possible experience' (Schutz and Embree 2011: 170). It is formed by past and future experience, and by acts that are supported by *in-order-to* and *because* motives. Explicit or self-declared motives for the ongoing actions are of the *in-order-to* type. The *because* ones are inferred by the observer or by the self after the accomplishment of the action. The embeddedness point of view on remittances involves building scientifically on the two types of motives. Return plans are a proxy for *in-order-to* reasons for remitting. Past migration experiences or communication patterns with family left behind are a basis for inferring *because* motives.

The lifeworld perspective on immigration with an explicit accent on *in-order-to* motives was adopted many years ago in social history research in relation to the reasons that Eastern Central European peasants migrated to the United States more than a century ago (Morawska 1984). The lifeworld perspective in quantitative analysis, which is of primary interest in this study, can be located not so much in the area of *in-order-to* but in the realm of *because* motivation. Research on the role of such factors as education, gender, ethnicity and duration of stay in the destination country (Carling 2008a, 2008b) frequently infers *because* motives from status predictors of remitting. State of mind variables at individual or at super-individual level – such as frustration or relative deprivation (Stark and Taylor 1991) – may be a good predictor of remittances. This would be in line with the requirements of the new economy of migration that is the preferred framework for the theories used to explain remittances.

The key alternative approaches to exploring the lifeworlds of immigrants that are relevant for remittances involve the use of: *in-order-to* vs. *because* motivations; correlates vs. antecedent variables for remittances; typologies vs. non-nominal variables; and one- vs. two-level regression models. All these alternatives are used in the following sections of this paper.

Data and hypotheses

Two complementary data sets were used to meet the objectives of this study. *Enquesta National de Inmigrantes* (ENI), a large survey of more than 15,000 immigrants in Spain, allowed comparison of the profiles of different types of structuring among remittances–return plans–communication patterns. Data were collected during the period November 2006 – February 2007 (Reher and Requena 2009). Unfortunately, the survey included only one question on return intentions (with or without plans to return to the country of birth during the next five years). For this reason we also used a smaller but complementary data base of 832 Romanian immigrants in the Madrid area. This is known as the Romanian Communities in Spain (RCS) survey. It provides a more detailed measurement of return intentions: the probability and likely timescale of returning (for a description of this sample and its use see Şerban and Voicu 2010: 110). The second advantage of this data base is that it allows for better proxies of lifeworlds to be considered in relation to home orientation behaviours. The survey collected

data by respondent-driven sampling in September 2006 in the communities of Alcala de Henares, Arganda del Rey, Torejon and Coslada. The comparative use of the two data sets is facilitated by the fact that the questionnaire for the RCS survey included adapted or identical questions from the ENI survey.

The main dependent variable in the analysis is the home orientation of the immigrants, which is measured at nominal and continuous level by an index of home orientation (IHORI). The index is constructed from three indicators using the aggregation model proposed by Sandu (2010a): a factor score of the logarithm of remittances sent home during the last year; the counting index (with a range between 0 and 3) of intensity of communication with home by telephone, email and regular mail; and the intention to return home (3 yes, 2 undecided, 1 no). The nominal variable crosses these three components, which were previously dichotomised. Theoretically there are eight types of home orientation in this *property-space* (Barton 1955), but if the least frequent cell is reduced to one category, this produces six social types of home orientation (Table 1).

Table 1. Types of home orientation of immigrants in Spain, 2007

Type of home orientation of immigrants	Communication at home	Level of remittances	Intention to return home	Proportion in the sample (%)	Index of home orientation (IHORI)
Comprehensive home orientation	high	high	high	7	74
Communication for home return	high	low	high	9	66
Communication for remittances	high	high	low	21	57
Home belonging communication	high	low	low	38	48
Generalised low home orientation	low	low	low	20	32
Other	other combinations of values			5	47

Data source: ENI, 2007. N=15470. IHORI is the factor score rescaled to a range of 0–100 (as a Hull score).

The most frequent type of home orientation relates to immigrants who do not intend to return and do not send remittances at all (or only at a very low level), but communicate frequently with their home in the origin country. We called this 'home belonging communication', and assume that these individuals are keeping in touch with people at home not for pragmatic reasons (return plans or family arrangements summarised by remittances), but as a result of a well-structured feeling of belonging or similar symbolic reasons. The other two major types are 'communication for remittances' (with low values for intention to return associated with very high values for remittances and home communicating), and generalised low home orientation on remittances, intention to return and communication. IHORI values are strongly differentiated between types, with a maximum value for 'comprehensive orientation' and a minimum one, as expected, for low home orientation. The IHORI values are highest for the categories of comprehensive home orientation and communication for return home. The social profile for each type will be reconstituted in the results section.

The first hypothesis (H1) relates to collective deprivation in remitting money. It states that immigrants from high collective deprivation countries and with high personal deprivation in the destination country (Spain) will be more likely to have a high remittances orientation. The reverse should be the

case for immigrants with a home orientation index that is lower than the sample average: they are more likely to come from low-deprivation countries and have low personal deprivation in Spain. The theoretical basis for this sub-hypothesis lays in the assumption that relative deprivation that is a significant factor for emigration has a long inertia at individual but also at collective level. Immigrants continue to be influenced by relative deprivation not so much in terms of their return intentions but mainly with regard to sending remittances. It is usual to accept that sending money home is not only the result of the sending disposition of the migrant but also a consequence of the demand or pressure on the part of relatives at home. A collective deprivation index that measures the situation in the country of origin could be relevant from that point of view.

The second hypothesis (H2) expresses the idea that home orientation typologies are mainly differentiated by survival–development–identification strategies of families: immigrants that are focused on home return are more embedded in survival strategies; remittance-oriented immigrants act more in line with family development strategy; comprehensive home-oriented immigrants are those that are most active in terms of identity, or more exactly, in identification matters (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). The level of identification of Romanian immigrants in the Madrid area was measured by the typology that differentiates between Romanian, Spanish, ambivalent and low levels of identification. This is consistent with the adaptation of the model of interethnic integration (Berry 1997) for describing the identities of immigrants by hybridisation, assimilation, segregation and marginalisation (Rother and Nebe 2009: 124).

The third hypothesis (H3) assumes that home orientation as a quantitative variable is more relevant for the lifeworlds of immigrants than the remittances they are sending home. If this is correct one would expect that the same set of predictors bring a higher percentage of explained variation for IHORI compared to remittances variables.

Deprivation as a key independent variable is measured in this study at a personal level at home – as material and cumulative deprivation – and in the host society with reference to investments and housing. A measure of collective deprivation in relation to the origin society is also devised. The package of deprivation variables are as follows:

- Aggregate data from the Survey on Income and Living Conditions in European Union, together with GDP per capita and life expectancy at birth, are used to assess the relationship between economic development and indices of material deprivation at society levels. The resulting regression coefficients served to estimate the material deprivation for all the countries that have immigrants in Spain[1].
- 'Cumulative deprivation at origin' is a counting index of the reasons for immigration ('why did you migrate to this country?'), in relation to job, education, quality of life, family, religion, politics, etc. It takes values between 0 and 9. The higher the value of the index, the higher the level of deprivation that motivated the person to migrate.
- Material deprivation in the household at home is computed as a counting index of not owning a house, land, cattle, business or car (minimum deprivation coded by 0 and maximum coded by 5).
- 'Housing environment deprivation' in Spain is a counting index of the reasons for dissatisfaction with the environment of the individual's house in Spain ('which of the following problems does your dwelling have?'): noise, bad smell, humidity, garbage on the street, vandalism in the area, poor communication opportunities, too small, building deficiencies etc. The index has a ten-point range.

- Investment deprivation in Spain is indicated by assigning a number to reflect situations of not investing in dwellings, other durable goods, business, land, funds etc. The index has a 7-point range.

Time predictors mark the distinction between duration of immigration in years and the period of arrival (up to 1989, 1990–1997, 1998–2001, 2002–2007). The distinction is adopted in line with attempts to investigate the specific effect of the period of arrival on remittances and transnationalism as distinguished from the length of stay in the host country (Carling 2008a, 2008b; Sandu 2010a). The periods are delimited in order to consider important events or processes that could influence waves of emigration, such as the revolutions of 1989 in Europe, the opportunity for Romanians – one of the largest groups of immigrants in Spain – to circulate freely in the Schengen space after 2001, and the two last waves of accession to the EU in 2004 and 2007 (Carling 2008b).

Family lifeworlds and identification worlds are estimated by three typologies using data from the smaller sample of Romanian immigrants in the Madrid area. The first relates to the location of the majority of family members in the host or home country. About two-thirds of immigrants were in the host country with their families (Table A1 in the Annex). The second is the nett perceived effects of emigration on the family members of immigrants. According to the data in Table A1 in the Annex, 47% of Romanian immigrants to the Madrid area estimate that their emigration had predominantly positive effects on their family members. The proportion of those perceiving predominantly negative effects is 27%, and the remaining 26% perceive mixed effects. The proxy for the lifeworld at country level is a typology of dominant identification with the home, host or both countries. The largest group is that of immigrants who are mainly attached to their home country, Romania (40%). The proportion of Romanian immigrants who are mainly attached to Spain is much lower, at 16%. A significant proportion, about one third, of immigrants have an ambivalent identification towards Romania and Spain. The remaining proportion, about 10%, is made up of people who have a low level of attachment to both Romania and Spain.

Mobility plans for Romanian immigrants in the Madrid area (Table A1), as a specific element of home orientations, are represented by five categories combining time horizon for return (soon or late) and the probability of return (high or low): no intention to return (29%), late and unsure return (15%), soon but unsure (14%), late but sure (10%), and soon and sure (32%).

Data analysis and results

Understanding social types of home orientation

The proportions of each of the main groups of immigrants in Spain for each of the home orientation types are given in Table 2 (data from ENI). Moroccans were, at the time of the survey, the largest group of immigrants in Spain; the main home orientation types for this group are communication for remittances (25%) and low home orientation (24%). Those that are characterised by sending a large volume of remittances and have an intense communication with home come predominantly from five countries in particular, namely Morocco, Ecuador, Colombia, Bulgaria and Romania. All these are societies with a high level of deprivation. Immigrants from societies with low levels of material deprivation account for very small proportions in this category; British immigrants, for example, have the highest and most specific concentration in the category of home belonging communication. Immigrants from other EU-15 countries with a low deprivation index are also significantly clustered in the same social type of home orientation.

Table 2.Typology of home orientation by country/region of origin for immigrants in Spain, 2007

Immigrant group by country/region of origin	Type of home orientation of immigrants						Total %		Time of arrival in Spain*	Collective deprivation in country/region of origin
	Comprehensive	Communication for remittances	Communication for return home	Home belonging communication	Low	Other	%	N		
Moroccan	5	25	6	36	24	4	100	1,845	Before 1989 1990–1997	99
Ecuadorian	15	35	10	25	7	7	100	1,270	1998–2001	75
Colombian	8	39	6	34	9	4	100	1,024	1998–2001	68
Bulgarian	4	31	7	41	11	5	100	341	2002–2007	56
Romanian	11	33	9	33	8	6	100	1,473	2002–2007	52
Argentinian	4	14	11	49	20	2	100	792	2002–2007	50
New EU Member States (NMS-10)	10	12	15	40	18	5	100	236	1990–1997	39
Other EU Member States (EU-15)		2	8	44	44	2	100	2,143	Before 1997	13
British		3	11	69	15	2	100	921	Before 1997 2002–2007	9
Other Latin American	8	23	11	32	21	6	100	1,147	1990–1997 2002–2007	75
Others	7	22	10	35	19	6	100	4,279	1990–1997 2002–2007	77
Total	7	21	9	38	20	5	100	15,470		61

Data source: ENI, 2007, weighted data (reduced by dividing weighting factor by its mean in order to keep the sample size constant). Shadowed cells indicate a significant association between column and row values – adjusted standardised residuals that are significant for p=0.05. Own computations. *In a special cross-tab intersecting origin country/region and period of arrival, adjusted standardised residuals were computed. The periods specified in this column correspond to the cell of significant associations from the abovementioned table.

All these findings are clearly consistent with the expectations derived from the first hypothesis (H1): the social type of home orientation by communication for remittances is specific to immigrants coming from societies with high levels of material deprivation in Africa, Latin America and Europe. The focus on remittances in home orientation is not confined to immigrants from societies that have sent migrants to Spain recently. Moroccan immigration is a much older trend than those of Romania and Bulgaria. The averrage length of stay in Spain for Moroccans was about 14 years at the time of the survey, while it was only four years for Romanians. In spite of these dissimilarities in terms of time of arrival in the host country, the two groups of immigrants make up a large proportion of the social type communication for remittances. In contrast, the symbolic communication structured around home society belonging is specific to developed, low-deprivation societies.

Communication for returning home as a social type is specific to those immigrants from low-deprivation societies in Europe (EU-15 countries) or the Latin America macroregion (Argentina). Comprehensive home orientation is specific to some groups of immigrants from Ecuador, Romania and the New Member States that acceded to the EU in 2004. It is clear that the probability of inclusion within different social types can not be explained only with reference to collective deprivation or the time of arrival in the host society. Resources, personal deprivation and migration experience are also relevant factors. A multinomial regression model (not presented in the text)[2] with types of home orientation as a dependent variable integrated predictors from all the abovementioned areas (income, tertiary education, ability to speak Spanish very well, gender, young person, investment deprivation in Spain, cumulative deprivation before emigration, collective deprivation in the country of origin, immigration during the period 2002–2007).

According to the results of this multinomial regression on ENI data, collective deprivation continues to be a significant predictor for all the five social types of home orientation even if all the other predictors are considered to be control variables (Table 3).

Table 3. Role of different types of deprivation in explaining home orientation types

	Comprehensive home orientation	Remittances structured communication	Home return structured communication	Home belonging communication	Low home orientation
Collective deprivation in country of origin	+	+	-	-	-
Investment deprivation in Spain	+	0	+	-	-
Cumulative deprivation before emigration	0	0	-	-	-

Data source: ENI, 2007. Relations in multinomial regression between deprivation predictors and types of home orientation as dependent variables, controlling for income, education, age, gender and ability to speak Spanish abilities: + significant, positive relation , - significant negative relation, 0 insignificant relation for p=0.05. The reference category in the dependent variable is the residual one of 'other categories' of home orientation. Detailed data on the regression model are not included in the text.

High collective deprivation in the origin society increases the likelihood of inclusion in the categories of comprehensive home orientation and remittance-structured communication. The likelihood of immigrants being included in all the other categories (return intention, home belonging and low home

orientation) is increased by low values of collective deprivation. Personal deprivation relates differently to home orientation types function of its content. A high level of dissatisfaction at the time of emigration ('cumulative deprivation') has a significant impact in terms of reducing the propensity for return intention and home belonging orientation. A high degree of frustration in relation to opportunities to invest in Spain fosters comprehensive home orientation and return intensions.

Comprehensive home orientation is associated with high-income and materially successful immigrants coming from poor countries. The same analysis indicates that low home orientation is associated with low-income immigrants who have come from more developed societies and who reached the destination society earlier.

Immigrants who are home oriented by remittances and communication are similar to those characterised by comprehensive home orientation. Individuals in both categories come from high-deprivation countries and have higher incomes as immigrants. What is specific to remittance-oriented immigrants is the fact that they have greater ability to speak Spanish. This is an easy-to-convert human capital resource that allows immigrants to earn more. The level of formal education per se is not relevant in terms of inclusion in the two categories. It is only for remittance-oriented immigrants that knowledge of the host country counts.

The second hypothesis, on the role of survival–development–identification strategies, could be tested only for the sample of Romanian immigrants around the Madrid area (Table 4, Table A1, RCS data set).

Romanian immigrants who are return-home oriented are more influenced by the negative than by the positive consequences of their emigration on their family members. They are also significantly dissatisfied with their life in Spain. These findings suggest that they plan to return home as a kind of survival strategy, as a project to reduce the negative consequences of their emigration on the family, and to reduce their dissatisfaction with their life in Spain. The opposite is true for immigrants who are focused on remitting. They perceive their emigration as being more positive than negative because of its consequences for their own families, and they are also satisfied with the income they receive in Spain. Hence, their life strategies are more in line with the idea of family development than with survival. It is only for immigrants in the comprehensive home orientation category that country identification plays a significant role. There is a higher probability that Romanian immigrants in the Madrid area who identify with Romania or with Romania and Spain will be comprehensively oriented on home.

Inclusion in the category of home belonging orientation is the least understood phenomenon. It has the smallest number of recorded significant predictors in the multinomial regression model (Table 4).

Table 4. Multinomial regression predicting types of home orientation for Romanian immigrants in the Madrid area, 2008

	Type of home orientation (reference category *low values*)			
	Comprehensive	Focused on remittances	Focused on return	Home belonging
Satisfaction with life in Spain	-0.795***	-0.324	-0.778***	-0.302
Satisfaction with money in Spain	0.919**	1.009***	0.344	0.577
Negative effects of own migration on family	0.695***	0.496**	0.561*	0.476*

	Type of home orientation (reference category *low values*)			
	Comprehensive	Focused on remittances	Focused on return	Home belonging
Positive effects of own migration on family	0.419**	0.655***	0.087	0.397**
Identification with locality at home	0.600*	0.263	0.823*	-0.065
Identification with Romania	1.494**	0.124	1.113	0.025
Identification with Romania and Spain	1.586***	0.363	0.838	0.361
Low country identification	1.122	0.030	0.607	-0.523
No. of life projects related to Romania	0.365**	0.125	0.364*	0.074
No. of life projects related to Spain	-1.210***	-0.050	-0.907***	-0.120
Index of material goods in Romania	0.560***	0.422***	0.433***	0.190
Percentage of family members living in Romania	2.723***	3.070***	-0.034	0.701
Male*	0.606*	0.336	0.101	0.434
Age	-0.001	0.000	-0.042*	-0.019
Internet user*	1.835***	2.591***	2.111***	2.781***
Years lived in Spain	-0.010	-0.023	-0.057	-0.005
Arrived in Spain 2007–2008*	0.786**	0.156	0.373	0.142
Urban residence in Romania*	-0.024	-0.096	0.531	0.161
Constant	-4.600***	-3.268***	-2.732**	-1.780**
Pseudo R^2	0.219			
N	686			

Data source: RCS, 2008.
*p≤0.10, **p≤0.05, ***p≤0.01 (two tailed tests).

The immigrants in this category have in their specific profile the highest rate of internet use (79% compared to the average of 52% in the whole RCS sample) and a very low rate of identification with area of residence in Romania (31% compared to 46% for the whole sample).

The five types of home orientation not only have family and national culture identification markers as predicted by the H2 hypothesis. The screening of the survey data (Table A1) also indicates that their profiles are consistent with the types of return intentions. The comprehensive and return orientations are associated with immigrants who have strong intentions to go back to their origin country within a short period. Immigrants with no intention to return tend to practise home belonging communication, or are almost devoid of home orientation behaviours. Remittances orientation is associated with late return intentions or with soon but unsure return intentions.

Understanding home orientation and remittances

The third hypothesis tests the idea that in reality, remittances function as part of a larger set of variables, not as a purely economic component. The comparison of the two regression models for two

independent samples in Tables 5 and 6 supports the expectations derived from this hypothesis: the same set of predictors explain the variation of IHORI to a larger degree than the variation of remittances sent home. Table 5 presents the regressions for the large samples from different ethnic groups of immigrants in Spain (ENI). Table 6 uses data from the smaller sample of Romanian immigrants in the Madrid area (RCS). Although the predictors in the two tables are different, they refer to the same large categories of status variables (age, gender, education, income, ability to speak Spanish, type of family, etc.), frustration variables and arrival time in Spain. For the smaller sample of Romanian immigrants in the Madrid area the set of available predictors is more extensive, and includes more variables relating to satisfaction, geographic identification and community location.

Multiple determination (R^2) is seven percentage points higher in terms of explaining the IHORI than the variation of remittances for the large ENI sample of immigrants from different countries in Spain (Table 5). The difference is much higher between the explained variation for IHORI (R^2=0.41) and for remittances (R^2=0.17) as a dependent variable for the case of Romanian immigrants in Madrid area (Table 6). This finding indicates that remittances are more meaningful in social life when they are considered together with behaviours of communication with home and intentions to return home. The regression models on the RCS data set are more clearly specified, as the survey in the Madrid area was explicitly focused on return migration projects and had a larger set of available predictors. The large data set of immigrants from all origin countries (ENI) was mainly descriptive by design and offered fewer opportunities to identify predictors that are relevant for IHORI or remittances.

Time variables are particularly relevant for IHORI in the case of the analysis of all categories of immigrants (ENI): the elimination of three period-effect variables from the home orientation regression decreases its explanatory power by ten percentage points (from 28% to 18%). The identical elimination of the wave predictor in the regression of remittances produces a very small decrease in the explanatory power of the model (Table 3). This simple comparison is a sufficient indicator that the time of arrival of immigrants has an important effect on a cluster of behaviours, namely sending remittances, communicating with home and planning the return home. It is very likely that immigration periods are conditioning the lifeworlds of immigrants through socialisation practices and expectations, and their effect is independent of the impact of the length of stay in the host society.

Time variables have no relevance in explaining variation for IHORI in the case of the Madrid area sample (Table 6). This could be because Romanians in the Madrid area are not as heterogeneous in terms of their arrival time as immigrants to Spain from the origin countries as a whole.

The cluster of home orientation behaviours are embedded in the contexts not only of time and level of deprivation but also of place of origin. IHORI tends to be significantly higher for immigrants from Latin America and significantly lower for those coming to Spain from Morocco. Places such as the old European Union or Romania do not condition per se, in a significant way, the values of the complex of home orientation behaviours.

The ability of immigrants to speak Spanish has different impacts on home orientation. Its impact on the whole community of immigrants in Spain appears to be positive if one controls for ethnicity and other status predictors (Table 5). A more detailed analysis for each large group of immigrants produces a more nuanced picture[3]: immigrants from Latin America or countries in the old European Union (EU-15) are in the particular situation of being more home oriented if they speak Spanish better; the impact of Spanish-speaking abilities is insignificant for IHORI in the case of Moroccans. The more clearly specified regression model for the Romanian immigrants in the Madrid area indicates a higher home orientation for those with lower ability levels in Spanish (Table 6). The pattern could be specific to groups with less experience of migration.

Table 5. Predicting home orientation and remittances for immigrants of different ethnicity in Spain, 2007

		Dependent variable			
		Index of home orientation (IHORI)		Amount of remittances sent home (ln)	
		Coef.	P>t	Coef.	P>t
Status variables	Male*	-0.388	0.232	0.073	0.185
	Age	0.002	0.197	-0.001	0.300
	Unskilled worker*	-2.354	0.000	-0.041	0.677
	Unmarried*	1.445	0.001	0.343	0.000
	Primary education*	-1.806	0.001	-0.610	0.000
	Income (ln)	0.235	0.000	0.161	0.000
	With children together in Spain*	0.335	0.007	0.142	0.000
	With spouse together in Spain*	-1.740	0.000	-0.605	0.000
	Speaks Spanish very well*	1.354	0.000	0.021	0.793
Deprivation	Cumulative deprivation at time of emigration	0.441	0.001	0.183	0.000
	Investment deprivation in Spain	0.543	0.022	0.115	0.001
	Material deprivation at home	-2.457	0.000	-0.424	0.000
	Housing environment deprivation in Spain	-0.144	0.125	-0.042	0.016
	Collective deprivation (ln)	1.930	0.000	0.866	0.000
Time variables	Year of arrival in Spain	0.232	0.000	0.011	0.017
	Immigration before 1990*	-3.958	0.000	-0.327	0.000
	Immigration 1998–2001*	1.987	0.000	0.510	0.000
	Immigration 2002–2007*	3.130	0.000	0.248	0.049
Origin area	Morocco*	-2.131	0.000	-0.237	0.041
	Romania*	-0.805	0.060	0.742	0.000
	Latin America*	2.475	0.000	0.484	0.001
	EU-15*	0.513	0.523	0.253	0.003
	Other NMS of EU*	-2.784	0.007	-0.121	0.348
	Constant	-413.801	0.000	-21.920	0.015
	R^2 full model	0.278		0.209	
	R^2 without wave effect	0.184		0.198	
	R^2 without deprivation predictors	0.255		0.183	
	n	14,821		14,821	

Data source: ENI, 2007. OLS regression in STATA using cluster option to correct for similarity profile of immigrants from the same province of Spain. 52 clusters. Suspicions of collinearity are dismissed by the very low values of VIF (mean value of 2.05, maximum value of 4.90).
Variables: *dummy variables; reference category for immigration period 1990–1997.

Life dissatisfaction deprivation and individuals' perception of negative consequences for their family of their own immigration tend to increase the home orientation of immigrants (Tables 5 and 6).

Dissatisfaction with job and health in the host country in particular contribute to an increase in home orientation. The only type of dissatisfaction that seems to act in a different direction is that relating to income. Immigrants who have lower earnings and are dissatisfied with their income have lower home orientation as expressed by return intentions, communication frequency with home and remittances sent back.

The results of bivariate analysis (Table A1) on the role of cultural variables are also supported by regression analysis on the Madrid area data set. A higher level of identification with the origin country and higher degree of ambivalent identification with the origin and host countries contribute to strong home orientation of immigrants. Return, communication and remitting behaviours have higher probabilities not only for those who are attached to their home country, but also for those who have an ambivalent cultural orientation towards the home and destination countries. The same types of behaviour are supported by different cultural attitudes of national and transnational identifications.

Social ties at family and non-family level are significant predictors of home orientation and remittances: higher values for IHORI and sending remittances are associated with those immigrants who have a larger proportion of family members, a spouse and larger network capital in their home country (Table 6).

Table 6. Predicting home orientation and remittances for Romanian immigrants in the Madrid area, 2008

	Dependent variable	
	Index of home orientation	Remittances sent home (ln)
Male*	-0.422	-0.090
Age	-0.005	-0.001
High school education*	0.919	0.223
Self-perceived ability to speak Spanish	-1.362***	-0.018
Income (ln)	0.655***	0.174***
Index of material goods in Romania	1.123***	0.238***
Percentage of family members living in Romania	6.044***	2.819***
Married*	4.018***	1.206***
Network capital in Romania	8.772***	0.328*
Urban residence in Romania*	-1.865**	-0.587**
Satisfied with job in Spain*	-2.325***	-0.650**
Satisfied with money in Spain*	2.710***	0.699**
Satisfied with health in Spain*	-1.778***	-0.121
Perception of negative effects of own migration on family members	1.478***	-0.067
Positive perception on job opportunities in Romania in the future	3.003***	0.481**
High identification with Romania*	3.907***	-0.136
High identification with Romania and Spain*	2.929**	0.165
High identification with Spain*	-3.396**	-0.469
Years lived in Spain	-0.087	-0.020
Arrived in Spain in 2007–2008*	0.878	0.455*
Residence in Coslada*	2.220**	0.511*

	Dependent variable	
	Index of home orientation	Remittances sent home (ln)
Residence in Arganda del Rey*	4.052***	0.837***
Constant	29.149***	2.709***
R^2 full model	0.418	0.17
R^2 without wave effects	0.417	0.167
R^2 without frustration predictors	0.393	0.161
N	829	829

Data source: RCS, 2008. OLS regression. Suspicions of collinearity are dismissed by the very low values of VIF (mean value of 1.38, maximum value of 0.97).*p≤0.10, **p≤0.05, ***p≤0.01 (two tailed tests).
Variables: *dummy variables. **Coslada and Arganda del Rey are two of the four communities of Romanians around Madrid included in the survey. The Romanians in the local population are concentrated most heavily in these two communities. Coslada (Serban, 2011: 149). Immigrants in Coslada come mainly from the historical region of Muntenia in Romania, and those in Arganda del Rey come mainly from Transylvania, another historical region of Romania (Sandu, 2010a: 127).

Conclusions

Remittances, as considered by this study, are not only economic linkages between immigrants and their families at home. They are clearly part of a set of home orientation behaviours, together with the practices of communicating with and sending remittances home. The IHORI, which is produced by aggregating information on remittances, communication and return intentions, proved to be a highly consistent one. It has a systematic variation under the influence of status variables, frustration or dissatisfaction measures, family and other social ties, identification patterns and time patterns of arrival in the host country (Tables 5, 6 and A1). Home orientation behaviour, compared to its component of remitting money home, is much deeper rooted into the social worlds of immigrants (as predicted by the H3 hypothesis). This is demonstrated by the much greater explained variation of home orientation compared with the explained variation of remitting behaviours when the same sets of predictors are used in multiple regression models. The consistency of the results when the same models are run on two different data sets (ENI and RCS) is a convincing triangulation procedure.

Remitting behaviour is not only part of a home orientation set of behaviours. It is also indicative for social types of immigration practices. Immigrants who are focused on sending remittances home have a specific profile compared to other types of immigration practices (return-home oriented, home belonging communication, comprehensive orientation towards origin country, and low home oriented: Tables 1, 2 and A1). Remittance-focused immigrants are more inclined to be ambivalent in terms of their attachments to the origin and destination countries, have more of their family members in the origin country and come from countries with higher levels of material deprivation (in accordance with H1a and H1b hypotheses). Collective deprivation in the origin country is associated not only with the adoption of a remittance focus, but also with the comprehensive type of home orientation.

A social type that has high symbolic value is that relating to immigrants who are focused on home belonging communication. The immigrants in this category communicate intensively with home, though not for the purposes of returning or for sending remittances. They communicate for

communication's sake or, more exactly, for reasons not measured in the research, such as family solidarity or homesickness.

There is a high level of association between home orientation types and their geographic or national identification: return and comprehensive orientations are associated with immigrants who are attached to their origin country; remittance-focused immigrants are mainly ambivalently oriented towards their home and host societies; Romanian immigrants who are especially attached to Spain are characterised by home belonging communication or by practices of low home orientation.

Home orientation in behavioural and quantitative terms proved to be as consistent as its qualitative counterpart measure of home sense (Wiles 2008), capturing the symbolic universe that the migrants confer on their origin place in host countries.

The typological analysis of home orientations diverges from the standard approach in terms of high or low clustering of cross-border activities or exchanges of immigrants (Waldinger 2008: 24). It argues for the fact that cross-border activities cluster together in different ways for specific social types.

Annex.

Table A1. Home orientation types by families and cultural life situations

		Type of home orientation						Total	
		Comrehensive	Communication for remittances	Comunication for return	Home belonging communication	Low	Other	%	N
Types of return intention	No intention to return		33		31	22	14	100	243
	Late and unsure		43		25	16	16	100	122
	Soon but unsure		48		24	15	13	100	120
	Late but sure		44		25	11	20	100	81
	Soon and sure	61		19			20	100	266
Family location	Whole family in Spain	15	23	8	24	16	15	100	557
	Up to half of family in Romania	27	34	3	9	4	23	100	158
	More than half of family in Romania	34	38	3	7	3	15	100	117
Self-estimated effects of own migration on family*	Negative	30	24	9	17	9	12	100	228
	Insignificant	15	21	7	21	17	20	100	214
	Positive	16	33	4	18	11	18	100	390
Dominant country identificatio n**	Romanian	27	21	9	14	9	20	100	332
	Ambivalent (Romanian and Spanish)	20	32	5	20	9	13	100	279
	Spanish	4	33	2	26	21	14	100	129
	Low identification	14	26	6	19	18	18	100	85
Total		20	27	6	18	12	17	100	825

Data source: RCS, 2008. *A set of four questions was used to obtain immigrants' opinions of the effects of their stay in Spain on family members (children in Romania, children in Spain, parents in Romania, spouse in Romania). Two counting indices recorded the number of positive and negative effects. The typology referred to in the table indicates the net positive or negative effects in the immigrants' estimation. **Identification pattern is a typology constructed by combining the answers to two questions referring to the degree of attachment to Romania and, respectively, to Spain. Very high and high attachments are coded 1, and low and very low as 0. Ambivalent identification is for the cases of very high/high attachment to both countries. Low identification indicates low attachment to both countries.

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Notes

[1] Material deprivation (MATDEPRIV) is estimated based on regression equation for 26 EU countries, EU-SILC data 2007: MATDEPRIV=327.4- GDPpc*43.5+ LIFEexpectancy at birth for 2007*31.3. R2=0.81.
The starting values of material deprivation (three or more items) by country refer to 26 countries of EU (excluding Luxembourg with very high value), for 2007 – source EUROSTAT
http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_sip8&lang=en

[2] The multinomial regression model gave a pseudo R square of 0.12. It was run in STATA with *cluster* option to correct standard errors function of province of residence of immigrant in Spain. The reference category for the dependent variable is *other type.*

[3] Findings referring to the relation between language abilities and IHORI derives from running the regression model from Table 3 by each specified group of immigrants with ENI data.


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