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Remittance inflow and smallholder farming practices. The case of Moldova

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# 1                    **Remittance inflow and smallholder farming practices.** 2                    **The case of Moldova**

3  
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## 10 11                    **Abstract**

12                    In the Republic of Moldova, a large number of households that received land shares after the break-down  
13                    of the collective farm structure currently focus on semi-subsistence agriculture. Often, one or more mem-  
14                    bers of these households have migrated abroad. This paper aims at assessing the impact of remittances on  
15                    their agricultural production practices and investments. The authors rely on the rotating panel dataset of the  
16                    Household Budget Survey for the period 2007–2013, and on an original survey carried out on a sample of  
17                    126 households in 2015. To test if remittance recipients replace family labour and self-produced inputs with  
18                    mechanisation services and purchased inputs, a shadow agricultural wage is estimated. Logistic regressions  
19                    are used to assess whether the occurrence of investments (land, machinery, or dairy cattle) is more probable  
20                    in the case of remittance inflow. The results show that recipient households reduce their drudgery by sub-  
21                    stituting family labour and self-produced seeds and feed with mechanisation services and purchased inputs,  
22                    without necessarily increasing production efficiency. The relationship between remittances and agricultural  
23                    investments is very weak or negative. However, qualitative insights demonstrate that many investments  
24                    (greenhouses, rototillers, walnut orchards, etc.) were possible thanks to remittances. Although most recip-  
25                    ients do not invest in agriculture, the minority that does invest has access to remittances.

26  
27                    **Keywords:** smallholders; remittances; investment decisions; farming practices; Republic of Moldova.

## 28 29                    **1. Introduction**

30                    In a number of formerly centrally-planned economies, the decollectivisation of agriculture and  
31                    privatisation of land resulted in agricultural structures dominated by small farms. Romania, Lat-  
32                    via, Lithuania and Moldova, in particular, experienced an increase in the share of agriculture in  
33                    employment, combined with a growing number of individual farms (Macours and Swinnen, 2005;  
34                    Swinnen et al., 2005). Many of these smallholders focus on semi-subsistence farming. Indeed,  
35                    apart from the small size of their plots, which is not enough to provide decent revenue, the short-  
36                    age of agricultural credit and the unreliability of output markets obstruct the development of via-  
37                    ble commercial farms. Furthermore, the lack of non-farm jobs on the rural labour market repre-  
38                    sents a constraint in pursuing alternative livelihood choices locally. International migration has  
39                    thus become a widespread strategy, illustrated by the high inflow of remittances. The Republic of  
40                    Moldova is a prime example of this development pattern. Here, the break-down of collective ag-  
41                    riculture generated around 900,000 small family farms within a population of 3.55 million inhab-  
42                    itants (NBS, 2011), while, due to high rates of emigration, in the last decade remittances have  
43                    accounted for 20–30% of the GDP (World Bank, 2017). But whether households use this income  
44                    for consumptive purposes or to invest in and develop their farming businesses remains an open  
45                    question.

46 The literature on migration and agricultural change focuses either on developing countries  
47 in Latin America (Aguilar-Støen et al., 2016; Davis and Lopez-Carr, 2014; Gray, 2009; Gray and  
48 Bilsborrow, 2014; Jacoby, 1993; Taylor et al., 2016), Asia (Adams Jr., 1998; Sunam and McCar-  
49 thy, 2016) and Africa (Adams Jr., 1991), or on emerging countries, primarily China (de Brauw  
50 and Rozelle, 2008; Liu et al., 2016; Qin and Liao, 2016; Rozelle et al., 1999). As for Eastern  
51 Europe, both the impact of remittances on the overall economy (León-Ledesma and Piracha,  
52 2004), and the relationship between migration and agricultural labour (Macours and Swinnen,  
53 2005), or land use (Baumann et al., 2011) have been investigated. Due to the huge proportions  
54 assumed by international migration in Moldova, the impact of remittances on its economy has  
55 been assessed in specific studies (Lücke et al., 2009; Pinger, 2010). The relationship between  
56 remittances and land use has been looked at by Bolganschi (2011). Based on the results of a  
57 qualitative survey and on secondary data, she argues that migration causes farming households to  
58 switch towards less labour-demanding production activities, and fosters farm exit, although most  
59 emigrants maintain the property of their land. She does not, however, provide an in-depth analysis  
60 at to whether remittance inflow generates any change in the agricultural practices of the house-  
61 holds who do not exit farming.

62 Economic theory offers several channels for explaining how migration could affect labour-  
63 sending rural households. First, abstracting from hidden unemployment, migration of labour force  
64 should lead to an increase in the opportunity cost of labour (Singh et al., 1986). Second, remit-  
65 tances can enable households to overcome credit constraints (Stark, 1991). Conditional upon the  
66 possibility to hire labour as a compensation for migrated household members, remittances will be  
67 invested in productive or non-productive durable assets. The empirical evidence from a range of  
68 developing and transition economies is rather mixed. On the one hand, Taylor and Lopez-Feld-  
69 man (2010) find for Mexicans migrating to the US that the incomes of sending households and  
70 their agricultural productivity increase due to remittances. Similarly, using Mexican data, Böhme  
71 (2015) finds that accumulated agricultural assets are greater in households receiving international  
72 remittances, but cannot find evidence of investment in riskier activities, like livestock husbandry.  
73 Furthermore, he shows that investments are subject to a life-cycle, that households with older  
74 heads invest less, and that migrant households even disinvest more at later stages of their life  
75 cycle than non-migrant households. Differentiating between productive and non-productive as-  
76 sets, and controlling for asset accumulation effect, Chiodi et al. (2012) find evidence that rural  
77 Mexican households tend to use remittances to invest in productive assets. On the other hand,  
78 using farm household data from Albania, Kilic et al. (2009) find that non-farm income is used to  
79 move out of crop production and, for commercial farms, to invest in livestock production. Also,  
80 the intensity of arable land use follows an inverted N-shaped curve as rural out-migration in-  
81 creases, due to the concurrent impact of labour shortage and intensified use of fertiliser and pes-  
82 ticide inputs (Liu et al., 2016). Qin and Liao (2016) analyse the relationship between migration,  
83 agricultural change and general regional development by qualitatively reviewing twenty case  
84 studies from rural China. They find that agricultural production declines in regions with high out-  
85 migration and general low economic development, while in more economically developed regions  
86 out-migration and agricultural production seem to be positively related. Thus, whether remit-  
87 tances are used for achieving agricultural modernisation depends on the context and, probably,  
88 on household-specific characteristics.

89 This paper aims at assessing the impact of remittances on the production practices of Mol-  
90 dovan smallholders. More specifically, it analyses whether households receiving remittances  
91 change their on-farm labour use, and whether they invest at least part of their remittances into  
92 agriculture. Differently from previous studies on this country, econometric analyses drawing from  
93 a rich database—the database of the Household Budget Survey (HBS) of the National Bureau of

94 Statistics of the Republic of Moldova (NBS) for the period 2007–2013—were carried out, apply-  
95 ing (and building on) the methodology developed by Skoufias (1994). A further contribution of  
96 this paper relates to the combination of quantitative analyses and qualitative insights from an  
97 original survey carried out by one of the authors in spring 2015 (hereafter, “2015-smallholder-  
98 survey”). To avoid endogeneity issues due to common characteristics driving households’ deci-  
99 sions related to migration, production, and consumption, here panel data allow for a more con-  
100 sistent modelling of the relationship between remittance inflow, and smallholders’ investment  
101 decisions. To our knowledge, this is the first study analysing the effect of remittances on agricul-  
102 tural investments in a transition country context. The case of Moldova is particularly relevant due  
103 to the paramount role played by family farming in the national economy and society, and to the  
104 signing of an Association Agreement between this country and the European Union (EU) in 2014,  
105 which is expected to generate interesting opportunities for commercial farmers.

106 The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides a short background on  
107 smallholder agriculture and international migration in Moldova. Section 3 introduces the data and  
108 the methodology. Section 4 presents and discusses the results of the econometric analysis, putting  
109 them in perspective using the insights from the 2015-smallholder-survey. Section 5 concludes and  
110 provides some policy implications.

111

## 112 **2. Smallholder agriculture and international migration in Moldova**

113 Moldova is a small landlocked country in which agriculture has long been an important economic  
114 activity<sup>1</sup>. While a member of the USSR, the country was a net exporter of agro-food products to  
115 the rest of the Union (primarily wine, spirits, and fresh products, like fruits and vegetables)<sup>2</sup> (Gor-  
116 ton and White, 2003). Its agro-industrial complex was dominated by huge collective and State  
117 farms: the only form of family agriculture was the small plots allocated to the members of rural  
118 households and to urban workers, which accounted for 7% of the agricultural land. Households  
119 were also engaged in animal breeding, producing a large share of the national output of meat,  
120 milk, eggs, and sheep wool. Smallholders emerged as a result of the insider privatisation of col-  
121 lective and State farms. Although foreseen in the Land code of 1991, the process of land distri-  
122 bution didn’t begin until 1998, when the Parliament passed the National Land Program, and was  
123 carried out in the form of “shares”<sup>3</sup>.

124 The portion of privately-owned land grew from around nil to 67% in 2003. In 2001, over  
125 500,000 individuals had received land shares, and over 200,000 had registered their household as  
126 a peasant farm, with an average size of 1.8 hectares. However, the reform overlooked the role of  
127 collective and State farms as providers of social services and managers of rural infrastructure  
128 (including irrigation systems), which fell into disrepair. Furthermore, in many cases the privati-  
129 sation process turned into a “grab what you can” at local level (Ibidem: 321). Reformers expected  
130 a structure of middle-sized commercial family farms to emerge gradually through market-based

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<sup>1</sup> All studies on the Republic of Moldova, including this one, focus on the western region of the country (Bessarabia), since eastern Moldova (Transnistria) is not controlled by the national government. The surface of Bessarabia is 30,355 square kilometres and, as of 2017, its population is 3.55 million inhabitants, of whom 57% live in rural areas (NBS, 2017c). The share of territory covered by arable land and permanent crops (64% in 2014) is one of the largest in the world (World Bank, 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Until 2005, agri-food products and drinks accounted for over 50% of Moldovan exports, and were still accounting for 33% in 2016 (NBS, 2017c).

<sup>3</sup> Home gardens and household plots were assigned to the households farming them as “small shares”. The land farmed collectively (arable land, orchards and vineyards) was divided into “big shares”, whose size and composition were set at the level of municipality based on the local land endowment. Furthermore, “shares of values” of the assets of collective and State farms were created. All workers of these State farms, including pensioners and former workers as of 1 January 1992, were entitled to a share. Furthermore, up to 50% of the local land was distributed to local residents belonging to certain categories, if none of their family members were eligible (Möllers et al., 2016).

131 land transactions and investments, thus triggering the economic development of rural areas. In-  
132 stead, the land market evolved slowly: in ten years, only 2% of the land changed ownership, the  
133 average transaction involving 0.1 hectares (Cimpoieş, 2010). As in other post-Soviet countries,  
134 commercial agriculture continues to be dominated by the large corporate farms that succeeded  
135 their socialist counterparts (Lerman and Sutton, 2008; Small, 2007).

136 In the same year that land began to be privatised (1998), Moldova was severely hit by the  
137 Russian financial crisis, which led to the beginning of mass migration. Estimates of the stock of  
138 international migrants vary: in 2014, Moldovan diplomatic missions gave a figure of 984,000, up  
139 from 505,000 in 2011, while State border authorities gave a figure of 762,000 (IOM, 2016). Since  
140 the country is located at the border between the Community of Independent States and the EU,  
141 Moldovans migrate in either direction. The common Soviet past reduces the transaction costs of  
142 moving to Russia, which has constantly attracted an absolute majority of migrants (550,000 in  
143 2014), followed by Italy (150,000) (Ibidem). Migration to Russia tends to be short-term, so that  
144 numbers fluctuate more (Lücke et al., 2009). In 2014, limited to temporary migrants (342,000),  
145 72% came from rural areas, 64% were male, and the largest age group (35%) was represented by  
146 25 to 34-year-olds (IOM, 2016). These figures, which had not changed significantly since 2009,  
147 give an idea of the impressive outflow of labour force, accounting for between 25 and 50% of the  
148 active population (Pinger, 2010: 145). Simultaneously, migration resulted in a sizeable inflow of  
149 remittances, which peaked at 35% of the GDP in 2006, and declined to 22% in 2016, when Mol-  
150 dova was ranked the seventh country in the world by remittances as a share of GDP (World Bank,  
151 2017). During the period studied here, this figure ranged from 34% in 2007, to 27% in 2013  
152 (Ibidem). Of special relevance for the analysis at hand is that remittances have always accounted  
153 for around twice the share of family income in rural areas than in cities (23% vs. 12% in 2016)  
154 (NBS, 2017c).

155 Despite migration, 94% of the almost 900,000 family farms (not necessarily registered)  
156 detected by the most recent Agricultural Census in 2011 were active (NBS, 2011). This corre-  
157 sponds to one active family farm for every 4.2 inhabitants: the highest incidence among European  
158 and Central Asian countries<sup>4</sup>. These family farms were found to have an average size of 1.1 hec-  
159 tares, and make up 43% of the total agricultural land (NBS, 2011): a much larger share than in  
160 Russia or Ukraine, where, in 2008, corporate farms accounted for around 80% of the total land  
161 (Lerman and Sutton, 2008). In 2016, agriculture and related activities produced 12% of the GDP,  
162 while agricultural employment stood at 34% (NBS, 2017c). Considering that most land recipients  
163 did not register their households as farms, and many pensioners cultivate their land, the real num-  
164 bers are probably much higher. The prevalence of informal agricultural labour can also explain  
165 why the share of active population in rural areas was as low as 41% in 2016 (Ibidem).

166 Based on the Agricultural Census of 2011, a large majority of Moldovan family farms  
167 (86%) focus on subsistence production. Less than 9% sell over half of their output. Farms are  
168 small (71% have a surface area below one hectare, and 99.7% below ten hectares) and operate  
169 with rather old machinery, if at all (e.g., one tractor for every 54 farms, of which 83% are older  
170 than 10 years). Only 0.7% of the land farmed by family farms is irrigated. Furthermore, family  
171 farms rely almost exclusively on family labour (81% of 1.6 million working persons), or on rela-  
172 tives (17%). Finally, only 0.1% of them keep books<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, they are more efficient and  
173 productive than corporate farms (Lerman and Sutton, 2008: 100): since 1999, their total yearly  
174 production at national level has continued to surpass that of the latter (which farm more land) by  
175 1.5 to 2.3 times (NBS, 2017c). Despite this efficiency, family farms face tight credit constraints,

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<sup>4</sup> Authors' elaboration on data from FAO (2014), and the Moldovan Agricultural Census (NBS, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Authors' elaboration on data from the Moldovan Agricultural Census (NBS, 2011).

176 which prevent them from modernising and turning into viable businesses to support future gener-  
177 ations. This situation is due to three main reasons: they lack collateral apart from their land, as  
178 banks tend to formulate excessive requests (or undervalue their assets); the supply is limited al-  
179 most exclusively to short-term loans; and there is a lack of instruments facilitating access to credit,  
180 such as guarantee funds (Moroz et al., 2015). In 2011, only 0.1% of these farms received a bank  
181 loan, 7% obtained State subsidies, and less than 1% had access to other types of financing<sup>6</sup>.

182 The agricultural sector is a cornerstone of the government’s *National Development Strategy*  
183 *Moldova 2020*, approved in 2012. The general goal of the strategy is to ensure sustainable growth,  
184 and improve living conditions in rural areas by increasing “competitiveness and productivity”  
185 (FAO, 2012: 22). In the meanwhile, in 2014, the international framework within which Moldova  
186 elaborates its rural development policy underwent relevant changes, as its government and the  
187 EU signed an Association Agreement (which also includes a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade  
188 Agreement). Much like in other sectors, agricultural policies were also linked to the general goal  
189 of EU integration. This is expected to translate into new opportunities and constraints for small-  
190 holders, as the EU—like many other international and State-based development agencies active  
191 in the country—foresees financial assistance for the producers interested in farm modernisation  
192 (e.g., for conforming to food quality and safety standards) (EU, 2014). Understanding the rela-  
193 tionship between remittances and agriculture among smallholders can thus contribute to the suc-  
194 cess of the ongoing rural development measures.

195

### 196 **3. Data and methods**

#### 197 **3.1. Data**

198 Two types of data were used: the results of the 2015-smallholder-survey and the database of the  
199 Moldovan HBS for the period 2007–2013.

200 The database of the 2015-smallholder-survey provides an explanatory framework, and  
201 makes it possible to identify smallholders’ motivations, as well as relationships that are not de-  
202 tectable by means of purely quantitative data. This survey was implemented by a two-person team  
203 (a man and a woman) using a structured questionnaire, which was read to an adult member of the  
204 households (or to a married couple) in face-to-face interviews. The population of reference con-  
205 sisted of farming households, defined as households cultivating some land and obtaining a non-  
206 zero farm income. Participation was voluntary: respondents were identified using snowball sam-  
207 pling, while interviewers controlled for the distribution of two stratifying variables (farm size and  
208 age of the household head), which were kept in line with the Agricultural Census (NBS, 2011).  
209 The final sample size was 126<sup>7</sup>. The period of reference for the answers was either the 12 months  
210 before the interview, or the previous agricultural year (November 2013 to October 2014). All  
211 monetary values were registered in current (2015) Moldovan *Lei* (singular: *Leu*, MDL), and were  
212 then converted to EUR, using the 2015 exchange rate, for the purpose of presenting them in this  
213 paper<sup>8</sup>.

214 Within the sample, farm sizes range from 0.04 to 38.50 hectares. Excluding three farms of  
215 more than ten hectares, which would not be classified as “small” by the NBS (2017a) and repre-  
216 sent clear outliers, the average size is 1.60 hectares, compared to 1.07 in the Agricultural Census.  
217 The average age of the household head is 56.5 years, compared to 53.1 in the Agricultural Census.

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<sup>6</sup> See previous footnote.

<sup>7</sup> A simple random sample of 126 households from a population of 898,768 returns a confidence interval of  $\pm 8.7\%$  at a confidence level of 95%, or of  $\pm 11.5\%$  at a confidence level of 99%. Due to stratification, the actual error margin is likely to be narrower.

<sup>8</sup> In 2015, the average official exchange rate was 20.8980 MDL/EUR (0.0479 EUR/MDL).

218 An absolute majority of interviews was conducted in the districts of Orhei and Telenești, along  
219 the Răut River Valley or in the surrounding hills. These districts occupy a midway position be-  
220 tween the capital and the periphery of the country; therefore, their agricultural sector is affected  
221 neither by excessive closeness to the former, nor by extreme isolation. To improve sample repre-  
222 sentativeness, 20 interviews were taken in three districts which present specific conditions:  
223 Briceni, the northernmost of the country; Găgăuzia, a remote southern region inhabited by a Turk-  
224 ish-speaking minority; and Chișinău city-district, affected by the spill-overs of the large market  
225 of the capital.

226 Furthermore, semi-structured qualitative interviews were carried out with a rural develop-  
227 ment manager of the EU Delegation in Chișinău, with the accountant of a village-based associa-  
228 tion granting short-term loans to smallholders, and with two village-based land registry officers.

229 The second database is the rotating panel database of the HBS. The HBS aims at determin-  
230 ing people's life levels by registering household incomes, expenditures, consumption, living con-  
231 ditions, and related variables (NBS, 2017b). The sampling unit is the household, and the popula-  
232 tion of reference is all people residing in Moldova outside Transnistria. Sampling follows a two-  
233 stage procedure: after dividing the country into primary sampling units representing big cities,  
234 small towns, or villages, a group of households from each unit is selected. Weights are included  
235 to weigh every household according to the size of its unit. Every month, the NBS selects 814  
236 households which must register their incomes and expenditures along a given period (the month  
237 of the interview and the last 12 months for remittances and farm income, the last two weeks for  
238 expenditures and self-consumed farm products). Monthly data aim at obtaining representative  
239 samples on a quarterly or yearly basis. In 2007–2013, yearly sample sizes ranged from a maxi-  
240 mum of 6,133 units in 2008 to a minimum of 5,082 in 2013, for a total of 39,414 over the entire  
241 period.

242 Around half of the households taking part in the HBS (from 3,012 in 2007, to 2,437 in  
243 2013, for a total of 18,804 single observations) are included in a panel study based on a rotation  
244 scheme. They are interviewed up to four times, once every 12 months. For most panel households,  
245 less than four observations are available in the period 2007–2013, since they entered the study  
246 either before 2007, or after 2010. This time span is not long enough to model phenomena like  
247 farm exit, but allows for changes in other key variables to be observed.

248 The HBS does not focus exclusively on farming households. Therefore, only households  
249 earning farm income (either in kind or in money) were selected. Choosing an appropriate defini-  
250 tion of “farming household” was not trivial and this one was selected for its inclusiveness, allow-  
251 ing for the detection of a larger spectrum of situations and diverse dynamics. Indeed, while the  
252 households obtaining over half of their income from farming are few, agriculture represents an  
253 important income source and life activity for many more. The sample size resulting from this  
254 definition is 30,119. The number of households decreases gradually, from 4,627 in 2007, to 3,995  
255 in 2013. Of these, 14,503 are panel observations but, for 2,158 households, only one observation  
256 is available.

257 Remittance-recipient households were defined as households receiving money from  
258 abroad, regardless of the amount or the sending person (a member of the family, a relative, or a  
259 friend). Indeed, the latter information is not available in the database, and the variable indicating  
260 whether a specific household member was missing is almost empty. No household in any year  
261 reported receiving in-kind remittances, so the sum is made up of monetary transfers only. Internal  
262 remittances from non-household members are included within a residual income aggregate, and  
263 could not be extracted; furthermore, this aggregate is much smaller than international remittances

264 (88 EUR vs. 364 EUR on average for the entire population), and is rarely worth over 600 EUR  
265 (10,000 MDL). Hence, it can barely have a relevant impact on agricultural practices and invest-  
266 ments. Based on this definition, 7,871 farming households (26%) are recipients, while 22,248  
267 (74%) are not. Among panel households for whom more than one observation is available, 3,251  
268 are recipients, while 9,094 are not.

269 Within the HBS database, monetary values are expressed in current MDL. Before carrying  
270 out the econometric analysis, they were deflated to obtain constant 2007 prices. For the purpose  
271 of presenting them in this paper, they were converted into EUR using the 2007 exchange rate<sup>9</sup>. The  
272 2015-smallholder-survey and the HBS will be analysed in parallel. Indeed, the two samples are  
273 easily comparable: first, the definition of the farming household is the same; second, as already  
274 mentioned, the districts covered by the 2015-smallholder-survey represent the country well.

275

### 276 **3.2. Methodology**

277 The econometric analysis presented here relies on HBS data for the years 2007 to 2013. All equa-  
278 tions were estimated using pooled time-series and cross-section data (like in Skoufias, 1994),  
279 ignoring sample weights to avoid mixing them (as suggested by Signoret, 2003).

280 Before assessing if remittances have an impact on production and investment behaviours,  
281 the differences between recipient and non-recipient farming households in terms of demographics  
282 and other variables were tested by means of a logit regression (where the dependent variable was  
283 a dummy turning one if the family received remittances, zero otherwise), and through quantile  
284 regressions estimated among recipients only (using the median, the third quartile, and the 90<sup>th</sup>  
285 percentile, respectively). Based on these estimates, variables for matching recipient and non-re-  
286 cipient households were identified.

287 To assess whether recipient households tend to replace family labour and self-produced  
288 inputs with services and purchased inputs, the shadow value of family labour was calculated. The  
289 first step consisted in estimating agricultural production functions.

290 Four Cobb-Douglas-shaped production functions were estimated: two with male, female  
291 and child labour separately (like in Skoufias, 1994; Le, 2009), and two with total family labour.  
292 For each setup, an equation was estimated using generalised two-stage least square random-ef-  
293 fects<sup>10</sup>, and another using the single-equation generalised method of moments (Jacoby, 1993; Le,  
294 2009), both with instrumental variables (IV). All variables referring to agricultural family labour  
295 and variable farm inputs were instrumented. Due to the difficulty in finding appropriate instru-  
296 ments (the HBS database reports only the expenditure for inputs, without prices), dummy varia-  
297 bles for macro-regions were included to account for price variations<sup>11</sup>. In contrast to developing

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<sup>9</sup> In 2007, the average official exchange rate was 16.5986 MDL/EUR (0.0602 EUR/MDL). In 2013, the two-stage sampling adopted in the HBS resulted in a standard error of  $\pm 1.35$  EUR for individual income estimates, and  $\pm 1.28$  EUR for consumption estimates, at a confidence level of 95% (NBS, 2017b).

<sup>10</sup> In line with Skoufias (1994), a fixed-effect model was also estimated, and the Hausman test of the random-effects versus fixed-effects specification calculated. The test favoured the latter if both covariance matrices were based on disturbance variance estimates from the efficient estimator, but the difference matrix was not positive definite, putting this result in doubt. The random-effect model was finally retained for several reasons. First, the average number of observations per household is limited (1.3), so that fixed-effects could barely be calculated; second, the R-squared index is significantly higher for the random-effects estimate (0.3899 vs. 0.0758); third, the results of the random-effects estimate were in line with those obtained with the generalised method of moments. The follow-up of the analysis was also performed with the shadow wage and incomes calculated from the fixed-effect model, and the results in terms of labour use did not change.

<sup>11</sup> The lists of the variables instrumented and of the instruments are provided in the Tables.



298 countries in Latin America or Southeast Asia, male and female labour is almost perfectly substi-  
 299 tutable in Moldova, while child labour is secondary. Therefore, only the production functions  
 300 with total family labour are retained in the Results Section. Production functions take the form:

$$\ln(Y_{h,t}) = \beta_0 + \sum_i \beta_i \ln(L_i)_{h,t} + \sum_j \gamma_j \ln(C_j)_{h,t} + \sum_k \alpha_k N_{k,h,t} + \sum_l \delta_l \ln(G_l)_{h,t} + \sum_m \theta_m A_{m,h,t} + \sum_n \varepsilon_n D_{n,h,t} + v_{h,t} \quad (1)$$

301 where  $Y_{h,t}$  is the value of the total agricultural production of farming household  $h$  in year  $t$ ,  $\beta_0$  is a  
 302 constant term,  $\beta_i$ 's,  $\gamma_j$ 's,  $\alpha_k$ 's,  $\delta_l$ 's,  $\theta_m$ 's and  $\varepsilon_n$ 's are parameters,  $L_i$  are the hours of  $i$  types of labour  
 303 (either female, male and child separately, or total family labour),  $C_j$  are the cost of  $j$  inputs (includ-  
 304 ing mechanisation services and hired labour),  $N_k$  are the number of  $k$  types of animals,  $G_l$  are the  
 305 surfaces (in ares<sup>12</sup>) of  $l$  types of land<sup>13</sup>,  $A_m$  are  $m$  household characteristics,  $D_n$  are location and  
 306 other variables, and  $v$  is an error term for the effect of omitted variables.

307 Using the coefficients from the production functions, agricultural shadow wages and  
 308 shadow incomes were calculated. Unlike in previous analyses (Skoufias, 1994; Le, 2009), home  
 309 labour and self-produced goods were not included in income due to the lack of data. The shadow  
 310 cost of family labour was obtained by multiplying the shadow wages by the number of hours spent  
 311 working on the family farm; then, its incidence on total farm costs (including shadow costs) was  
 312 calculated. The share of internalised inputs was obtained by summing up the costs of self-produced  
 313 feed and seeds (available in the database) with the shadow cost of family labour<sup>14</sup>. The formulas  
 314 to calculate shadow wages  $\hat{w}_{i,h,t}^*$  (2), shadow incomes  $\hat{V}_{h,t}^*$  (3), and labour costs  $C_l$  (4) are, respec-  
 315 tively:

$$\hat{w}_{i,h,t}^* = \beta_i * (\hat{Y}_{h,t} / L_{i,h,t}) \quad (2)$$

$$\hat{V}_{h,t}^* = \hat{Y}_{h,t} - \sum_i \hat{w}_{i,h,t}^* W_{i,h,t} - \sum_j C_{j,h,t} + \sum_p I_{p,h,t} \quad (3)$$

$$C_l = \sum_i \hat{w}_{i,h,t}^* L_{i,h,t} \quad (4)$$

316 where, for each household  $h$  in year  $t$ ,  $\hat{Y}$  is the fitted value of farm output,  $W_i$  is the labour supplied  
 317 (both on-farm and off-farm) by each type  $i$  of family members (males, females and children), and  
 318  $I_p$  are off-farm incomes, including eventual incomes from renting land, and from providing mech-  
 319 anisation services. The incidence of labour (5), and of internalised inputs (6) are, respectively:

$$\pi_{l,h,t} = C_{l,h,t} / \left( C_{l,h,t} + \sum_j C_{j,h,t} \right) \quad (5)$$

$$\pi_{i,h,t} = (C_{l,h,t} + C_{f,h,t} + C_{s,h,t}) / \left( C_{l,h,t} + \sum_{j \neq f,s} C_{j,h,t} \right) \quad (6)$$

320 where  $C$  indicates a cost, and  $s$  and  $f$  (here, as well as in the formulas below) refer to self-produced  
 321 seeds (and seedlings) and feed, respectively.

322 Labour supply functions were estimated using two-stage least squares regressions with IV,  
 323 considering all households with non-zero farm labour (as in Skoufias, 1994)<sup>15</sup>. Then, they were  
 324 estimated for remittance-recipients and for non-recipient households separately, thus obtaining  
 325 the elasticity of the labour supply with respect to shadow wages and incomes for both household

<sup>12</sup> Due to the small farm sizes, hectares were converted into ares (1 are = 0.01 hectares) to avoid too small coefficients.

<sup>13</sup> Either "small shares", generally used for self-consumption crops, and "big shares", used for orchards or for the extensive cultivation of cereals.

<sup>14</sup> The shadow agricultural wage, the shadow income, and the shares of family labour and internalized inputs were calculated from each of the four production functions. The results with total family labour are retained in the Results Section, while those with male, female and child labour separately are presented within the Supplementary material.

<sup>15</sup> Labour supply functions were estimated also for males and females separately (as in Le, 2009); estimates are presented within the Supplementary material.

326 types. The labour supply functions for total family labour (7), male labour (8), and female labour  
 327 (9) take the following forms, respectively:

$$\ln(W_{tot_{h,t}}) = \rho_0 + \rho_1 \ln(\widehat{w}_{tot_{h,t}}^*) + \rho_3 \ln(\widehat{V}_{h,t}^*) + \sum_m \theta_m B_{m,h,t} + \sum_n \varepsilon_n H_{n,h,t} + \eta_{h,t} \quad (7)$$

$$\ln(W_{M_{h,t}}) = \rho_0^M + \rho_1^M \ln(\widehat{w}_{M_{h,t}}^*) + \rho_2^M \ln(\widehat{w}_{F_{h,t}}^*) + \rho_3^M \ln(\widehat{V}_{h,t}^*) + \sum_m \theta_m^M B_{m,h,t} + \sum_n \varepsilon_n^M H_{n,h,t} + \eta_{h,t} \quad (8)$$

$$\ln(W_{F_{h,t}}) = \rho_0^F + \rho_1^F \ln(\widehat{w}_{F_{h,t}}^*) + \rho_2^F \ln(\widehat{w}_{M_{h,t}}^*) + \rho_3^F \ln(\widehat{V}_{h,t}^*) + \sum_m \theta_m^F B_{m,h,t} + \sum_n \varepsilon_n^F H_{n,h,t} + \eta_{h,t} \quad (9)$$

328 where, for each household  $h$  in year  $t$ ,  $W_{tot}$  and  $\widehat{w}_{tot}^*$  indicate, respectively, the labour supply and  
 329 the shadow wage calculated for all family members,  $W_M$  and  $\widehat{w}_M^*$  indicate those for male members,  
 330 and  $W_F$  and  $\widehat{w}_F^*$  those for female members.  $B$  is a vector of household characteristics (different in  
 331 every equation),  $D$  is a vector of location and other variables,  $\eta$  is an error term for the effect of  
 332 omitted variables, and  $\rho_s$ 's are the parameters to be estimated.

333 Before testing whether recipient and non-recipient households adopt significantly different  
 334 production strategies, the two groups were matched using propensity score matching. The pro-  
 335 pensity score was calculated with a logit regression where the dependent variable was a dummy  
 336 turning one for remittance recipients, zero otherwise. T-tests of difference of means between re-  
 337 mittance recipients and their matched non-recipient peers were implemented for the shares of  
 338 labour costs and of internalised inputs. A bootstrapped value of the differences was also calculated  
 339 to test whether it was significantly different from zero.

340 Nine more production indicators were calculated, and the difference between recipient and  
 341 non-recipient household tested after propensity score matching; for this analysis, input and output  
 342 variables were expressed in thousand MDL, family labour in hours, and land in ares:

- 343 1. the intensity of purchased inputs on farmed land:  $(\sum_{j \neq \{f,s\}} C_{j_{h,t}}) / (\sum_l G_{l_{h,t}})$ ;
- 344 2. the intensity of family labour on farmed land:  $(\sum_i L_{i_{h,t}}) / (\sum_l G_{l_{h,t}})$ ;
- 345 3. the ratio of family labour to purchased inputs:  $(\sum_i L_{i_{h,t}}) / (\sum_{j \neq \{f,s\}} C_{j_{h,t}})$ ;
- 346 4. the ratio of purchased inputs to farm output:  $(\sum_{j \neq \{f,s\}} C_{j_{h,t}}) / Y_{h,t}$ ;
- 347 5. the productivity of family labour (farm output unit per unit of family labour):  $Y_{h,t} / (\sum_i L_{i_{h,t}})$ ;
- 348 6. the productivity of land (unit of farm output per unit of land farmed):  $Y_{h,t} / (\sum_l G_{l_{h,t}})$ ;
- 349 7. the productivity of purchased inputs (unit of farm output per input unit):  $Y_{h,t} / (\sum_{j \neq \{f,s\}} C_{j_{h,t}})$ ;
- 350 8. the share of animal production in total farm output:  $Y_{h,t}^A / Y_{h,t}$ ;
- 351 9. the incidence of farm sales (i.e., of monetary farm income) on total output (in kind and in  
 352 money):  $Y_{h,t}^M / Y_{h,t}$ .

353 To evaluate whether remittance recipients are more likely to invest in agriculture than non-  
 354 recipient households, both qualitative insights from the 2015-smallholder-survey, and economet-  
 355 ric analyses were used. First, examples of investments, not necessarily of remittances (e.g. roto-  
 356 tillers, greenhouses, walnut orchards, etc.), were identified through the 2015-smallholder-survey,  
 357 and are provided in the Results Section. In addition to providing information on actual invest-  
 358 ments, respondent households were asked how they would spend non-repayable sums of 50,000  
 359 EUR and 1,000 EUR, respectively. Three investment options that could be detected from the HBS  
 360 database were selected for further analysis: dairy cattle, agricultural machinery, and arable land  
 361 (either purchased or rented, since land rental represents a very common instrument for land con-  
 362 solidation, Möllers et al., 2016). Although the literature on remittance investment patterns reveals  
 363 that receiving households rarely opt for traditional agriculture as a livelihood strategy, these spe-  
 364 cific investments were chosen to test three findings of the 2015-smallholder-survey. First, small-

365 scale milk and cheese production emerged as a viable strategy for providing a constant side in-  
366 come to rural dwellers. Second, apart from traditional farming, agricultural machinery was used  
367 either to provide mechanisation services to other smallholders, thus ensuring a discreet income,  
368 or to reduce the drudgery of part-time farming (e.g., rototillers). Finally, respondents highlighted  
369 the importance of land ownership for achieving self-fulfilment, and some examples of land pur-  
370 chase for performing low-input agriculture were observed.

371 Only panel households were included in the study of farm investments. An investment  
372 (disinvestment) was registered if the variables indicating the asset showed a positive (negative)  
373 difference across years. For dairy cattle, the number of heads owned (2008–2013) was considered.  
374 For farm machinery, when one of the dummies indicating ownership of tractors, plugs, trailers,  
375 combines, or seeders turned from zero to one, an investment was registered, otherwise a disin-  
376 vestment. For land, if the surface available to a household grew, an investment was registered,  
377 otherwise a disinvestment. Categorical variables (investment, no change, and disinvestment)  
378 were, thus, created.

379 The relationship between remittances and farm investments was assessed by means of mul-  
380 tinomial logistic regressions of the abovementioned categorical variables on income variables,  
381 household characteristics (head age and sex, and family size), and location dummies (for urban  
382 areas, and regions). Three income typologies were considered: (1) remittances; (2) earned in-  
383 comes (salaries and self-employment income); and (3) non-earned incomes (pensions and other  
384 welfare payments). For each of the three investments, four models were estimated. In the first  
385 model, income variables corresponded to the amount (in thousand MDL) in the current year. In  
386 the second one, variables for the amount in the previous year were also included. In the third  
387 model, incomes were represented, instead, by dummies for the availability of each type of income  
388 in the current year. In the fourth one, dummies for their availability in the previous year were also  
389 included<sup>16</sup>. Only the results of the estimate of the second model (with the current and lagged  
390 amount of the three income typologies as independent variables) are displayed in the Results  
391 Section<sup>17</sup>.

392 Finally, t-tests were implemented to assess whether the shares of households making one  
393 of the three investments differed significantly between remittance recipients and non-recipients.  
394 First, the two groups were matched by means of propensity score matching. Bootstrapped values  
395 of the differences were also calculated to test whether they were significantly different from zero.

396

#### 397 **4. Results**

398 Throughout the entire period 2007–2013, 80% of the households included in the HBS database  
399 owned some land. The average property was 1.49 hectares but, due to leases (mostly to corporate  
400 farms, as reported by Möllers et al., 2016), only 0.74 hectares were available on average. The  
401 households farming some land were 78%, the average size being 0.30 hectares. Since rural house-  
402 holds are overrepresented in the database, more reliable estimates can be obtained for 2013 using  
403 sample weights: 72% of the households owned land (1.32 hectares on average), the same percent-  
404 age had access to some of it (although only to 0.64 hectares), and 69% were farming some (0.29

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<sup>16</sup> Since the HBS panel rotates, cumulated incomes along many years could not be calculated. The Variance Inflation Factor was used to check for multicollinearity between current and lagged values, but no multicollinearity was observed.

<sup>17</sup> The results of the estimates of the other models are provided within the Supplementary material.

405 hectares). Among farming households, the average yearly farm output (including in kind) at con-  
 406 stant 2007 prices was 416 EUR over the entire period, and 348 EUR in 2013 (using weights). By  
 407 comparison, family income accounted for 1,821 EUR and 1,862 EUR, respectively.

408 In 2013, farm income was the most widespread means of income (70% of the households),  
 409 followed by pensions and other welfare payments (60%), waged income (49%), remittances  
 410 (23%), and earnings from off-farm businesses (less than 1%). On average, remittances represented  
 411 the highest sum after waged incomes (460 EUR vs. 858 EUR), being slightly above welfare pay-  
 412 ments (409 EUR), more than twice farm revenues (187 EUR), and almost three times the earnings  
 413 from off-farm businesses (142 EUR). Property income was negligible (4 EUR). For most house-  
 414 holds, land ownership provided a simple supplement to wages or welfare: those earning over half  
 415 of their income from farming were only 6%; on average, farming accounted for 13% of the income  
 416 (18% among farming households).  
 417

418 Table 1. Differences between recipient and non-recipient households, and among recipients.

Explanatory variables	Logit for remittances (dummy)		Quantile regression (median)		Quantile regression (75 <sup>th</sup> )		Quantile regres- sion (90 <sup>th</sup> )	
	Odd ratios	Std. err.	Coeff.	Std. err.	Coeff.	Std. err.	Coeff.	Std. err.
Household size	1.253	0.016	2.684	0.167	5.005	0.326	7.185	0.682
Household head age	1.008	0.007	-0.430	0.091	-0.571	0.178	-1.100	0.372
Household head age (squared)	1.000	0.000	0.003	0.001	0.003	0.002	0.006	0.004
Male household head (dummy)	0.540	0.017	-1.349	0.441	-1.547	0.862	-0.571	1.806
Urban location (dummy)	1.279	0.059	0.729	0.672	-0.969	1.312	-5.249	2.749
North (dummy)	0.855	0.029	3.088	0.509	2.875	0.994	1.786	2.084
South (dummy)	1.448	0.053	-1.472	0.511	-3.846	0.998	-8.579	2.092
Chişinău (dummy)	0.938	0.095	0.295	1.577	-0.194	3.079	-2.897	6.451
Earned income (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> )	0.958	0.002	-0.084	0.016	-0.092	0.032	-0.140	0.067
Non-earned income (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> )	0.954	0.003	-0.214	0.037	-0.323	0.073	-0.505	0.153
Farm income (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> )	0.966	0.003	-0.010	0.036	-0.075	0.070	-0.361	0.146
Land farmed (ares)	1.008	0.001	0.003	0.011	-0.026	0.022	0.006	0.045
Low education (dummy)	0.636	0.022	-2.937	0.525	-4.855	1.025	-8.856	2.148
High education (dummy)	1.012	0.063	2.625	0.935	6.647	1.826	14.531	3.827
Constant term	1.191	0.202	25.469	2.256	41.444	4.405	79.830	9.230
Number of observations	30,119		7,871		7,871		7,871	

Notes: <sup>1</sup> 1,000 MDL correspond to 60 EUR.

Source: Authors' elaboration on data from the Moldovan HBS.

419 The 2015-smallholder-survey showed that, due to the important role of homemade food  
 420 and agricultural activities for self-reward and social appraisal, many smallholders choose to farm  
 421 even if it results in financial loss (Piras, 2016). Rather than selling their land, or leaving it fallow,  
 422 they use their waged income and remittances to cover farm costs. Thirty-five respondents (30%)  
 423 had received remittances in the last 12 months, although the frequency was not regular. Based on  
 424 HBS data for 2013, farming households receiving waged income or remittances were 41% and  
 425 25%, respectively. On average, these represented the largest types of earnings but, unlike for the  
 426 overall population, among farming households waged income was only slightly above remittances  
 427 (558 EUR vs. 449 EUR). Furthermore, due to a strongly right-skewed distribution, the average  
 428 amount of waged income for farming households with off-farm workers was lower than the av-  
 429 erage remittances for recipient farming households (1,358 EUR vs. 1,551 EUR).  
 430

431 Table 1 shows the results of the logit and quartile regressions identifying the differences  
 432 between remittance recipients (coded one) and other households (coded zero), and among the  
 433 former. Recipient households are larger, are more often female-led (probably due to the absence  
 434 of the husband), more often urban-based or from the south (more rarely from the north or from  
 435 Chişinău), earn lower "internal" incomes (including from farming, despite using a larger area of  
 436 land), and are less likely to be poorly educated. Furthermore, younger households, as well as those  
 437 from rural areas, from the north, and with a higher education tend to receive more remittances.  
 438 These findings suggest a need to implement propensity score matching.  
 439

440 **4.1. Remittances and production practices**

441 Table 2 presents two different estimates of the agricultural production functions for the house-  
 442 holds using non-zero family labour<sup>18</sup>. Regardless of the estimation method, the direction of the  
 443 coefficients does not change, meaning that the results are robust. Farm production is positively  
 444 correlated with family labour, expenditure on seeds, mechanisation services and other inputs, an-  
 445 imals (particularly cows) and male household heads. In contrast, hiring labour, larger land areas  
 446 (both “small shares” and “big shares”), and older ages of the family head have a negative impact.  
 447 Even the respondents to the 2015-smallholder-survey indicated the low productivity of hired ag-  
 448 ricultural workers (Piras, 2016).  
 449

450 Table 2. Estimates of the Cobb-Douglas production functions.

Farm output (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (log)	Random-effects IV regression (Model 1)		GMM IV regression (Model 2)	
	Coeff.	Std. err.	Coeff.	Std. err.
Household labour (hours) (log) <sup>1</sup>	0.2550	0.0195	0.2686	0.0264
Hired labour costs (1,000 MDL <sup>2</sup> ) (log) <sup>1</sup>	-2.4967	0.3800	-3.9053	0.6018
Seed costs (1,000 MDL <sup>2</sup> ) (log) <sup>1</sup>	1.2333	0.1182	1.2566	0.1455
Feed costs (1,000 MDL <sup>2</sup> ) (log) <sup>1</sup>	-0.1683	0.1602	-0.2165	0.1856
Other costs (1,000 MDL <sup>2</sup> ) (log) <sup>1</sup>	1.1224	0.1103	1.2104	0.1295
Mechanisation services costs (1,000 MDL <sup>2</sup> ) (log) <sup>1</sup>	0.7051	0.1851	0.5300	0.2129
Number of cows	0.1579	0.0226	0.1579	0.0275
Number of sheep	0.0118	0.0020	0.0107	0.0028
Number of goats	0.0130	0.0060	0.0227	0.0179
Number of pigs	0.0099	0.0108	0.0713	0.0227
Number of poultry	0.0003	0.0005	0.0004	0.0007
Number of other animals	0.0092	0.0013	0.0106	0.0025
Size of the “small share” (ares) (log)	-0.0371	0.0205	-0.0353	0.0249
Size of the “big share” (ares) (log)	-0.2874	0.0716	-0.1603	0.0879
Land quality (%)	-0.0031	0.0009	-0.0026	0.0011
Household head age	-0.0040	0.0026	-0.0054	0.0028
Household head age squared	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
Male household head (dummy)	0.0880	0.0129	0.0992	0.0143
Education low (dummy)	0.0166	0.0133	0.0097	0.0146
Education high (dummy)	0.0195	0.0274	0.0491	0.0402
R-squared	0.3899		0.2926	
Number of observations	16,426		16,426	

Notes: <sup>1</sup> Endogenous variables. <sup>2</sup> 1,000 MDL correspond to 60 EUR.

Instruments: number of family members working on the farm, number of adult family members (aged 18 to 64), number of children (aged 4 to 17), number of elderly people (aged over 64), dummy for ownership of a tractor, dummy for urban locations, and regional dummies to account for price variations. Dummies for the year and the month of the interview and for inputs with zero value, and intercepts included in the regressions but not shown in the table. Constant of one added to all inputs before taking the logarithm.

Source: Authors’ elaboration on data from the Moldovan HBS.

451  
 452 Table 3 gives the estimates of the labour supply functions. The elasticity of the labour sup-  
 453 ply with respect to the shadow agricultural wage is clearly positive<sup>19</sup>, while its elasticity with  
 454 respect to the shadow income is negative, as expected. The coefficients maintain the same signs  
 455 when the functions are estimated separately for remittance recipients and non-recipients. How-  
 456 ever, the elasticities with respect to the shadow wages (either negative or positive) and incomes  
 457 (negative) are higher among recipients, meaning that the latter are more reactive to changes in  
 458 these variables. Furthermore, the amount of labour supplied by Moldovan families is positively  
 459 associated with the number of adult members, being married—as also detected by Skoufias (1994)  
 460 using Indian data—and with higher ages of the family head (although it decreases for very old  
 461 ages). In comparison, it is negatively associated with high education levels, probably due to the  
 462 higher productivity of labour in this case.  
 463

<sup>18</sup> The test for endogeneity indicates that the variables instrumented are, indeed, endogenous.

<sup>19</sup> When the labour supply functions for male and female members are estimated separately, the elasticity with respect to their own shadow wage is negative, suggesting that the labour supply curve is S-shaped for wages close to the subsistence level (Dessing, 2002). Furthermore, the opposite signs of the coefficients associated with the wages of family members of different sex provides evidence of a substitution effect between male and female labour. Tables with the results of the estimates are provided in the Supplementary material.

464 Table 3. IV two-stage least squares estimates of the labour supply functions with shadow wages  
 465 and incomes calculated respectively from Model 1 and Model 2 of Table 2.

<b>Shadow wage and income from Model 1</b>		All households		Remittance recipients		Non-recipient families	
		Coeff.	Std. err.	Coeff.	Std. err.	Coeff.	Std. err.
Household labour supply (hours) (log)							
Household shadow wage (1,000 MDL <sup>2</sup> ) (log) <sup>1</sup>		189.5492	14.2934	188.0882	26.5480	166.8521	15.1744
Shadow income (1,000 MDL <sup>2</sup> ) (log) <sup>1</sup>		-0.2421	0.0260	-0.1579	0.0292	-0.1499	0.0485
Household head age		0.0126	0.0052	0.0110	0.0069	0.0121	0.0065
Household head age squared		-0.0001	0.0000	-0.0001	0.0001	-0.0001	0.0001
Married (dummy)		0.3199	0.0286	0.1164	0.0431	0.3666	0.0348
Education low (dummy)		0.0184	0.0250	0.0527	0.0364	0.0009	0.0285
Education high (dummy)		-0.1651	0.0542	-0.1561	0.0834	-0.1948	0.0614
Number of adults		0.3543	0.0127	0.3813	0.0169	0.3215	0.0162
Number of children		0.0750	0.0136	0.0575	0.0163	0.0771	0.0172
Number of infants		0.0319	0.0300	-0.0137	0.0370	0.0367	0.0379
Over-identification (p-value)		0.0294		0.0000		0.0000	
Number of observations		16,426		4,748		11,678	
<b>Shadow wage and income from Model 2</b>		All households		Remittance recipients		Non-recipient families	
		Coeff.	Std. err.	Coeff.	Std. err.	Coeff.	Std. err.
Household labour supply (hours) (log)							
Household shadow wage (1,000 MDL <sup>2</sup> ) (log) <sup>1</sup>		146.6000	11.8192	179.5616	25.5652	122.8072	11.8895
Shadow income (1,000 MDL <sup>2</sup> ) (log) <sup>1</sup>		-0.2292	0.0280	-0.1551	0.0318	-0.1396	0.0518
Household head age		0.0137	0.0055	0.0119	0.0075	0.0119	0.0068
Household head age squared		-0.0001	0.0001	-0.0001	0.0001	-0.0001	0.0001
Married (dummy)		0.3179	0.0306	0.1062	0.0474	0.3613	0.0366
Education low (dummy)		0.0225	0.0267	0.0667	0.0402	0.0041	0.0298
Education high (dummy)		-0.1738	0.0582	-0.1540	0.0911	-0.1983	0.0645
Number of adults		0.3442	0.0139	0.3726	0.0186	0.3153	0.0172
Number of children		0.0729	0.0146	0.0529	0.0180	0.0753	0.0181
Number of infants		0.0304	0.0321	-0.0121	0.0404	0.0277	0.0395
Over-identification (p-value)		0.0382		0.0000		0.0001	
Number of observations		16,426		4,748		11,678	

Notes: <sup>1</sup> Endogenous variables. <sup>2</sup> 1,000 MDL correspond to 60 EUR.  
 Instruments: exogenous income of the household (1,000 MDL – 60 EUR) (log), area of land farmed (ares) (log), number of family members working on the farm (aged 18 to 64), and dummy for urban locations. Dummies for the year and the month of the interview, for the region and for zero or negative shadow incomes, and intercepts included in the regressions but not shown in the table. Constant of one added to all inputs before taking the logarithms.  
 Source: Authors' elaboration on data from the Moldovan HBS.

466  
 467 The results of the tests of difference in the mean incidence of family labour and of inter-  
 468 nalised input costs between recipient and non-recipient households are shown in Table 4. The  
 469 difference in the shadow wages was also tested, but it was found to be non-significant. The inci-  
 470 dence of family labour and of internalised inputs on total farm costs differs significantly regard-  
 471 less of the estimation method. Family labour accounts for 50–52% of farm costs among recipients,  
 472 compared to 53–55% among non-recipients. Internalised inputs account for 58–59% and 62–63%,  
 473 respectively. These results suggest that recipients tend to substitute family labour and self-pro-  
 474 duced inputs with mechanisation services provided by contractors (as also observed during the  
 475 2015-smallholder-survey), and with purchased inputs.

477 Table 4. Incidence of family labour (calculated from Model 1 and Model 2 of Table 2) and of in-  
 478 ternalised inputs on total farm expenditures among recipient and non-recipient households.

Variable		Recipients	Others	Diff.	Std. err.	Bootstr. diff.	Std. err.
Share of labour costs (from Model 1)	Unmatched	0.5019	0.5272	-0.0253	0.0026		
	Matched	0.5011	0.5326	-0.0316	0.0044	-0.0409	0.0026
Share of internalised inputs (from Model 1)	Unmatched	0.5782	0.6188	-0.0406	0.0028		
	Matched	0.5779	0.6173	-0.0394	0.0047	-0.0494	0.0027
Share of labour costs (from Model 2)	Unmatched	0.5158	0.5435	-0.0277	0.0028		
	Matched	0.5151	0.5481	-0.0331	0.0046	-0.0429	0.0029
Share of internalised inputs (from Model 2)	Unmatched	0.5896	0.6317	-0.0421	0.0029		
	Matched	0.5893	0.6297	-0.0403	0.0049	-0.0509	0.0030

Notes: Households matched on the number of adult members, their average age (and its squared value), the gender of the household head, location dummies (urban settlement, north, centre and south; Chişinău omitted), earned income (1,000 MDL – 60 EUR), non-earned income (1,000 MDL – 60 EUR), farm income (1,000 MDL – 60 EUR), available land (ares), and year dummies. Values calculated on 16,324 households (2008–2013) producing a non-zero farm output and using a non-zero amount of family labour for which the propensity score could be estimated (11,677 untreated, 4,647 treated).  
 Source: Authors' elaboration on data from the Moldovan HBS.

479  
 480 All production indicators assume values that are significantly different between remittance  
 481 recipient and non-recipient households, as shown in Table 5. On average, recipient households

482 spend 523 EUR on purchased inputs, and employ 7,100 hours of family labour per hectare farmed,  
 483 compared to 489 EUR and 7,830 hours among non-recipients. Hence, remittance recipients show  
 484 higher labour productivity (0.36 vs. 0.33 EUR per hour), and lower land productivity (1,018 EUR  
 485 vs. 1,100 EUR per hectare). Due to the lower labour to inputs ratio (15.4 vs. 17.2 hours per EUR  
 486 spent), the incidence of monetary costs on farm production is higher among them (39% vs. 32%),  
 487 and the productivity of purchase input lower (4.12 vs. 4.36 units per unit spent). Finally, recipients  
 488 obtain a higher share of their farm output from animal breeding (39% vs. 37%), and sell a smaller  
 489 share of their production (11% vs. 15%)<sup>20</sup>. The latter figure seems to confirm the qualitative find-  
 490 ing of the 2015-smallholder-survey, reported by Piras (2016), that many smallholders who earn a  
 491 good income off-farm (including remittances from household members) continue to engage in  
 492 agriculture (eventually part-time) for non-financial reasons. Indeed, this survey showed that  
 493 working one's land and producing one's own food yields self-fulfilment and social appraisal,  
 494 especially in the villages. These smallholders are not interested in systematic commercialisation  
 495 of farm output.

497 Table 5. Difference in the values of production indexes among recipients and non-recipients.

Variable		Recipients	Others	Diff.	Std. err.	Bootstr. diff.	Std. err.
Intensity of purchased inputs on land (1,000 MDL/are <sup>1</sup> )	Unmatched	0.0877	0.0753	0.0124	0.0026		
	Matched	0.0868	0.0812	0.0056	0.0044	0.0101	0.0030
Intensity of labour on land (hours/are)	Unmatched	71.3463	76.3946	-5.0483	1.7752		
	Matched	71.0343	78.2994	-7.2651	3.0176	-5.1070	2.1189
Labour to input ratio (hours/1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> )	Unmatched	920.6582	1045.7013	-125.0432	14.7387		
	Matched	926.1547	1038.0795	-111.9248	23.9181	-134.9787	17.1630
Purchased input cost on farm output	Unmatched	0.3932	0.2983	0.0949	0.0110		
	Matched	0.3871	0.3187	0.0684	0.0148	0.0495	0.0086
Labour productivity (1,000 MDL/hour <sup>1</sup> )	Unmatched	0.0060	0.0059	0.0000	0.0001		
	Matched	0.0060	0.0055	0.0005	0.0002	0.0008	0.0001
Land productivity (1,000 MDL/are <sup>1</sup> )	Unmatched	0.1689	0.1924	-0.0234	0.0051		
	Matched	0.1689	0.1826	-0.0137	0.0082	-0.0124	0.0044
Productivity of purchased inputs	Unmatched	4.0950	4.6440	-0.5489	0.0614		
	Matched	4.1181	4.3632	-0.2452	0.0967	-0.1529	0.0778
Animal production on total farm production	Unmatched	0.3940	0.3761	0.0180	0.0038		
	Matched	0.3949	0.3722	0.0227	0.0063	0.0252	0.0043
Farm sale on total farm production	Unmatched	0.1123	0.1454	-0.0331	0.0033		
	Matched	0.1133	0.1518	-0.0385	0.0055	-0.0233	0.0045

Notes: <sup>1</sup> 1,000 MDL correspond to 60 EUR. Households matched on the same variables as in Table 4. Values calculated on 18,831 households (2007–2013) producing a non-zero farm output and using non-zero family labour for which the propensity score could be estimated, and the index calculated (18,682 for input intensity, labour intensity and land productivity; 15,257 for labour to inputs ratio and input productivity; 18,723 for farm sales, animal output, input costs on farm production, and labour productivity). Source: Authors' elaboration on data from the Moldovan HBS.

498

#### 499 4.2. Remittances and agricultural investments

500 The 2015-smallholder-survey confirmed smallholders' difficulties in obtaining a bank loan, and  
 501 highlighted that interest rates are high (over 20% in 2015). The only options for those lacking  
 502 collateral, or a means of transport to cities (where banks are located) are formal loans from village-  
 503 based credit agencies, or informal private loans. These are usually small, short-term loans, and  
 504 are thus used for current expenditures. For example, the credit agency whose accountant was  
 505 interviewed was supplying one- or two-year loans of 500 EUR (2015) on average, at an interest  
 506 rate of 31% (the crisis of the Russian rouble had caused interest rates to raise). Furthermore, the  
 507 smallholders whose loan requests were approved had to give their land as collateral. Private loans  
 508 imply no administrative burdens, and low or even no interest, but generate an uncomfortable  
 509 moral obligation to maintain good relationships with the moneylender. Indeed, the latter is often

<sup>20</sup> Any difference between the figures presented in the paragraph and those shown in Table 5 is due to the use of different units, and to the subsequent conversion of MDL into EUR. Indeed, to avoid obtaining too small coefficients, land variables in the database were converted into ares (1 are = 0.01 hectares), and monetary values into 1,000 MDL, which correspond to 60 EUR.

510 a large farmer renting the “big share” of the creditor. Smallholders usually ask for such loans at  
511 the beginning of the agricultural year, and pay them back after harvesting.

512 Only 14 respondents (12%), with farms generally larger than the average (ten of them were  
513 above two hectares, five above five hectares), had received a loan in the 12 months before the  
514 2015-smallholder-survey. Seven had received a formal loan averaging 3,364 EUR (2015) and  
515 seven an informal one averaging 507 EUR (2015). One respondent with a farm size of 7.2 hectares  
516 had obtained 6,460 EUR (2015) within the framework of a development project funded by the  
517 Japan International Cooperation Agency, but this was the only such case detected. Although in-  
518 ternational grants for farm modernisation are becoming increasingly available thanks to the As-  
519 sociation Agreement with the EU, no *ad hoc* program for assisting smallholders is currently in  
520 place as the government presumes that, as a first step, smallholders should gather in producers’  
521 groups in order to overcome the small size constraint and gain access to investment funds<sup>21</sup>. Un-  
522 like loans or grants, remittances are available to many smallholders, and pose a much lower ad-  
523 ministrative burden.

524 To assess the propensity of survey respondents to invest in agriculture, they were asked  
525 how they would spend a non-repayable sum of 50,000 EUR<sup>22</sup>. A relative majority (31%) stated  
526 that they would invest in housing, 27% in farming and related activities (including food pro-  
527 cessing), 12% would give this sum to a younger relative (a child or a grandchild), 11% would  
528 open a non-farm business, and 18% mentioned a different option. As for those interested in agri-  
529 culture, given the low levels of mechanisation, many would purchase farm machinery (tractors or  
530 combines); the second largest group would build storage facilities (including cold storage houses);  
531 and others would invest in permanent crops, mostly walnuts or vineyards. Some mentioned ani-  
532 mal farming (cattle, rabbits, beekeeping), or related activities (slaughterhouses). Only three would  
533 purchase more land, while two spoke about rural tourism.

534 Respondents were also asked how they would spend a non-repayable sum of 1,000 EUR  
535 usable only in agriculture, to see if they preferred to cover their current expenditures, or to make  
536 a small investment<sup>23</sup>. Thirty-six percent opted for the former option: most of them mentioned  
537 seeds, followed by mechanisation services; some named irrigation services, fertilisers, and young  
538 animals. Sixty-four percent opted, however, to invest: in seedlings, usually walnut trees (21%),  
539 small greenhouses (11%), farm equipment, large part rototillers (10%), arable land (9%), vine-  
540 yards (6%), dairy cattle (6%), and drop irrigation facilities (4%). Such answers point to a certain  
541 interest in the small-scale intensification of farm production.

542 Finally, respondents were asked whether they had used remittances to cover farm expend-  
543 itures: out of 35 recipient households, 22 answered positively. The sum received was often enough  
544 to make small investments. One respondent used remittances from Ireland to buy ten “big shares”  
545 for planting walnut trees: this operation required much time due to the difficulty in convincing  
546 other smallholders to sell their land, and in finding contiguous plots. Using money earned in Rus-  
547 sia, a young family started a small pig farm, and purchased a large tractor that they were using to  
548 provide mechanisation services to fellow farmers. After having received a rototiller from his child  
549 working in Italy, an old agronomist began growing strawberries and gooseberries in his large  
550 home garden, and was earning a decent income by selling them<sup>24</sup>. With remittances from Spain,

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<sup>21</sup> Partially based on the interview with the rural development officer of the EU Delegation.

<sup>22</sup> This was not a closed-ended question: respondents were allowed to express their ideas, and their answers were then classified according to pre-set categories. The total sums up to over 100% since respondents were allowed to mention more than one option.

<sup>23</sup> Also in this case, respondents were allowed to express their ideas, then their answers were assigned to a category.

<sup>24</sup> Berries emerged as a profitable production for smallholders, although the lack of irrigation represented a strong constraint.



551 a household renovated some greenhouses dating back to Soviet times to produce vegetables for  
 552 sale. After coming back from Russia, another dug a lake where people could fish for a fee, and  
 553 created a small ethnographic museum by gathering traditional objects. These remittances origi-  
 554 nated from many countries, primarily Russia and Italy. However, it is not always easy to detect  
 555 the impact of remittances, as they are often earned by a relative, and enter the budget of the fam-  
 556 ilies as donations, including in-kind.

557 Previous findings point to the relationship between migration and diversification, either on-  
 558 farm or off-farm. This issue has been extensively researched in the literature. Focusing on North-  
 559 ern China, Démurger et al. (2010) find that the decision to diversify on-farm is driven by the  
 560 availability of land, while the main determinants of off-farm diversification are a family's wealth  
 561 (especially for self-employment), higher levels of education, and access to social networks. The  
 562 answers from Moldovan smallholders confirm that to pursue non-farm self-employment, a sizea-  
 563 ble investment is required. Instead, diversification of farm activities could be achieved at a limited  
 564 cost and, unlike in Northern China, with limited land endowment. This is confirmed by what was  
 565 observed in Romania, a culturally-similar and geographically proximate country, where 37% of  
 566 the farming households (compared to 30% of corporate farms) engage in farm-related activities,  
 567 such as food processing (Albiou et al., 2011). Off-farm diversification in Romania consists mainly  
 568 in taking up waged jobs, to the extent that the largest share of family income is often earned off-  
 569 farm (Davidova and Thomson, 2013).  
 570

571 Table 6. Relationship between farm investments or disinvestments, and the values (current, and  
 572 first lag) of different types of income.

Out-put	Explanatory variables	Dairy cattle		Farm equipment		Farmland	
		R.R.R.	Std. err.	R.R.R.	Std. err.	R.R.R.	Std. err.
Disinvestment	Remittances (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (t)	1.002	0.004	0.995	0.005	0.996	0.003
	Non-earned income (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (t)	0.993	0.012	0.986	0.018	<b>0.979</b>	0.009
	Earned income (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (t)	0.991	0.006	0.983	0.011	<b>0.989</b>	0.005
	Remittances (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (t-1)	0.997	0.005	<b>1.006</b>	0.003	1.000	0.004
	Non-earned income (1,000 MDL) (t-1)	1.008	0.012	0.992	0.017	1.006	0.007
	Earned income (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (t-1)	1.001	0.005	0.994	0.010	0.999	0.005
	Mean adult age	<b>1.082</b>	0.030	<b>1.122</b>	0.050	0.998	0.017
	Mean adult age (squared)	<b>0.999</b>	0.000	<b>0.999</b>	0.000	1.000	0.000
	Male household head (dummy)	<b>1.389</b>	0.188	<b>1.720</b>	0.376	1.025	0.088
Household size	<b>1.368</b>	0.064	<b>1.243</b>	0.099	1.060	0.038	
<b>No variation (base outcome)</b>							
Investment	Remittances (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (t)	1.003	0.004	1.002	0.006	1.003	0.003
	Non-earned income (1,000 MDL) (t)	0.987	0.015	0.971	0.022	<b>1.025</b>	0.006
	Earned income (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (t)	<b>0.988</b>	0.006	1.002	0.007	<b>1.008</b>	0.003
	Remittances (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (t-1)	<b>0.981</b>	0.006	0.982	0.011	<b>0.995</b>	0.003
	Non-earned income (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (t-1)	0.995	0.014	0.984	0.026	<b>0.972</b>	0.009
	Earned income (1,000 MDL <sup>1</sup> ) (t-1)	<b>0.987</b>	0.006	<b>0.982</b>	0.007	<b>0.992</b>	0.004
	Mean adult age	<b>1.102</b>	0.036	<b>1.172</b>	0.060	1.013	0.018
	Mean adult age (squared)	<b>0.999</b>	0.000	<b>0.998</b>	0.001	1.000	0.000
	Male household head (dummy)	<b>1.676</b>	0.270	<b>2.083</b>	0.492	0.966	0.080
Household size	<b>1.427</b>	0.065	<b>1.416</b>	0.077	<b>1.113</b>	0.035	
Number of observations		6,522		8,190		8,190	

Notes: <sup>1</sup> 1,000 MDL correspond to 60 EUR. Dummies for urban location, north, south and Chişinău, and intercepts included in the regressions but not shown in the table. R.R.R.: Relative-Risk Ratio, i.e. risk of the outcome, relative to the base outcome, for a one-unit change of the independent variable. Significant coefficients marked in bold.

Source: Authors' elaboration on data from the Moldovan HBS.

573  
 574 Table 6 contains the results of the multinomial logistic regressions for agricultural invest-  
 575 ments, or disinvestments. In most cases, the relative-risk ratios are not significant, meaning that  
 576 no correlation could be detected between the amount of remittances, earned incomes and/or non-  
 577 earned incomes received in the current or previous year, and a family's propensity to purchase or  
 578 sell farm assets. In most cases, when the ratios are significant, they are below 1, meaning that the  
 579 probability of either selling or purchasing farm assets is lower than the probability of staying in  
 580 the same situation if the smallholder has access to higher off-farm sums. This seems in line with  
 581 the finding of the 2015-smallholder-survey, that farming households whose members have a well-

582 paid non-agricultural job prefer to pursue off-farm-centred livelihoods, while keeping the farm  
 583 for lifestyle or reputational reasons. A partial exception is investments in land: the relative-risk  
 584 ratio of selling decreases by 2.1% for each additional 60 EUR (1,000 MDL) of non-earned in-  
 585 come, and by 1.1% for earned income, while the relative-risk ratio of purchasing increases by  
 586 2.5% and 0.8%, respectively. The opposite is true for dairy cattle (the relative-risk ratio of pur-  
 587 chasing always decreases for increasing incomes). During the 2015-smallholder-survey, dairy  
 588 cattle emerged as a successful investment for families wanting to earn a limited income by selling  
 589 cheese and sour cream. Finally, larger households, those headed by a male, and those with an  
 590 older head (although not too old) appear more dynamic in terms of both sales and purchases, as  
 591 the relative-risk ratios associated with these variables are above 1 for all outcomes.

592 Table 7 shows that the share of recipient households investing in farming is not signifi-  
 593 cantly different from that of non-recipient households. Around 4% of the families of either group  
 594 purchased dairy cattle, 9% increased their land endowment, and less than 2% of remittance recip-  
 595 ients purchased farm machinery, compared to almost 3% among non-recipient households.  
 596

597 Table 7. Incidence of investors among recipient and non-recipient households.

Variable		Recipients	Others	Difference	Std. err.	Bootstr. diff.	Std. err.
Purchasers of dairy cattle	Unmatched	0.0406	0.0409	-0.0003	0.0056	-0.0027	0.0081
	Matched	0.0422	0.0404	0.0018	0.0092		
Purchasers of farm equipment	Unmatched	0.0165	0.0183	-0.0017	0.0033	-0.0018	0.0040
	Matched	0.0166	0.0270	-0.0104	0.0058		
Purchasers of farmland	Unmatched	0.0942	0.0959	-0.0017	0.0074	-0.0029	0.0108
	Matched	0.0932	0.0890	0.0043	0.0116		

Notes: Households matched on the number of adult members, their average age (and its squared value), the gender of the household head, location dummies (urban settlement, north, centre and south; Chişinău omitted), earned income (1,000 MDL – 60 EUR), non-earned income (1,000 MDL – 60 EUR), farm income (1,000 MDL – 60 EUR), land owned the previous year (ares), and year dummies. Source: Authors' elaboration on data from the Moldovan HBS.

598

## 599 5. Conclusions

600 Using data from the Moldovan HBS for the period 2007–2013, and the findings of an original  
 601 mixed-methods survey of Moldovan smallholders carried out in 2015, this paper assessed the  
 602 impact of remittances on the production practices and investments of farming households in Mol-  
 603 dova.

604 The households whose members receive remittances are usually larger, younger, and better  
 605 educated, thus representing the most dynamic part of the society. The HBS estimates of the labour  
 606 supply functions showed that remittance recipients are also more likely to respond to economic  
 607 incentives, such as higher agricultural shadow wages. Furthermore, it emerged that they tend to  
 608 replace family labour and self-produced inputs (seeds, seedlings, and animal feed) with services  
 609 provided by contractors and purchased inputs, respectively. Both results (non-negative shadow  
 610 wages and the substitution of family labour with purchased inputs and services) indicate that hid-  
 611 den unemployment does not play an important role, and that the time constraints of migrant house-  
 612 holds are binding. Remittance-receiving households display higher labour productivity at the ex-  
 613 pense of lower land and input productivity; however, production or commercialisation levels do  
 614 not necessarily increase. These findings, together with what was observed during the 2015-small-  
 615 holder-survey, suggest that remittance recipients engage in agriculture mostly to achieve lifestyle  
 616 and social rewards, and are thus willing to reduce their drudgery.

617 As for investments, three options were considered: dairy cattle, machinery, and farmland.  
 618 The analysis of the HBS data showed that farming households that receive a larger amount of

619 remittances are not significantly more likely to either sell or purchase farm assets<sup>25</sup>. On the one  
620 hand, this may confirm the previous observation that they engage in farming for non-financial  
621 reasons, and as such do not need to increase the economic size of their farm. On the other hand,  
622 this may suggest that they are caught in a “poverty trap”, where the money earned abroad is not  
623 enough to invest in farm growth, but they cannot quit farming because it provides a necessary  
624 supplement to ensure family survival. This hypothesis needs to be further researched.

625 The results of the 2015-smallholder-survey show a partially different situation. Indeed,  
626 most of the small improvements observed among respondents were possible thanks to the availa-  
627 bility of remittances. A widespread interest for small investments aimed at intensifying farm pro-  
628 duction to ensure a constant income supplement also emerged among respondent families. While  
629 the econometric analysis confirmed the finding of Bolganschi (2011) that few migrant households  
630 invest in agriculture, qualitative insights suggest that most farming households who invest in ag-  
631 riculture are remittance recipients, as few alternative financing opportunities exist for them.

632 Agricultural Census data show that most Moldovan land recipients maintain the property  
633 of their plots, and engage in agriculture at least as a side activity. While, on the one hand, this  
634 may limit access to land for potential investors, obstructing a more efficient use of it, on the other  
635 hand, this means that many households have a base from which to build a middle-sized commer-  
636 cial farm. The results of this analysis suggest that, due to their widespread availability, remittances  
637 could provide an effective starting point for policy makers. Co-funding of remittance-financed  
638 projects could be one way to stimulate investments, and improve the efficiency of grants (Vargas-  
639 Lundius et al., 2002). The 2015-smallholder-survey indicated a preference for small intensifica-  
640 tion projects (greenhouses, recovery of orchards, purchase of rototillers, etc.), rather than farm  
641 growth. Giving priority to such projects in funding programs would allow the land to flow into  
642 middle-sized family businesses instead of large corporate farms, thus achieving a farm structure  
643 more similar to market economies (Lerman and Sutton, 2008), and a fairer distribution of rural  
644 incomes<sup>26</sup>.

645 However, investments need a supportive business environment. Therefore, policy makers  
646 should pay attention to removing any obstacles which prevent recipient farming households from  
647 investing in agriculture. One of the main challenges is “systematic corruption”, as also recognised  
648 by the European Council (2016). Corruption not only obstructs the implementation of the Asso-  
649 ciation Agreement with the EU, but also feeds parasitic rent-seekers while choking small inves-  
650 tors, and thus needs to be addressed. Furthermore, “systemic risks like draught and frosts”, which  
651 hit smallholders particularly hard, endangering their investments, require the design of a viable  
652 system of farm insurance, which is currently missing (World Bank, 2015: 5). Finally, the unreli-  
653 ability of markets (Moroz et al., 2015) could be reduced, e.g., by negotiating preferential access  
654 to the EU market for agro-food products made by smallholders.

655 One limit of this study consists in the fact that the HBS was conceived for a different pur-  
656 pose and, as such, some relevant variables are missing. Furthermore, the role of informal channels  
657 and of personal relationships in the circulation of remittances may prevent quantitative surveys  
658 from effectively detecting their actual uses. As for the 2015-smallholder-survey, the small sample  
659 size could cast doubts on its representativeness. Nevertheless, while rare phenomena were prob-

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<sup>25</sup> However, the same is true for all households who have access to larger off-farm incomes. These households are slightly more likely to purchase farmland, and slightly less likely to purchase dairy cattle.

<sup>26</sup> Lerman and Sutton (2008: 101) state that, instead, the Moldovan government “biases its policies in favour of large farms”. The persistence of this bias may be proved by the lack of *ad hoc* programs for smallholders, highlighted during the interview with the rural development officer of the EU Delegation.

660 ably missed, the overall dynamics detected remain reliable, and the narration of individual experi-  
661 ences holds an important added value. With a view to maximising the impact of the EU rural  
662 development programs targeting Moldova, *ad hoc* qualitative surveys are thus needed to look at  
663 the role of remittances in agricultural change and to identify the obstacles preventing the invest-  
664 ment of these sums.

665

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672

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