
Explaining the Migration Intentions Of Romanian Youth: Are Teenegers Different?

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ABSTRACT

The paper aims at determining the factors that influence the decision of young Romanians to migrate with the focus on adolescents, as they are the most willing to emigrate. We have used a survey-based analysis of data provided by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Romania and logistical regression models in order to estimate the significant factors that motivate young individuals to migrate. The results indicate that age is a relevant factor for the intention of the youth to migrate: the younger a person is, the higher the probability of wanting to emigrate. The use of internet and social class of the family are factors that determine the teenagers' propensity to migrate, while the feeling of discrimination and the entrepreneurial behaviour are key factors that influence the migration intentions of young adults.

Keywords: migration intention, youth migration, logistic regression

JEL Classification: J13, P30, C10

INTRODUCTION

The decision to migrate and the factors that determine the individuals to take this decision have been an important topic for researchers. Several theories emerged regarding the reasons why individuals decide to migrate.

In explaining the causes of migration, the literature is dominated by the neoclassical theory (Lewis, 1954; Harris and Todaro, 1970). This is the theory that assigns the highest role to the economic factors as determinants of migration, stating the following:

- (1) Each rational migrant seeks an optimal combination of financial benefits, job security and travel costs (the theory addresses several variables such as investment in education, skills, cost of travel, cost of living while seeking work, learning a new language/

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adapting to a new culture, the difficulty of entering a new labour market).

- (2) Eliminating the wage gap will close the labour force movement, and migration will not occur in the absence of these differences.
- (3) The highly skilled workers are very sensitive to the differences in the rate of return on human capital, therefore having a distinct pattern of migration compared to unskilled workers.
- (4) The labour market is the main mechanism through which international labour flows are induced, other markets have no significant effects on international migration.
- (5) The government can control the migration flow through labour market regulations from both sending and receiving countries.

The main criticism regarding the neoclassical theory was that the migrants are not only poor people seeking higher wages – as the theory suggests – but also a significant number of highly skilled workers - a phenomenon known as brain drain. They decide to migrate for a better social and economic situation but mostly for accessing suitable jobs according to their education and skills.

In the 80's, Stark and Bloom focused on the motivations of people to migrate and their study took the form of a new theory, known as the “The New Economics of Labour Migration”. This theory is based on the following assumptions:

- (1) The decision to migrate is not an individual one; this decision is taken by large units of individuals, typically households or families, individuals acting together to maximize revenues and minimize the risks arising with the constraints of a variety of markets, not only the labour market.
- (2) The families send a person to work abroad, even if that person has a job on the local market, to provide higher financial support than he/she would give in the country of origin.
- (3) In developed countries, the risks to household income are generally minimized through private insurance or government programmes, but in developing countries institutional risk management mechanisms are imperfect, absent or unaffordable to poor families, giving incentive for them to minimize risks through migration.
- (4) The households are not sending their workers abroad only to improve earnings in absolute terms, but also to increase revenue compared to other households, and reduce poverty in comparison to a reference group.
- (5) Local labour market failures and constraints to create opportunities of income for poor households may increase the attractiveness of migration.

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- (6) Wage differences from one country to another are not a prerequisite in the decision to migrate as many people migrate even without a higher prospective salary.

By considering migration a social phenomenon generated by economic circumstances, several assumptions regarding the study of migration have been developed and regrouped into a new theory, the “World System Theory”, which views migration in the context of globalization, linking the determinants of migration to structural change in world markets. This theory is attributed to Wallerstein (1974) and it refers to the fact that there is a world economic system some countries have benefited, while others were exploited. Because there are many ways of communication with the outside world, through complex technologies of communication and transport, almost every country is participating in this world system, as a source of raw materials, production or consumption. Based on this theory, migration is considered a main element of production.

In Romania, the massive migration is a phenomenon that affects all geographic regions and every social category, having a significant influence on the demographic development and the functioning of the national labour market. The emigration of working age Romanians has determined significant changes in the demographic structure, family status and reproductive behaviour, with important consequences: a decline of the population and an aging process, resulting in a higher forecast rate of dependence. Since emigration in Romania seems to be rather permanent, and because people are leaving heavily from certain domains of activity, if the situation does not recover, the effects on the internally available workforce will be lasting and acute.

The departure of health professionals (doctors and nurses), as well as teachers and educators, endangers the sustainability of the health and education systems and produces a long-term deficit in the provision of these basic services. The emigration of engineers, IT specialists and researchers, along with the migration of young people for studies, which, unfortunately, have a very small rate of return, forms the phenomenon of brain drain, with a major impact on Romania’s economic and social development potential.

In this context, our research focuses on determining the factors that influence the decision to migrate of young Romanians. We have used a survey-based analysis of data provided by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Romania, as well as a logistical regression model to estimate the significant factors that motivate the intention to migrate of young individuals aged 20 to 29 years. The second part of our research concentrates on adolescents (15-19 years old), as they seem to be the most willing to emigrate.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 comprises a review of the literature on the intention of the youth to migrate; Section 3 provides a

brief overview of the econometric method used in our analysis; Section 4 describes the characteristics of the database, the variables and the assumptions used in the research; Section 5 contains a brief presentation of the empirical outcomes regarding the decision to emigrate, as well as the econometric results, followed by conclusions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The existing information on adolescents' migration is limited. Social programmes and research focus more on children (0-18 years) affected by migration, without emphasis on the youth (ages 12-18) who migrate with their families or independently (Cortes, 2011). There is a need for more information about the characteristics of migrant adolescents, age and sex composition of migrant flows, their educational and socio-economic situation and the conditions of observing adolescents' rights both in the country of origin and the host country.

Most studies on migration do not usually concentrate on children and adolescents unless they relate to adolescents as victims of trafficking or abuse in various forms (Tienda and Taylor, 2007). It is not always clear whether adolescents migrate alone or accompanied by other family members, if the decision to migrate is independent or it is a family decision, or if the adolescent is accompanying a spouse. Researchers focused mainly on trafficked children and adolescents, rather than on their independent migration; lack of information suggests that most migration experiences are assumed to be harmful (Whitehead and Hashim, 2005). Studies that specifically address migration issues for teenagers in Burkina Faso, Ghana and Mali (Riisoen et al, 2004) or adolescents in rural Bolivia who migrate to Argentina (Punch, 2002) show that traffic is not the main element in the migration process.

Country-level research on adolescent migration reveals some common features, but the socio-economic conditions as well as the causes and reasons for migration are far from homogeneous. An important part of the studies concluded that unemployment is a major determinant of adolescents' migration (van der Lind, 2010). Other points of view emphasize the role of the push factors in the origin country (the absence of educational and employment opportunities, the need to financially help their family), and the pull factors in destination countries, shaping a mirage for the adolescents – superior living conditions, improved welfare, greater access to consumption. Studies for Nepal, Cambodia, Bolivia and Central America found that deprived teenagers, both girls and boys, consider migration a survival strategy (Adhikari and Pradhan, 2005).

Adolescents from poor rural communities migrate out of necessity in search for work opportunities. A study of adolescents from Central America and Ecuador (aged 12-17 years), in transit through Mexico to the United States, analysed the main reasons for migration: most parents of these adolescents have migrated and the younger ones want to reunite with their family, whereas the older ones are planning to find a job (LACRO, 2010).

In Peru, the Statistical Office conducted a survey among urban inhabitants aged 15-29 years in order to assess their intentions and motivations to migrate. The study found that 62% of adolescents aged 15-19 have the intention to migrate, but only half of them plan to leave within three years. Regarding the main reasons for wanting to emigrate, 45% of the adolescents answered that they wanted to improve their economic situation and 34% said they were planning to continue their studies (INEI, 2009).

In rural Bolivian communities, adolescents face a major decision: (1) to continue their education and attend secondary school - which would require them to live in another community, (2) to work without pay in their own households or to seek a paid job or (3) to migrate for agricultural or domestic work elsewhere in Bolivia or in Argentina. The results of a study showed that boys started migrating around the age of 14-15 and girls around 18, half of adolescents had migrated to Argentina, while the other half remained in the community, working without pay (Punch, 2007).

The literature also claims that the economic purpose is only one aspect of the decision to migrate in the case of children and adolescents. The adolescents consider migration as part of their transition to adulthood and not only as an opportunity to generate income. Qualitative interviews as part of studies for Bangladesh, Ghana, Burkina Faso and India indicated that among the reasons for adolescents' migration stands their aspiration to maturity and personal development, conclusions obtained especially in the areas with intensive emigration of Africa (Whitehead et al, 2007).

Among rural residents in Guatemala there is a tradition that teenagers aged between 14 and 17 years are sent to Chiapas (Mexico), where they find a job through networks of other migrants from Guatemala. Parents expect that, once abroad, the children help support the family left at home. The idea of migration is cultivated since childhood and parents often send their children to Mexico as soon as they turn 13 years. Boys generally travel on their own or accompanied by an adult, while the girls travel in groups and are employed as domestic helpers in Mexican households (Giron, 2010).

Given its long tradition of temporary migration, for Egypt there are several studies examining the determinants of such an intention, but the adolescents are not extensively analysed. The results of a survey among young

people (15-29 years) conducted in 2009 suggested that 21.8% of the people aged between 15 and 17 years is planning to leave Egypt, the intention to migrate being on a declining trend as people get older (Elbadawy, 2011). In 2011, 22,978 people aged 15 to 29 years were interviewed. The younger (15-17 years) declared that they rather wanted to migrate to a Western country (USA, Italy) compared to the group 25-29 years which chose the Gulf region – Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait – as preferred countries of destination. Also, the most important reasons for emigrating are the lack of employment opportunities and unsatisfactory living conditions, and the major pull factor for migration is the higher wage prospect abroad (IOM, 2011).

In a recent study on the migration of young people from the Philippines, Asis and Battistella (2013) concluded that the adolescent intend to migrate from the desire to help their family, to improve the financial situation from back home. Apart from economic reasons, young people choose to go abroad also for professional development, to become more independent and to experience a different lifestyle. Most young people who emigrate are women, and they are usually working abroad in services (household work) or production. Moreover, the migration for studies has recently grown with China and India being the preferred destinations. A lot of young Filipinos who plan to migrate expressed their intension to return, hoping to apply what they have learned abroad when they return home. An interesting contradiction is that most young Filipinos who have already left the country and work abroad have declared that they have no plans to return to the Philippines in the near future.

For Europe, Otrachshenko and Popova (2011) analysed the determinants of the intention to emigrate, making a comparative analysis between the group of countries from Western Europe and the countries from Central and Eastern Europe. This comparison was based on the idea that a lower level of life satisfaction can intensify the desire to migrate and the literature is documenting a significantly lower level of satisfaction in the CEE countries compared to Western European countries. The findings indicate that individuals with similar characteristics (age, gender, education, social status, income) have higher intention to migrate from CEE countries compared with the non-CEE countries.

In Portugal, ever since 1993, Silva and Neto expressed their interest in identifying predictive factors for adolescents' intention to migrate. Factors like: socio-demographic characteristics (gender, level of education), access to information on migration, connections with other migrants, a favourable attitude regarding migration and the level of attachment to the family were considered relevant. The results indicated that the most important factors contributing to the intention to migrate are the attitude towards migration, the

network of connections with other migrants and family attachment.

A recent analysis of the situation in Ireland reveals that 51% of young people aged 18 to 24 years are planning to emigrate. An important indication that this intention often materializes is a survey from 2011 according to which 43% of the emigrants were young individuals between 18 and 24 years. The main factors influencing the intention to migrate are the lack of employment opportunities on the local labour market and the expectation to have better work prospects abroad. Also, young people are unhappy about the way the authorities manage the problem of youth unemployment (McAleer, 2013).

When studying the determinants of migration, a variety of methodologies can be used. Holst and Schrooten (2006) used probabilistic models, namely probit or logit model – logistic regression – in order to estimate the probability of the decision to migrate. These are the most common techniques to estimate the models with dichotomous dependent variable.

Heering, van der Erf and van Wissen (2004) applied logistic regression analysis to determine the intention to migrate and its determinants in Morocco. Glytsos (1997) emphasized the importance of the immigrants' intention to return to the country of origin in determining remittance behaviour by showing that temporary migrants remit more than permanent ones. Huy (2009) applied the logistic regression model in order to analyse the determinants of migration decision in Vietnam and to investigate the differences between the ethnic groups.

Studies on the effects of migration in Romania indicate that if Western countries continue to attract labour from our country, the economic growth will be seriously affected (Nicolae and Radu, 2007). Also, Silasi and Simina (2008) examined the Romanian labour market in the context of international migration. They believe that a country with distortions on the labour market like Romania will benefit from migration in the short term, but in the long run it will become an importer of workers. Constantin et al. (2004) analysed migration from a regional perspective and in the context of Romania's accession to the European Union. Roman and Goschin (2011) investigated the effects of migrants' religious denomination on their economic performance, while in a more recent study (Roman and Goschin, 2014) they focused on return migration in the economic crisis context, with a focus on healthcare professionals.

The existing evidence in the literature provides a constellation of potential factors that affects the teenagers and young adults' decision to emigrate both in European countries and in other parts of the world. These factors could cover demographic or family characteristics of the respondents, being also related to their human capital or to economic characteristics.

METHODOLOGY: THE BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL

The econometric analysis is based on a binary logistic model, which is used to identify the socio-demographic factors that influence the decision to migrate.

The dependent variable in a logistic regression is usually a dichotomous variable, which takes the value 1 with a probability of success q , or the value 0 with the probability $1-q$. In our study, the binary dependent variable in the model is the probability of a person to emigrate.

We assume that the values of y (binary variable) are coded 0/1, with 1 expressing the realisation of a certain event, so the model estimates the probability of this event to occur based on the values of the independent variables.

The general form of the model is:

$$\ln\left(\frac{p}{1-p}\right) = \beta_0 + \sum_{i=1}^k \beta_i x_i + \varepsilon, \text{ where } p \text{ is } P(y = 1 | x_1, x_2, \dots, x_k) \quad [1]$$

We can immediately get the equivalent exponential form.

The interpretation of β_i coefficients is obvious: the increase of logit (logarithm of OR) when x_i increases by one (with other variables held constant).

We can rewrite the model in the following form:

$$P(y = 1 / x_1, x_2, \dots, x_k) = \frac{\exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \dots + \beta_k x_k)}{1 + \exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \dots + \beta_k x_k)} \quad [2]$$

After a simple calculation we obtain

$$\exp(\beta_0) = \frac{P(y = 1 / x_1 = x_2 = \dots = x_k = 0)}{P(y = 0 / x_1 = x_2 = \dots = x_k = 0)} \quad [3]$$

that is OR, when all factors are set to zero. For the β_i coefficient we obtain:

$$\exp(\beta_i) = \frac{P(y = 1 / x_i = 1, x_j = 0 \text{ for } j \neq i)}{1 - P(y = 1 / x_i = 1, x_j = 0 \text{ for } j \neq i)} \times \frac{1}{OR_{base}} = \frac{OR_{x_i=1, x_j=0}}{OR_{base}} \quad [4]$$

Thus, from the multiplicative nature of the logistic model, we have:

$$OR_{x_1, x_2, \dots, x_k} = \exp(\beta_0) \times \prod_{i=1}^k \exp(\beta_i x_i) \quad [5]$$

with the useful interpretation that each β_i expresses the contribution of the x_i factor in explaining the probability (as OR) of the event $y = 1$.

Thus, by setting $x_i = 1$, $\exp(\beta_i)$ will be the constant multiplicative factor, regardless of the values of other independent variables.

If $\beta_i = 0$, the corresponding factor has no effect (multiplication by 1).

If $\beta_i < 0$, the presence of the factor reduces the likelihood of the event $y = 1$ and $\beta_i > 0$ increases this probability.

DATA DESCRIPTION AND VARIABLES

In recent years, there has been a high interest among researchers and policy-makers in studying the behaviour of young people in relation to their decision to emigrate. Among the institutions that actually contribute to the study of social phenomena in Romania we can mention the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES). Since 1994, the FES Foundation has been working to promote democracy, social justice and the rule of law in Romania.

The data used in this study comes from quantitative research conducted by FES, “Romanian youth: worries, aspirations, values and lifestyle”, authored by Daniel Sandu, Catalin Augustin Stoica and Radu Umbres.

The sample used was random, stratified, with proportional allocation of respondents. The sampling universe was the resident population of non-institutionalized Romanian aged between 15 and 29 years. The timeline of the interviews was 19 to 31 July, 2014. The theoretical margin of error for the entire sample was +/- 2.7% at a confidence level of 95%.

The survey contains questions about the intention of young people to emigrate, the reasons that would make them leave the country, the chosen destinations or long-term plans, allowing a detailed analysis of the determinants of migration intentions among Romanian youth.

The database contains 1302 respondents. After eliminating those who did not answer the question regarding the intention to emigrate, we obtained a sample of 1269 young people aged 15 to 29 years, out of which 443 are teenagers (15 - 19 years).

The aim of this study is to analyse the factors that influence the intention to migrate of Romanian youth, therefore the variable of interest is a dummy and takes the value 1 if the respondent intends to emigrate and 0 if the respondent has no intention to emigrate.

In designing the econometric models, various variables were considered, in line with the literature: demographic and socio-economic variables (gender, age, residence, social class), variables that characterise the respondent's human capital (education level, number of hours spent on the Internet, experience with volunteering), as well as values, opinions, ideals and plans for the future.

Gender is a binary variable with value 1 for male respondents and 0 for female respondents. *Age* provides the respondent's age in years at the date of the interview. *Residence* is a binary variable equal to 1 when the respondent lives in urban area and 0 when the respondent is a resident of rural area.

As an economic indicator, we used the respondent's social class (*sclass_resp*) and the social class of their parents (*sclass_par*), since the commonly used variables (income, economic status) are not suited for teenagers (15-19 years). We had the same reason for not including in our analysis variables like marital status or number of children.

In order to quantify the level of education, we used the respondent's highest educational qualification (*educ_re*) and the educational qualification of the respondent's father (*educ_f*). We used three dummies: primary and less than primary, medium and higher education, and only the first two dummies were employed for the teenagers' model. *Volunteering* is a binary variable equal to 1 if the respondent was engaged in any voluntary work over the last 12 months preceding the interview. The number of hours spent on the Internet (*internet_use*) is an important variable in the context of migration, because of social media communication channels that facilitate the transfer of information from people who have already migrated.

The young Romanians' values, opinions, ideals and plans for the future were integrated into our models using the following variables:

- *alarming* – a binary variable showing if migration is considered a threat;
- *discrim* – a dummy variable taking the value 1 if the respondent felt discriminated against on the country/city of origin;
- *corruption* - dummy variable taking the value 1 if the respondent felt alarming about the inefficiency fight against corruption
- *business* – a binary variable indicating if the respondent is planning to start a business in the coming years;
- *tenyears* – shows if the respondent sees himself as an accomplished person in Romania or in a different country.

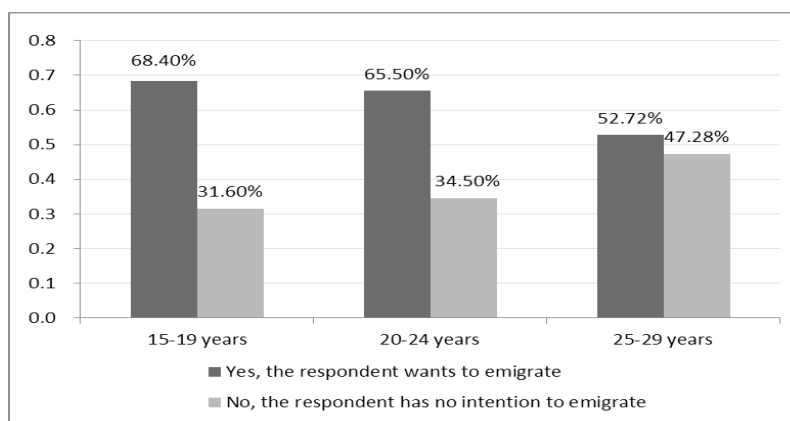
This last category of factors is less described in the literature and including them as determinants of young people decision to emigrate could provide new information in analysing and explaining such behaviour. Taken into advantage the rich dataset we have used, we have focused on the contribution of the respondents' perceptions and their future plans for explaining their propensity for living abroad.

RESULTS

In the first stage of our research we focused on determining the factors that increase the probability to migrate of young adults, 20 to 29 years old. In order to highlight the significant factors, we applied a binary logistic regression model. In the second stage, we concentrated on finding what is causing an increase in the desire to emigrate among teenagers, considering the fact that this group (15 to 19 years) seems most eager to leave Romania (see Figure 1).

Migration intentions of Romanian youth

Figure 1



Indeed, a proportion of 68.4% of young people aged 15-19 said they were planning to emigrate. Figure 1 suggests an inverse relationship between age and willingness to migrate: as the age increases we observe that there are fewer respondents who want to leave Romania, but their share, though lower than for other age groups, it is not negligible (52.7%).

The first logistic regression model (see Model 1 in Table 1) was estimated using a sub-sample of 798 Romanian young adults (individuals in the 20-29 age group). There are eight significant factors that determine the decision to emigrate in the first model, explaining 11.8% of the variation of the propensity to migrate.

One of the most important demographic variables that proved to influence the probability to migrate is age. The sign is negative, as we expected, meaning that a younger person is more likely to intend to migrate. Gender also significantly affects the decision to migrate: males show a greater desire to

emigrate than females. Other demographic factors, such as residence, have no significant influence on the migration intentions.

Among the variables that characterise the respondent's human capital, we can see that the respondent's level of education does not have a significant impact on the intention to migrate, but the father's level of education has a statistically significant influence. On the other hand, the number of hours spent online daily has a strong influence on the dependent variable: the more hours a young person spends on the internet, the greater the probability of intention to migrate. The internet is used, among other things, as a means of communication and socialization, so it is possible for young people to communicate with people abroad (relatives, friends), which would explain the influence of this factor.

The volunteering experience has proved not to be a significant factor in the Romanian youth's decision to emigrate, maybe because Romania does not have a long volunteering tradition. Also, the respondents' plans to start a business in the next period do not influence the intentions of young people to emigrate.

An interesting aspect of our analysis is the fact that those who feel discriminated against on the grounds of country or city of origin manifest a higher probability to emigrate compared with young people who were never put in discriminatory situations.

The opinion about corruption in Romania does not significantly influence the intention of young people to migrate, but their expectations of their situation in 10 years' time - if they see themselves as an accomplished person in Romania or abroad - largely influence the decision to emigrate. In other words, the youth's intention to emigrate is related to the fact that they already want a life abroad, not necessarily on financial considerations.

The economic variables included in the model - the respondent's social class and the parents' social class - do not have a significant impact on the youth's intention to leave Romania. And last, the opinion that emigration is a danger to Romania does not explain the intention to migrate.

Binary logistic regression models

Table 1

Model 1 - Young adults: 20-29 years				Model 2 - Teenagers: 15-19 years			
Variables	B	p value	Exp(B)	Variables	B	p value	Exp(B)
gender	,345	,025	1,411	gender	-,086	,708	,917
age	-,461	,005	,631				
residence	,269	,105	1,309	residence	,086	,721	1,090
educ_re (reference group: primary education)				educ_re (reference group: primary education)			
educ_re(1)	,996	,111	2,706	educ_re(1)	-,503	,251	,605
educ_re(2)	,790	,211	2,204	educ_re(2)	-,150	,757	,860
educ_re(3)	,484	,455	1,623				
volunteering	,106	,597	1,112	volunteering	,296	,257	1,344
internet_use	,217	,000	1,243	internet_use	,222	,009	1,248
sclass_resp	-,023	,787	,977	sclass_resp	-,168	,056	,845
sclass_par	,017	,818	1,017	sclass_par	,335	,014	1,397
educ_f (reference group: primary education)				educ_f (reference group: primary education)			
educ_f(1)	-,396	,383	,673	educ_f(1)	1,093	,116	2,983
educ_f(2)	-,531	,255	,588	educ_f(2)	,762	,269	2,143
educ_f(3)	-,991	,049	,371	educ_f(3)	,705	,341	2,025
alarming	,043	,637	1,044	alarming	,002	,989	1,002
business	-,099	,041	,906	business	-,025	,746	,976
tenyr	,066	,045	1,068	tenyr	,338	,001	1,402
discrim	,216	,002	1,241	discrim	-,054	,597	,947
corruption	-,117	,118	,890	corruption	-,009	,907	,991
Constant	,402	,615	1,495	Constant	-1,16	,221	,313
Pseudo R ²	11,8			Pseudo R ²	13,7		
N	798			N	443		

Young people from Romania (15-29 years) have different economic, social or educational characteristics. Teenagers (young people between 15 and 19 years) are a more homogeneous group, having similar features: most of them are still in school, are not active on the labour market, they are living with their parents and are financially dependent on them. Regarding the intention to migrate, teenagers showed the greatest desire to leave Romania; therefore we have a high interest in determining the factors that influence their intention to migrate using a distinct logistic regression model (see Model 2 in Table 1 for the results).

This second model indicates that demographic indicators such as gender or residence area have no impact on the migration intention of Romanian teenagers.

Also, it seems that the teenagers' probability to emigrate is not influenced by human capital specific variables. The respondent's levels of education or any experience with volunteering have no significant impact on the intention to emigrate. However, we found that the level of education attained by the respondent's father is involved in the teenagers' intention to leave Romania. The relation is negative, indicating that teenagers coming from families with a lower level of education are more likely to emigrate.

As in the case of young adults, the number of hours spent on the internet explains to a large extent their intentions to migrate.

A similar result is observed regarding the economic indicators. Although the respondent's social class is not statistically significant in explaining the intention to migrate, the parents' social class is found to be a factor of influence for teenagers' future plans. This high impact of family characteristics is not surprising because the analysis is carried out on very young individuals.

The most important factor in determining the migration intentions of teenage Romanians is the respondent's perception about their life in ten years' time: if they see themselves as an accomplished person in Romania or abroad, in which case the probability to emigrate significantly increases.

The results of the logistic regression econometric model indicated that teenagers are not reacting to discrimination on the grounds of country/city of origin with an increased desire to leave the country. Also, we did not find statistical evidence in support of a relationship between the teenagers' plans to start their own business and their intention to emigrate.

The analysis proves that Romanian youth have a high intention of living abroad, but the factors that explain this behaviour are different when considering two age groups: adolescents and young adults, age being an important factor that needs to be taken into account when predicting the

probabilities for migration. Unlike young adults, teenagers are more influenced by their family background, while both categories are influenced by their expectations of a better life abroad and by the number of hours spent on the internet.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Demographic evolution and changes in the size and the structure of labour resources in Romania in the last 15 years have generated a less favourable context for achieving the goal of full, sustainable and inclusive employment. The main demographic characteristics indicate a continuous decline in the total population of Romania, a negative natural increase and a rise of the population's median age. Moreover, the significant decrease in the share of young people in the total population has worrying consequences for both employment growth and social insurance policies. Another area of concern regarding the situation of young people in Romania (especially those under 18) is that more than half of them live below the poverty threshold (60% of the median income), being one of the most deprived social groups.

After joining the European Union, Romania experienced an explosive growth in the number of migrants for employment. An important part of the working age population and especially young people went to Western countries in search of higher wages and better living conditions. This massive migration of active labour force in a relatively short period of time unbalanced the labour market, the phenomenon being very difficult to manage, so the need for appropriate policies to balance demand and supply became crucial.

The analysis of the youth's intention to migrate is a relevant indicator for the behaviour of young people in relation to the labour market and it helps identifying future trends of emigration. We investigated the factors that influence the migration intentions of young Romanians, by estimating two logistic regression models: one for the young adults (20-29 years), and the other for the adolescents (15-19 years old).

The results indicated that age is a relevant factor for the intention of the youth to migrate – the younger a person is, the higher the probability of wanting to emigrate. The study conducted on the young adults led to the conclusion that the use of internet and the goal setting for a future abroad are the key factors that significantly determine the migration intentions. Also, young men are more willing to leave the country than young women, and those who felt discriminated against on the grounds of country/city of origin and young adults coming from low educated families have higher probability of wanting to emigrate.

For the Romanian teenagers the results indicated that their intention to migrate has a lot to do with their perceived accomplishment in another country and with the time spent on the internet, therefore showing similarities with young adults. But teenagers are still very influenced by their family – the intention to migrate also depends on the father’s level of education and the parents’ social class.

Our study showed that the majority of young Romanians have the intention to emigrate. The young population is one of the most important resources for a country’s socio-economic development, as it possesses innovative knowledge, therefore it is important to have legislative and institutional framework in order to promote young people in Romania. Nevertheless, there is no national strategy in the area of youth migration.

At the moment, policies that target young people focus mainly on their relation to the labour market. The National Strategy for Youth 2014-2020 tackles issues such as: the increase of youth’s employment rate; an easy school to work transition; provides tax incentives to employers who create jobs and hire young people; promotes youth mobility for work. The “Youth Guarantee” is another important programme which assumes that, within 4 months after completing their studies or losing their job, any young person will receive an offer consisting of a job opportunity, an internship or apprenticeship contract, or a training course¹.

The policy makers could target the youth migration by eliminating or reducing the causes of migration. Many young people see external migration as the only option for a decent life. An integrated strategy aimed at strengthening rural development and poverty alleviation, investment in rural infrastructure and agriculture, and, most of all, opportunities for decent work, could provide a favourable environment for young people to contribute to the national economic and social development.

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