

Dreaming Another Life.
The Role of Foreign Media in Migration
Decision.
Evidence from Albania.

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31 July 2007
Work in progress

Abstract

Using data from Albanian Panel Living Standard Measurement Survey we examine the effect of exposure to foreign media on individual migration decision. We model the probability to watch foreign television as a function of the distance from the nearest foreign transmitter. The identification strategy is based on the physics model of electromagnetic and radio wave propagation explaining how radio waves behave when they are transmitted (or propagated) from one point on the earth to another. The results suggest that individuals exposed to foreign media are more likely to migrate internationally.

1 Introduction

This paper examines the existing link between foreign media exposure and individual migration decision. We investigate whether individuals who have been exposed to foreign media are more prone to move abroad and to which extent their location choice depends on the received information.

Two main literature streams consider migration choice. Starting from Todaro (1969) seminal paper, traditional neoclassical theory explains individual migration decision through a cost-benefit analysis based on differentials in economic conditions between receiving and sending country. The “new economics of migration” extends neoclassical theory modelling individual migration as a household decision not only to maximize expected income gain but also to minimize risks of potential market failures (Stark and Bloom (1985)). Both approaches implicitly assume that potential migrants optimally decide whether to move or not using information on economic conditions and opportunities in

destination country. Before migrating individuals gather information from different sources. Relatives and friends, previous migrants or network abroad have been widely analyzed by economic theory. In particular, the findings suggest that wider family and friend networks of previous migrants enhances migration (Massey and Espinosa (1997), Orrenious (1999), Zahniser (1999), Davis and Winters (2001), Munshi (2003)). Providing information on the migration process, on the economic opportunities at destination or helping integration once arrived, migration networks are crucial in individual migration decision. Nevertheless, little attention is given to information sources extremely common nowadays: television, radio, newspapers and internet. The impact of media on individual choice or behavior has been studied by some economic fields. Olken (2006) in a recent paper identify the impact of exposure to television and radio on social capital in Indonesian villages while Boeri and Tabellini (2005) find that individuals are more willing to accept reforms when they are more informed about them.

The relationship between media and migration has been investigated by sociologists. Some studies highlight that images of wealth and a free and relaxed lifestyle in the northern and western economies are commonplace in developing and transition countries. Foreign media system represents an important source of information for potential migrants and somehow it tends to reinforce the idea of migration as a trip towards El Dorado.

The received information could be more or less precise, complete and accurate, different individual could understand the same information in very different way but, generally speaking, media help potential migrants in constructing images of their future life.

Whether and to which extent foreign media affect individual migration project has not been explored in a systematic way. As far as we know this is the first attempt to quantify the impact of foreign media in migration decision.

Countries that represent a good benchmark for analysis are the totalitarian ones in which, for years, the free access to information has been forbidden. Among them, the Albanian case is emblematic. From 1941 to the late eighties Albania has been one of the most oppressive and isolated communist regimes: both economic and political contacts with the rest of the world, even communist, were absent. International migration was forbidden and severely punished, but also internal mobility was accurately monitored. The country's isolation was exacerbated by the lack of expression freedom and by the control of media and broadcasting system. Serving the interests of the Communist Party, press was strictly controlled and censorship was extremely strict. The same happened with radio and television. Until 1990, Albanian media system had only one national television channel broadcasting every evening from 6 to 10 p.m., the supply of programmes included only one film per week and a lot of politicized and propagandistic documentaries. Although foreign broadcasts were forbidden, starting from the early 1960s Albanians could easily watch Italian television due to the geographical proximity between the two countries. At the beginning only Italian public service television could be received but, with the increase of private broadcast system, all Italian televisions reached Albanian households.

Italian television allows Albanian to construct an image of the west and to imagine their life after migration. After the collapse of communist regime in 1990, political, economic and social changes lead to massive migratory waves defining one of the most relevant migration flows in the last decade. Do foreign media play a role in Albanian migration projects? Does the perceived foreign reality induce people to migrate? Does foreign television attract Albanian?

We answer these questions using data from the Living Standard Measurement Study (LSMS) carried out by the World Bank and the Albanian Institute of Statistics (INSTAT) from 2002 to 2004.

The data set contains a lot of information about individual experience abroad. Complete migration history, both internal and international, from 1990 to 2004 is available: information about migration length, country of destination, occupation in the host country, monetary aids received to migrate, legal/illegal status abroad.

We model individual migration choice through a standard probit model including traditional explanatory variables (individual specific characteristics, household characteristics, geographic characteristics) and a variable capturing the degree of exposure to foreign media. The key identification assumption is the following: the probability to watch foreign television depends on the distance from the nearest foreign transmitter.

The identification strategy is based on the physics model of electromagnetic and radio wave propagation explaining how radio waves behave when they are transmitted (or propagated) from one point on the earth to another.

In free space, all electromagnetic waves follow the inverse squared law which states that the signal's strength is proportional to the inverse of the squared distance from the source. Therefore, for all television transmitters in Italy, we collect data on their location (latitude, longitude, altitude) and using the great-circle formula we compute the shortest distance between Italian transmitters and Albanian cities. For each individual we reconstruct the place of residence before 1990 and we assign the corresponding media exposure measure.

Nevertheless, waves propagation is also affected by other factors as climate and weather (temperature, pressure, rain intensity, cloud cover), ground characteristics and presence of obstructions. Due to the diffraction phenomenon, the presence of obstructions does not avoid per se the signal reception: signals diffract around the obstacle, change their trajectory and reach the ground although with a lower strength. To exploit the diffraction of waves due to obstacles we consider the topography of the area between the nearest transmitter and the receiver. Therefore, we construct a variable that is the highest altitude of the earth surface between Italian transmitters and Albanian cities. In addition, we consider also a variable capturing the transmitter, the receiver and the obstacle altitude given that the degree of diffraction and the strength of the received signal depends crucially on the difference in height between the obstacle and the receiving point.

The empirical analysis shows that migration probability decreases as the distance from the Italian transmitter increases and as the altitude of the obstacle blocking signal line increases. Foreign media play a crucial role in individual

migration decision: people that have been exposed to foreign television are more likely to move.

Other three crucial variables are included in the model: distance from the coast, distance from the nearest border cross and distance from the nearest border cross to Italy and Greece, the main destination countries of Albanian migrants. These variables should be a proxy for migration costs and should allow to check whether the distance from Italian television transmitters does not actually measure individual migration cost. Our media exposure variable remains highly significant in all specifications. Distance from the coast affects positively migration probability capturing the fact that migration flows are higher for internal regions, more depressed and poor. As expected, distance from Italian and Greek frontier captures usual migration cost: individuals living far from the border are less likely to migrate internationally.

In the basic specification only the media exposure variable and regional fixed effects are included while in the more complete one all distance measures are added. The results are robust also including individual and household different controls.

Through a multinomial logit specification, we also test whether exposure to Italian media affects the choice of the destination. Having been exposed to Italian media increases the migration probability tout court. Italian television does not attract Albanian only to Italy but induces them to move towards different western countries: Italian television was simply a door on the world, a way to know and maybe to idealize a different culture and lifestyle.

This paper consider one of the most relevant temporary migration flows in the last decade: the Albanian one. The Albanian population have had huge changes during the last 15 years of transition to a market based economy. Migration patters during the 1990s have been critical aspects of this transition period. After the communist regime collapse, due to political and economic changes in the country, controls of people movements were abolished so that people start to move both internally and internationally. According to 2001 Census data population in rural area decreased by 13% . Albanian migration is mostly temporary: after having spent some months abroad migrants come back in their country of origin. Despite the motivations behind returning in the home country, this decision in potentially positive from the point of view of the country of origin: an individual stayed abroad for a while may bring skills and capital to the home economy and contribute to the economic growth of the country through the after migration economic activities. Temporary migration has many advantages. For host countries temporary labour migration can help meet specific labour - force needs, when there is disequilibrium in demand and supply in some specific periods or area temporary migrants are a useful resource able to fill the existing gap reducing some problems coming from permanent migration (reactions and negative attitudes towards immigrants). For home country temporary worker outflows can reduce unemployment, contribute to growth and development through remittances, reduce brain drain given the subsequent return of worker and increase brain gain when migrant come back with augmented and additional skills (Galor and Stark (1990)). Most temporary movements are

from developing to developed countries, significant flows are registered also between developed countries (World Economic and Social Survey (2004)). Gains from more extensive use of temporary migrants are relatively larger for unskilled workers than for skilled ones: the wage differential between developed and developing countries is wider for unskilled workers (Winters (2002)).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives an overview of Albanian migration phenomenon. Section 3 presents Albanian media and broadcasting system. Section 4 introduces the dataset used for the empirical analysis that is discussed in Section 5. Finally, Section 6 concludes.

2 Migration in the Albanian context

Since 1990 Albania faces the big challenge to become a market economy and a more open society passing from totalitarianism to democracy. Thanks to a cumulative real economic growth of about 40% between 1990 and 2004, the country is among the most successful transition economies. Starting from extremely low income levels and very poor infrastructure, when the communist regime collapsed in 1991 there were a significant decrease in output and a rise in inflation. In the first two years of the transition, between 1990 and 1992, GDP decreased by 39%. In the following years a macroeconomic stabilization program was implemented to reduce inflation and the budget deficit together with the liberalization of prices and foreign trade, the privatization of agricultural land making possible an high average growth rate of 9.3%. The economic growth was led by agricultural sector, the service sector and the construction sector. This recovery period was interrupted in 1997 by the crisis of the pyramid investment scheme. Furthermore, the country suffered from the social and economic shocks accompanying the Kosovo crisis in 1999 when more than half a million of Kosovo - Albanian refugees arrived in the northern regions. Because of the financial crisis, GDP decreased by 7% and with this growth track real GDP in 1999 reached the 1990 level. After some problems in energy supply and bad weather conditions for the agricultural sector, economic growth slowed down to 3.4% again in 2002 but in the last years the real growth rate went up to 6%.

Despite the shocks hitting the economy, starting from a very low income level, Albanian economy has been able to reach a sustained growth, even though it remains one of the poorest countries in Europe (with GDP per capita at around 2,700 US\$). The poverty is high and pervasive: more than ten years after the transition 29.2% of Albanians households was poor and 28.8% was very poor (De Soto et al. (2002)). One of the consequences of this transition period has been huge migration flows. However, it is important to underline that Albania has a long history of emigration, migration flows are presents throughout all the centuries in response to political, social or economic events (King et al. (2003), Piperno (2002)). In particular during the 20th century we can observe three different phases: before 1944, from 1945 to 1990 and from

1990 on (UNDP (2000))

In the first wave the main destination countries were US and Latin America and almost all the people left the country because of economic push factors. The problems faced by the industry and agriculture after the war, the absence of modern technology and the inadequate exploitation of natural resources were the main driving force of individual mobility. During this period Albanian governments were almost indifferent towards these migration flows.

In the second wave migration was directed both towards US, Latin America and Australia and towards near countries including Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, Egypt, Romania and Serbia. Albanians left their country for political reasons related to the communist regime, a huge part of emigrants were opponents of the regime. Officially migration was forbidden and punished: political and legal barriers were established, migration was considered a crime.

The third phase started in 1990 after the collapse of the state - socialist regimes in Eastern Europe. All policies and measures restricting the free movement of citizens were removed. Without control on internal and external migrations, single individuals and entire households started to move internally from rural area towards urban area, and internationally. It is possible to identify three regions that drives migration flows. The north (districts of Diber, Mat, Puke, Tropoje) was characterized by both internal and international migration. Internal migration was directed towards central richer regions with the Tirana, Durres, Kruje axis and towards southern regions that although very poor were relatively richer with respect to the north, the poorest part of the country with few employment opportunities, exclusively in agriculture, and low income level. The main destinations for international migration were Italy, Greece, Germany and UK. The Tirana - Durres central area was the main destination for internal migration from all the decentralized Albanian area, but especially from the north, and experienced a significant outflow towards the main international destinations. The central area is the one that also experienced the positive inflow of return migrants. In the south of the country (districts of Vlore, Berat, Korce) three quarters of the migration outflow was directed abroad, mainly to Greece, and one quarter moved internally from poor rural area towards urban centers. This area experienced a huge depopulation in particular in the ethnic Greek regions although in some cases internal migration from the north reduced the problem.



Figure 1: Albanian administrative division

Surely Albania during the 1990s has had one of the largest outflows of people relative to population size in Europe and the migration outflow has increased steadily since 1991 but the exact magnitude of this phenomenon is difficult to be known also because official data sources are scarce and inadequate. According to estimates by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1990 to 1999 migrants towards Greece have increased by four times while towards Italy have doubled (Table A).

Significant is also the magnitude of internal migration from rural towards urban areas and from small urban towns towards big cities. This form of migration is the natural consequence of difficulties faced in the agriculture sector and is often seasonal. The internal mobility phenomenon is not simple to be measured but according to 2001 Census 5,7% of total population in 1989 moved from one region to another, changing place of residence between 1989 to 2001. Internal mobility can be defined as a "one - way" flow: almost 91% of the intra - country movement were directed to the central and coastal districts. In 1989, approximately 60% of migrants lived in the North, 32% in the South and 8%

in the centre and on the coast. As a result, in the decade after the transition, despite the emigration flows central and costal areas experienced a significant population increase (Table B).

Migration had a significant impact on population structure of the country. The sex-age impact of emigration during the 1990s can be easily intuitively quantified considering the age - sex pyramids in 1989 and 2001 from the 2001 Census (Figure 2).

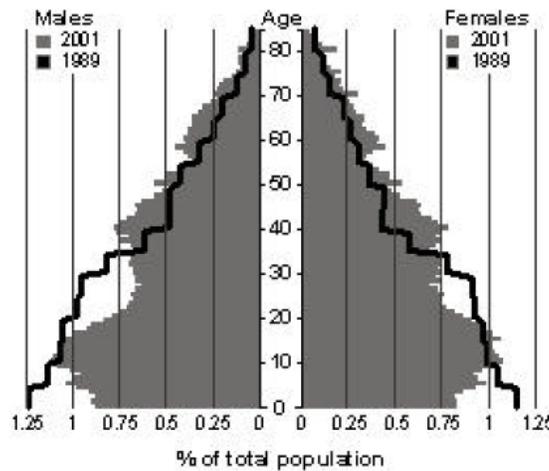


Figure 2: Age - sex pyramid (1989 - 2001)

It is evident that during the 1990s there has been a significant loss of males aged between 15 and 35 and a slightly smaller loss of woman in the age-band 18 – 32. Analyzing the pyramid, it is reasonable to expect that in the following years there will be other significant migration flows of people actually in the age-band 10 – 15 even though in the long run the migration flow should decrease given the 0 – 5 years old low - birth cohort due to lower fertility rates in the last years and to the migration of potential parents.

In these years migration from Albania continues and is transforming from illegal and sporadic to legal and organized. However, once abroad, Albanian migrants tend to work more in sectors that are avoided by the local population. They are used as a regulatory mechanism in the receiving labour market. However there is also intellectual elite that leave the country towards more promising countries, but this migration type presents different features form other emigrating groups.

3 Albanian media system

The Radio Television of Albania was monopolistic until 1995, when a private station started operating. Up to that date for most Albanians electronics media meant the State radio and television network. During the communist regime and until 1990, the Albanian national television had only one channel broadcasting only few hours in the evening, between 6 and 10 p.m.. Both television and radio was used by the communist regime for propaganda purposes. The supply of programmes was very scarce and constantly monitored by the regime. Only one film per week was broadcast, having mainly an educational and pedagogic aim. Films were Albanian or imported from other socialist countries although some of them come from Western and non communist countries if considered ideologically neutral and non harmful for national culture (Dorfles (1991)). The majority of the time was dedicated to documentaries showing the history of the country and to programmes celebrating the successes reached by the Albanian Party of Labour. The regime considered the media system as a way to educate and to give political and patriotic messages to the population, to indoctrinate the audience and to influence its choices having no entertainment aims. As it was the case in East Germany, watching foreign programs was a natural alternative of the communism propaganda. Watching foreign television although not strictly forbidden by the law, was discouraged in order to avoid the influence of western capitalist culture until the early 70s. A different behavior was followed when the dissatisfaction grew in the population for the culture diffused and the economic policies implemented by the regime, so that official campaigns against listening and watching external broadcasts were made (See Logoreci (1977) for more details). Despite what strictly prescribed by the party, Albanians watch foreign television, mainly Italian, Greek and Jugoslave. In particular, the television signal of the first Italian national channel (Rai 1 - VHF) could reach Albanian regions starting from the early 60s thanks to the geographical proximity and the absence of natural obstacles (i.e. mountains). The government made a lot of efforts to curtail the reception of foreign broadcasts and to jam their signals but it became particular difficult when the number of Italian private stations and networks increase in the 80s. Officially an Italian public television transmitter were located of the Dajt mountain over Tirane and it was active only in the evening from 8 to 9 p.m. for the news. In the last years of the regime, although controls became less stringent, watching foreign television or listening radio programmes from abroad were considered a politically seditious activities punishable with a period of reclusion while discussions, both private or public, about foreign programmes were considered activities of subversive propaganda (Dorfles (1991)). Despite all the efforts made by the authorities, foreign culture, especially the Italian one, entered Albanian household through films, game-shows, news and advertisements.

During all the communist period and in the first years of transition Albanian people through foreign televisions were able to have access to a different life style characterized by entertainment and abundance in which freedom of expression was guaranteed (Mai (2004)).

After the collapse of the communist regime, the media sector underwent fundamental and far-reaching changes. Different from the past when there were no private media alternatives to state broadcasting services, after 1991 there was an explosion of electronic and printed media. In Albania, there are at present 54 private radio and 64 TV stations, of which the majority are local and some national. With regard to written media, the data is almost accurate. A large number of newspapers and magazines started publication after 1991.

Three television channels broadcast at national level while others operate at local level. Out of 64 private TV stations available in Albania, only 20 are located in Tirana, while the rest are in districts so that different districts have their local private TV stations. However, the geography of TV stations is not always in harmony with the quality of the programs they offer. Given the television medium's rapid, almost chaotic growth rate and lack of applicable legal framework, electronic piracy is prevalent both within and outside Tirana. The same happens with radio: out of 54 radio stations country wide, 28 are located in Tirana, and the rest in local districts.

During the early 90s in all cities of Albania were installed transmitters with low power to broadcast the programs by Italian Rai and Mediaset channels and some German stations reached some areas. Greece television, both public and private, strongly appears in the south of the country, in Saranda in all Ionian seaside due to geographical proximity with Corfu. Also in Tirana, Greek television broadcast for a while from Dajt Mountain but the transmitter was shortly uninstalled for license absence reasons. In some cities of the south - east, like Gjirokaster, some greek repeaters were installed and some signals from Macedonian television appear in that area.

Regarding other sources of information, the access to the Internet is increasing in the big towns. Private businessmen and state institutions mainly rely on this system of information.

The role of the independent media is tangible for the public at large, providing consumers with various sources of information and a diversity of social viewpoints. All transformations were accompanied by changes in regulation and legislation. In particular, the development of legislation for media has been a focus in recent years. Work on legislation started in 1993 with the law of freedom of the press and the right of press to provide information. In 1997 came the law for private TV and radios. The National Council of Radios and Televisions was born in 1998 as a body that has the competence to license media and protect children from it. After decades in which the free access to information has been forbidden, the 1998 Constitution guarantees freedom of expression, freedom of the press, radio and television, freedom of broadcasting and prior censorship of means of communication is prohibited.

4 The data

The data used for the analysis come from the Living Standard Measurement Study (LSMS) carried out by the World Bank and the Albanian Institute of

Statistics (INSTAT) from 2002 to 2004. The LSMS is part of a bigger strategy aimed to improve the data quality in Albania.

For its history as a communist country data in Albania are few and their quality is quite low. According to recent surveys carried out by INSTAT¹, it is crucial to have accurate measures of household welfare in line with well accepted standards in order to monitor trends on a regular basis. Following the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, the Government of Albania reinforced its commitment to strengthening its ability to collect and analyze, on a regular basis, the information necessary to inform policy - making through the Population and Housing Census, the Living Standard Measurement Study every three year and the annual panel surveys.

The LSMS was established by the World Bank in the 1980 to explore ways of improving the type and quality of household data collected by government statistical offices in developing countries. The objectives of the LSMS were to develop new methods for monitoring progress in raising levels of living, to identify the consequences for households of current and proposed government policies and to improve communications between survey statisticians, analysts and policymakers. Data are collected on many dimensions of household well - being including employment, income, saving, consumption, migration, education, fertility, housing.

The Albanian panel survey sample was selected from households interviewed on the 2002 LSMS. The selected panel component is designed to provide a nationally representative sample of household and individual within Albania and to minimize the variability in households' selection probabilities.

The sample size for the panel is:

- 1,782 interviewed households (891 urban, 850 rural) and 7973 household members including children aged under 15 in Wave 1 (2002);

- 1,780 interviewed households (2,155 selected households, 375 not interviewed), 900 urban and 880 rural, and 8110 household members including children aged under 15 in Wave 2 (2003). The majority of the non interviewed households (348) were due to split - off moves out of the country while the other 4 had moved but could not be traced;

- 1,797 interviewed households and 7,476 household members including children aged under 15 in Wave 3 (2004), of which 7,212 already sampled in Wave 1 or 2 and 264 new members.

The final sample is composed by 23,748 individuals belonging to 5,356 households, 50.29 % are male, 49.71 % are female.

The Albanian Panel Living Standard Measurement Study contains a lot of information about the experience abroad, data are collected for all household's members. For individual present in all waves, complete migration history, both internal and international, from 1990 to 2004 is available. If some migration occurred in the last 20 months we know its length, country of destination, occupation in the host country, monetary aids received to migrate, legal/illegal status abroad. Almost same data are available for migration history from 1990.

¹The 1998 Living Condition Survey (LCS) and the 2000 Household Budget Survey (HBS).

In particular we know period, country and length of first migration, total number of migrations and working status abroad.

Given that individual were asked whether they migrated internationally from 1990 to the date of the interview we are able to define a temporary migrants as an individual spending some time abroad and being in Albania at the time of the interview. More than 8 % of individuals is an international temporary migrant, 14.78% of male and only 1.62% of female. This figures are perfectly in line with Albanian patriarchal family structure in which the household head man play a central role. In addition, is clear that Albania is a *relatively young* sending country and therefore is characterized by a huge male outflow. It could be expected that in the future the share of migrants woman would sharply increase for family reunification or similar reasons. Considering the household perspective, temporary migration seems a more pervasive phenomenon hitting around 19% of them (Table 1). On average, migrants are 36 years old: males are relatively younger than females (35.43 against 39.21) Considering age at first migration, males migrate more than 6 years before females. Male temporary migrants are extremely concentrated in the central class of age, while females are more equally distributed across all classes (Table 2).

Education level for migrants is relatively low: more than half only completed primary 8 years school but female are more educated. In particular, while the share of graduated males is 4.23% while the share of female with the same education level is 16.67%.

Migration pattern by year of first migration, in our sample, is completely in line with Albania history². After the collapse of communist and the invasion of Western embassies in Tirana in summer 1990, a huge migration outflow were registered, both legal (thanks to liberalization of passport issuing) and illegal, steadily increasing up to the end of 90s. Years 1997 and 1998 were characterized by extremely significant migration phenomena due to the collapse of the system of pyramid investment scheme in which around half of Albanian Households had invested³. The same dynamics emerges from ALSMS figures: share of first experience temporary migrants increases from 1990 to 1993, is almost constant and slightly declining in the following 3 years when Albanian economy stabilized, is increasing in 1997 and 1998 returning to its previous level in the following years when there was a gradual return to normality (Table 4). Almost all first migration phenomena were due to job reasons, in particular for males while females migrate also for study (3.66%), health reasons (4.71%) or family reunification (7.33%) (Table 5.)

Among migrants, more than 80% find a job during his/her first migration although around two third of them did not enter legally in the host country: their migration motivation was satisfied once abroad. The share of individual who legally worked once migrated is lower any more: less than 20 % found a regular and legal job. The legality share is extremely high for females with

²See King, R. and Vullnetari, J. "*Migration and Development in Albania*" for a detailed review.

³According to World Bank estimates the lost of savins was around 1.2 billion US dollar that account for half of the Albanian GDP in 1996 (Olsen, 2002) .

respect both to the entry in the host country and the position in the labour market (Table 6.-8.).

Looking the legality pattern from 1990 on, we observe that the share of legal workers and legal migrants increases over time. While in the first year of market economy only 15% of individuals migrate legally, in 2003 exactly 50% of migrants were legal. As regard migrants position in the receiving labour market, the legality share decreases over time, with only 20% of individuals having their first migration spell in 2003 being legal worker (Table 9). In migrating, individual are helped by friend and family, with a transfer of information about the place where to go to find a work and with a real monetary help (Table 10). Migration network is crucial seem to be crucial in all phases of migration (Carletto et al. (2005))

From the data analysis we observe that in the year just before the survey almost 5% of the population went abroad for reasons different from family visits, 8.78% of the male population and 1% of the female one. On average temporary migrants stay abroad 5.1 months, and the length spell for men is relatively longer than for women (5.24 months against 3.98). From 1997 to 2001 almost 6% of surveyed individuals went abroad for at least three months: on average they stay abroad 2.65 months in 1997, 3.23 months in 1998, 3.1 months in 1999, 3.08 months in 2001 and 2.8 months in 2002

5 Econometric analysis

5.1 Empirical strategy

We model individual migration choice through a standard binary outcome model including a set of variables variable capturing the degree of exposure to foreign media and, where possible, traditional explanatory variables (individual specific characteristics, household characteristics, geographic characteristics). Our prior is that exposure to foreign media has a direct positive effect on individual migration probability because it reduces the cost of migration thank to received information on potential destination countries.

The empirical analysis proceeds in different steps. In the first step we evaluate the role of foreign media, in particular television, in the first individual migration decision. In the second step, we focus on the more recent migration, during the last year, and we consider the effect of different source of information. In the third step we explore whether received information by foreign media affect the choice of the final destination, during the first and the last migration experience.

Formally, in order to study the impact of foreign media on individual migration decision we estimate the following equation:

$$\begin{aligned}
y_i &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_i + \beta_2 X_i + \mu_i & (1) \\
\text{where } \mu_i &\sim \text{Normal}(0, \sigma^2) \\
\text{for } i &= 1, 2, \dots, n.
\end{aligned}$$

The vector y_i is a binary variable defining individual migration status, M_i is our foreign media exposure measure, X_i is a vector of exogenous explanatory variables at individual and household level and μ_i is the stochastic error term.

No official data are available about the signals of foreign televisions in Albania and about their power, therefore we construct our measure of media exposure in an indirect way.

The key identification assumption is the following: the probability to watch foreign television depends on the distance from the nearest foreign transmitter.

The identification strategy is based on the physics model of electromagnetic and radio wave propagation explaining how radio waves behave when they are transmitted (or propagated) from one point on the earth to another (Barclay, L. (2003), Ellington et al. (1980)). In free space, all electromagnetic waves follow the inverse squared law which states that the signal's strength is proportional to the inverse of the squared distance from the source so that doubling the distance from the transmitter leads to a reduction in the signal strength to nearly one quarter. If the medium in which they are propagated is the same everywhere, the waves will spread out uniformly in all directions. Nevertheless, electromagnetic and radio waves interact with the objects and the media in which they travel. In particular, waves propagation is also affected by factors as climate and weather (temperature, pressure, rain intensity, cloud cover), ground characteristics and presence of obstructions from point to point. These interactions causes the signals to change direction and to reach areas which would not be possible if the waves travelled in the direct line. Three different phenomena are possible: reflection, refraction and diffraction. For our analysis we focus on the third one. When signals encounter some obstacles they tend to travel around them so that they may be received from a transmitter even though it may be shaded by a large object. Diffraction is more pronounced when the obstacle becomes sharper and more like a knife - edge (we have the so called Knife - edge diffraction). As represented in Figure 3, due to the diffraction phenomenon, the presence of obstructions does not avoid per se the signal reception: even though there will be a shadow zone immediately behind the obstacle, signals diffract around it, change their trajectory and reach the ground although with a lower strength.

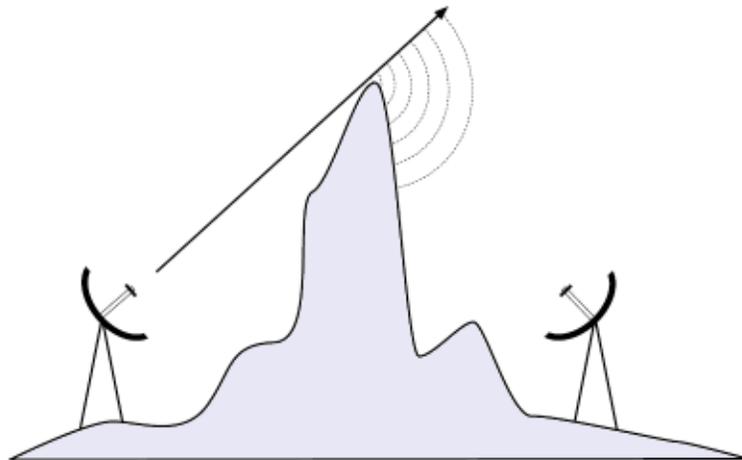


Figure 3: The diffraction phenomenon over an obstacle

The wave propagation model suggests us to consider distance from foreign television transmitters and Albanian topographic characteristics as an exogenous source of variation in exposure to foreign media in order to investigate their causal impact on individual migration decision. In particular we focus on Italian television. Our choice is based on three different considerations. The first one is related to the geographical proximity of the two countries and the absence of natural barriers. Only 150 Km of sea separate Italy's southern regions from Albania's coasts so that programs broadcast from television repeaters located in that area could be easily seen also in Albania. The same does not happen with other neighboring countries, all borders are in mountain areas with few foreign television transmitters faraway. The second reason is related to economic theory explaining individual migration decision. Starting from traditional neoclassical models (Todaro (1969), Harris and Todaro (1970)) migration is modelled as the result of a cost - benefit analysis in which before moving individuals compare the expected income differentials between the home and the receiving country. Among Albanian neighboring countries, the U.E. members (Italy and Greece) are the ones having a significant wage and wealth differential (Table 14) and therefore we expect that information received from these countries could significantly influence movement decision. Finally our choice is based on anecdotal evidence and sociological studies (Mai (2004), Mai (2001), Mai and King (2002)) suggesting that Italian television played a crucial role in Albanians migration flows. Interviews to young people, aged between 15 and 30 years, conducted in Albania during a fieldwork in 1998 and 1999, allows Mai (2001) to conclude that Italian media and in particular television helped to construct and to shape their *migration project* in a broad sense. From a sociological point of view, the migration project is not related to the actual geographical displacement but it refers "to the wider discursive process by means of which Albanians have come

to perceive, describe and situate themselves with respect to their wider social and cultural environment - whether this be Albania or Italy⁴".

In order to construct our indirect measure of media exposure we first make a list of all television transmitters. Then we restrict to the 83 located in Italy's coastal southern regions (Abruzzo, Molise and Puglia), belonging to both public (RAI 1, RAI2 and RAI 3) and private (Canale 5, Rete 4 and Italia 1) national networks and active in 1980. For each one we collect data on their location (latitude, longitude, altitude).

For each individual we have information on geographical location (city, municipality and district) at the date of the interview but our data set contains also retrospective life history data back to 1990. If an individual has moved to current location in the previous decade, we have information about his/her previous location within the country at district level or abroad. Therefore we are able to recover individual placement in 1990. The idea behind the importance of this information for our analysis is that before that date watching foreign television was officially forbidden and no contact with other countries were allowed, therefore we can actually investigate whether the image of the west received by foreign media affected individual migration decision. Using the great-circle formula⁵ we compute the shortest distance between Italian transmitters and Albanian locations.

5.2 First migration decision

We begin our analysis evaluating the role of foreign media, in particular television, in the first individual migration decision.

In our baseline specification the dependent variable takes value 1 for those individuals who migrated internationally. Column 1 of Table 13 reports the estimates of the basic specification. As expected, foreign media exposure has a positive effect on individual migration decision: individuals living faraway from Italian television transmitter are less likely to watch foreign television and therefore less prone to move, being less informed or having no overoptimistic expectations. In order to check whether the distance from Italian television transmitters does not actually measure migration costs we include in the model other three distance variables. In term of magnitude, *ceteris paribus*, the probability to migrate decreases by 0.3 percentage point as the distance from Italian television transmitters increases by 1 kilometer. In Column 2 we add distance from the coast, in Column 3 distance from the nearest border cross and in Column 4 also distance from the nearest border cross to Italy and Greece, the main destination countries of Albanian migrants. All the three variables are referred to individual place of residence before migrating that we recover from

⁴Mai (2001)

⁵Having geographic coordinates of two points A and B on the earth surface (latitudeA, latitudeB, longitudeA, longitudeB) in order to compute the shortest distance between them the formula is $d=3963.0 * \arccos[\sin(\text{lat}1/57.2958) * \sin(\text{lat}2/57.2958) + \cos(\text{lat}1/57.2958) * \cos(\text{lat}2/57.2958) * \cos(\text{lon}2/57.2958 - \text{lon}1/57.2958)]$.

retrospective information contained in the survey. These variables should be a valid proxy for migration costs and should allow to check whether this information is contained in our variable of interest, the distance from Italian television transmitters. In all specifications our media exposure variable remains highly statistical significant. Distance from the coast affects positively migration probability capturing the fact that migration flows are higher for internal regions, more depressed and poor. As expected, distance from frontier captures usual migration cost: individuals living far from the border are less likely to migrate internationally. Once controlling for regional characteristics (Columns 5 - 8) our results still hold.

In Table 14, we exploit the diffraction phenomenon of waves due to obstacles including in our model topographic characteristics of the area between the nearest Italian transmitter and the receiver. As expected, the probability of moving decreases as the elevation of the obstacle increases (variable *altitude_obstacle_90* is the highest altitude of the earth surface between Italian transmitters and Albanian cities constructed using the software Google - Earth) and the difference in altitude between the obstacle and individual place of residence increases (variable *difference_altitude_90*). We include also the interaction between distance and altitude and we find a lightly positive effect on migration decision only controlling for regional characteristics.

In our previous specifications we cannot control for district fixed effect given that all measures of media exposure are constructed at that level of disaggregation. Therefore, we construct all previous variables at the level of 350 Albanian cities contained in the sample for all individuals who do not migrate within the country from 1990 on and for who we are sure that their current residence is the same of the 1990 one. We run previous regression for this subsample of individuals (Table 15 and 16). Our media exposure variable is highly statistical significant in all specification and it has a positive effect on individual migration decision. Distance from the coast is always positively correlated with the probability of moving; while, different from previous estimates, when controlling for district fixed effects we find that individuals living faraway from Italian and Greek cross - borders are less likely to move. In addition also all measures of topographic characteristics are highly statistical significant and have the expected sign.

5.2.1 The omitted variable problem

The main concern in identifying the link between the migration choice and the exposure to foreign media is related to the consistency and efficiency of previous estimates due to the fact that we omit individual variables (Wooldridge (2002)).

The omitted variable problem can be easily seen assuming that X is a matrix of included variables and Z is a matrix of variables not included in our analysis. The full model would be:

$$y = X\beta_X + Z\beta_Z + \varepsilon$$

while the estimated model is:

$$\begin{aligned} y &= X\beta_X + \mu \\ \mu &= Z\beta_Z + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

The parameter vector estimated when only the variables included in the matrix X are included will be a generic b_X for which:

$$\begin{aligned} E(b_X) &= E[(X'X)^{-1}X'y] \\ &= E[(X'X)^{-1}X'X\beta_X + (X'X)^{-1}X'\mu] \\ &= \beta_X + E[(X'X)^{-1}X'Z\beta_Z] + E[(X'X)^{-1}X'\varepsilon] \\ &= \beta_X + \Omega'_{ZX}\beta_Z \end{aligned}$$

where Ω'_{ZX} is a matrix of coefficients from regression of columns of Z on the observable variables. The bias will depend on the correlation between each observable and unobservable.

Considering an additive effect of the omitted individual factors (as income or employment status before migration decision), our model could be written as:

$$E(y|dist_tv, dist_coast, dist_border, X) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 dist_tv + \beta_2 dist_coast + \beta_3 dist_border + \gamma q \quad (2)$$

where q is the omitted variable that include any unobservable individual characteristic. Equation (2) can be considered a structural model that can be written in error form as:

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 dist_tv + \beta_2 dist_coast + \beta_3 dist_border + \gamma q + \varepsilon \quad (3)$$

$$E(\varepsilon|dist_tv, dist_coast, dist_border, X, q) = 0$$

where ε is the structural error. Being unobservable q can be put into the error term assuming, without loss of generality, $E(q) = 0$ because an intercept is included in our model (3). The error form model becomes:

$$\begin{aligned} y &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 dist_tv + \beta_2 dist_coast + \beta_3 dist_border + \mu \\ \mu &= \gamma q + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

For the distribution assumption, ε has zero means and is uncorrelated with $ist_tv, dist_coast, dist_border$ and q . Also q has zero mean, by normalization. Therefore, the zero mean assumption for the error term μ is guaranteed. The orthogonality condition instead, holds if and only if the omitted variable q is

uncorrelated with each of the observable regressors. The linear projection of q onto the observable explanatory variables in our model is:

$$q = \delta_0 + \delta_1 dist_tv + \delta_2 dist_coast + \delta_3 dist_border + \eta \quad (4)$$

where by definition $E(\eta) = 0$ and $Cov(dist_tv, \eta) = 0, Cov(dist_coast, \eta) = 0, Cov(dist_border, \eta) = 0$.

Substituting the linear projection (4) into the error form model (3) we obtain:

$$y = (\beta_0 + \gamma\delta_0) + (\beta_1 + \gamma\delta_1)dist_tv + (\beta_2 + \gamma\delta_2)dist_coast + (\beta_3 + \gamma\delta_3)dist_border + \varepsilon + \gamma\eta$$

where again the zero mean and the orthogonality conditions hold. Therefore, defining $plim\hat{\beta}_k = \beta_k + \gamma \sum_{j=1}^3 \delta_j$ we can determine the sign and the magnitude of the inconsistency, if any.

Our variable of interest is the distance from foreign transmitters for which we can write:

$$plim\hat{\beta}_1 = \beta_1 + \gamma\delta_1 + \gamma\delta_2 + \gamma\delta_3 + \gamma \frac{Cov(dist_tv, q)}{Var(dist_tv)} + \gamma \frac{Cov(dist_coast, q)}{Var(dist_coast)} + \gamma \frac{Cov(dist_border, q)}{Var(dist_border)}$$

By construction, distance from Italian television transmitters represent an exogenous source of variation uncorrelated with individual specific characteristic. The same is true for distance from the coast and from the border. Therefore we can conclude that β_1 is consistently estimated by our regression that omits unobservable individual characteristics.

5.3 Last migration decision

We next model individual migration decision in the year before the survey. Therefore, we can model individual choice including all observable specific characteristics before moving that are contained in the previous wave of the survey.

Table 17 shows the estimates for the probability to migrate internationally in the previous 12 months based on the physics model of electromagnetic and radio wave propagation, with and without district controls. Our measure of media exposure is always highly significant. Compared with results of previous section, the order of magnitude increases. When controlling for regional fixed effects, the probability to migrate decreases by more than 2 percentage point as the distance from Italian television transmitters increases by 1 kilometer. As before, distance from the coast affect positively the migration decision, in almost

all the specifications, while other orographic variables, are no more statistical significant.

In table 18, we estimate a complete model for individual moving decision, including observable individual characteristics. In Column 1 we have our baseline model. Our analysis suggests that male are more likely to migrate abroad and that the probability of moving decreases as age increases. As expected, civil status matters in the sense that people having no family are less likely to move. Household size *per se* does not influence migration decision while the percentage of children less than 13 years old has a positive effect on migration behavior. Individual coming from urban areas are less prone to move but surprisingly the statistical correlation between household income and migration probability is positive. Our media exposure variable is significant at 10% level but when including other distance measures (Column 2 and 3) it turns out to be significant at 1% level. As in our previous estimates, topographic variable are not significant when all other controls are included.

In Column 4, we include a dummy variable assuming value 1 if the individual had others international migrations in previous years. As expected, on average, the probability to move increases as an individual had other migration experiences. Also controlling from repeated migrations, distance from Italian television repeaters is highly statistical significant. In Column 5, we include also a dummy for purchasing a television and we find that individuals having a television are less likely to move. This result is not against our theory: what matters for individual migration project is foreign media exposure, as confirmed by our distance measure while national television has a negative effect on the probability of moving.

Another question we address is whether information received through internet has an impact on migration. In Table 19 we present results from a probability model for migration in which a dummy for the internet use is included (our *internet* variable assumes value 1 if in the last year internet has been used). In all the sample, including both urban and rural area, the internet use is not statistically correlated with migration decision but in urban area it is positively correlated at 1% level. In rural areas instead the access to internet predict perfectly the probability to move: other things constants, the ones using internet are the ones who migrate. Having a television has a negative effects on migration in all sample and in rural area but has no effect in urban areas.

5.4 Media and destination choice

In the last step of our study we explore whether received information by foreign media affect the choice of the final destination, during the first and the last migration experience.

We perform a multinomial logit analysis of the decision of migration in Greece, Italy or other Countries versus the non migration choice.

In Table 20 and 20.1 we model destination choice in the first migration episode. Having no other controls than district fixed effect and distances from the coast and cross - borders, exposure to Italian media increases the probability of moving in Greece, decreases the probability of moving in other countries but the effect on migration in Italy is not statistically different from zero.

For what concerns migration in the last year, our estimates suggest that Italian media increases the probability of moving both in Greece and in Italy but it has no statistical significant effect on migration towards other destinations (Table 21 and 21.1).

[TO BE ADDED: Marginal effects]

6 Conclusion

Economic theory suggests that potential migrants takes their decision comparing costs and benefits. Potential migrants make conjectures about economic condition in destination counties using available information. Traditional information sources as relatives and friends, previous migrants or network abroad have been widely analyzed by economic theory. This paper sheds light on sources of information extremely diffused nowadays: television and internet. In particular we consider the role played by foreign media in individual migration decision.

We consider Albanian migration towards different countries and we focus on the role played by Italian media in moving decision. Using variation in the position of foreign television transmitters, we model the probability of watching foreign television as a function of distance from the repeaters and topographical and orographic characteristics. Using these measure of exposure to foreign media we find that migration probability is higher for individual who are exposed to foreign media. We then show that Italian media are crucial both for first and last migration experience.

We also test, through a multinomial logit specification, whether exposure to Italian media affects the choice of the destination. In particular, having been exposed to Italian media increases the migration probability tout court. Italian television does not attract Albanian only to Italy but induces them to move towards different western countries: Italian television was simply a door on the world, a way to know and maybe to idealize a different culture and lifestyle. Italian television was an easy way to know *all* the world during the communist period: having been exposed to Italian television increases openness towards other cultures and therefore individual probability to migrate internationally.

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Table A: Emigration from Albania (thousands)

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Greece	121	218	241	208	263	312	379	470
Italy	78	88	90	95	98	110	136	162
Other	44	45	48	50	52	53	55	58
Total	243	351	381	353	413	476	571	690

Source: Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Table B: Intra - country migration flows (1989 - 2001)

		Region of arrival			
		North - East	Centre/Coast	South - East	Total
Region of arrival	North - East <i>Percent</i>	-	107,433 98.7	1,465 1.3	108,898 100
	Centre/Coast <i>Percent</i>	2,491 - 17.5		11,721 82.5	14,212 100
	South - East <i>Percent</i>	1,273 2.1	58,256 - 97.9		59,529 100
	Total	3,764	165,689	13,186	182,639

Source: INSTAT - Census 2001

Table1: Temporary migration experience

	Individual			Household
	Total	Male	Female	Total
Frequency	1,956	1,765	191	1,008
Percent	8.24	14.78	1.62	18.82

Table 2: Temporary migration experience by gender and class of age

Age	Total	Male	Female
0-25	19.63	19.32	22.51
26-35	31.34	32.01	25.13
36-45	31.85	33.14	19.9
46-55	11.81	11.44	15.18
56-65	4.14	3.34	11.52
> 65	1.23	0.74	5.76
Average age	35.81	35.43	39.21
Migration age	28.79	28.33	33.14

Table 3: Temporary migration experience by gender and education level

Age	Total	Male	Female
None	0.33	0.18	1.61
Primary 8 years	54.05	55.83	38.17
Secondary general	19.39	18.79	24.73
Vacational 2 Years	2.27	2.84	1.61
Vacational 4/5 Years	17.76	17.82	17.2
University	5.49	4.23	16.67
Post-graduate	0.27	0.3	-

Table 4: Year of first migration

		1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Male	Frequency	26	127	168	193	154	136	150	196	211	107	115	65	110	7
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>1.47</i>	<i>7.2</i>	<i>9.52</i>	<i>10.9</i>	<i>8.73</i>	<i>7.71</i>	<i>8.5</i>	<i>11.1</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>6.06</i>	<i>6.52</i>	<i>3.68</i>	<i>6.23</i>	<i>0.4</i>
Female	Frequency	1	6	24	9	3	6	14	38	38	9	11	10	21	1
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>0.52</i>	<i>3.14</i>	<i>12.6</i>	<i>4.71</i>	<i>1.57</i>	<i>3.14</i>	<i>7.33</i>	<i>19.9</i>	<i>19.9</i>	<i>4.71</i>	<i>5.76</i>	<i>5.24</i>	<i>10.99</i>	<i>0.52</i>
Total	Frequency	27	133	192	202	157	142	164	234	249	116	126	75	131	8
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>1.38</i>	<i>6.8</i>	<i>9.82</i>	<i>10.3</i>	<i>8.03</i>	<i>7.26</i>	<i>8.38</i>	<i>11.96</i>	<i>12.7</i>	<i>5.93</i>	<i>6.44</i>	<i>3.83</i>	<i>6.7</i>	<i>0.41</i>

Table 5: Migration reason

	Total	Male	Female
To start a new job/business	91.46	94.45	63.87
To look for a better paid job	0.66	0.74	-
Study	1.99	1.18	3.66
Security	0.77	0.34	4.71
Health	1.23	0.85	4.71
Poor quality land	1.07	0.4	7.33
Not enough land	1.38	0.62	8.38
To joint family	1.43	0.79	7.33
Job reasons	94.57	96.21	79.58

Table 6: Occupation during first migration experience

	Total	Male	Female
Frequency	1,508	1,413	97
<i>Percent</i>	<i>83.68</i>	<i>84.11</i>	<i>77.89</i>

Table 7: Occupation during first migration by education level

	Total	Male	Female
None	0.14	0.15	-
Primary 8 years	55.32	56.56	37.63
Secondary general	19.03	18.48	26.88
Vacational 2 Years	2.89	2.87	3.23
Vacational 4/5 Years	17.69	18.1	11.83
University	4.72	6.62	20.43
Post-graduate	0.21	0.23	-

Table 8: Legality

		Total	Male	Female
Legal migration	Frequency	639	489	141
	Percent	32.67	28.22	73.22
Legal work	Frequency	286	233	53
	Percent	18.97	16.49	55.9

Table 9: Legality by migration year

Year	Enter Legally	Work Legally
1990	14.81	26.09
1991	29.32	17.21
1992	30.73	31.88
1993	26.73	14.19
1994	21.02	17.42
1995	31.69	11.43
1996	28.05	17.19
1997	33.33	18.18
1998	44.98	16.94
1999	30.17	21.74
2000	37.3	11.22
2001	36	31.25
2002	42.75	26.6
2003	50	20

Table 10: Migrating help

Information on how to find		Monetary help		Help during migration	
Family	15.21	Family	66.35	Family	14.09
Friends	66.76	Friends	11.94	Friends	36.3
Neighbours	3.11	Neighbours	1.59	Acquaintances	32.36
Yourself	14.54	Yourself	17.3	Strangers	3.72
Other	0.93	Other	2.81	Other (NGO /religious)	13.19

Table 11: Number of migrations

	Total	Male	Female
1	44.98	42.88	66.46
2	14.18	14.36	12.42
3	10.15	10.49	6.83
4	7.83	7.68	9.32
5-7	14.8	15.99	3.11
8-21	8.05	6.86	1.86

Table 11.1: First migration destination (%)

	Greece	Italy	Other
1990-1993	85.2	13.18	1.62
1994-1996	78.62	20.73	0.65
1997	86.32	12.39	1.28
1998-2000	74.5	25.25	
2001-2003	65.42	30.84	3.37
Total	79.88	19.84	1.18

Table 12: Months abroad in the last 20 months (%)

Number of Months	Total	Male	Female
1	9.7	8.82	16.98
2	9.9	9.28	15.09
3	14.95	14.25	20.75
4	9.9	7.92	18.87
5	20.4	21.72	9.43
6	13.94	15.38	1.89
7	2.42	2.71	
8	5.66	5.66	5.66
9	2.83	2.49	5.66
10	6.06	6.33	3.77
11 - 12	2.83	2.13	1.89
More than 13	2.21	2.5	

Table 13 : First migration decision and exposure to foreign media - district level

Dependent Variable =1 if an individual migrated internationally for at least three months								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Distance_90	-0.0032** [0.0016]	-0.0073*** [0.0022]	-0.0078*** [0.0014]	-0.0088*** [0.0015]	-0.0046** [0.0021]	-0.0058*** [0.0019]	-0.0066*** [0.0010]	-0.0067*** [0.0011]
Distance_coast		0.0087*** [0.0014]	0.0100*** [0.0010]	0.0092*** [0.0003]		0.0048*** [0.0012]	0.0052*** [0.0014]	0.0054*** [0.0011]
Distance_border			-0.0099*** [0.0036]	-0.0119*** [0.0032]			-0.0088** [0.0037]	-0.0113*** [0.0025]
Distance_itagre				0.0045** [0.0019]				0.0049 [0.0041]
Costal					0.3933*** [0.0988]	0.4214*** [0.0763]	0.2200*** [0.0421]	0.2543*** [0.0329]
Central					0.6948*** [0.1057]	0.5595*** [0.1184]	0.4997*** [0.0942]	0.4334*** [0.1363]
Mountain					0.6463*** [0.1022]	0.5200*** [0.0611]	0.3959*** [0.0496]	0.159 [0.1547]
Constant	-1.8085*** [0.1334]	-1.5152*** [0.2405]	-1.2788*** [0.1498]	-1.1972*** [0.1569]	-2.0841*** [0.3599]	-2.0260*** [0.2985]	-1.6183*** [0.0587]	-1.6839*** [0.0838]
Observations	6673	6673	6673	6673	6673	6673	6673	6673
Pseudo R-square	0.0022	0.0071	0.0088	0.0094	0.0095	0.0103	0.0112	0.0115

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

For regional controls, the excluded region is Tirana.

Table 14: First migration decision and exposure to foreign media - district level altitude variables included

	Dependent Variable =1 if an individual migrated internationally for at least three months	
	(1)	(2)
Distance_90	-0.0085*** [0.0019]	-0.0071*** [0.0015]
Distance_coast	0.0157*** [0.0022]	0.0154*** [0.0022]
Distance_border	-0.007 [0.0065]	0.0025 [0.0046]
Distance_itagre	-0.0011 [0.0036]	-0.0048 [0.0053]
Altitude_obstacle_90	-0.0023** [0.0010]	-0.0036*** [0.0013]
Difference_altitude_90	-0.0025** [0.0010]	-0.0036*** [0.0012]
Altitude*distance_90	0.0069 [0.0051]	0.0125* [0.0069]
Costal		0.4542*** [0.0428]
Central		0.5339** [0.2443]
Mountain		0.5267* [0.2836]
Constant	-1.2669*** [0.2282]	-1.8880*** [0.0932]
Observations	6673	6673
Pseudo R-squared	0.0129	0.0149

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

For regional controls, the excluded region is Tirana.

Table 15: First migration decision and exposure to foreign media - city level

Dependent Variable =1 if an individual migrated internationally for at least three months								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Distance_tv	-0.0022*** [0.0008]	-0.0080*** [0.0021]	-0.0077*** [0.0026]	-0.0081** [0.0033]	-0.0058** [0.0023]	-0.0076*** [0.0018]	-0.0072*** [0.0019]	-0.0066*** [0.0022]
Distance_coast		0.0121*** [0.0034]	0.0117*** [0.0040]	0.0116*** [0.0036]		0.0084** [0.0039]	0.0078** [0.0039]	0.0165*** [0.0055]
Distance_border			0.0052 [0.0072]	0.0043 [0.0091]			0.002 [0.0043]	0.0062 [0.0042]
Distance_itagre				0.0015 [0.0038]				-0.0143*** [0.0023]
Berat					0.9775*** [0.0950]	0.9391*** [0.0910]	0.9362*** [0.0966]	0.9492*** [0.0986]
Diber					0.5414*** [0.1442]	0.3367*** [0.1173]	0.3659*** [0.1152]	0.5876*** [0.1022]
Durres					0.1076 [0.1655]	0.1959 [0.1599]	0.2183 [0.1651]	0.1822 [0.1703]
Elbasan					1.1413*** [0.1368]	0.9182*** [0.1585]	0.9143*** [0.1660]	0.9968*** [0.1778]
Fier					0.5674*** [0.1165]	0.5590*** [0.0782]	0.5896*** [0.1133]	0.6041*** [0.1392]
Gjirokaster					0.7114*** [0.0899]	0.4775*** [0.1256]	0.4742*** [0.1351]	0.4814*** [0.1383]
Korce					1.1718*** [0.1398]	0.6254*** [0.2252]	0.6705*** [0.2037]	0.0293 [0.3378]
Kukes					1.2252*** [0.2604]	1.0194*** [0.1492]	1.0379*** [0.1301]	1.2946*** [0.1819]
Lezhe					0.4320*** [0.1167]	0.5346*** [0.1187]	0.5354*** [0.1170]	0.5129*** [0.1183]
Shkroder					0.6503*** [0.1435]	0.5709*** [0.1105]	0.5672*** [0.1161]	0.6372*** [0.1311]
Vlore					0.4282*** [0.1399]	0.4656*** [0.0768]	0.5146*** [0.1574]	0.5258*** [0.1974]
Constant	-1.9555*** [0.2556]	-1.5232*** [0.2258]	-1.6999*** [0.3219]	-1.6647*** [0.3884]	-2.0532*** [0.3561]	-2.0069*** [0.1714]	-2.1128*** [0.3203]	-2.1660*** [0.4172]
Observations	4492	4492	4492	4492	4492	4492	4492	4492
Pseudo R-squared	0.0011	0.0108	0.0113	0.0114	0.0219	0.0228	0.0229	0.0243

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

For regional controls, the excluded district is Tirana.

Table 16: First migration decision and exposure to foreign media - city level altitude variables included

	Dependent Variable =1 if an individual migrated internationally for at least three months	
	(1)	(2)
Distance_tv	-0.0101*** [0.0033]	-0.0074*** [0.0015]
Distance_coast	0.0156*** [0.0033]	0.0163** [0.0073]
Distance_border	0.0076 [0.0068]	0.0079*** [0.0019]
Distance_itagre	-0.0015 [0.0033]	-0.0147*** [0.0032]
Altitude_obstacle	-0.0031*** [0.0008]	-0.0020*** [0.0003]
Difference_altitude	-0.0032*** [0.0009]	-0.0021*** [0.0005]
Altitude*distance	0.0132*** [0.0032]	0.0090*** [0.0016]
Berat		0.8865*** [0.0973]
Diber		0.5753*** [0.1863]
Durres		0.1642 [0.1609]
Elbasan		1.0181*** [0.1534]
Fier		0.5674*** [0.0790]
Gjirokaster		0.5447*** [0.1632]
Korce		0.117 [0.3375]
Kukes		1.0724*** [0.1501]
Lezhe		0.4988*** [0.1161]
Shkroder		0.6512*** [0.1254]
Vlore		0.5431*** [0.1156]
Constant	-1.3737*** [0.3620]	-2.0069*** [0.2110]
Observations	4492	4492
Pseudo R-squared	0.0148	0.0255

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

For regional controls, the excluded district is Tirana.

Table 17: Migration decision in the last year and exposure to foreign media

Dependent Variable =1 if an individual migrated internationally for at least three months										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Distance_tv	-0.0029 [0.0020]	-0.0123*** [0.0029]	-0.0114*** [0.0030]	-0.0173*** [0.0031]	-0.0208*** [0.0035]	-0.0113*** [0.0040]	-0.0212*** [0.0056]	-0.0194*** [0.0057]	-0.0201*** [0.0060]	-0.0227*** [0.0061]
Distance_coast		0.0185*** [0.0029]	0.0173*** [0.0030]	0.0141*** [0.0041]	0.0096 [0.0065]		0.0289*** [0.0073]	0.0266*** [0.0081]	0.0207* [0.0114]	0.0144 [0.0128]
Distance_border			0.0153** [0.0063]	-0.0017 [0.0065]	0.0068 [0.0077]			0.0086 [0.0090]	0.0063 [0.0097]	0.011 [0.0108]
Distance_itagre				0.0265*** [0.0058]	0.0250*** [0.0058]				0.009 [0.0121]	0.0098 [0.0123]
Altitude_obstacle					-0.0022 [0.0014]					-0.0018 [0.0018]
Difference_altitude					-0.0023* [0.0014]					-0.0018 [0.0018]
Altitude*distance					0.0000** [0.0000]					0 [0.0000]
Berat						1.0351*** [0.3008]	0.6838** [0.3241]	0.6801** [0.3240]	0.6563** [0.3285]	0.6510* [0.3559]
Diber						2.2993*** [0.3976]	1.7447*** [0.4218]	1.8658*** [0.4574]	1.7565*** [0.4976]	1.5587*** [0.5560]
Durres						0.4977 [0.4155]	0.8290* [0.4241]	0.9443** [0.4540]	0.9609** [0.4559]	0.9283** [0.4536]
Elbasan						1.7728*** [0.2757]	1.0379*** [0.3242]	1.0239*** [0.3234]	0.9769*** [0.3346]	1.0163*** [0.3423]
Fier						0.6746* [0.3515]	0.4713 [0.3617]	0.6156 [0.3873]	0.588 [0.3913]	0.5201 [0.4002]
Gjirokaster						1.2547*** [0.3902]	0.3789 [0.4473]	0.3701 [0.4495]	0.344 [0.4567]	0.3514 [0.5345]
Korce						1.3508*** [0.3554]	-0.4323 [0.5356]	-0.2474 [0.6087]	0.1972 [0.8467]	0.2076 [0.8714]
Kukes						1.8167*** [0.5980]	1.4689** [0.6194]	1.5292** [0.6293]	1.4247** [0.6522]	1.058 [0.8001]
Lezhe						0.9529** [0.4845]	1.3647*** [0.5065]	1.3591*** [0.5051]	1.3793*** [0.5074]	1.3348** [0.5259]
Shkroder						0.3503 [0.7541]	-0.1173 [0.7736]	-0.1899 [0.7894]	-0.2168 [0.7893]	-0.2102 [0.8170]
Vlore						-0.3067 [0.5070]	-0.4285 [0.5350]	-0.196 [0.5784]	-0.2301 [0.5843]	-0.3078 [0.5875]
Constant	-2.6812** [0.3424]	-1.9379*** [0.3985]	-2.4623*** [0.4522]	-1.8381*** [0.4396]	-1.4018*** [0.4674]	-2.2279*** [0.7039]	-1.4350* [0.8364]	-1.9422** [0.9562]	-1.8439* [0.9817]	-1.4203 [1.0019]
Observations	4790	4790	4790	4790	4790	4790	4790	4790	4790	4790
Pseudo R-squared	0.0013	0.0199	0.0239	0.0374	0.0408	0.0462	0.0543	0.0549	0.0553	0.0575

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

**Table 18: Migration decision in the last year
individual and HH variables included**

	Dependent Variable =1 if an individual migrated internationally during the last year					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Distance_tv	-0.0169*	-0.0291***	-0.0296***	-0.0262***	-0.0262***	-0.0285***
	[0.0094]	[0.0048]	[0.0065]	[0.0050]	[0.0052]	[0.0041]
Sex	2.7357***	2.7188***	2.7215***	1.6888***	1.6898***	1.6887***
	[0.2973]	[0.2894]	[0.2878]	[0.4292]	[0.4327]	[0.4294]
Age	-0.0621***	-0.0606***	-0.0605***	-0.0384***	-0.0382***	-0.0382***
	[0.0063]	[0.0059]	[0.0058]	[0.0063]	[0.0065]	[0.0063]
Years of school	-0.0734	-0.0678	-0.0687	-0.1164***	-0.1152***	-0.1150***
	[0.0508]	[0.0480]	[0.0480]	[0.0229]	[0.0228]	[0.0228]
No family	-1.3227***	-1.3001***	-1.2990***	-0.1768	-0.1842	-0.1829
	[0.3669]	[0.3438]	[0.3477]	[0.2657]	[0.2609]	[0.2621]
% child <13	0.7417***	0.7639***	0.7488***	0.5584***	0.4966***	0.5009***
	[0.2632]	[0.2164]	[0.2373]	[0.1272]	[0.1119]	[0.1134]
% HH membs > 64	0.6149	0.7508	0.7579	0.8905	0.8304	0.8322
	[0.7558]	[0.7421]	[0.7350]	[0.6785]	[0.6877]	[0.6461]
HH size	-0.0089	-0.0157	-0.0165	-0.0262	-0.0257	-0.0262
	[0.0586]	[0.0557]	[0.0580]	[0.0877]	[0.0861]	[0.0791]
Migration network	-1.1872***	-1.2107***	-1.2085***	-0.6962***	-0.6861***	-0.6901***
	[0.1772]	[0.1381]	[0.1396]	[0.2652]	[0.2657]	[0.2602]
HH income	0.3347***	0.3990***	0.4083***	0.3298***	0.3393***	0.3338***
	[0.1133]	[0.1349]	[0.1274]	[0.1045]	[0.0998]	[0.0914]
Employed before migration	-0.6102***	-0.6278**	-0.6263**	-0.7144***	-0.7238***	-0.7267***
	[0.2234]	[0.2525]	[0.2625]	[0.2620]	[0.2611]	[0.2689]
Urban area	-1.2034***	-1.2460***	-1.2542***	-0.9149***	-0.9035***	-0.8905***
	[0.2666]	[0.3246]	[0.3410]	[0.3122]	[0.2945]	[0.3221]
Distance_coast		0.0362***	0.0317***	0.0208***	0.0209***	0.0177**
		[0.0062]	[0.0054]	[0.0033]	[0.0031]	[0.0083]
Distance_border			-0.0019	-0.0067	-0.0071	-0.0048
			[0.0124]	[0.0123]	[0.0125]	[0.0176]
Distance_itagre			0.007	0.0194***	0.0187***	0.0192***
			[0.0057]	[0.0063]	[0.0066]	[0.0059]
Other international migration				2.6271***	2.6504***	2.6481***
				[0.4607]	[0.4731]	[0.4603]
Television					-0.8340**	-0.8139**
					[0.3782]	[0.3490]
Altitude_obstacle						-0.0017
						[0.0023]
Difference_altitude						-0.0017
						[0.0023]
Altitude*distance						0.01
						[0.0110]
Constant	-2.8246	-2.5397	-2.5582	-2.9051	-2.1579	-1.7339
	[2.5453]	[2.4623]	[2.6399]	[2.3760]	[2.4063]	[2.1635]
District Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4399	4399	4399	4399	4399	4399
Pseudo R-squared	0.2913	0.3008	0.301	0.4014	0.4028	0.4035

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Table 19: Migration decision in the last year and all media

Dependent Variable =1 if an individual migrated internationally during the last year			
	All sample	Urban	Rural
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Distance_tv	-0.0287*** [0.0041]	-0.0434*** [0.0095]	-0.0211*** [0.0047]
Television	-0.8237** [0.3470]	-2.0125 [4.8500]	-0.7985*** [0.2590]
Internet	0.9706 [0.7665]	1.3782*** [0.3149]	
Constant	-1.6448 [2.0784]	-2.2926 [9.6134]	-2.1922 [2.5395]
Individual controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes
Distance controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4399	1819	2200
Pseudo R-squared	0.4048	0.3358	0.4356

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Table 20: First migration decision and media by destination country

Dependent variable = 0 no migration, 1 migration to Greece, 2 migration to Italy, 3 migration to other countries						
	Greece	Italy	Other	Greece	Italy	Other
Distance_90	-0.012** [0.002]	-0.003 [0.003]	0.010* [0.004]	-0.011** [0.003]	0.003 [0.006]	0.010** [0.003]
Distance_coast	0.015** [0.002]	-0.048** [0.010]	-0.028* [0.015]	0.011** [0.004]	-0.052** [0.004]	-0.029** [0.004]
Distance_border	-0.017** [0.005]	0.007 [0.011]	0.004 [0.013]	-0.013** [0.002]	0.011** [0.003]	-0.030* [0.014]
Distance_itagre	0.004 [0.003]	0.033** [0.012]	0.029* [0.015]	0.003 [0.007]	0.049* [0.025]	0.041** [0.005]
Costal				0.275** [0.025]	1.000** [0.242]	-1.150** [0.346]
Central				0.587* [0.231]	0.345 [0.262]	-0.443** [0.118]
Mountain				0.464* [0.278]	-0.741 [0.640]	-1.548** [0.177]
Constant	-1.063** [0.257]	-3.348** [0.469]	-6.658** [0.780]	-1.488** [0.226]	-5.317** [0.548]	-5.686** [0.704]

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

The base category is "no migration"

For regional controls, the excluded region is Tirana.

Table 20.1: First migration decision and media by destination country - altitude variables included

	Dependent variable = 0 no migration, 1 migration to Greece, 2 migration to Italy, 3 migration to other countries					
	Greece	Italy	Other	Greece	Italy	Other
Distance_90	-0.011** [0.003]	-0.003 [0.005]	0.015* [0.007]	-0.012** [0.003]	0.003 [0.005]	0.014** [0.005]
Distance_coast	0.016** [0.004]	-0.023** [0.007]	-0.013 [0.021]	0.019** [0.002]	-0.022 [0.021]	-0.021** [0.008]
Distance_border	-0.016* [0.006]	0.012 [0.012]	0.006 [0.016]	-0.001 [0.008]	0.037* [0.016]	-0.023* [0.014]
Distance_itagre	0.002 [0.004]	0.014 [0.009]	0.014 [0.017]	-0.005 [0.012]	0.024 [0.032]	0.039* [0.019]
Altitude_obstacle_90	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.005 [0.006]	-0.001 [0.006]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.007 [0.009]	-0.000 [0.005]
Difference_altitude_90	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.005 [0.006]	-0.001 [0.006]	-0.003 [0.002]	-0.007 [0.009]	-0.001 [0.005]
Altitude*distance_90	-0.000 [0.009]	0.015 [0.028]	-0.008 [0.027]	0.013 [0.013]	0.027 [0.041]	-0.006 [0.021]
Costal				0.438** [0.063]	1.429** [0.303]	-0.882* [0.469]
Central				0.698 [0.439]	0.546* [0.248]	-0.864* [0.347]
Mountain				0.794 [0.640]	-0.153 [0.628]	-2.186* [0.852]
Constant	-1.170** [0.329]	-3.395** [0.630]	-7.315** [1.119]	-1.577** [0.186]	-5.818** [0.621]	-6.577** [1.439]

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

The base category is "no migration"

For regional controls, the excluded region is Tirana.

Table 21: Migration decision in the last year and media by destination country

Dependent variable = 0 no migration, 1 migration to Greece, 2 migration to Italy, 3 migration to other countries						
	Greece	Italy	Other	Greece	Italy	Other
Distance_tv	-0.019*	-0.046**	-0.006	-0.024*	-0.066**	-0.006
	[0.010]	[0.004]	[0.008]	[0.011]	[0.008]	[0.006]
Distance_coast	0.030**	0.043**	0.009	0.032**	0.075**	0.019
	[0.006]	[0.009]	[0.026]	[0.011]	[0.015]	[0.065]
Distance_border	0.018**	-0.009**	-0.009	0.010	-0.034**	-0.017
	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.033]	[0.007]	[0.002]	[0.096]
Sex				2.251**	1.975*	0.138
				[0.601]	[0.778]	[0.632]
Age				-0.064**	0.001	-0.010
				[0.018]	[0.010]	[0.026]
Years of school				-0.122**	-0.087	-0.077
				[0.038]	[0.102]	[0.096]
No family				-0.592	0.493	0.203
				[0.454]	[0.509]	[0.599]
% child <13				1.034**	-1.844**	0.316
				[0.234]	[0.302]	[0.957]
% HH membs > 64				0.081	-1.848	2.568*
				[0.752]	[2.049]	[1.416]
HH size				0.056	-0.133	-0.120
				[0.117]	[0.140]	[0.173]
Migration network				-0.532**	-34.311**	-0.421
				[0.176]	[0.840]	[0.368]
HH income				0.219	0.707*	1.738**
				[0.159]	[0.275]	[0.629]
Employed before migration				-0.871**	0.269*	-1.288*
				[0.237]	[0.115]	[0.522]
Urban area				-1.148**	-0.396	-0.609
				[0.080]	[0.599]	[0.923]
Other international migration				2.765**	1.733**	3.258**
				[0.475]	[0.219]	[0.862]
Television				-0.740	16.048**	-2.096**
				[0.565]	[3.695]	[0.609]
Constant	-3.553*	0.500	-4.548*	-2.331	-19.480	-19.760**
	[1.497]	[0.509]	[1.895]	[4.303]	[0.000]	[4.199]
District Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

The base category is "no migration"

Table 21.1 : Migration decision in the last year and media by destination country - altitude variables included

Dependent variable = 0 no migration, 1 migration to Greece, 2 migration to Italy, 3 migration to other countries						
	Greece	Italy	Other	Greece	Italy	Other
Distance_tv	-0.024*	-0.040**	-0.003	-0.029**	-0.055**	-0.008
	[0.010]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.010]	[0.014]	[0.007]
Distance_coast	0.020*	0.075**	0.005	0.026	0.108**	0.028
	[0.009]	[0.016]	[0.020]	[0.018]	[0.028]	[0.030]
Distance_border	0.027**	-0.031*	0.021	0.015	-0.061*	-0.015
	[0.005]	[0.014]	[0.032]	[0.011]	[0.025]	[0.065]
Altitude_obstacle	-0.002	0.005*	-0.009**	-0.003	0.006*	-0.004
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.005]
Difference_altitude	-0.002	0.005*	-0.011**	-0.003	0.006*	-0.004
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.006]
Altitude*distance	0.018*	-0.042*	0.034**	0.018	-0.054	-0.000
	[0.009]	[0.020]	[0.009]	[0.011]	[0.034]	[0.021]
Sex				2.246**	1.887*	0.174
				[0.591]	[0.748]	[0.689]
Age				-0.065**	-0.001	-0.011
				[0.017]	[0.010]	[0.030]
Years of school				-0.123**	-0.084	-0.066
				[0.034]	[0.099]	[0.096]
No family				-0.604	0.390	0.096
				[0.448]	[0.551]	[0.601]
% child <13				1.033**	-2.025**	0.107
				[0.242]	[0.635]	[1.144]
% HH membrs > 64				0.093	-1.662	2.622
				[0.730]	[2.039]	[1.616]
HH size				0.054	-0.132	-0.150
				[0.101]	[0.143]	[0.191]
Migration network				-0.546**	-37.300**	-0.547*
				[0.171]	[0.833]	[0.329]
HH income				0.210	0.707**	1.891*
				[0.128]	[0.260]	[0.751]
Employed before migration				-0.884**	0.250*	-1.401**
				[0.249]	[0.126]	[0.477]
Urban area				-1.101**	-0.470	-0.761
				[0.115]	[0.703]	[1.021]
Other international migration				2.771**	1.736**	3.366**
				[0.443]	[0.227]	[0.892]
Television				-0.762	16.019**	-3.050**
				[0.488]	[4.516]	[0.878]
Constant	-2.833*	-0.368	-5.389**	-1.400	-20.819	-19.827**
	[1.621]	[1.151]	[1.116]	[3.831]	[0.000]	[5.486]
District Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

The base category is "no migration"