MIGRATION IN ALBANIA

Population and Housing Census 2001

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The production of social research publications presents an important moment in the professional lifes of INSTAT.

The Population and Housing Census of 2001, as well as the Living Standard Measurement Survey (LSMS) of 2002, were used as the main data sources of analysis during the last decade. The information collected in these two surveys pertained to such issues as internal and external migration, the state of the labour market, the impact that these issues have on the lives of women and men in Albania, their living conditions, and how the inequalities are distributed in the basic sectors of everyday life. This data was also used in the population projections for 2001-2002.

These research publications represent a significant instrument for policy makers and other stakeholders. The information collected can be used in mainstreaming poverty reduction, minimizing inequalities, guiding investment funds towards services and infrastructure, and helping local authorities in designing specific strategies in favour of vulnerable groups.

These publications will contribute to completing information concerning the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in Albania, and bringing in new elements to enable the continuous monitoring of the indicators.

Without the direct collaboration of Albanian and international experts, these publications would not have been accomplished. These research papers demonstrate the existence of a network composed of local researchers ranging from public administration agencies to Universities, that cooperate together in order to analyse social phenomena in the country.

INSTAT takes this opportunity to extend its thanks to the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation and Italian Cooperation, who have made a great effort to support and coordinate the finalization of this initiative.

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The Albanian population has undergone profound changes during the last 12 years as a result of the transition towards the democratization of political structures and transition to a market based economy. This process developed during a period of economic and political unrest, which accounts for many young Albanians having fled the country.

This study analyzes, using the 2001 Census data, the migration patterns of the Albanian population, a major phenomenon that has accompanied the transition period in Albania. The study aims at analyzing internal migration patterns (migration within the country, chapters 1 and 2), as well external migration (chapters 3 and 4). Examining the flow of Albanian migrants through the use of census data is important as Albanian emigration during the 1990s was one of the most dramatic demographic phenomenons in Europe.

The first chapter analyzes the territorial distribution of internal migration. Chapter 2 studies the social and economic characteristics of migrants in comparison with the non-migrants. It also describes the four main internal migration flows within the country. Chapter 3 estimates the impact of external migration on the size and the structure of Albanian population. It also provides information on the impact of internal and external migration on the demographic situation at the regional and prefecture level. Chapter 4 establishes a relationship between migration and economic development in order to estimate the impact of migration on the national and regional economy.

Internal and external migration in Albania can be characterized historically by several phases. Traditionally, Albania has been a country of emigrants. In the 15th-17th centuries, as a result of the invasion of Albania by the Turkish Empire, there was a massive emigration of the Albanians towards the coast of Italy. More recently, the country has seen three additional periods of emigration. From 1912 to 1923, the agricultural economy in Albania was ruined by the World War I. Besides this, lack of industry and the misuse of natural resources resulted in approximately 21 000 Albanian families leaving the country. Again, between 1923 and 1939, the poorly thought out economic policy compounded by political insecurity in Europe compelled 110 000 Albanian citizens to emigrate. Finally, between 1940-1945, nearly 19 000 Albanians emigrated, many of whom were political adversaries of the Communist regime that came in power (UNDP, 2000). With the establishment of the Communist regime, after the end of the World War II, emigration was prohibited. while internal migration was limited[1]. However, while the free internal movement of Albanian citizens was limited, internal migration in the country *did* occur. In the first phase (1950–1960), internal migration in Albania was characterized by the Communist strategy of a more accelerated development of the secondary sector (industry and construction) compared to the tertiary sector, internal migration from rural to urban areas was controlled and oriented but not totally forbidden. In the second phase (1961 – 1990), it was a limited internal migration from urban to rural areas, trying unsuccessfully to urge the population to move from urban to rural areas.

This policy greatly deepened Albania's self-isolation from the foreign world on the one hand and on the other, adversely affected the sources of investments reflected in the process of the country's socio-economic development. After the demise of the communist regime, the country suffered large population movements. This phase, beginning in 1991, coincides with the transition period and is characterized by a absence of migration policies both in regards to internal and external migration. During this period, as a result of

[1] Raporti i Zhvillimit Njerëzor për Shqipërinë - 2000

the political and economic changes in the country, controls of the movement of the population were abolished and the urban zones, especially Tirana, grew disproportionately in comparison to the rest of the urban regions in Albania. Some 900 000 people migrated from the rural to the urban areas inside the country, but also to other countries. According to the 2001 census data, this factor caused a 13% decrease in the population residing in rural areas. This figure is in contrast to the previous census in 1989, when the rural population actually increased by 20%.

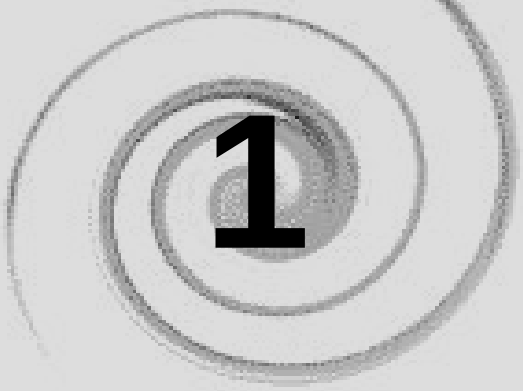
Moreover, the external migration of Albanians, mostly to western European countries, especially to Greece and Italy, is one of the most spectacular migration phenomenon of the 20th Century in Europe. The appearance of many political, economic and social factors at the end of 1990s accounted for a migration 'explosion' among the Albanian population. In July 1990, approximately 5000 Albanian citizens entered the Italian, German and French embassies in Tirana, seeking asylum. By the end of 1990, another approximately 20 000 Albanians also left the country for Greece and asked for political asylum. Moreover, in March 1991, many Albanians entered the Port of Durrës, the largest in the country with the hope of leaving Albania for Southern Italy by ship. An additional wave of emigrants who also left by ship departed the same year, in August, and involved approximately 18 000 people. The response from the Italian Government was to categorically refuse the migrants admission and, as a result, most of these emigrants returned shortly there after to Albania. The consequence was that illegal emigration to Western Europe increased during the following years. Between 1989 and 2001 approximately 700 000 Albanians left the country (see: King et al., 1998; Barjaba et al., 1992; Barjaba et Peronne, 1996). These migratory movements had an impact not only on the absolute size of the population and its geographic distribution, but also on the demographics of the population (in terms of sex and age ratios as well as of its socio-economic composition). Both of these population changes have brought developmental consequences, limiting the economic capacity and infrastructure of the country. Moreover, migration has also had a large impact on the economy as a factor that has affected the trade balance (through the remittances coming to Albania from abroad). [1]

At present, the phenomenon of Albanian emigration continues and is transforming in nature from illegal and sporadic to legal and organized. Furthermore, Albanian emigrants tend to work mostly in sectors that are not preferred by the local population of the country to which they emigrated and the majority are paid on an ad hoc basis. They serve as a regulatory mechanism in the labor market and contribute to an increase in domestic production of the host country. However, it should also be noted that it is also intellectual elite that form a considerable part of the population that emigrates, but it presents some different features from the other social groups that emigrate.

Increasing the knowledge of migration patterns in Albania is an important element in the development of sound policy formulation in the country and for ensuring the social and economic development of the country. Moreover, in the context of European enlargement and the formulation of a European migration policy, the emigration of Albanians has become an even more pressing policy issues because to the high number of emigrants and because the geographical situation of the country making it vulnerable as a transfer-country.

[1] It should be noted, however, that It is difficult to make a precisely quantify the impact of internal and external migration, given that other socio-political factors also present which have undoubtedly affected the operation of the Albanian economy.

c h a p t e r



Internal migration in Albania 1989-2001

During the last decade, Albania has undergone external migration flows along with large internal migrations. As far as this kind of migration is concerned, the diversity of flows is not easy to describe. In this chapter, we will try however to present an idea of the spatial mobility of the Albanian population, using the information of the 2001 census [2].

From a demographic point of view, internal migration shows first the degree of change of the territorial distribution of the population during a certain period. Secondly, in absolute terms, migration accounts for the numerical increase or decrease of the population. For these reasons, migration is part of the demographic evolution of the regions, as well as an indicator of social changes such as urbanization.

The first part of this chapter describes the main trends of internal migration; the second paragraph deals with the migration balance within the prefectures, whereas the third part refers to the urban-rural migration features. The fourth section describes the migration between districts in the same prefecture, while the last one has to do with the net migration at a district level.

1.1 Geography of internal migration flows

Internal migration can be expressed in terms of two dimensions: the spatial dimension (e.g. migration between two regions, two prefectures, or two districts) and the temporal dimension (e.g. according to available data, migration from birth to 2001, from 1989 to 2001, from 2000 to 2001). As some analyses clearly shows, there is a strong correlation between short-term or recent migration (2000-2001) and the medium-term (1989-2001) migration. For this reason, this report will analyze only medium-term migration and to provide information about recent migration only in those cases when this information can complement the analysis. As far as long-term migration is concerned, place of birth is clearly an indicator of mobility during the whole life, but as this variable is quite difficult to interpret because of the lack of longitudinal information available migrants

The migrants as defined in this report are persons who have changed their place of residence between 1989 and 2001.

According to the 2001 census, 182 600 persons living in Albania in 2001 moved from one

[2]Some restriction in the data should be highlighted: First, the census data allow us only to define the internal migrants by their residence at birth, in 1989, in 2000 and in 2001. Consequently, there is an unknown number of movements in between those dates that we cannot observe. Second, as the authors of this report are only able to define the internal migrants who still lived in Albania in 2001, all those migrants who went abroad (as a second step of his migration project) or died could not be accounted for in 2001.

Table 1: Interregional migration flows (1989-2001) – Number of persons and repartition in %

Region of departure	Region of arrival			
	North-East	Centre/-Coast	South-East	Total
North-East	-	107433	1465	108898
in %		*98.7*	*1.3*	*100.0*
Centre/Coast	2491	-	11721	14212
in %	*17.5*		*82.5*	*100.0*
South-East	1273	58256	588967	59529
in %	*2.1*	*97.9*	-	*100.0*
Total	410180	1341509	602153	182639

Source: Census 2001.

region[3] to another between 1989 and 2001. These migrants accounted for 5.7% of the total population in 1989. Internal migration in Albania is clearly a 'one-way' migration: approximately 91% of the inter-regional cases of migration were directed to the central and coastal zones of the country; the North-East and South-East zones of Albania in contrast, represented only 2% to 7% of the total cases of immigration. In 1989, approximately 60% of migrants lived in the North, 32% in the South and 8% in the centre and on the coast. It is the central and coastal zones of the country that has experienced a population increase as a result of migration — the immigrant population was 44 times higher for the period between1989-2001 compared to the North–East region and 13 times higher than in the South-East region of the country.

Thus, we can draw two general conclusions:

-The Northern and Southern regions have the same migratory profile with their respective internal populations moving towards the central and coastal regions.

-There is a relatively high movement from the central and coastal zones to South-East. This means that the Southern region also sustained population growth with 82,5% of the immigrant population of the central and coastal regions settling in the South.

Bearing in mind that the intensity of the external emigration has been high in the South-East region (see chapter 3), the internal migration towards the South and the high emigration from the North towards the centre suggest poor economic conditions of the North region, where the investments have been relatively limited. The low economic growth of the region is however not the only factor accounting for the North-centre migration (see: Massey et al., 1993). Other factors, such as household strategies, education or health also play a role.

While 182 600 Albanian citizens moved from one region to another (Table 2), the migration between prefectures[4] accounts for the movement of 252 700 persons (Table 3). It means that for about two 'inter-regional' migrations we count one 'intra-regional' and 'inter-prefectural' migration. Hence the rationale is that the more detailed the administrative division, the greater the scale of migration. The internal migratory flows are not only between the prefectures, but also between the districts of the same prefecture, between communes, and between the villages and the city.

Migration between prefectures is partially determined by the level poverty within the prefecture of departure such as the prefectures of Dibër and Kukës, where 37% of the migrated population lived in 1989.[5] Both regions are characterized by economic poverty. Over the years, these districts show that a high percentage of families receive economic assistance: 40% of the households in Kukës and

[3] Three regions in Albania are described: Centre/Coast (including the prefectures of Tirana, Durrës, Lezhë, Fier, and Elbasan), North-East (including the prefectures of Shkodër, Kukës, Dibër), South-East (including the prefectures of Berat, Gjirokastër, Korçë, Vlorë).

[4] Albania is presently divided into 12 prefectures and 36 districts.

[5] It must be stressed again that there are other factors that can explain the reasons for these migration flows. The absence of questions in the census about the reasons accounting for it does not allow for the further elaboration of this point.

Table 2: Migration from prefecture to prefecture.Total numbers and in %, 1989-2001. Albania

Prefecture of departure	Prefecture of destination												
	Berat	Diber	Durres	Elbas.	Fier	Gjirok.	Korce	Kukes	Lezhe	Shkod.	Tirane	Vlore	Total
Berat	0	97	4241	951	5824	1034	1148	348	164	529	8773	2567	25676
in %	0.0	0.4	16.5	3.7	22.7	4.0	4.5	1.4	0.6	2.1	34.2	10.0	100.0
Diber	72	0	10997	964	1144	47	116	153	2134	281	32898	278	49084
in %	0.1	0.0	22.4	2.0	2.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	4.3	0.6	67.0	0.6	100.0
Durres	51	62	0	149	221	38	232	18	902	108	5397	110	7288
in %	0.7	0.9	0.0	2.0	3.0	0.5	3.2	0.2	12.4	1.5	74.1	1.5	100.0
Elbasan	826	64	5191	0	5618	197	2313	38	197	105	11076	1020	26645
in %	3.1	0.2	19.5	0.0	21.1	0.7	8.7	0.1	0.7	0.4	41.6	3.8	100.0
Fier	1881	117	2042	1201	0	443	444	39	126	65	7560	2618	16536
in %	11.4	0.7	12.3	7.3	0.0	2.7	2.7	0.2	0.8	0.4	45.7	15.8	100.0
Gjirokaster	600	5	1817	183	2074	0	705	15	30	85	7634	3950	17098
in %	3.5	0.0	10.6	1.1	12.1	0.0	4.1	0.1	0.2	0.5	44.6	23.1	100.0
Korce	324	31	3718	2170	1545	272	0	8	99	44	13848	1410	23469
in %	1.4	0.1	15.8	9.2	6.6	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.2	59.0	6.0	100.0
Kukes	42	287	6728	79	1489	47	117	0	1106	1285	31769	229	43178
in %	0.1	0.7	15.6	0.2	3.4	0.1	0.3	0.0	2.6	3.0	73.6	0.5	100.0
Lezhe	62	361	3390	184	693	38	163	79	0	1137	5522	316	11945
in %	0.5	3.0	28.4	1.5	5.8	0.3	1.4	0.7	0.0	9.5	46.2	2.6	100.0
Shkoder	47	543	2670	79	726	30	180	223	5758	0	8892	260	19408
in %	0.2	2.8	13.8	0.4	3.7	0.2	0.9	1.1	29.7	0.0	45.8	1.3	100.0
Tirane	142	81	3647	667	632	139	309	95	138	122	0	379	6351
in %	2.2	1.3	57.4	10.5	10.0	2.2	4.9	1.5	2.2	1.9	0.0	6.0	100.0
Vlore	213	34	418	140	1377	401	147	23	43	54	3207	0	6057
in %	3.5	0.6	6.9	2.3	22.7	6.6	2.4	0.4	0.7	0.9	52.9	0.0	100.0
Total	4260	1682	44859	6767	21343	2686	5874	1039	10697	3815	136576	13137	252735
in %	1.7	0.7	17.7	2.7	8.4	1.1	2.3	0.4	4.2	1.5	54.0	5.2	100.0

Source : Census 2001.

34% in Dibër respectively, while the average for the whole country is of 12% (INSTAT 2000). These prefectures have had low levels of economic development such as outdated industries, which were ruined during the transition period as has occurred in Elbasan, Berat, and Korçë. Approximately 29% of the total number of emigrants came from these prefectures. Vlorë, Tirana, and Durrës had the lowest levels of migration, accounting for 8% of the total number of emigrants. In relative terms, the prefectures that have a significant share in the total number of emigrant population are first Dibër, then come Kukës, Elbasan and Berat. With respect to recipient prefectures, Tirana, followed by Durrës received the highest levels of migrants from other regions in the country. 72% of the total number of emigrants lived in Tirana and Durrës during the 2001 census. The third important migrant recipient region is Fier, followed by Vlorë, Lezhë and Elbasan.

The analysis of the matrix of migration from prefecture to prefecture during the twelve year period between 1989-2001 show two different types of migration. The first type is, a long-distance migration directed to the main economic poles at the centre of the country. The second type is a rather short-distance migration in the direction of the coast, which is both a region of immigration and emigration.

Tirana accounts for over half of the inter-prefecture population movement between 1989 and 2001 (136 600 migrants coming from the other prefectures of the country). Durrës, the second city where migrants in Albania are most attracted to, accounts for not more than 18% of the migrants (44 900). 36.5% (92 300) of the migrants had previously lived in the prefectures of Kukës and Dibër in 1989; 70% of the migrants from Kukës and Dibër went to Tirana and 20% to Durrës. In 1989, another prefecture, Korçë took in 10% of the migrants who came to Tirana and 8% of those who came to Durrës. The other regions also produced a small number of inter-prefecture and inter-regional migrants.

The second kind of migration is a short-distance migration. Indeed, a large number of centres located near the coast absorb the migrant population coming from the inner parts of the country and from the nearby prefectures. In the South of the country, Fier appears to be an attractive prefecture for migrants coming from Berat (23% of emigrants go to Fier), from Elbasan (21%) and from Vlore (23%). We can consider Vlorë prefecture another centre for migration as it has drawn 10% of the migrants leaving the prefecture of Berat, 16% of the migrants leaving Fier, and 23% of those leaving Gjirokastër. In the North of the country, Lezhë is the destination of 30% of the immigrants coming from Shkodër and 12% from Durrës.

Examining only the period between 2000-2001, it seems that the geography of migration was slightly different. A trend toward balanced migration flows can be observed, with Tirana accounting for receipt of only 44% of immigrants in the country (10% less than during the period 1989-2001). Some prefectures like Gjirokastër, Shkodër, Kukës and Dibër show an increase in the number of migrants, compared to the entire period between 1989-2001. This situation, which is to be verified in the future, can be explained by two reasons. First, the economic policies following the failure of the pyramid scheme in 1997 have likely led to decentralization. Secondly, it may also be assumed that there will be some immigrants who will return. This is a theory that needs further analysis.

Table 3: Net migration (1989-2001) and its proportion of the population in 1989 and 2001 by prefecture. Albania

Prefectures	Population 1989	Population 2001	Internal immigrants	Internal emigrants	Internal migration balance	Emigration in % of the population 1989	Immigration in % of the population 2001	Migration efficiency index
			1989-2001	1989-2001				
Berat	222901	193020	4260	25676	-21416	11.5	2.2	-0.7
Diber	226324	189854	1682	49084	-47402	21.7	0.9	-0.9
Durres	218530	245179	44859	7288	37571	3.3	18.3	0.7
Elbasan	357497	362736	6767	26645	-19878	7.5	1.9	-0.6
Fier	379342	382544	21343	16536	4807	4.4	5.6	0.1
Gjirokaster	155998	112831	2686	17098	-14412	11.0	2.4	-0.7
Korce	311448	265182	5874	23469	-17595	7.5	2.2	-0.6
Kukes	146081	111393	1039	43178	-42139	29.6	0.9	-1.0
Lezhe	165254	159182	10697	11945	-1248	7.2	6.7	-0.1
Shkoder	285258	256473	3815	19408	-15593	6.8	1.5	-0.7
Tirane	449228	597899	136576	6351	130225	1.4	22.8	0.9
Vlore	264556	192982	13137	6057	7080	2.3	6.8	0.4

Source: Censuses 1989 and 2001.

1.2 Net migration, immigration, emigration

The comparison of the net internal migration[6] by prefectures and the total number of resident population in 1989 are presented in the table 3. As can be seen, the prefectures located in the North-East region of the country have a negative net migration representing more than 20% of the 1989 resident population (-29% in Kukës, -21% in Dibër). In other terms, almost one third of the population from these areas left these prefectures to live in another prefecture within the country. Prefectures located in the remote areas of Albania have lost 11% (Berat and Gjirokastër) of their population and 7% (Korçë, Elbasan and Shkodër) due to internal migration.

Migration can theoretically affect the differences in incomes and living standards, creating a relative balance between the natural resources and the productive potentials of the region. The chaotic and unstable character of internal migration in Albania has created economic, social and demographic imbalances in recipient prefectures. In all prefectures, large differences are observed in the immigration levels, which can be seen by the share of migrants to the resident population in 2001, presented by table 3.

The immigrants of Tirana and Durrës prefectures represent respectively 23% and 18% of the total resident population in 2001. In the Vlorë, Lezhë and Fier prefectures this indicator is respectively 9%, 7% and 6%, while in the remaining prefectures it is below 3%. Given the fact that migration is generally considered to have a positive impact on the recipient population, these levels of immigration in zones such as Tirana and Durrës have many negative consequences among which we can mention:

[6]Defined as the difference between immigration and emigration (migration balance)

1. The arrival of immigrants to recipient prefectures has create challenges to all elements of the urban ecosystem including in the areas of housing, sewage systems, water pipelines, electric power grid, education, and of urban living standards. This means that we will have an increase in the urbanization level and a decrease in the level of urbanism, which represents the urban way of living.

2. The immigrants have upset existing balances in all the elements of urban ecosystem such as the housing, the sewage canals, the water pipelines, the infrastructure, the electric power, education, etc. The upsetting of the balances for its part affects also the indicators of the urban living standards. This means that we will have an increase in the urbanization level and a decrease in the level of urbanism, which represents the urban way of living.

3. Such immigration dynamics makes necessary to increase investments of a demographic character and is accompanied by phenomena like the increase of unemployment and of informal market, etc.

1.3 Migration between prefectures, by urban/rural area and migration status

Migration also means a modification of lifestyle, especially when migrants come from rural areas and settle in urban areas. In some countries, migration is often the result of a rural exodus and movement toward an urbanization of society. Describing the migration between the prefectures by urban and rural zones for the period 1989-2001, Table 4 shows that a total of 253 700 people have migrated, nearly 146 000 of that total, migrated to urban areas (58%). This indicates a

Table 4: Population according to the migration status (1989-2001) by urban/rural residence (landscape table). Albania 2001.

Prefecture of destination	Non migrants				Migrants*			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	in %	Numbers	in %	Numbers	In %	Numbers	in %	Numbers
Berat	58.9	85875	41.1	59802	57.0	2428	43.0	1832
Diber	80.2	108780	19.8	26800	76.0	1278	24.0	404
Durres	46.4	66118	53.6	76225	37.7	16898	62.3	27961
Elbasan	65.1	173425	34.9	93079	38.2	2585	61.8	4182
Fier	66.2	180963	33.8	92448	71.7	15298	28.3	6045
Gjirokaster	60.8	52831	39.2	34016	48.9	1314	51.1	1372
Korce	63.0	129261	37.0	76060	53.4	3136	46.6	2738
Kukes	75.5	58372	24.5	18991	67.9	706	32.1	333
Lezhe	69.6	75634	30.4	33106	61.7	6597	38.3	4100
Shkodër	61.8	117913	38.2	72788	53.1	2025	46.9	1790
Tiranë	33.2	109543	66.8	220726	37.2	50748	62.8	85828
Vlorë	48.0	66437	52.0	71914	28.2	3710	71.8	9427
All	58.3	1225152	41.7	875955	42.2	106723	57.8	146012

*Lived in another prefecture in 1989.

Source: Census 2001.

relatively equal number of migrants arriving to cities and villages. However, given the fact that only 42% of non-migrants (at the prefecture level) live in cities, migration has intensified the phenomenon of urbanization in the country.

Almost all of the prefectures with a positive migratory balance have observed an increase in urban population. For instance, 62% of immigrants in Durrës and 62% in Elbasan are established in urban area (Table 4).

During the 1989-2001 periods, Dibër, Fier and Lezhë have had the highest level of rural immigration. Vlorë, Durrës and Tirana have had the lowest levels. For these prefectures, except Tirana, it is observed an accentuation of the urbanization of migration.

The comparision with the period 2000-2001 (see table 5) shows that the rural immigration is especially high in old emigration zones: Dibër, Gjirokastër and Shkodër have the highest level of rural migration. According to the fact that people from 65 years and more are over-represented in these flows, we can suspect a return migration. Durrës, Tirana and Vlorë have still the lowest level of rural migration. The migration accentuates the urbanization process. The prefectures of Tirana, Durrës and Fier received 53% of the total number of migrants in the rural zone. While for the urban migration, Tirana and Durrës received nearly 74% of the total number of migrants.

Table 5: Population according to migration status (2000-2001) by urban/rural residence . Albania 2001

Prefecture of destination	Non migrants				Migrants*			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	in %	Numbers	in %	Numbers	in %	Numbers	in %	Numbers
Berat	60.2	112340	39.8	74189	39.4	227	60.6	349
Dibër	79.9	145554	20.1	36652	91.9	1020	8.1	90
Drurrës	46	106869	54	125612	34.1	1865	65.9	3597
Elbasan	65.6	230146	34.4	120929	59.1	608	40.9	421
Fier	67.6	249632	32.4	119837	69.3	1776	30.7	786
Gjirokastër	60.8	66137	39.2	42628	71.7	769	28.3	304
Korçë	63.4	162939	36.6	94004	43.9	449	56.1	574
Kukës	75.4	80578	24.6	26311	77.5	590	22.5	171
Lezhë	69.1	105805	30.9	47332	59.7	725	40.3	489
Shkodër	62.6	155406	37.4	92901	73.3	804	26.7	293
Tirane	36.2	205080	63.8	361852	35.2	4818	64.8	8886
Vlorë	46.2	85665	53.8	99609	34	491	66	953
Total	57.9	1706151	42.1	1241856	45.5	14142	54.5	16913

* Lived in another prefecture in 2000.

Source: Census 2001.

1.4 Migration of population by districts inside the prefecture

Besides the evaluation of the situation of migration between regions and prefectures, themigration between the districts of the same prefecture presents also an interest. In this regard we have analyzed the prefectures, Vlorë and Dibër.

The migratory flows in absolute figures and percentage by districts in the prefecture of Shkodër for the 12-year period 1989-2001 are presented in table 6. Table 6 shows that 85% of the emigrants left the prefecture. Intra-prefecture flows are then a minority and most of the persons in this flow head towards Shkodër. More than 50% of the intra-prefecture migrants go from Malësia e Madhe to Shkodër, and 11% are in the adverse flow. The flow between Pukë and Shkodër represents 10%, while the adverse flow 2%. Migration between Pukë and Malësi e Madhe is not important. The small number of migrants migrating from Pukë to other districts of the prefecture is explained by the fact that migrants from Pukë move to Tirana, Lezhë and Durrës, and represent respectively, 42%, 18% and 13% of the total emigration of this district. The same can be seen with respect to emigration from Shkodër: migrants frequently move to the municipalities of Tirana, Lezhë, Durrës and Kurbin, and account respectively for 44%, 22%, 6%, and 4% of the total emigration flow.

The analysis of the prefecture of Vlorë, Table 7, shows the migratory flows of the districts within this prefecture for the twelve year period between 1989-2001, in percentages. Table 7 shows that 86% of migrants move outside the Vlore prefecture. Most of intra-prefecture migration is composed of the migration from Delvinë to Sarandë. Only 2% of the migrants from this prefecture move towards the centre of the prefecture (city and district of Vlorë), while 9% move in the direction of Sarandë. In summary this means, that unlike the prefecture of Shkodër, the centre of the prefecture is not a prefered place for immigration.

Table 6: Migratory flow in figures and percentage of the total emigrants, by district, shkoder Prefecture1989-2001.

Place of residence 1989	Place of residence 2001				
	Malesi	Pukë	Shkodër	outside of the prefecture	Total
Malesi	-	...	1167	1153	2321
in %		0	50.3	49.7	100
Pukë	12	-	1418	12911	14341
in %	0.1		9.9	90	100
Shkodër	688	135	-	5344	6167
in %	11.2	2.2		86.7	100
All	700	136	2585	19408	22829
in %	3.1	0.6	11.3	85	100

Source: Census 2001. Example: 1167 persons living in Malesi in 1989 were censed in Shkodër in 2001, accounting for 50.3% of all the emigrants from Malesi.

With respect to internal migration in Dibër (see Table 8), population movement in this region may be due to the proximity of Tirana and characterized by a higher proportion of inter-prefecture flows (94% in total, of whom 63% go towards Tirana). Dibër, the centre of the prefecture, attracts less than 1% of migrants, while 5% move towards Bulqizë, which is nearest to Tirana.

Table 7: Migratory flows in figures and percentage of the total emigration by districts in the prefecture of Vlorë, 1989-2001

Place of residence 1989	Place of residence 2001				
	Delvinë	Sarandë	Vlorë	outside of the prefecture	Total
Delvinë	-	418	38	423	879
in %		47.6	4.3	48.1	100
Sarandë	199	-	90	980	1269
in %	15.7		7.1	77.2	100
Vlorë	6	228	-	4654	4888
in %	0.1	4.7		95.2	100
All	205	646	128	6057	7036
in %	2.9	9.2	1.8	86.1	100

Source: 2001 census. Example: 418 persons living in Delvinë in 1989 were censed in Sarandë in 2001, accounting for 47.6% of all the emigrants from Delvinë

Table 8: Migratory flows in figures and percentage of the total emigration by districts in the prefecture of Dibër, 1989-2001

Place of residence 1989	Place of residence 2001				
	Bulqizë	Diber	Mat	outside of the prefecture	Total
Bulqizë	-	412	121	6258	6791
in %		6.1	1.8	92.2	100
Diber	1378	-	156	29524	31058
in %	4.4		0.5	95.1	100
Mat	1044	62	-	13302	14408
in %	7.3	0.4		92.3	100
All	2422	474	277	49084	52257
in %	4.6	0.9	0.5	93.9	100

Source: 2001 census. Example: 412 persons who were living in Bulqizë in 1989 were censed in Dibër in 2001, accounting for 6.1% of all emigrants from Bulqizë

In order to evaluate the situation with respect to migration patterns, special importance is devoted to examining the indicator of net migration. For the 12 year period between 1989-2001, the district indicator for the Shkodër, Vlorë and Dibër prefectures is presented in Table 9. While in the districts of the Northern and North-Eastern regions of the country, net migration is negative, in the districts of the Southern and coastal regions of the country (Sarandë and Vlorë) net migration is positive. Between prefectures, there are also differences among the districts. The net migration of the population by district gives a clearer picture of the level of the migratory processes in the framework of the country or even in the framework of the other smaller units such as the zone or prefecture.

1.5 Net migration among districts

Table 10 presents the net migration of the population by districts, for the 12-years period between 1989-2001. It shows that only 9 of the 36 districts of the country (25%) have a positive migration balance, while 27 districts (75%) have a negative balance. Of the total number of districts with negative net migration balances, 15 of them (56%) ranging between 9% and 34%. Four are situated in the Northern and North-Eastern regions of the country (Tropojë, Kukës, Dibër and Pukë) and have net internal migration indicators ranging between 27-34%. The most important feature of these districts is the difficult economic and social situation inherited from the past. The group of districts with a negative balance ranges in level between -15 and -23% presents an interesting result. Here we have to do with districts that pertain to the three main zones of the country (North-East, centre/ coastal, and South-East). These districts had in common, besides the inherited social and economic problems, also another driving factor for emigration, which was their de-industrialization during the transition period. Until 1989, the main areas within these districts maintained a relatively developed industrial sector, especially during the transition period. In the districts with a negative migration balance, between -9 and -15%, the main driving factor for emigration was the interruption of industrial activity, such as in Berat or Bulqizë.

Among the districts with a positive balance, five are located in the South of the country (Gjirokastër, Sarandë, Vlorë, Kuçovë and Lushnjë), and four in the centre (Tiranë, Durrës, Lezhë and Kurbin). Tirana and Durres are, as shown above at prefecture level, districts with a relatively higher level of immigration.

The data shows the explosive and chaotic character of this migration, which is due to high levels of demographic erosion, accompanied with a high poverty level and a low level of economic development. On the other hand, the high levels of immigration in the majority of the districts of the country are associated with a range of negative phenomena regarding the urbanization process, among which as more important is the deterioration of the elements of urban services such as: housing, potable water and electric energy supply, the sewage system and the hygiene of the cities, the health service and education, etc.

Table 9: The indicator of the net internal migration by districts for the period 1989-2001. prefectures of Shkodër, Vlorë and Diber.

Prefectures/ districts	Resident Population 1989	Resident Population 2001	Emigrants (89-01)	Immigrants (89-01)	Net migration (89-01)	Emigration in % of pop 1989	immigration in % of pop 2001
Shkodër Prefecture							
Malësi e Madhe	43784	36692	2321	821	-1500	5.3	2.2
Pukë	48969	34386	14341	724	-13617	29.3	2.1
Shkodër	192505	185395	6167	5691	-476	3.2	3.1
Vlorë Prefecture							
Saranda	63983	35089	1269	4071	2802	2.0	11.6
Vlorë	176788	147128	4888	9366	4478	2.8	6.4
Delvinë	23785	10765	879	679	-200	3.7	6.3
Dibër Prefecture							
Bulqizë	50282	42968	6791	2603	-4188	13.5	6.1
Dibër	99368	85699	31058	919	-30139	31.3	1.1
Mat	76674	61187	14408	1333	-13075	18.8	2.2

Source: Census 2001.

In conclusion, there has been a very strong concentration of the migration in the direction of the Centre, attracting people from the whole country (especially from the Northern region), but also in direction of the coast, that has also experienced, mainly short-distance, migration flows. This internal population shift has caused two important demographic changes: first, the Southern and especially the Northern regions lost up to 34% of their population as enumerated in 1989, and second, the coastal and especially the centre regions have had to deal with important demographic pressures, such as the integration of new migrant populations in Tirana, who represented one third of the population as enumerated in 1989. Recent migration patterns have tended towards a more balanced distribution of migrant movements with in the Albanian territory.

Table 10: Net internal migration for some districts for the period 1989-2001. Albania.

Districts	Population in 1989	Net Migration	
		Numbers	in % of the 1989 population
Negative indicator			
1. Kukësi	79421	-26965	-34.0
2. Tropoja	44779	-13617	-30.4
3. Dibra	99368	-30139	-30.3
4. Pukë	48969	-13617	-27.8
5. Skrapar	46503	-10576	-22.7
6. Mirditë	50447	-10703	-21.2
7. Gramsh	43565	-8931	-20.5
8. Tepelenë	49850	-8792	-17.6
9. Mat	76674	-13075	-17.1
10. Kolonjë	24781	-3946	-15.9
11. Përmet	39775	-6118	-15.4
12. Has	21881	-3168	-14.5
13. Librazhd	71982	-9069	-12.6
14. Bulqizë	50282	-4188	-8.3
15. Berat	136461	-12242	-9.0
Positive indicator			
1. Tirana	368213	130819	35.5
2. Durrës	164484	37598	22.9
3. Lezhë	62001	5573	9.0
4. Kurbin	52806	3882	7.4
5. Saranda	63983	2802	4.4
6. Kuçovë	39937	1402	3.5
7. Lushnjë	134280	4709	3.5
8. Vlorë	176788	4478	2.5
9. Gjirokastër	66373	498	0.8

Source: 1989 and 2001 censuses

c h a p t e r

2

Factors of the internal migration

After having highligted the various internal migration flows, this section aims at describing their features. Knowledge of the demographic or the socio-economic composition of the flows is indeed important to organize a structured arrival of the migrants in the immigration areas and to take actions to prevent a very large exodus in the emigration areas. In this chapter, we will analyze, first, the composition of the whole migrant population on the basis of information on age, sex, and socio-professional characteristics in 2001. Then, we will present the different types of flows compared to the non-migrants.

2.1 The age and sex structure of internal migrants

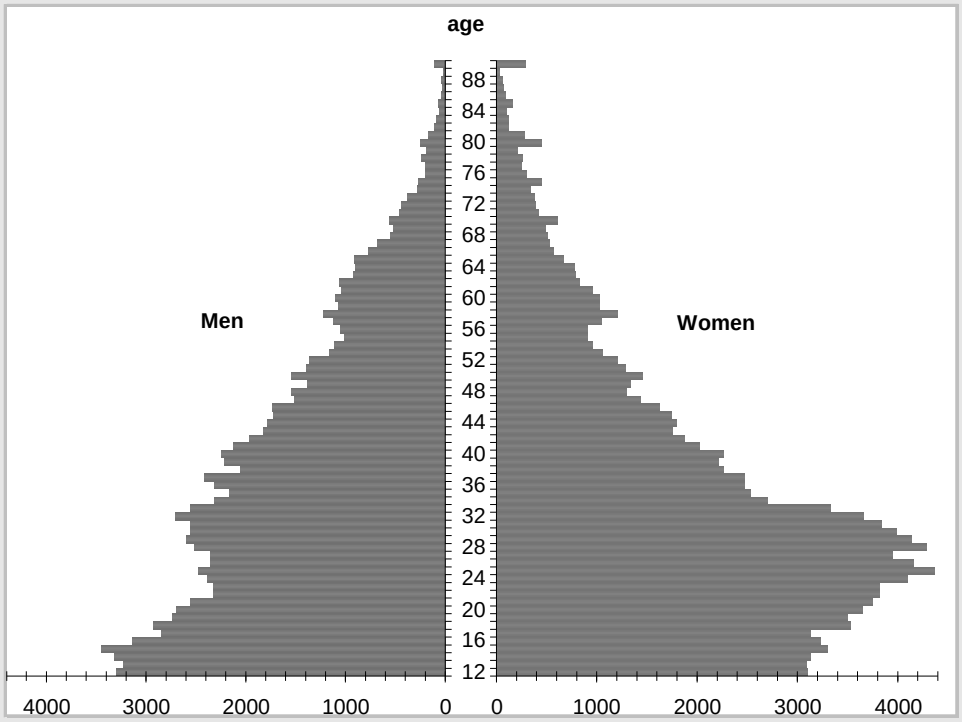
The migrant population is young: 115 700 persons, accounting for 46% of all inter-prefecture migrants, had not turned the age of 30 in 2001, and only 6% were in the retirement age category. Internal migration is thus a phenomenon that primarily affects a young and active population; 72% of the migrants were between the ages of 20 and 65 years at the time of the 2001 census. The migration thus has contributed to a concentration of the labour force i.e. the potentially active population - in some areas.

We can also observe that women are more likely than men to migrate within Albania as 54% of migrants are females (136 600 women per 116 100 men). The sex ratio of migrants is 85 men per 100 women. We observed a sex ratio of 93 among the adolescents (12-19 years), and of 60 among the migrants aged between 20-29 years. However, the prevalence of females is not true for all age categories. For migrants between the ages of 40-64 years, males are the majority of the migrant population.

Different reasons can be mentioned to explain the female prevalence among migrants of young ages. First, young women born in rural areas are encouraged to emigrate because they generally have no access to the family farm through lines of inheritance. As they are encouraged to find a job outside the family domain, they are more mobile than men of the same age. This migration can also be encouraged by the presence of work in the tertiary sector in the urban centres. This work generally does not require any specific training. Second, as also in evidence in the chapter on external migration, the prevalence of female migrants is probably an artifact. Males migrate more frequently outside the country after an internal migration move (and for this reason they do not appear in the census), whereas women are more frequently concerned with short-term migration. (Ravenstein, 1885).

The increase of the proportion of males migrants above 40 years in age suggests another motivation to emigrate: men aged 40-64

Figure 1: Internal migrants in Albania between 1989-2001 by sex and age, 2001.



Source : Census 2001

often have, due to social norms, the responsibility to insure a means of subsistence for their families (see also Chapter 3.3.2). Therefore, their family situation does not allow them to risk a clandestine and undocumented life outside the country (Dahinden, 1998), and encourage them to find a job inside Albania.

Family migration is a reality in Albania. About 10% of children ages 0-4 in 1989 have lived in a different prefecture by 2001. This is a phenomenon mainly typical in rural and peripheral areas of the country: In the North-East, 29.2% of children have emigrated; in the secondary centres along the Adriatic Coast (Vlorë, Fier and Lezhë), only 4% of the children have moved.

Differences in the probability of migration are more outstanding in the migrants who moved between the years 2000-2001: there were 92 males per 100 women of the total number of migrants, and 71 males per 100 women among the migrants aged 20-29.

Table 11: Internal migrants in Albania between 1989-2001 by sex and age, 2001.

Age	Numbers		Total	Sex ratio	In % of the age		
	Men	Women			Men	Women	Total
0-19	27679	29726	57405	93.1	23.8	21.8	22.7
20-29	21910	36418	58328	60.2	18.9	26.7	23.1
30-39	23884	29509	53393	80.9	20.6	21.6	21.1
40-49	17853	17196	35049	103.8	15.4	12.6	13.9
50-65	18002	16184	34186	111.2	15.5	11.8	13.5
65+	6771	7603	14374	89.1	5.8	5.6	5.7
All	116099	136636	252735	85.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census 2001.

2.2 Educational level of internal migrants

In order to make a proper analysis of the education level of the 1989-2001 migrants it is necessary to separately examine the people who in 1989 were more than 20 years of age (whom we can assume had completed their education in 1989) and those aged between 10 and 19 years.

The first category were 32 years old in 2001 and comprised of 124 000 persons (49% of the total number of migrants). This category is composed of a relatively large proportion of non-skilled or low-skilled persons: 8% have no diploma and 16% have only an elementary school diploma. This is due to the fact that this category of migrants is comprised of persons aged 50 and up. They represent 90% of the migrants without a proper education and 84% of the migrants with an elementary school education.

Among other factors, cultural conditions affect the composition of migrants according to sex and the level of education. Low-skilled internal migrants are mainly women (40 males for 100 women in this group). Highly skilled migrants are mainly males (217 men for 100 women among the migrants with an university degree). A total of 70% of high-skilled migrants are men aged between the ages of 32 and 49.

This difference between sexes is not true for the children of primary migrants or young migrants (aged 10-19 in 1989) that make up a quarter of the migrant population. In this group, women are over-represented whatever the level of education and, in total, they account for 40 500 persons versus 24 500 males. The feminization of internal migration flows can be observed in each level of education (Table 13). Migration is now a fact related to high-skilled persons or to persons in training. Low-skilled migrants are very few among the young migrants. 96% of them hold at least a secondary school diploma.

2.3 Economic status of internal migrants

Although 86% of migrants are of “active ages” (15-64 years), the proportion of working mi-

Table 13: Internal migrants (aged 22 to 31 years) in Albania between 1989-2001 by sex and school level, 2001.

(aged 22 to 31)	Total			Sex ratio	In %		
	Men	Women	Total		Men	Women	Total
No diploma	359	472	831	76.1	1.5	1.2	1.3
Elementary	425	735	1160	57.8	1.7	1.8	1.8
Secondary	11988	21944	33932	54.6	49	54.2	52.2
Upper secondary	9230	13253	22483	69.6	37.7	32.7	34.6
University	2468	4099	6567	60.2	10.1	10.1	10.1
All	24470	40503	64973	60.4	100	100	100

Source: Census 2001.

Table 12: Internal migrants (aged 32 years and more) in Albania between 1989-2001 by sex and school level, 2001.

(aged 32 and more)	Numbers			Sex	In %		
	Men	Women	Total	ratio	Men	Women	Total
No diploma	2934	7363	10297	39.8	4.8	11.8	8.3
Elementary school	8646	11168	19814	77.4	14.1	17.8	16
Secondary school	21579	24550	46129	87.9	35.2	39.2	37.2
Upper second.	18471	15079	33550	122.5	30.1	24.1	27
University	9759	4491	14250	217.3	15.9	7.2	11.5
Total	61389	62651	124040	98	100	100	100

Source: Census 2001.

grants is only 60% (151 300 persons). Internal migration in Albania is not only a migration of workers. First, 12% of migrants have declared themselves as retired ("others"). Second more than a quarter of female migrants are housekeepers (even among the young females – Table 14) who probably migrated with their family or in order to reunite with their families.

This family character of migration can be seen also in the high proportion of men among the active population, who make up 79% of the economically active population. This group represents only 53% of female migrants. Moreover, men seem to find a job more easily after they have migrated as the unemployment rate is 41% amongst women versus 23% amongst men. According to these figures, work-seeking migration is a male migration, and migration flows can probably be linked to a traditional reason for migration, i.e. initiated by the head of household.

A breakdown of the economic status of migrants according to age and sex shows that the unemployment rate between ages 15-19 are less significant for women than for men (24% versus 33%). Whereas the employed active men are proportionally more numerous between ages 30-49, women reach the higher rate of occupied active force between the ages of 15-19 and 40-49. It is also interesting to note the female prevalence among migrants following some education, especially among migrants in 2000-2001. This likely indicates more frequent migration opportunities for women, and are related to the socio-economic conditions mentioned above.

Table 14: Distribution (in figures and in %) of the internal migrants in Albania . (15 years and more in 2001) between 1989-2001 by sex and economic status 2001

	Numbers			Sex ratio	In %		
	Men	Women	Total		Men	Women	Total
Employed	64519	39641	104160	162.8	60.7	31.1	44.6
Unemployed	19312	27877	47189	69.3	18.2	21.9	20.2
Housekeeper	0	34787	34787	0.0	0.0	27.3	14.9
Student	6417	7603	14020	84.4	6.0	6.0	6.0
Other	15980	17371	33351	92.0	15.0	13.6	14.3
All	106228	127279	233507	83.5	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census 2001.

2.4 Characteristics of migrants according to the direction of migration flows

In order to study internal migration more effectively and to take into account various socio-economical contexts, we should distinguish four migration flows. Three flows are in the direction of the centre of the country (prefectures of Tirana and Durrës) and one flow is in the direction of the coast (Vlorë, Fier and Lezhë). The distinction between these flows expresses differentiated economic evolution of the regions of departure. The flows are:

1) Migrants coming from the mountainous and Eastern regions of Kukës and Dibër migrate towards the centre of the country.

2) Migrants coming from the inner regions (Berat, Korçë, Elbasan, Gjirokastër and Shkodër) migrate towards the centre of the country.

3) Migrants coming from the secondary centres located along the coast (Vlorë, Fier and Lezhë) migrate towards the centre of the country.

4) Migrants coming from the inner regions migrate towards the secondary centres along the coast of the country.

According to neo-classical theories of migration, migration flows are due to structural imbalances between two regions. They presuppose a rebalancing of production factors (labour force, capital) in all areas due to the flow of people, goods and capital. Migration is

Table 15: Characteristics of the internal migration from the North-East of Albania to the Centre in 1989 - 2001 compared to the non-migrants, 2001.

	Region of origin (non migrants)			Migrants			Region of destination (non migrants)		
	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All
Age structure									
12-19	27.5	26.8	27.1	26.3	26.3	26.3	20.3	20.2	20.3
20-39	37.3	37.8	37.6	41.5	42.1	41.8	31.9	33.0	32.5
40-49	14.4	13.3	13.8	14.1	13.1	13.6	18.4	17.5	17.9
50-65	14.4	13.8	14.1	13.3	12.9	13.1	19.7	18.5	19.1
65+	6.5	8.2	7.4	4.8	5.7	5.2	9.7	10.7	10.2
School level (20 years old and over)									
inferior	19.4	28.6	24.0	13.8	21.9	17.8	15.5	23.5	19.6
medium	49.9	50.7	50.3	45.3	50.3	47.8	36.0	35.9	36.0
superior	30.8	20.8	25.7	40.9	27.9	34.5	48.5	40.7	44.5
Economic Status (15 years old and over)									
activity rate	75.1	42.0	58.4	81.0	49.2	65.3	72.2	49.7	60.7
unemployement rate	24.9	26.6	25.5	26.0	45.6	33.4	17.3	26.5	21.2
Proportion of housekeepers	0.0	34.6	17.4	0.0	31.6	15.6	0.0	19.7	10.1

Source: Census 2001

thus perceived as a phenomenon that restores the structural balance between various national and international areas. This hypothesis is tested in the case of Albania by comparing demographic and socio-professional characteristics (sex, age, education level and economic status) of migrants and non-migrants (see also section 2.3).

2.4.1 Migration from the North-East to Tirana and Durrës

The prefectures in the centre of the country (Tirana and Durrës) attract migrants coming from the whole of Albania. The main proportion of immigrants, however come from the North-East (Kukës and Dibër – 47% and 40% of immigrants in Tirana, Durrës respectively). The structure of this flow is shown in Table 15. Migrants coming from the North-East to the centre are characterized by a young age structure: 68% of migrants are between the ages of 12 and 39 versus 45% of the population of the whole country. This flow relieved the area of departure of an important demographic pressure because of the fact that 65% of the non-migrant population is less than 40 years of age. This has decreased the age of the population of the prefectures of Tirana and Durrës, where 53% of the inhabitants have not yet reached the age of 40.

Often it is the young migrants that possess human capital that, on average, is higher than that of the non-migrant population. Persons with an upper secondary school diploma or a university degree (upper level) represent only 26% of the non-migrant population in the North-East of the country, versus 34.5% of the migrant population. The main impact of this flow on the recipient areas is related to the fact that most of the migrants have a medium-level school education (secondary school), representing 48% of the migrant population versus 36% of the non-migrant population in the area of destination.

The unemployment rate of the population of origin (living in the North-East) is quite high, approximately 25.5%. However, the same indicator shows a higher unemployment rate for migrants - 33% among men and 46% among women. In general, pressures on the labor market affect specific groups within the

labor force. As 90% of unemployed have a secondary or upper-secondary level education, structural unemployment exists and tends to concentrate on the main arrival destinations. Migrants seem to have more difficulties to find jobs in their new place of residence. This can be partly explained by some disadvantages that have characterized migrants even before their migration (exportation of unemployment) or new disadvantages in recipient regions which make them less competitive than the native population. However, the census data unfortunately give no quantitative explanation to this question.

It is also interesting to note other characteristics of the migration from Kukës and Dibër to the centre of Albania. Firstly we note that there is the same numbers of men and women who have emigrated to the centre. Secondly, almost all of the children from the prefecture of Kukës (aged 0-4 in 1989) belong to this emigration flow. This family structure is in opposition with the ways of life in the recipient region which are characterised by a lower proportion of housekeepers.

2.4.2 Migration from the prefectures of Berat, Elbasan, Gjirokastër, Korçë and Shkodër to Tirana and Durrës

Migrants coming from Berat, Elbasan, Gjirokastër, Korçë and Shkodër to Tirana and Durrës show similarities with those coming from Kukës and Dibër but have also some particular features. This flow is characterized by a majority of women and a large proportion of young migrants (Table 16). The education level of these migrants is, however, different from the migrants coming from the North-East of the country, as they have obtained a higher level of education. The non-migrant population shows the same education level than citizens of the North-East region who are non-migrants. A brain drain can be observed: only 30% of the people living in the same prefecture between 1989 and 2001 hold an upper-level diploma versus 47% among migrants.

If the centre region of the country experienced an increase in its high-skilled population, we may say that they also suffered from unem-

Table 16: Characteristics of the internal migration from Berat, Korçë, Elbasan, Gjirokastër and Shkodër to the centre of Albania from 1989-2001 compared to the non-migrants, 2001.

	Region of origin (non migrants)			Migrants			Region of destination (non migrants)		
	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All
Age structure									
0-19	23.0	23.2	23.1	21.7	21.7	21.7	20.3	20.2	20.3
20-29	16.8	16.3	16.6	18.7	22.2	20.5	13.8	14.7	14.3
30-39	17.6	18.0	17.8	19.9	19.3	19.6	18.1	18.3	18.2
40-49	16.7	16.3	16.5	16.3	15.2	15.7	18.4	17.5	17.9
50-65	17.4	16.4	16.9	17.0	14.4	15.7	19.7	18.5	19.1
65+	8.4	9.8	9.1	6.4	7.2	6.8	9.7	10.7	10.2
School level (20 years old and over)									
inferior	19.1	27.7	23.3	11.8	19.3	15.6	15.5	23.5	19.6
medium	47.7	45.7	46.7	36.4	38.0	37.2	36.0	35.9	36.0
superior	33.2	26.6	29.9	51.8	42.8	47.2	48.5	40.7	44.5
Economic Status (15 years old and over)									
activity rate	75.3	51.5	63.4	77.4	54.5	65.7	72.2	49.7	60.7
unemployement rate	18.0	27.7	21.9	23.1	42.2	31.2	17.3	26.5	21.2
Proportion of housekeepers	0.0	19.9	9.9	0.0	20.6	10.5	0.0	19.7	10.1

Source: Census 2001

ployment. The unemployment rate is the same in the arrival areas as in the departure areas (between 21% - 22%), however the migrants are much more concerned with this phenomenon as 31% are unemployed. Those migrants are essentially those people with secondary or higher education level. As it is the case for migrants coming from Kukës and Dibër, the problem of unemployment is a structural one, the labor market of the recipient area is unable to integrate these migrants into region.

2.4.3 Migration from the Coast to Tirana and Durrës

Migration between the prefectures of Vlorë, Fier, Lezhë and Tirana/Durrës is interesting because the prefectures of departure have a demographic structure that is very similar of the one of Tirana and Durrës. They show an ageing population and are composed of quite a limited number of young adults, likely due to the external migration of the persons aged 20-35 (see also Section 3).

All the characteristics described for the first two flows (that is: young and female migration as well as a large proportion of high-skilled migrants) are observed in a more spectacular way for migration from the coast to the centre. This migration is lesser in number but more selective: 12 300 women and only 9 800 men (79 men for every 100 women) have moved to Tirana and Durrës during the period between1989-2001. The imbalance between sexes is observed especially among the 20-39 age cohort.

Another unique feature of the migration flow from these areas pertains to levels of education. The proportion of persons with a high level of skills among the migrant population is twice that of the departure population (61% versus 31% among the persons aged 20 and up) and at the same time the most-well educated group of migrants residing in the centre in 2001: the part of persons with a superior education is much higher in the migrant population than in the population of the centre, 61% and 45% respectively. This shows the specialization of the upper regional hierarchy in terms of economic and administrative functions, which are mostly concentrated in Tirana and Durrës. Given the fact that the level of education of their population is more or less the same as the one in the secondary centres, the migration is much more selective.

Within this skilled migrant population, 61% are females, of whom 65% are between the ages of 20 to 39 years (versus 46% among males). The same problems as mentioned before is observed for this population of migrants in the region of arrival pertains to their access to the labor market. The unemployment rate is slightly lower than for the migrants coming from other areas of the country but still is 31% (versus 20% in the region of departure and 21% in the region of destination).

Table 17: Characteristics of internal migration from the secondary centres to the principal centre of Albania from 1989-2001 compared the non-migrants, 2001.

	Region of origin (non migrants)			Migrants			Region of destination (non migrants)		
	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All
Age structure									
12-19	22.5	22.8	22.7	21.1	18.6	19.7	20.3	20.2	20.3
20-29	14.8	15.1	15.0	16.2	26.4	21.9	13.8	14.7	14.3
30-39	18.3	18.4	18.4	19.7	22.3	21.1	18.1	18.3	18.2
40-49	17.5	16.5	17.0	17.4	14.1	15.6	18.4	17.5	17.9
50-65	18.1	17.0	17.5	19.0	13.0	15.7	19.7	18.5	19.1
65+	8.8	10.1	9.4	6.6	5.5	6.0	9.7	10.7	10.2
School level (20 years old and over)									
inferior	18.3	27.6	23.0	8.6	11.8	10.4	15.5	23.5	19.6
medium	47.4	44.0	45.7	25.1	31.7	28.8	36.0	35.9	36.0
superior	34.3	28.4	31.4	66.3	56.5	60.8	48.5	40.7	44.5
Economic Status (15 years old and over)									
activity rate	74.8	48.5	61.6	74.7	56.0	64.2	72.2	49.7	60.7
unemployement rate	16.8	24.5	19.9	20.2	41.8	30.8	17.3	26.5	21.2
Proportion of housekeepers	0.0	23.1	11.6	0.0	20.7	11.7	0.0	19.7	10.1

Source: Census 2001

2.4.4 Migration from the prefectures of Berat, Elbasan, Gjirokastër, Korçë and Shkodër to the secondary centres of Albania

Short-distance migration flows between the inner parts of the country (except Kukës and Dibër) and the coast (Fier, Vlorë, and Lezhë) are very different from the flows directed to Tirana and Durrës. The migrant population is younger (70% aged 12-39) and composed mostly of females. This migration flow has had an important impact on the work force of the departure and the arrival areas, as the major part of this flow is composed of young adults.

These flows are also characterized by a less-qualified structure. Persons with an intermediate level of formation have more often immigrated to the coast (53% have attended secondary school).

The integration of these migrants at work seems to be easier than for those going to the centre of the country. The activity rate is quite high (80%) and the unemployment rate is low (25% versus 22% among the non-migrants). However, female migrants often stop their activity to be domestic workers (31% versus 20% in the departure area and 23% in the arrival area).

In conclusion we can mention a growing selectivity in the internal migration in Albania depending on the level of economic development of each area of departure. This selectivity of the population of origin is not only visible in the composition of the migrant flows in terms of sex and age (showing also a change in the traditional values), but affects also the level of education among the migrant population. The more a region is equally developed economically with the centre of the country, the more likely it is that the migrant population is of a young adult age, well-educated and female. Because of the very strong spatial concentration of the migrants in the country, namely in a small number of attractive economic centres such as in Tirana and Durrës and following suite in the main towns situated in the coast, all migrants are faced with the same problem: their integration in the local labor market. In contrast to the arguments of neoclassical theory, internal migration in Albania has contributed to the concentration of the young labor force of the country, giving rise to a major demographic and economic pressure in very limited parts of the country, as well as creating a large brain drain and ageing of the population in the regions of origin. Thus, both phenomena can hinder the further economic development of the respective regions as the young and well educated population is also generally considered the more innovative age cohort.

After examining the internal population shifts in Albania, it is also important to mention that the migration movements often go step by step. After an internal migration has occurred, migrants may also decide to leave the country. It is also not surprising to observe that all the migrant flows are headed towards the coast. Selectivity, too, can play a role in this phase of migration. The decision to go abroad often implies a certain danger (for example, an illegal status) as well as a strong motivation (to leave the family and the social life). It is therefore interesting to analyze the number and migration profile of Albanians who left the country between 1989 and 2001. These questions are the main subject of the following section about the impact of migration on the evolution of the Albanian population (Section 3) as well as of the operation of the national economy (Section 4).

Table 18: Characteristics of the internal migration from the inner areas of the country to the secondary centres of Albania from 1989-2001 compared to the non-migrants, 2001

	Region of origin (non migrants)			Migrants			Region of destination (non migrants)		
	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All
Age structure									
12-19	23.0	23.2	23.1	24.6	21.5	22.9	22.5	22.8	22.7
20-29	16.8	16.3	16.6	18.6	29.4	24.7	14.8	15.1	15.0
30-39	17.6	18.0	17.8	20.5	22.3	21.5	18.3	18.4	18.4
40-49	16.7	16.3	16.5	15.0	11.4	13.0	17.5	16.5	17.0
50-65	17.4	16.4	16.9	15.3	10.4	12.5	18.1	17.0	17.5
65+	8.4	9.8	9.1	6.0	5.0	5.4	8.8	10.1	9.4
School level (20 years old and over)									
inferior	19.1	27.7	23.3	17.2	19.1	18.2	18.3	27.6	23.0
medium	47.7	45.7	46.7	49.0	55.3	52.6	47.4	44.0	45.7
superior	33.2	26.6	29.9	33.8	25.7	29.1	34.3	28.4	31.4
Economic Status (15 years old and over)									
activity rate	75.3	51.5	63.4	79.6	52.5	64.3	74.8	48.5	61.6
unemployement rate	18.0	27.7	21.9	19.5	32.2	25.4	16.8	24.5	19.9
Proportion of housekeepers	0.0	19.9	9.9	0.0	31.1	17.6	0.0	23.1	11.6

Source : Census 2001

chapter

3

Impact of migration on the evolution of the Albanian population

3.1 Impact of migratory movements on the total population

This section of the report will examine the influence that migratory movements, observed during the period between the two population censuses, have had on the structure of the Albanian population. The first sub-section of this chapter investigates the evolution of the population structure, comparing and contrasting it with the migratory movements, while the second subsection introduces a simulation model to measure the aspects affected by the migratory movements.

3.1.1 Shifts in population structure

The Albanian population has undergone major changes during the period between 1989 and 2001, affecting its absolute size, growth rate, its sex and age distribution (Table 19). A transversal analysis of the two sets of census results highlights that there has been a decrease in the overall size of the population. This represents a sharp reversal in trends compared to the strong growth observed for several decades observed up until 1990 (Figure 2). Whereas the number of inhabitants in 1989 was 3 282 400 it was only 3 069 300 in 2001. This is a reduction of 113 100 inhabit-

It is quite difficult to analyse the total migration of Albanians, especially the external flows, because of lack of data. In this chapter, we will use an indirect approach to analyse the impact of migration on Albania, which is completed by a demographic model estimating the number of persons who left the country between 1989 and 2001.

The major migratory movements discussed in the preceding chapters as well as the external migration, which occurred throughout the 1990s, had an impact not only on the absolute size of the Albanian population and its geographic distribution, but also on the internal structure of the population (in terms of sex and age ratios, as well as its socio-economic composition), on the general functioning of the economy and on the country's infrastructures. In order to describe the various elements, this chapter compares the demographic structure in 2001 with that of the preceding population census, focusing on those shifts that might be linked with migratory movements. This procedure is first applied to the country as a whole and then to a number of different individual regions, defined either as a function of the type of settlement (urban or rural), or of territorial subdivisions (districts or prefectures). Although a large part of the shifting patterns in the age structure of the Albanian population (taking the country as a whole) is due to international migrations, in the case of the regions, internal migrations may naturally also play a part. For this reason, an attempt is made to describe the impacts of both of these migratory movements.

Later on (Chapter 4), we analyse the impact migration has had on the socio-professional structure of Albania and its regions. In doing so, reference is made in particular to the changes observed since the 1989 census.

ants, and represents 3.5% of the 1989 baseline, and comes all the more as a surprise given the fact that the age distribution in 1989 was in the form of a regular pyramid, characterized by a broad base and slightly concave sides (Figure 3). The 1989 population was thus very young with "a high growth potential" in demographic terms, as a consequence of one of the highest fertility rates in the entire European region (more than three children per woman – United Nations 2002). The ratio between the under-15 age-group and the active population (aged 15-60) was greater than 50% (compared to 30% for Europe as a whole), whereas the ratio between those in retirement age cohort (60 and older) and those of working age was not even 10% (compared to nearly 20% for Europe as a whole).

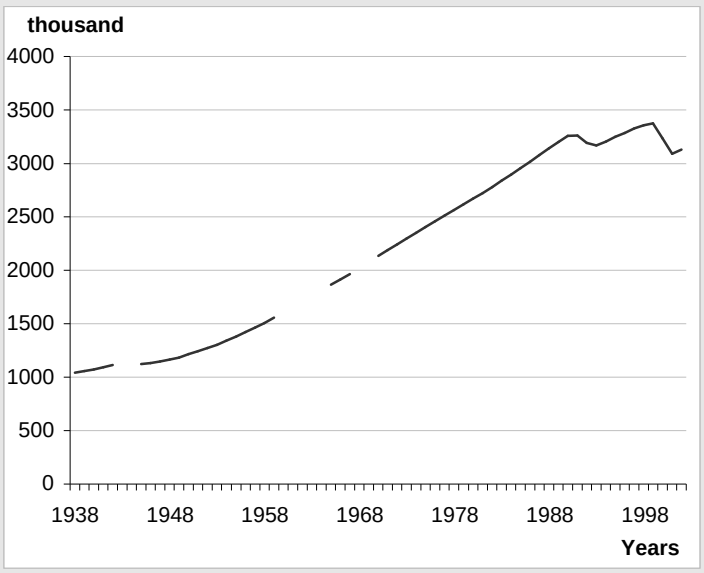
The 2001 age pyramid shows a completely different population distribution. The principal changes are indentations at the base of the pyramid, reflecting a decline in the number of births, and a hollow at the height of the 20–34 age group, pointing to large-scale emigration. The pyramid's asymmetry at this height shows that the loss of members of the population has been most extreme amongst economically active young adults in the 20-34 age group and their children.

In comparison with the figures in 1989, in 2001 the 0-9 age group was reduced by 21% in total and the 20-34 age group was reduced by 26% (Figure 4). The figures show that the male age cohort born in the early 1970s have even suffered a decline of 40%. In other words, a considerable segment of the people in these age cohorts, who today would be of an age to begin families, have left Albania during the period between the two population censuses, thereby causing a reduction in the number of live births (in the course of a decade, the annual number of live births is reckoned to have fallen by 25% - United Nations, 2002).

The reduction in the number of children is, in part, an outcome of the phenomenon of migration, but is also due to changed fertility behaviours: the number of young men and women who have reached the age for setting up a family has actually declined by 22% compared with 1989. As far as fertility is concerned, the index of children-per-woman shows a downward trend from 3.3 in 1990 to 2.2 in 2000 (INSTAT, 2002).

On the other hand, the total number of older, working age cohorts (35-59) has increased, as the number of individuals counted in this group in 2001 was 886 000 compared to 709 000 12 years ago (+25%). In the same way, the 60+ age group has grown by nearly 39% and now accounts for some 11% of the total population. The demographic trends observed throughout the 1990s have led to an acceleration of the phenomenon of an aging population. The proportion of inhabitants aged 60+ has grown from 8% to 11% in the course of the period between the two population censuses. This growth was most noticeable among men (4% increase) than women (+2.5% increase), pointing to a sex disparity in migratory movements.

Figure 2: Evolution of the Albanian Population 1950-2000



Source : INSTAT

Table 19: Main demographic indicators. Albania 1989 and 2001.

Sex	Population 2001	Population 1989	Sex ratio 2001	Total dependency ratio 2001 (%)	Young-age dependency ratio 2001 (%)	Old-age dependency ratio 2001 (%)	Urbanization rate 2001 (%)
Male	1530443	1638074		59.3	48.0	11.2	41.8
Female	1538832	1544343		57.3	44.7	12.6	42.6
Total	3069275	3182417	99.5	58.3	46.4	11.9	42.2

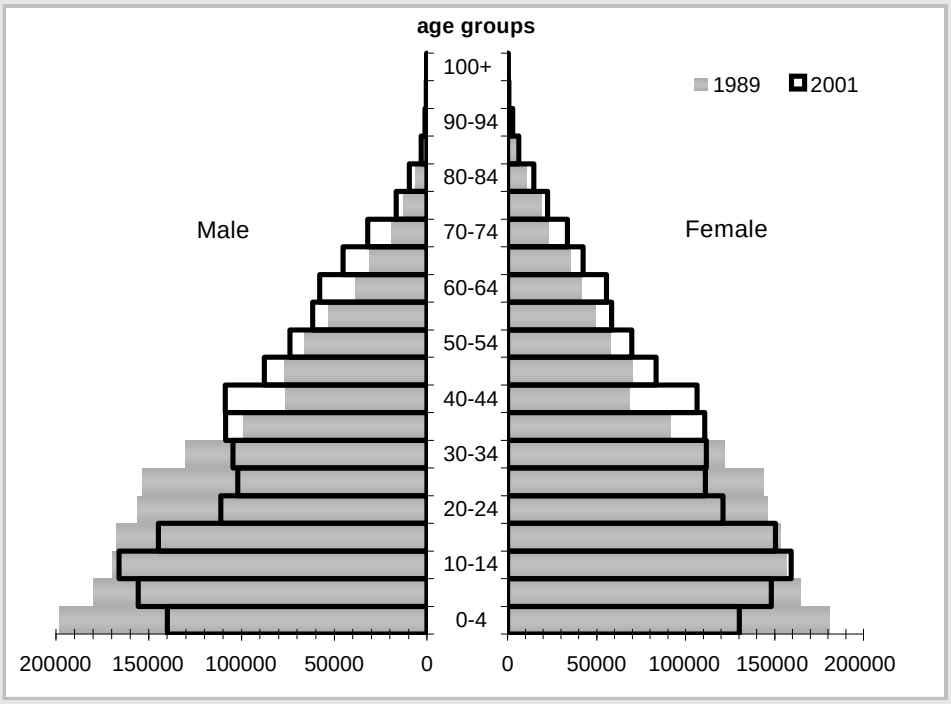
Source: Census 2001

Whereas the young people dependency ratio did not change much during the period between the two population censuses, the corresponding ratio for the elderly increased considerably. This paradox has its origin partly in the selective nature of emigration (i.e. more young workers leaving than people of other age cohorts) and its direct repercussion in the birth rate and partly in the structural effect (the relatively numerous cohorts born during the 1930s are now passing the 65-year mark). The effect of migration to other countries has been to reduce the size of the population of both young adults and children by the same proportion to levels below what had been expected, but it has not had any influence on the size of the population of retirement age.

This explains why the ratio of dependent young people has remained stable, both with the numerator and the denominator declining, whereas the ratio of the dependent elderly has increased, due to a decline in the denominator.

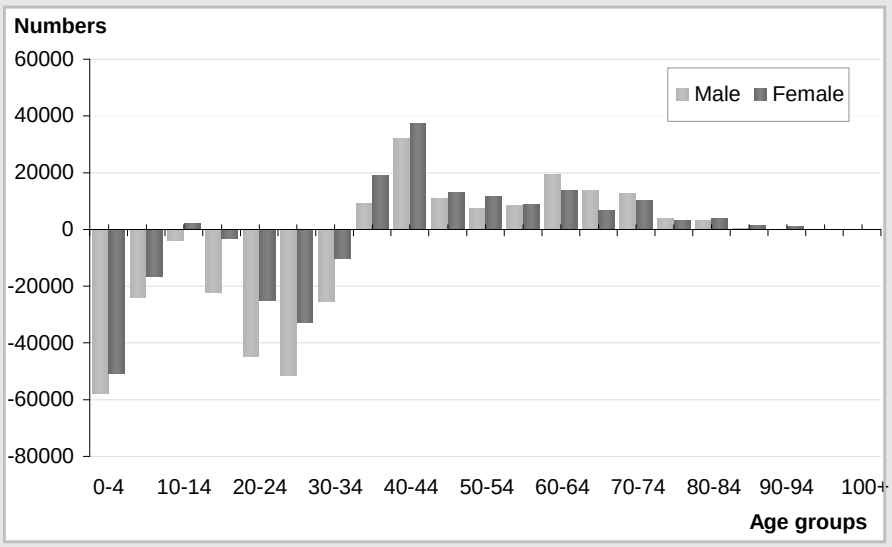
Since the decline in the number of young adults has been twice that for men as for women, there has been a shift in the sex ratio (defined as the number of males per 100 females). Taking the population as a whole,

Figure 3: Age pyramid. Albania, 1989 and 2001



Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

Figure 4: Evolution of the size of the age groups between 1989 and 2001. Albania.



Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

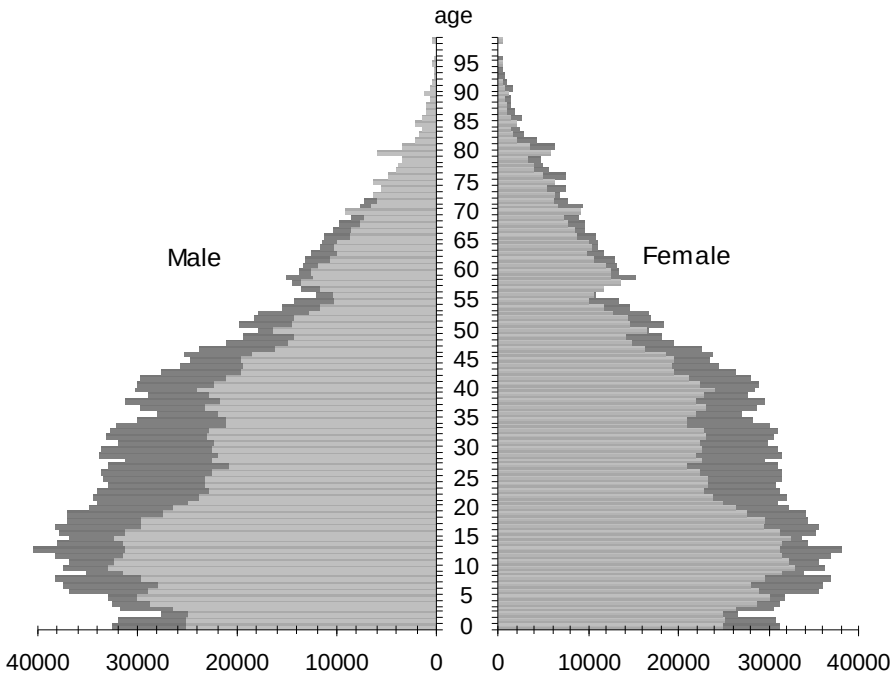
there were slightly more men than women in 1989 (106 men per 100 women), but the ratio was balanced by 2001 (99 men per 100 women). Considering only the working age population (15-64), the ratio has fallen 10 percentage points to 98 men per 100 women. These results show that emigration was first and foremost an activity undertaken by men especially, those of working age. They confirm the results of qualitative analyses hold by the IOM (1995) and Papaganos et Sanfey (2001).

3.1.2 A model for measuring the impact of international migration.

A number of attempts were made over the past decade to estimate the number of Albanian emigrants. A study carried out by the Institute of Statistics in Albania (Van der Pol, 1992) tried, for the first time to estimate this number using a comparison of the population by sex and age in the 1989 census and the total number of people registered to vote in the general elections of 31 March 1991 and 22 July 1992. After taking mortality into account at this period, Van der Pol estimates that some 220 000 emigrants left Albania between 1989 and March 1992 and 300 000 between 1989 and October 1992. At the same time, the Institute of Statistics estimates that 250 000 individuals lived abroad at the end of 1992. This figure excludes seasonal workers in Greece (INSTAT, 1993). For the period 1992–2001, no official estimates have been made in regards to this phenomenon. However, some figures *have* been proposed. In 1995, the number of emigrants was likely to have been between 450 000 and 500 000 (three-fifths living in Greece, one fifth in Italy and one fifth in Western Europe). In 2002, about 750 000 Albanians were living outside their country (cf. Papapanagos et Sanfey, 2001, and others). As far as the status of emigrants is concerned, an estimated sum indicates that at least half the cases of emigration are undocumented. Sardon (2000) suggests that about 4/5 of the 500 000 external migrants are residing in recipient countries illegally, Morakvasic-Muller (2001) estimates that between 250 000 and 500 000 people lived illegally in Greece, and Bribosia et Rea (2001) give the number of 100 000 to 150 000 illegal immigrants in Italy.

In order to assess the impact of international migration between 1989 and 2001 on the size

Figure 5: Comparison of the age structure of the Albanian population with and without migration, 2001.



Light coloured area, with migration (situation as observed);
Dark area, without migration

Sources : 2001 census and authors' computations.

and composition of the Albanian population, we suggest a model, capable of simulating the demographic evolution, supposing that there had been no migration. Observed fertility and death rates can be applied to the population residing in the country on 1 April 1989, after assuming as a hypothesis that Albania's borders were sealed (zero migration balance and volume - cf. Le Bras, 1991). The population on 1 April was estimated using the 1989 census. Births in the population were extrapolated from fertility rates between 1989 and 2001 furnished by INSTAT. Deaths were estimated using mortality tables and tallied with the assistance of the World Health Organization's mortality data-base. Given the nature of the available data, some adjustments needed to be made.

Once the mortality table had been estimated, future quotients were then calculated. Mortality data (like fertility data) is subject to a certain

Table 20: Impact of migration: demographic indicators derived from the observed and simulated, populations 1989-2001

	Observed	Simulation
Population in 1989	3181693	3181693
Population in 2001	3069275	3780654
Growth, in numbers	-112418	598961
Growth rate, in %	-3.5	18.8
Sex ratio (1989 : 106.1)	99.5	103.1
Distribution by age		
0-19 (1989 : 43,1%)	38.9	37.0
20-39 (1989 : 32.8%)	28.7	32.9
40-64 (1989 : 18.8 %)	24.9	23.8
65-79 (1989 : 4,4%)	6.3	5.4
80+ (1989 : 0,9%)	1.3	0.9
Dependency ratio [1]		
Young people (1989 :83,6)	72.6	65.2
Old people (1989: 10,3)	14.1	11.1
Total (1989 : 93,8)	86.7	76.3

(1) young people : 0-19 / 20-64; old people : 65-+ / 20-64

Sources: 2001 census and authors' computations

degree of imprecision, insofar as estimating rates and quotients rests on an approximation of the population "at risk". By the same token, the methods used postulate the hypothesis that migrants and non-migrants are subject to the same level of risk as regards mortality and fertility, which is not always the case in practice. That means that the results obtained ought to be treated with a certain caution, even if the order of magnitude they indicate is most probably a reliable reflection of the migration phenomenon.

Whereas the Albanian population was enumerated at 3.07 million in the 2001 census, in principle, it would have reached 3.78 million had no migration taken place. The difference between these two figures indicates the total impact of emigration, i.e. approximately 710 000 individuals (390 000 men and 320 000 women). The impact is two-fold: direct impact (individuals who have left the country) and indirect impact (children of emigrants born abroad). The direct impact, which represents the migratory balance, is likely to amount to approximately 600 000 to 650 000 individuals, whereas the indirect impact is less than 100 000 individuals. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that more than 600 000 individuals left Albania between 1989 and 2001 and were living abroad in 2001 (Table 20).

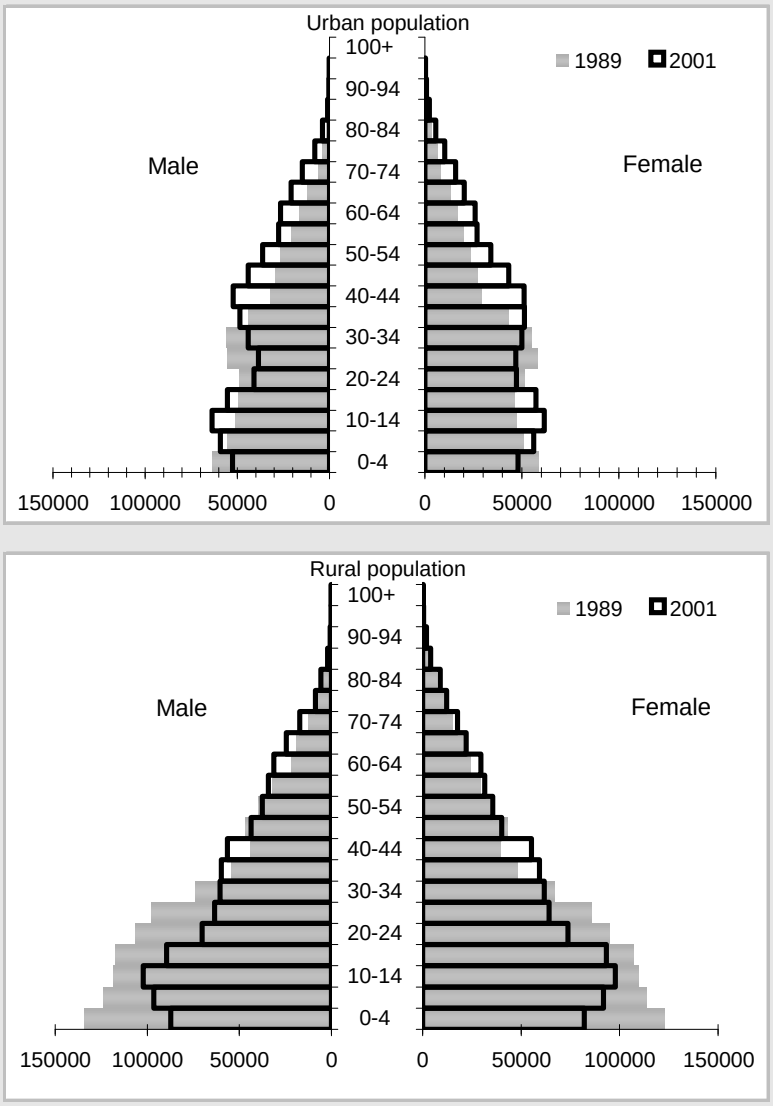
The comparison between the model based on the hypothesis of zero migration and the real situation as observed not only provides an indication as to what the population numbers would be if the migratory movements of the 1990s had not happened, but also shows what the population's sex and age structure would have been in absence of emigration. The age pyramid (Figure 5) shows the structure of the Albanian population under the hypothesis of sealed borders and clearly defines that it was the age cohort between 20 and 40 years old in 2001 that represented the largest number of candidates for emigration. Table 20 presents a number of demographic indicators as calculated in the presence of migration (reality as observed) and as they would have been in the absence of migration (simulation). Over and above the numerical aspect mentioned in the preceeding paragraph, migration has been an important factor in altering the balance between the sexes and the age groups.

3.2 A differentiated impact of migration based on settlement type

One of the consequences of external migration (as well as of internal migration) has been a serious imbalance between urban and rural populations, caused by the spatial redistribution of the young working adult population. In 1989, the age pyramid of the urban population had a very jagged shape with contractions at the height of the ages between 10 and 30 years (in the wake of the baby-boom cohorts), whereas the rural population had a regular pyramid shape. By 2001, the situation had become inverted, with a marked narrowing of the age pyramid for the rural population at approximately 25 years, particularly noticeable for men, and a much more triangular-shaped age pyramid for the urban areas (Figure 6). The decline in the population noted by taking the country as a whole was not distributed evenly over its territory, since the rural areas have lost a sizeable number of inhabitants (-269 800, i.e. –13%), whereas the number of town and city dwellers has increased by 14% (+156 600). As a result, the total urban population has grown from 35% to 42%.

The figures also indicate sex disparities. In urban areas, the growth of the population has been greater amongst women (+94 600 – Table 21) than men (+62 000). On the other hand, the decline in the rural population has affected men (–169 600) more than women (100 200). As a consequence, there has been a 7 percentage points decline in the sex ratio

Figure 6: Age pyramid according to the place of residence. Albania, 1989 and 2001



Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

in the countryside and 5 points in towns and cities to reach almost similar levels (101 men per 100 women in rural areas and 98 men per 100 women in urban areas). If only the economically active population is taken into consideration, the decline in the sex ratio would be 10 in rural areas and 7 percentage points in urban ones (Table 21).

These indexes – in particular the shift in the sex ratio, with fewer men per 100 women – suggest that migration is undoubtedly a phenomenon affecting many men in the country. Given that, as explained in Section 2, internal migration appears to be primarily a female phenomenon, it can be concluded that the external migration is primarily a male phenomenon.

Given that migration is differentiated according to sex and settlement type, the ratios between the ages are changing at different rates for men and women. Considering the proportion of residents of a variety of ages, it can be noted that there is a much steeper decline in the proportion of young men (the 20-34 age group) living in rural areas than that of women (4.5 points versus 3 points – Table 22). In the

Table 21: Distribution of the population according to the place of residence and sex. Albania 1989 and 2001

	Population in 1989		Population in 2001		Evolution in numbers	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Rural	1060984	983871	891361	883718	-169623	-100153
Urban	577090	560472	639082	655114	61992	94642
Total	1638074	1544343	1530443	1538832	-107631	-5511

Sources: 1989 and 2001 census

same way, considering the total number of the economically active population in the country and, within it, the ratio between all cohorts of working age and the younger ones amongst them, the situation is more balanced for women than for men in rural areas. These differences are even more highligthed within the urban population. The proportion of young, economically active women is 22%, whereas young economically active men account for less than one-fifth of the total male population (19%). In summary, this means that demographically, of the total population of young adults, there is an increasing proportion of young women in the country.

The labor-force renewal index (defined as the number in the 15-40 age group divided by the number in the 40-60 age group) confirms this thesis. Whereas, in rural areas it has declined by 59 percentage points and has now stabilized at 217% for females, this same ratio has plummeted for males from 277% to 200% (i.e. a decline of 75 percentage points). By contrast, in urban areas, there are 163 young women for every 100 older women, whereas among men, the ratio is only 143 to 100.

Table 22: Distribution of the population according to the place of residence, sex and age Albania 1989 and 2001

Age group	Population in 1989				Population in 2001			
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0-9 years	20.7	19.5	24.3	24.0	17.5	15.9	20.6	19.7
10-19 years	17.5	16.7	22.3	22.1	18.6	18.1	21.5	21.6
20-34 years	27.9	29.4	26.3	25.2	19.3	22.0	21.8	22.6
35-59 years	26.6	25.5	20.5	19.8	32.7	31.6	26.0	25.1
60 years +	7.2	9.0	6.6	8.9	11.8	12.4	10.1	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: 1989 and 2001 censuses

3.3 Impact of migration on individual prefectures and districts

It is not the case that all of Albania's prefectures have been affected in the same way by the migratory moves to other parts of the country or to other countries. Whereas some of the prefectures have experienced a growth in population, others have suffered a large exodus, caused by Albanians' new mobility in the 1990s. To simplify matters, it is possible to divide Albanian prefectures into three distinct groups: those prefectures along the coast plus Tirana, which have generally gained inhabitants in the period between the two population censuses; those in the South/South-East characterized by post-transitional demographic behavior – low fertility rates, but which have lost large numbers of inhabitants; and those in the North, also characterized by a large emigration flow, which however had a lesser impact because of the traditional demographic behavior characterized by a high fertility rates. It would go beyond the scope of the current report to describe each and every district and prefecture. Instead, Table 23 gives a general idea for the country as a whole, which is to be followed by a closer look at three characteristic demographic trends (Tirana, Tropojë and Sarandë) that are representatif for Albania.

Table 23 puts together a number of demographic indicators, which draw out the most important migratory trends in the 1990s, especially when the population concentration increased along the Albanian coast (the population of the district of Tirana, for example, increased by 41% and that of the Durrës prefec-

Table 23: Demographic indicators according to the prefecture and district of residence. Albania 1989 and 2001

Prefectures/ districts	Population 1989	Population 2002	Evolution	Intern net migration	Sex-ratio	Total dependency ratio	Young ages dependency ratio	Old ages dependency ratio	Urbanization rate
Tirane	368213	519720	151507	130819	100.1	53.0	40.8	12.2	67.8
Kavaje	81015	78179	-2836	-594	85.5	66.3	53.1	13.2	36.0
Total Prefecture	*449228*	*597899*	*148671*	*130225*	*98.1*	*54.6*	*42.3*	*12.3*	*63.7*
Durres	164484	181662	17178	37598	94.9	57.6	45.5	12.1	62.5
Kruje	54046	63517	9471	-27	99.8	61.9	51.9	9.9	30.5
Total Prefecture	218530	245179	26649	37571	96.2	58.7	47.2	11.5	54.2
Elbasan	211948	221635	9687	-274	102.3	56.5	46.6	9.9	43.1
Gramsh	43565	35750	-7815	-8931	103.5	61.6	52.1	9.5	29.5
Librazhd	71982	72387	405	-9069	104.1	62.3	52.7	9.5	16.0
Peqin	30002	32964	2962	-1604	100.0	63.1	53.6	9.5	22.0
Total Prefecture	357497	362736	5239	-19878	102.6	58.7	49.0	9.8	34.4
Fier	204137	199082	-5055	-2891	98.7	57.2	45.5	11.7	38.3
Lushnje	134280	143933	9653	4709	101.3	56.7	45.9	10.8	26.6
Mallakater	40925	39529	-1396	2989	105.2	58.1	47.9	10.1	23.2
Total Prefecture	379342	382544	3202	4807	100.3	57.1	45.9	11.2	32.3
Lezhe	62001	67734	5733	5573	95.4	61.1	49.5	11.6	24.5
Kurbin	52806	54392	1586	3882	97.2	61.7	51.5	10.2	43.1
Mirdite	50447	37056	-13391	-10703	95.5	61.8	49.6	12.2	24.9
Total Prefecture	165254	159182	-6072	-1248	96.0	61.5	50.2	11.3	31.0
Berat	136461	127837	-8624	-12242	102.4	54.4	44.4	10.0	35.6
Kucove	39937	35338	-4599	1402	99.0	54.0	42.8	11.2	51.0
Skrapar	46503	29845	-16658	-10576	102.6	52.6	41.7	10.9	44.4
Total Prefecture	222901	193020	-29881	-21416	101.8	54.1	43.7	10.4	39.8
Shkoder	192505	185395	-7110	-476	97.0	60.4	46.8	13.7	46.3
Puke	48969	34386	-14583	-13617	101.4	67.1	56.0	11.1	17.5
Malesi e madhe	43784	36692	-7092	-1500	93.8	67.1	52.5	14.7	11.1
Total Prefecture	285258	256473	-28785	-15593	97.1	62.2	48.8	13.5	37.4
Kukes	79421	63786	-15635	-26006	100.9	73.4	64.1	9.2	26.1
Has	21881	19660	-2221	-3168	97.1	80.8	72.1	8.7	16.4
Tropoje	44779	27947	-16832	-12965	100.6	66.0	54.6	11.4	26.8
Total Prefecture	146081	111393	-34688	-42139	100.2	72.7	63.0	9.7	24.5
Diber	99368	85699	-13669	-30139	102.3	68.3	58.8	9.5	16.4
Bulqize	50282	42968	-7314	-4188	98.8	68.8	59.4	9.4	23.2
Mat	76674	61187	-15487	-13075	99.2	65.1	53.9	11.2	22.8
Total Prefecture	226324	189854	-36470	-47402	100.5	67.4	57.3	10.0	20.0
Gjirokaster	66373	54647	-11726	498	101.1	55.0	40.1	14.9	41.8
Permet	39775	25780	-13995	-6118	102.1	56.8	40.8	16.0	38.2
Tepelene	49850	32404	-17446	-8792	102.0	58.3	45.5	12.8	34.8
Total Prefecture	155998	112831	-43167	-14412	101.6	56.3	41.8	14.5	39.0
Korce	177127	142909	-34218	-9288	100.7	53.3	38.0	15.3	41.2
Kolonje	24781	17161	-7620	-3946	102.7	55.5	39.6	15.9	43.6
Devoll	38094	34641	-3453	-1186	101.4	53.5	38.0	15.5	19.4
Pogradec	71446	70471	-975	-3175	103.6	56.4	45.3	11.1	33.7
Total Prefecture	311448	265182	-46266	-17595	101.7	54.3	40.0	14.3	36.5
Vlore	176788	147128	-29660	4478	96.9	58.4	44.5	13.9	57.9
Delvine	23785	10765	-13020	-200	103.1	60.0	35.6	24.4	38.1
Sarande	63983	35089	-28894	2802	103.2	58.6	40.8	17.8	41.5
Total Prefecture	264556	192982	-71574	7080	98.3	58.5	43.4	15.2	53.8
TOTAL	3182417	3069275	-113142	0	99.5	58.3	46.4	11.9	42.2

Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

ture by 12%). The two central regions now accommodate nearly 30% of the country's population compared with 23% in 1989. The prefectures of Fier as well as Elbasan also experienced population growth. It is also worth noting a certain polarization of internal migratory movements (often by men) towards Albania's two major seaports in Durrës and Vlorë, which act as exit gates for migration abroad. In a parallel phenomenon, the rural regions in the North and East of the country have lost population as a result of internal migration and, to a lesser extent, of external migration. The district of Lezhë is an exception to this trend, as it appears to act like a magnet for the whole region, attracting migrants from the neighboring districts. As far as the regions in the South are concerned, they are characterized by a significant population loss due mostly to external migration, most in the direction of Greece, and by an accelerated aging of the population due to a very low birth rate.

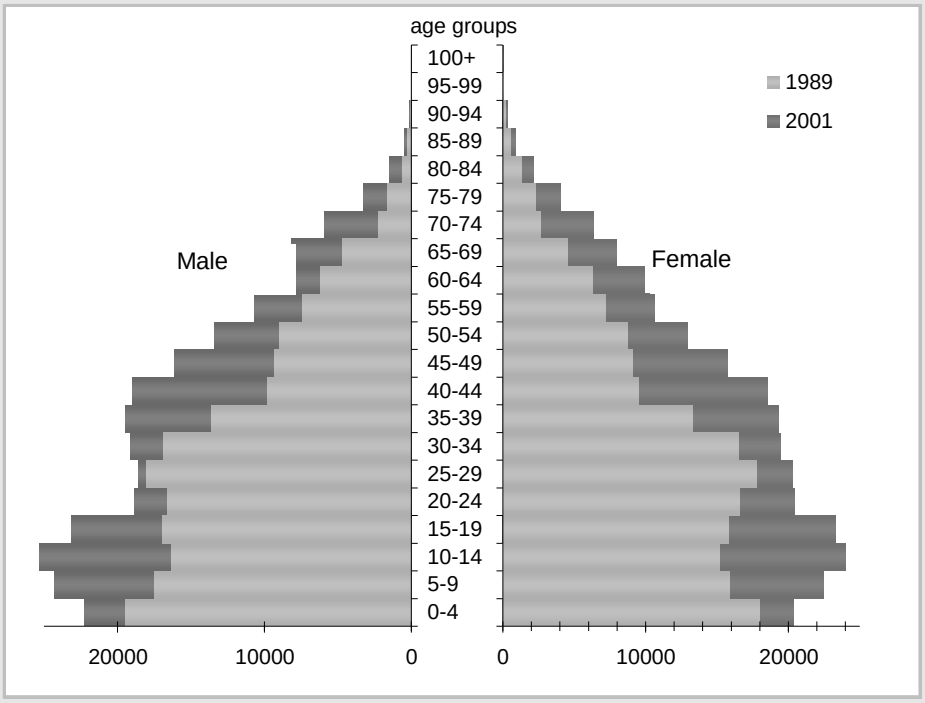
The three districts discussed below are the most representative of Albania, showing the diversity of the socio-demographic effects due to the internal and external migration. The example of Tirana shows the effects of the concentration of the population in the centre regions of the country. The example of Tropojë, one of the most Northern districts, shows the effects of the large-scale migration in the direction of the centre of the country, and the example of Sarandë, located in the extreme South on the border with Greece, represents the demographic figure of regions affected by important external migration.

3.3.1 Tirana

The Tirana district is one of the four Albanian regions that has benefited from population growth during the time between the two censuses. Others prefectures like Elbasan, Lezhë and Fier have also benefited from increased population. Tirana's population grew by 151 500 inhabitants between the two censuses (i.e. by 41%), with a slight predominance of female inhabitants (an increase of 78 200 women and 73 300 men). Approximately 88% of this population growth can be attributed to the positive balance of internal migratory movements towards Tirana. Two-thirds of these internal migrants (i.e. 105 000 individuals) now live in the city itself, the other third remaining within the rural parts of the Tirana district. The proportion of the district population living in urban areas has remained constant at 68%. Thus, Tirana benefited from inter-nal movements that took place throughout the 1990s and has played a central role in the rural exodus that has characterized migration in Albania.

The age distribution of the population in the district of Tirana has changed rapidly as a result of the migratory additions coming from the other parts of the country. This is clearly shown in the age pyramid in Figure 7. In 1989, this pyramid presented a concave slope at the height of the age of less than 25 years, coupled with a broad base. Twelve years later, it had an inverted structure at the height of the younger ages, since it is now the 5-19 age group that includes those generations with the largest numbers, whereas the 20-34 and 0-4 age cohorts are now more modest in size. For the various age groups above 40 years old, the structure of the pyramid is less jagged than it was in the past. Overall the proportion of the people of the 0-19 age group remained almost the same between 1989 and 2001, while the proportion of young adults declined and the proportion of the older working age cohorts increased. Again, this is a phenomenon that requires interpretation in the light of migration. Internal immigration, originating in other prefectures, has filled the void created by international emigration on part of Tirana's young residents. It is also worth noting that the age pyramid shows an overrepresentation of women, which is a result of the fact that more men than women emigrating abroad.

Figure 7: Age pyramid, district of Tirana 1989, 2001



Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

The rural and urban population in the district of Tirana displays characteristics of the two antagonistic models present in the Albanian population. The age distribution of the rural population has remained approximately stable and has a relatively young structure. However, within the urban population, the aging process has already progressively advanced, with the base of the pyramid displaying an increasingly concave shape. This results in a dependency ratio of one young person for every three adults of working age in urban areas, compared with roughly two young persons for every three adults of working age in rural areas (the exact figure being one young person for every 1.6 adults).

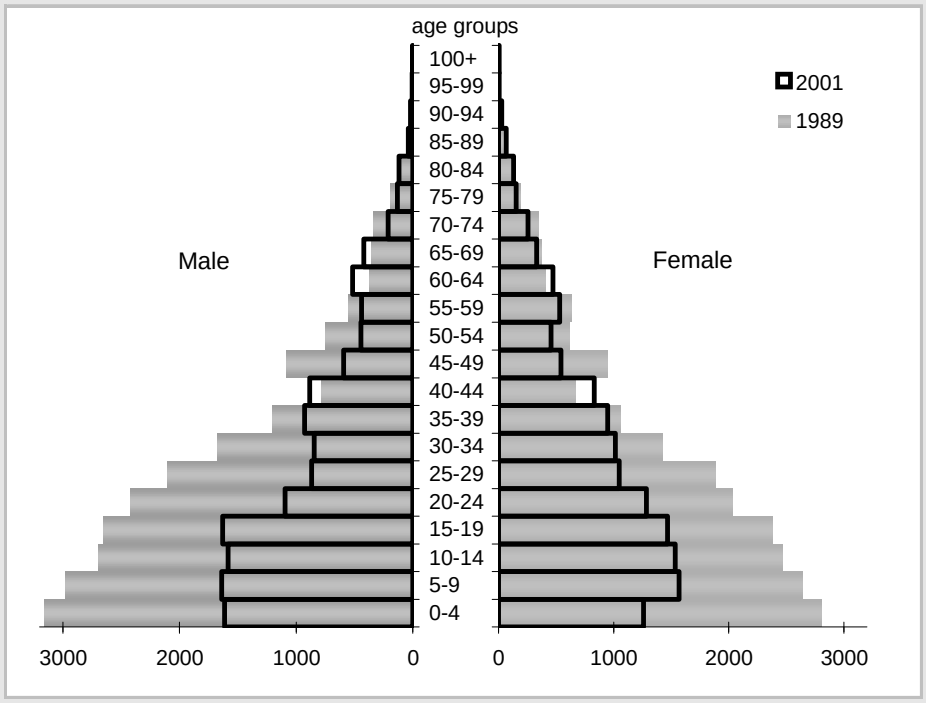
3.3.2 Tropojë

The mountainous and predominantly rural district of Tropojë, situated on the border with Kosovo, is an example of the population evolution in the North of Albania.

In 1989, the population was extremely young and was characterized by an age pyramid with a very wide base (with nearly 50% of the population being less than 20 years old). This contrasts sharply with the regional demographic profile in 2001, as the base of the population's age pyramid has now been cut in half, with each successive cohort becoming smaller than its predecessors. The obvious hollows at the height of the younger working ages and the 50–64 age group confirm the existence of a massive migratory phenomenon (Figure 8).

Tropojë has lost 16 800 inhabitants (i.e. 38%) within a period of 12 years and is thus one of the Albanian districts to have been most severely depopulated. The majority of this loss (13 000 persons or 77%) is due to a negative internal migratory balance. Nearly 30% of the population recorded in the 1989 census has subsequently left to live elsewhere in Albania. These figures confirm the results of a recent analysis, which identifies the North of Albania as the main source of internal emigration (INSTAT 2002). Other studies have attempted to explain the reasons for the Albanian emigration through evidences from micro data (Kule et al. 2002). They have also defined vari-

Figure 8: Age pyramid, district of Tropojë 1989, 2001



Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

ables which can explain the decision to stay within the country; first, for family reasons, second, because of the age specifics (too old or too young) and third, for love of one's home or country. Given the traditional way of life as well as the familiar nature of their non-selective migration, these indicators could support possible exaplanations to conclude why the people coming from the North did not tend to migrate in great numbers abroad.

Given the district's high birth rate, the major losses linked to the migratory moves are largely understated by the published figures. A longitudinal analysis shows that the cohorts born between 1970 and 1979 actually lost 36% between the two census dates, whereas those born between 1950 and 1959 suffered a decline of 32%.

As a consequence of this conspicuous trend in emigration that affected the cohorts born between 1960 and 1980 and especially their children, the relative proportion of young adults (ages 20-34) in the population has perceptibly declined. Demographically, this has been accompanied by a rapid aging of the population. Thus, the proportion of the 35-50 age group increased by 5 % and stabilized at 24% in 2001 – an increase that was more significant among women than men. The old-age dependency ratio, 9% in 1989 (4% in urban areas and 10% in rural areas), increased to 11% by 2001.

The selective nature of migration is also striking, especially in terms of external migration, and it has considerably changed the sex ratio in this district. Whereas internal emigration is characterized by the equal involvement of men and women (with 6,500 internal emigrants each), the overall decline in the population is greater among men than women, precisely, 56% among men and 44% among women. Young men of working age, in particular, left the district more frequently than women of the same age, as can be seen in the course of the migration patterns over time, with a predominance of male migration in the beginning and female migration increasing later on.

Figure 9: Sex ratio of the resident population and the population who emigrated or died (1989-2001) District of Tropojë , 2001

Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

The absolute number of men in the 20-34 age group declined by 3396 individuals (or -55% compared with 1989), while the absolute number of women fell by 2011 individuals (or -38%).

For this reason, the district's sex ratio fell by 11% between 1989 and 2001 (11% in the rural areas and 8 % in the urban areas). Today, there are just as many women as men living in Tropojë, although the situation is not balanced for all age groups (Figure 9). Taking only those of working age into account (ages 15–64), the ratio is significantly unbalanced. It shifted from 113 men per 100 women in 1989 to 96 men per 100 women in 2001. In rural areas, this ratio fell by 17% (to 97 men per 100 women), compared to 13 % in urban regions (93 men per 100 women).

However, the longitudinal analysis of the population, indicates that the phenomenon is more complex. The majority of the migrants belonging to age cohort born between 1970 and 1979 (which were between the ages of 10 and 19 in 1989) are men, the sex ratio of these emigrants amounting to 170 men per 100 women (Figure 9). It is likely then that this phenomenon involved young people leaving their home districts in search of a job or to train or study. Emigrants belonging to the age cohorts born between 1955 and 1969 are less numerous and are mainly women (78% of the total). Given that the prefecture of Tropoje is predominantly rural, remaining in the family home often does not offer good prospects of finding a job, frequently providing a catalyst for women (if they are not married) to leave. Another probable explanation might be family reunions: women going to join the head of the household again, once her partner has found a job away from their home district. Older generations are again small in number in terms of male representation among emigrants. These men are likely fathers of families forced to accept a job elsewhere or are attempting a work search in order to be able to assure the livelihood of the rest of the household remaining at home. The hypothesis of a household strategy (Stark 1991), in which the migration phenomena are part of implicit arrangements between the family and the one who left (head of family or the youngsters), cannot be tested here, however this may also be a possible explanation. The final outcome is that, as a

consequence of the emigration of young people, the balances between the socio-professional groups and between the active and inactive members of the population have changed profoundly. One snapshot of this situation, which makes Tropojë a district where the population aging rate now equals those recorded in the countries of Western Europe, is that there has been an increase in the statutory retirement age, the only available method for guaranteeing an adequate workforce.

A final distinctive point pertaining to the population of Tropojë as compared to the rest of Albania, is that the transformation of its age structure with the loss of individuals in the 20–34 age group has not been accompanied by a subsequent reduction in the number of children. Today there are still two children aged 0–4 for every five women of reproductive age (15-49), which indicates that there is continued high fertility rate. In several of the other districts of Northern Albania, including Kukës, this ratio is even higher, with one child for every two women. Traditional reproduction behavior obviously still characterizes certain regions of Albania.

3.3.3 Sarandë

The district of Sarandë is situated in the farthest Southern region of Albania. It serves to illustrate the consequences of the migratory phenomenon as it has occurred in this region. In 1989, the population of Sarandë (64 000 inhabitants) was characterized by an irregularly-shaped pyramid: there is an evident difference between the cohorts born before 1949, of whom there are very few amongst the residents, and those born later, which were more numerous cohorts. The district's population is therefore very young. Between 1989 and 2001, the region lost 45% of its population, reduced to a population of 35 100 residents (Figure 10). This population loss is explained first and foremost by external emigration while the net internal migratory balance is positive. This observation supports the view of numerous authors who suspect the South of Albania as the main source for international emigration (INSTAT 2002, Morokvasic-Muller 2001, Leibich 1997), mainly to Greece and Italy.

The 2001 age pyramid indicates not only a significant decrease in the number of children (as is clear from the reduction in the base of the pyramid), but also losses in numbers within the 20-39 age group and, to a lesser degree also in the 45–59 age group. Young, economically active adults in the 20–34 age group were reduced by 63% in total between 1989 and 2001 (i.e. 11 300 individuals). This age cohort now accounts for only 19% of the population, as compared to 28% in 1989. This trend has been accompanied by a reduction in the proportion of children in the 0–9 age group, which is now only 16%, i.e. the lowest level in entire country. In contrary to the North, emigration from Sarandë is dominated by women: for this reason, the sex ratio increased from 94 to 103 males for 100 women between 1989 and 2001.

As a consequence, the groups aged 34 and up have grown in importance: the "older active cohorts" now account for 35% of the population (+10% compared with 1989), and those of retirement age 11% (+5 %). Contrary to all other age groups, which have sustained a loss in numbers, the population aged 65 and over has increased by 3%, (99 individuals) between the two censuses. Generally, the number of retirees now equals 18% of the number of the members of the working age population (as opposed to 7% in 1989). This massive emigration has thus had a major impact on accelerating the phenomenon of population aging, depriving the district of a sizable part of its young population and thereby also limiting the number of live births.

It is worth noting that there is a rural predominance in losses in the numbers described

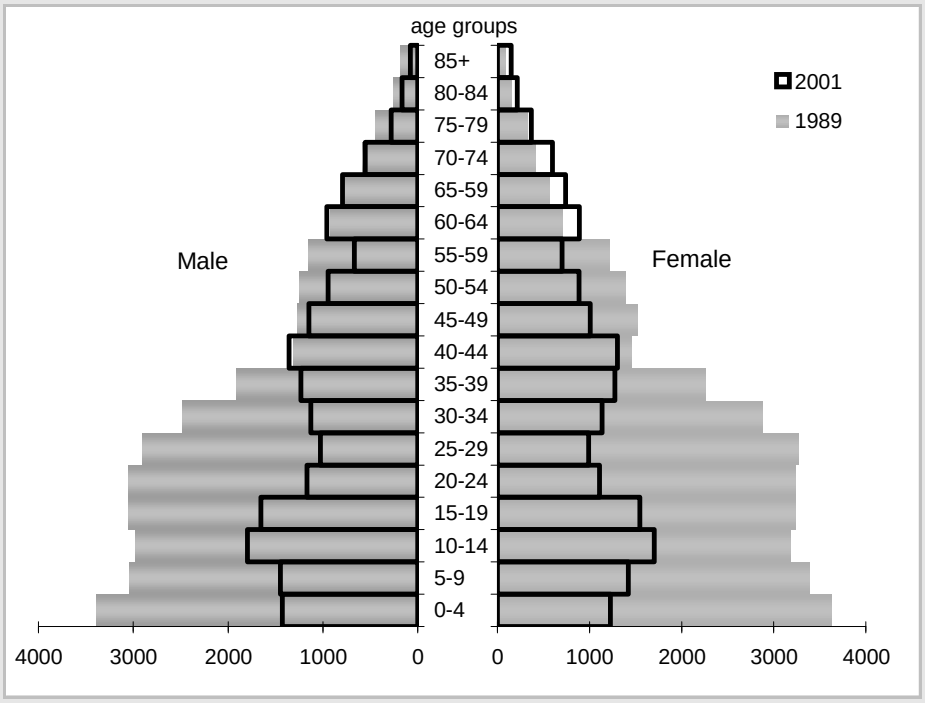
[7] In this section, Sarandë and Delvinë are taken together.

above.[7] The actual loss of individuals in the rural areas amounts to approximately 34 500, or 56% of 1989 population. In urban areas, the population fell by only 28%. The proportion of the population living in the urban areas, in turn, went up from 29% in 1989 to 40% in 2001, indicating the existence of a large-scale rural exodus.

Emigration away from Sarandë and Delvinë is complex and appears to be composed partly of a rural exodus towards the centres, setting in train a process of urbanization, and partly of emigration towards other prefectures or other countries. Several reasons could be put forward to explain this migratory phenomenon in the South. One is that the difficulties encountered by farmers when their land was returned to them in the years following the fall of communist government and the reorganisation of the agriculture may have driven a large number of people to emigrate to the towns or abroad (De Rapper, 2000). The ethnic, linguistic, and religious commonalities between the Epirotes, a Greek minority living in the South of Albania, and Greece as well as the attractiveness of that country, which needs large numbers of seasonal workers (OECD, 1999), are two other factors that might explain why there is such a high probability of emigration. Other factors can also be mentioned, in particular the geographic proximity, the border to Greece can be crossed on foot. Differences in terms of economic income between the two countries are unusually high and may also be a factor that can explain emigration.

As was shown in this chapter, the emigration of 600 000 to 650 000 persons (from 1989-2001) and the internal population shifts had different impacts on each region. Generally, the most obvious ones are: the historical decrease in the number of the Albanian population, the intensification of the urbanization, and the ageing process. The most important decrease of the population affected the young adult group (20-34 years old), especially the men. We can also propose a sex-specific migration model for Albania: The men tend more than women to migrate abroad, while women are greater in number among the internal migrants.

Figure 10: Age pyramid, district of Sarandë 1989, 2001



Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

c h a p t e r

4

Impact of the migratory movements on the operation of the econom

4.1 Impact of migration on the working age population

4.1.1 Main labor-market trends

From the outset of this chapter it is important to recognize that there have been a number of general trends that are linked with the increase in retirement age from 54 to 64 for women and from 59 to 64 for men, a policy that took effect at the end of the 1990s. This institutional change makes it more complex to measure the net impact of migration on the labor market, since there has also been a shift in the balance between the ages.

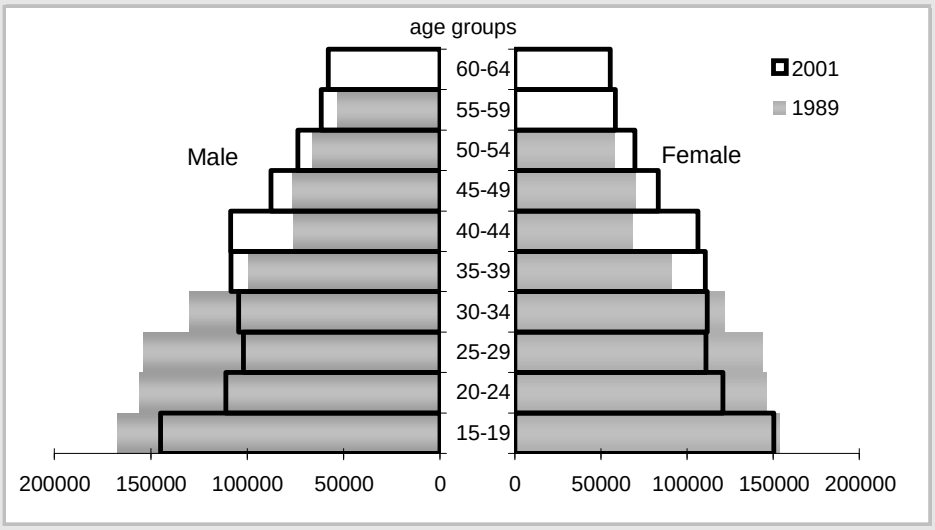
Working age Population

As a result of this change in policy, the total population of working age has increased in count from 1 833 000 in 1989 to 1 939 100 in 2001, corresponding to 58% of the total population in 1989 and 63% in 2001. This overall increase is a direct consequence of the change in retirement age, or an additional 116 200 individuals that remined in the labor market in 2001 (ages 55–64 for women and 60–64 for men). One effect of this measure has been to accentuate the demographic aging of the workforce, which had already been triggered by young workers going aboard. Fol-

The political changes of the 1990s, the economic opening up of Albania and the large-scale migratory movements to other countries certainly had an impact of the development of the Albanian economy (see for instance: INSTAT, to be published). Following the country's democratisation, economic reforms were set in train (privatisation, deregulation of prices, and so on), the aim of which was to revitalise the country's productive infrastructure, which had suffered serious degradation during the 1980s. The importance of industry, which accounted for 42% of the GDP in 1980, has declined since then (11.5% in 2001), while agriculture and services have gained ground (51% respectively 19% of GDP; Treichler, 2002). This economic transition has led to a positive, although modest, economic development. The Albanian economy has been largely dependant on the capital flows from abroad and foreign goods since 1995, and besides that suffered the full brunt of the collapse of the "financial pyramid" firms in 1997 (Gedeshi, 2000). Since then, several efforts have been made to get the economy going again and to move towards a positive growth rate. However, the country's extensivelly dependent on the transfer of funds, coming in part from foreign companies and in part as remittances from the emigrants (who transfer a sum equivalent to 25% of Albania's GDP; Gedeshi, 2000).

The census data do provide a number of indicators of the relationships between migration and the economy. That is why in this chapter a certain amount of information has been included on how the migratory movements affect the population of working age, the Albanian population's human capital (level of education) and its active population as well as the development of the urban and rural areas and individual prefectures relative to one another.

Figure 11: Age pyramid of the population of working age, Albania 1989 and 2001.



Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

lowing the decline in the number of the population between the ages of 15–39 and the postponement of the retirement age, the population ages 40-64 now accounts for more than half (53%) of the total working age population. The population's mean age has also increased to be 36 in 2001, in contrast to 34 in 1989.

As indicated by the age pyramid of working age people (Figure 11), women were in the majority in 2001 (with a sex ratio of 98 men per 100 women, in contrast to 114 in 1989). That is explained by the fact that the increase in retirement age was greater for women than for men (10 and 5 years respectively) and by sex differentials in the composition of the external emigration. The male working age population decreased by 2% between 1989 and 2001, whereas the female population increased by 14%. Economic activity now functions on the basis of a labor force in which there is a female predominance, even if, in terms of the number of people who actually have a job, there are actually still more men.

The economically active population

Of the 1 939 100 individuals of working age in Albania in 2001, only 1 347 300 were classified as "economically active"[8], corresponding to a rate of 69%. This rate had fallen by 18% compared with 1989. Among men, this figure fell by 3% and by 33% among women.

There are various interpretations that attempt to explain why a proportion of the female population withdrew from economic activity. One factor is certainly a return to traditional family values, according to which women are responsible for domestic issues while men work outside the household (INSTAT, 2002). On the other hand, there are the conditions prevalent in the labor market and, in particular, the difficulties that women have in finding jobs and also a considerable dependence on money being transferred home by the emigrant husbands (the amount being transferred is estimated to range between 300 and 400 million dollars each year ; Courrier des Balkans, 2001 ; Gedeshi 2000), which may also contribute to this phenomenon (just over 20 000 married women were living without

[8]The term "economically active" includes both those who have jobs and those looking for jobs. The "inactive population" is comprised of students, old-age pensioners, people unable to work and people not looking for a job.

Table 24: Indicators of the Labor Force. Albania 1989 and 2001

	1989			2001			Evolution		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Employed	1443167	779271	663896	1041775	649646	392129	-401392	-129,625	-271,767
Unemployed	156599	62435	94164	305506	150098	155408	148907	87,663	61,244
Active population	1599766	841706	758060	1347281	799744	547537	-252485	-41,962	-210,523
Non active population	233,237	136,797	96,440	591,793	161,218	430,575	358,556	24,421	334,135
Population in age of activity	1,833,003	978,503	854,500	1,939,074	960,962	978,112	106,071	-17,541	123,612
Activity rate (%) [1]	87.3	86.0	88.7	69.5	83.2	56.0			
Employed rate (%) [2]	78.7	79.6	77.7	53.7	67.6	40.1			
Unemployment rate (%) [3]	9.8	7.4	12.4	22.7	18.8	28.4			

1 Active population / population in age of activity

2 Employed / population in age of activity

3 Unemployed / Active population

Sources: 1989 and 2001 censuses. 1989: men 15-59, women 15-54. 2001:men and women 15-64 (including 4,136 older workers - 65+)

their husbands at the time of the 2001 census). Table 24 shows that women have frequently withdrawn from the labor market (the number indicating that they had no economic activity increased by a factor of 4.5), whereas the rate of unemployment has risen among men. At present, there are equal numbers of male and female job seekers, while the part of the population that is not economically active is becoming characterized by women. The unemployment rate was 10% in 1989 and climbed to 23% by 2001. It is higher for women than for men.

The age structure of the economically active population shows an increase in the 40 and above age group (+15%), and a decline in the 15-39 age group (-46%) during the period between the two population censuses. The number of individuals of working age in the 25–29 age group actually working fell by 60.8% among men and 69.5% among women (Table 25). At the opposite end of the scale, men of working age who are working in the 40-49 age group increased by 23% and women aged 50 and up by more than 110%. The trends have led to both a shift in the sex ratio of the working-age population who are working and an aging of that population. Within the 20-24 age group, there are only 83 men for every 100 women, whereas the other age groups all have a clear male majority. This phenomenon, which was already observable in 1989, is likely the result of an over-representation of

Table 25: Distribution of the employed population according to sex end age, Albania 1989 and 2001

Age	1989 1			2001			Evolution 1989-2001 (%)		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
15-19	138364	68274	70090	124512	69990	54522	-10.0	2.5	-22.2
20-24	211816	91729	120087	78992	35743	43249	-62.7	-61.0	-64.0
25-29	276909	145887	131022	97109	57161	39948	-64.9	-60.8	-69.5
30-39	423568	223471	200097	271454	180124	91330	-35.9	-19.4	-54.4
40-49	263657	148940	114717	281230	182879	98351	6.7	22.8	-14.3
50-+	142985	112189	30796	188478	123749	64729	31.8	10.3	110.2
Unknown	365	199	166	...	...	...			
All	1457664	790689	666975	1041775	649646	392129	-28.5	-17.8	-41.2

Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

men in more advanced training schemes. The over-representation of men in the age groups above the age of 25 has, by contrast, become further accentuated. As far as the aging of the economically active population actually working is concerned, this is reflected in a proportion of 45% in the 40 and above age group for all those currently working compared with 28% in 1989. The proportion of 20-29-year-olds, in turn, has dropped from 33.5% to 17% (Table 25).

Therefore, it can be concluded that the principal changes observed in Albania between the two population censuses were a lengthening of the working life as well as an aging of the population, due in part to the emigration of the younger parts of the labor force. Another important change is the increase in the male proportion of employed labor, contrasting with an increased female proportion of the population of working age. The factors underlying these changes are to be sought not only in the growth of migratory movements but also in the transformation of the economy in the wake of political changes and, partly also in a shift back to a traditional perception of the married couple[9].

4.2 Migration and the development of the labor market

In this context of a labor market undergoing transformation, the migratory movements play a real role, but one that it is difficult to measure with precision, since the factors that might explain such trends are so much intertwined. By adopting a descriptive approach, on the one hand, and a demo-economic simulation, on the other hand, it is, however, possible to extract a number of lines of interpretation. That is the main aim of this particular section, which fleshes out an evaluation of the estimated impact of migration on human capital (in terms of the education level of the Albanian population), and on the part of the economically active population actually available for work. At this stage, the analysis is limited to the situation for the country as a whole; the impact of the internal migratory movements on the regions is dealt with in the following section (4.3).

4.2.1 Impact of migration on human capital and level of qualification.

Data from a number of sources clearly show that immigration to Western Europe (whatever the country of origin) involves a population with both high and low levels of qualification. Those migrants with an average level of qualification tend to emigrate less often. In the case of Albania, there is a very definite confirmation of this phenomenon and, in particular, a major "brain drain" that has occurred as a result. Among the universities and high schools, scientific research centres and artistic and cultural institutions, no less than 27% of their staff have emigrated between 1991 and 1994 (Misja V., Gëdeshi I. – Emigracioni i Elitës Intelektuale) and 13% more between 1995 and 1998. Universities have lost 60% of their professors to emigration (Courrier des Balkans, 2001). The structures of the emigration among the intellectual elite in the international market have their own characteristics in the social, geographic and demographic points of view. The social and demographic structures of the emigration of highly qualified scientists are characterized by an older age cohort, the relatively wide participation of the female in the migratory processes (32% of the emigrants are women), and family emigration (62% of highly qualified emigrated with their family). This population emigrated in Canada, France, USA, Germany and England rather than in Italy and Greece. The departure of individuals with a low level of education, wishing

[9] The mean age of women at their first marriage stood at 23.5 in 1999. It appears that marriage was almost universal up until at least the early 1990s, and fertility remains high - Council of Europe 2002.

Table 26: Distribution of the population aged 6 and more, according to the level of education, Albania 1989-2001.

School level	1989			2001			Evolution 1989-2001		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Elementary	597093	299861	297232	509825	246489	263336	-14.6	-17.8	-11.4
Medium inferior	1065558	563155	502403	1109756	549992	559764	4.1	-2.3	11.4
Medium superior	664917	358452	306465	535871	283058	252813	-19.4	-21.0	-17.5
Superior	137316	90288	47028	134110	78947	55163	-2.3	-12.6	17.3
Total	2464884	1311756	1153128	2289562	1158486	1131076	-7.1	-11.7	-1.9

Sources: Censuses 1989 and 2001

to try their luck abroad (mainly in Greece and Italy) is also an established fact described by several authors (Kule, 2002).

This migratory context has lead to a modification in the structure of the population according to level of education.[10] If the entire population is taken into account, then the loss in numbers has primarily affected not only the population that has completed uppersecondary and tertiary education (males only), but also those who did not advance above elementary education (Table 26). On the other hand, the population with a lower, intermediate level of education has increased. The comparison of the figures available for 1989 and 2001 (which refer to the whole of the population aged 6 and above) reflect not only a phenomenon of selective migration, but also affects pertaining to school attendance as well as the characteristics of those who died between 1989 and 2001. Although, on a country-wide basis, the level of education may well have stayed constant, this is likely due to an improvement in access to the education system. As far as those individuals with a higher level of education are concerned, a decrease has been observed in the number of men but not in the

Table 27: Distribution of the population of working age according to the level of education, Albania 2001

Age	Men				Women			
	Elementary	Medium inferior	Medium superior	Superior	Elementary	Medium inferior	Medium superior	Superior
15-19	8.0	81.2	10.8	0.0	5.9	81.3	12.8	0.0
20-24	3.9	65.7	26.8	3.6	2.6	62.6	28.0	6.9
25-29	2.3	57.5	33.5	6.6	1.8	54.1	35.1	8.9
30-34	2.3	54.1	35.3	8.3	2.1	55.5	34.6	7.7
35-39	2.7	51.4	38.6	7.3	2.9	56.8	34.2	6.1
40-44	3.4	48.1	39.4	9.1	5.4	54.7	33.8	6.1
45-49	6.8	43.7	36.3	13.1	13.8	48.8	29.2	8.3
50-54	16.4	40.0	28.5	15.2	33.6	40.3	18.9	7.2
55-59	32.3	35.8	20.0	11.9	54.0	30.5	11.8	3.7
60-64	43.2	29.6	17.5	9.7	65.0	23.3	9.3	2.4
Total	9.3	54.2	28.9	7.6	12.4	55.7	26.2	5.7

Sources: Census 2001.

[10] For practical reasons, the following classification has been adopted: a) elementary education lasting up to four years, b) compulsory education lasting a total 7-8 years, possibly with vocational training lasting one year or less, c) upper-secondary school and d) various types of university-level education.

number of women, which may be explained by the sex disparities in the emigration rates within these groups.

The male/female distribution according to level of education also shows greater sex equilibrium among those who have undergone higher education, attributable to the more frequent departures of men with university qualifications, but also because it has become easier for women to enter institutions of higher education. At present, this category has a ratio of 143 men for every 100 women compared with 192 in 1989.

Amongst the working age population, the proportion of those who have obtained higher education is less than 7% (males 7.6%, females 5.7%), whereas 28% have attained an upper intermediate level of education. While statistics for women indicate an increase in the level of education within younger age groups, this is not the case for men, as 45-49 age group actually has a higher average level of education than the 25-29 group. In the future, international migration is going to make it difficult to replace retiring employees in those jobs that require a high level of qualification (Table 27).

The trends would appear to confirm that international emigration has, above all, affected those who have benefited from an upper secondary or tertiary education as well as those who have not gone beyond elementary education. This is contributing to a phenomenon of homogenization among the Albanian population in terms of education levels. Those who have a lower-intermediate education tend to stay in the country, while those who are better or less-well educated tend to go abroad.

4.2.2 Impact of migration on the active labor force

Even in the absence of emigration, the economically active population would have declined because of the decreasing employment rate among women, which has not been offset by the increase in retirement age. Therefore, employing the model described in Chapter 3 and applying it to the population that the census would have counted had there been no migration (simulation), a decrease of 100 000 individuals is identified in the num-ber of people working in 2001, which can be set against the actual figure of 415 000. In summary, while remaining cautious about making claims, in consideration of the limits of a simulation that does not take labor-market entry mechanisms into account, it can be estimated that migration has contributed to approximately three quarters of the decline in the numbers of members of the economically active population.

4.3 Impact of migration on the rural and urban working age population

4.3.1 Impact of internal migration on regional employment

The labor-market trends described above have not occurred uniformly over the whole of Albania, due, to a certain extent, to the country's internal migration flows. Thus, with the migratory movements observed between the rural and urban areas, the number of working age people increased by 14% between 1989 and 2001 in the towns and cities and decreased by 4% in the countryside (Table 28).

The spatial concentration of the working age population is reflected in a sharper decline in the economically active population actually working in the rural areas (284 000 fewer em-

ployed) than in the urban areas (117 400). Breaking down this trend in the number of unemployed produces a different picture: the increase in urban unemployment (+108 100 or +132%) has been much greater than that in terms of rural unemployment (+40 800 or +5%), where the number of women in search of a job has decreased. This is another consequence of the rural exodus; once the number of immigrants exceeds a certain level, urban infrastructure and economic structures can no longer manage to integrate everyone into the labor market. The rural exodus has thus contributed to a functional division of the Albanian territory. There is a clear distinction between those areas that are characterized by a traditional gender role, women withdrawing more frequently from the labor market, and those areas that are characterized by a concentration of economic activity, thus becoming saturated and no longer managing to integrate the incoming labor force.

The analysis of the employed people by age cohort adds further elements to coming to an understanding of this phenomenon, and does so by highlighting the aging of both the active rural population and the urban population (Figure 12). Compared to 1989, the employed population in rural areas in the 20-29 age range has lost more than 96 000 individuals and the 25-29 age range has lost more than 110 000 (Table 29). In urban areas, the equivalent losses for the same age groups have been 36 500 and 68 100 resepectively. Between the ages 30 and 39, the number of lost members of the economically active population has been similar whatever the type of settlement, whereas different tendencies appear in the 40 and up age group. In urban areas, the male population with jobs has increased, whilst the female population has stabilized. In rural areas, it is working women aged 40 and up who have seen their numbers increase, while the number of men has remained relatively stable.

Table 28: Indicators of the Labor Force according to the place of residence, Albania 1989 and 2001.

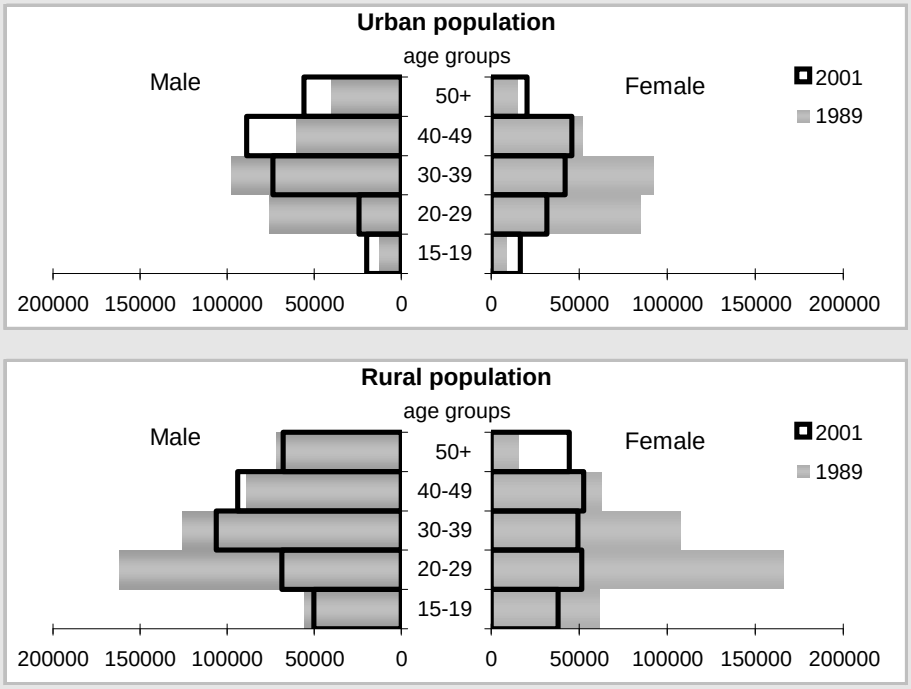
	1989			2001			Difference		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Rural									
Employed	906659	494,431	412,228	622708	386,906	235,802	-283951	-107,525	-176,426
Unemployed	75192	28,642	46,550	116032	76,047	39,985	40840	47,405	-6,565
Active population	981851	523,073	458,778	738740	462,953	275,787	-243111	-60,120	-182,991
Non active population	152,860	90,911	*61,949*	352,125	83,610	*268,515*	199,265	-7,301	206,566
In age of activity	1,134,711	613,984	520,727	1,090,865	546,563	544,302	-43,846	-67,421	23,575
Activity rate (%) [1]	86.5	85.2	88.1	67.7	84.7	50.7			
Employment rate (%) [2]	79.9	80.5	79.2	57.1	70.8	43.3			
Unemployment rate (%)[3]	7.7	5.5	10.1	15.7	16.4	14.5			
Urban									
Employed	536508	284840	251668	419067	262740	156327	-117441	-22,100	-95,341
Unemployed	81407	33793	47614	189474	74051	115423	108067	40,258	67,809
Active	617915	318633	299282	608541	336791	271750	-9374	18,158	-27,532
Non active population	80,377	45,886	*34,491*	239,668	77,608	*162,060*	159,291	31,722	127,569
In age of activity	698,292	364,519	333,773	848,209	414,399	433,810	149,917	49,880	100,037
Activity rate (%) [1]	88.5	87.4	89.7	71.7	81.3	62.6			
Employment rate (%) [2]	76.8	78.1	75.4	49.4	63.4	36.0			
Unemployment rate (%)[3]	13.2	10.6	15.9	31.1	22.0	42.5			

[1] Active population / population in age of activity [2] Employed / population in age of activity [3] Unemployed / Active population

Sources: 1989 and 2001 censuses. 1989: men 15-59, women 15-54. 2001:

men and women 15-64 (including 4136 older workers - 65+)

Figure 12: Age pyramid of the employed population (15years old and more), according to the place of residence, Albania 1989 and 2001.



Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

It should also be noted that the number of working adolescents ages 15-19 has gone up in the urban areas, where job opportunities requiring only a low level of qualification have been created, but not in the rural areas. Nonetheless, the proportion of working adolescents remains higher in the countryside. The relatively high proportion of older persons among the urban employed may also be linked to the rural exodus. Leaving rural areas to work in a town or city is an possibility for all adults in Albania. Leaving the country to go abroad on the other hand is a more selective process, requiring more considerations and

Table 29: Evolution and distribution of the employed population according to place of residence, sex and age, Albania 1989-2001.

age group	Evolution of the employed population (1989-2001)				Employed population by age class (in % of the total, 2001)			
	RURAL		URBAN		RURAL		URBAN	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
15-19	-5571	-23453	7287	7885	13.0	16.1	7.6	10.6
20-24	-38548	-57750	-17438	-19088	7.4	11.9	2.7	9.7
25-29	-54522	-57136	-34204	-33938	10.3	9.9	6.5	10.6
30-39	-19553	-58481	-23794	-50286	27.5	20.9	28.1	26.9
40-49	5277	-10193	28662	-6173	24.3	22.3	33.8	29.3
50+	-4226	28784	15786	5149	17.5	18.9	21.3	13.0
All	-117279	-178343	-23764	-96503	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Censuses 1989 and 2001.

Table 30: Distribution of the population aged 6 and more, according to the level of education and the place of residence. Albania, 1989-2001.

	1989			2001			Evolution in %		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Rural									
elementary	429623	221111	208512	329047	163367	165680	-23.4	-26.1	-20.5
medium inferior	764317	400818	363499	743908	367408	376500	-2.7	-8.3	3.6
medium superior	309998	183906	126092	186133	111768	74365	-40.0	-39.2	-41.0
superior	31657	23955	7702	18708	12661	6047	-40.9	-47.1	-21.5
all	1535595	829790	705805	1277796	655204	622592	-16.8	-21.0	-11.8
elementary	28.0	26.6	29.5	25.8	24.9	26.6			
medium inferior	49.8	48.3	51.5	58.2	56.1	60.5			
medium superior	20.2	22.2	17.9	14.6	17.1	11.9			
superior	2.1	2.9	1.1	1.5	1.9	1.0			
Urban									
elementary	167470	78750	88720	180778	83122	97656	7.9	5.6	10.1
medium inferior	301241	162337	138904	365848	182584	183264	21.4	12.5	31.9
medium superior	354919	174546	180373	349738	171290	178448	-1.5	-1.9	-1.1
superior	105659	66333	39326	115402	66286	49116	9.2	-0.1	24.9
all	929289	481966	447323	1011766	503282	508484	8.9	4.4	13.7
elementary	18.0	16.3	19.8	17.9	16.5	19.2			
medium inferior	32.4	33.7	31.1	36.2	36.3	36.0			
medium superior	38.2	36.2	40.3	34.6	34.0	35.1			
superior	11.4	13.8	8.8	11.4	13.2	9.7			

Sources: 1989 and 2001 censuses

greater distance separating migrants from their families that may deter more elderly employees (Dahinden, 1998). The age and sex structure clearly indicates the consequences of so many men emigrating: the proportion of men between the ages of 20 and 29 is only 9.2% among all those people working in urban areas, compared with 20.3% for women.

In the final analysis, internal migrants have a complementary and subsidiary effect on the economy to the effects caused by international emigrants. On the one hand, internal migrants further accentuate the depopulation of the countryside, as the majority of migration flows are directed away from the peripheral regions towards urban centres. On the other hand, their movement can be perceived as a compensatory benefit covering international departures of residents from the centres, providing a labor force that is either very young (ages 15-19) or in the second half of its active live (aged 40-64) and not necessarily highly educated (Table 29).

4.3.2 Impact of internal migration on the human capital in the regions

Albanians who have obtained higher levels of education are concentrating more and more in the urban areas. The 2001 census counted 46% individuals with an upper-secondary or higher education qualification in the towns and cities, compared with only 16% in rural areas. In 1989, this category accounted for 22% in rural areas and 50% in urban areas. Between these two dates, rural areas lost some 41% of their highly qualified individuals, whereas urban areas increased these numbers by 9% (with this increase being attributed solely by women, since it has become easier for women to enter tertiary education). Migration has thus had a very strong consequence in reducing the educated human capital in the rural areas and a number of studies have linked this decline to external emigration (Le Courrier des Balkans 2000). There may also be basis to suspect that there may be an internal migra-

Table 31: Literate population of working age according to level of education, sex and residence. Albania 2001.

	elementary		inferior sec.		superior sec.		superior		total	
Men										
rural	63837	12.0	345935	65.0	109873	20.7	12319	2.3	531964	100.0
urban	23340	5.7	162958	40.1	160996	39.6	59099	14.5	406393	100.0
all	87177	9.3	508893	54.2	270869	28.9	71418	7.6	938357	100.0
Women										
rural	81929	15.7	359780	68.9	74241	14.2	5992	1.1	521942	100.0
urban	34965	8.3	166593	39.4	173719	41.0	48057	11.4	423334	100.0
all	116894	12.4	526373	55.7	247960	26.2	54049	5.7	945276	100.0

Source: Census 2001.

tion influx towards the centres composed of people (mostly women) with only an elementary level of education, to take jobs in the services sector, that require only a low level of education (Table 30).

Investigating the education profile of the working-age population makes it possible to shed light on the structure of education for which the rural and urban economy in Albania is based (Table 31). It is observed that there is a very low proportion of people with a higher level of education and a majority of persons with only lower-secondary education.

One of the outcomes of bipolar migration (brain drain on the one hand and the emigration of individuals with low levels of education on the other) is that the Albanian economy now functions with a population holding an intermediate level of education and is very homogenous in regards its education qualifications.

4.4 Impact of migration on the economic situation in prefectures

The labor-market situation in prefectures and districts shows significant regional inequalities (Table 32). It is difficult to link trends in employment levels and unemployment rates to the migratory movements, but it does, nonetheless, appear that the districts showing positive migratory balances do not benefit from any better economic situation than those districts that have lost part of their population. Migration is certainly not only a response to professional opportunities, but also a project for life, a desire to leave one's place of origin, which is sometimes accompanied by losing one's job. A more detailed study of four characteristic districts helps support this perspective.

4.4.1 The Tirana district

As has already been pointed out, Tirana is one of the main centres of internal immigration, and its population in the 15-64 age range grew by 51% between 1989 and 2001. Migratory pressure has certainly caused tensions on the labor market, and the level of employment has gone down (to 70% as compared with 89% in 1989). Women have been more affected than men by this decline in the level of employment, and female unemployment now stands at 34%. Nonetheless, Tirana is the only Albanian district to have created jobs between 1989 and 2001, and the number of working persons has slightly risen. This clearly shows the spatial disparities concerning economic growth. In 1989, 82% of the foreign enterprises and 40% of the total of Albanian enterprises were located in Tirana (UNICEF 2000). There are several clear structural characteristics, however, with an economy based on jobs done by men (Table 33) and, in particular, those aged 40 and above (Figure 13).

Table 32: Labor force indicators (as defined in 1989 and 2001). Albanian districts 1989 and 2001.

District	Working age population		% actives aged 15-34		Activity rate		Sex ratio of actifs		Unemployed ratio		Net migration
	2001	1989	2001	1989	2001	1989	2001	1989	2001	1989	1989-2001
Tirane	339764	224955	48.1	60.2	70.5	88.8	140.4	106.5	25.4	12.5	130,819
Durres	162285	147156	45.1	63.6	71.5	88.8	123.2	109.3	23.9	13.0	37,004
Kruje	72882	62492	51.5	66.0	69.3	87.8	159.4	110.8	24.0	15.4	3,855
Elbasan	161815	35457	53.0	65.0	69.5	87.0	136.9	106.4	12.9	9.2	-1,878
Gramsh	22122	27338	54.8	67.1	74.3	81.7	156.0	112.8	25.1	7.7	-8,931
Librazhd	44612	136361	56.9	66.1	76.1	88.0	155.3	111.4	22.1	11.4	-9,069
Fier	151668	23329	48.1	64.8	72.5	85.9	144.5	109.6	17.7	4.6	98
Lushnje	91845	38185	50.2	65.3	72.5	85.3	139.2	112.1	17.5	8.3	4,709
Lezhe	42036	143695	50.0	65.9	72.3	88.4	140.8	111.1	19.5	10.1	5,573
Mirdite	22902	78381	55.6	67.4	75.2	87.9	121.6	111.3	14.9	6.3	-10,703
Berat	105717	101897	49.9	65.1	77.0	88.2	131.4	110.8	19.8	9.6	-10,840
Skrapar	19554	26482	49.6	64.6	78.7	83.9	122.6	115.2	17.0	4.9	-10,576
Shkoder	137528	136541	46.9	62.6	69.8	87.8	140.8	111.5	26.9	7.9	-1,976
Puke	20580	25498	58.9	67.8	70.2	83.1	150.9	115.6	26.8	6.8	-13,617
Diber	76392	80356	55.7	66.7	68.4	84.2	173.8	113.9	25.6	6.3	-20,983
Mat	37054	41175	53.5	67.8	66.1	84.1	166.9	113.0	17.9	8.5	-13,075
Kukes	47667	51656	59.4	67.8	66.3	83.6	170.4	110.7	32.9	6.5	-29,174
Tropoje	16834	24271	55.0	68.5	62.8	82.9	168.2	117.3	21.4	10.5	-12,965
Gjirokaster	35255	38677	45.8	61.6	67.0	87.2	163.9	117.2	23.3	8.5	498
Permet	16445	22588	44.0	65.1	71.2	86.6	141.2	118.5	18.1	4.5	-6,118
Tepelene	20472	28282	48.5	67.3	64.0	83.7	180.9	118.3	19.9	10.5	-8,792
Korce	115806	127614	45.2	61.0	74.0	88.6	136.7	111.8	21.7	8.7	-10,474
Kolonje	11037	14545	43.9	62.8	66.0	87.3	169.8	117.4	20.3	5.3	-3,946
Pogradec	45059	40798	50.3	64.2	65.7	86.3	174.4	111.8	28.5	8.6	-3,175
Vlore	92887	103526	45.0	64.4	66.3	87.8	160.2	114.7	27.4	12.4	4,478
Sarande	28856	51748	43.1	64.2	64.4	86.9	184.8	115.0	20.0	7.7	2,602

Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses. 1989: men 15-59, women 15-54. 2001: men and women 15-64 (including 4136 older workers - 65+)

It should also be noted that there has been an increase in the number of working adolescents (aged 15–19), seemingly a consequence of the migration of young people away from the rural regions, since migratory balances for these ages are positive. Among the people under 20 years old, young men with a job have increased in number in both the urban and the rural parts of the Tirana district, while the number of women has declined in the rural regions, but increased in the urban centres. Young men of this age have thus migrated in both directions: into the countryside, where they have likely taken on manual or farming jobs, and into the city. Young women, by contrast, have tended more to move towards towns and cities in search of jobs in the services sector.

4.4.2 The Tropojë district.

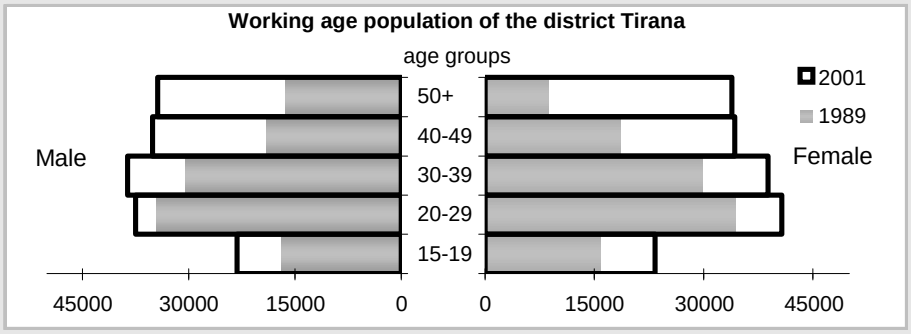
It is not unreasonable to claim that, compared with 1980, Tropojë's economy is functioning at a slow pace. Whereas the potential economically active population has declined by approximately one-third, the number of people with a job has been halved (Figure 14). Unemployment rates have doubled, and the level of female employment is low (only 32.5% of women of working age have jobs) regardless of marital status (Table 34). Moreover, this district has the lowest level of employment compared to other parts of Albania. The emigration of Tropojë's residents has thus had a particularly negative impact on the operation of the district's labor market. The most impor-

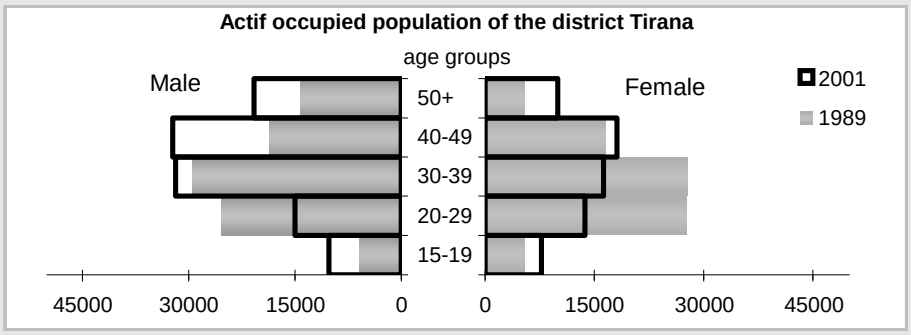
Table 33: Labor force indicators. District of Tirana, 1989 and 2001.

	1989			2001			Evolution		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Employed	174892	92539	82353	175877	110131	65746	985	17592	-16607
Unemployed	24897	10505	14392	63724	29802	33922	38827	19297	19530
Total active	199789	103044	96745	239601	139933	99668	39812	36889	2923
Non active	25166	14614	10552	100163	28812	71351	74997	14198	60799
Potentially active	224955	117658	107297	339764	168745	171019	114809	51087	63722
Activity Rate	88.8	87.6	90.2	70.5	82.9	58.3			
Employed rate	77.7	78.7	76.8	51.8	65.3	38.4			
Unemployed rate	12.5	10.2	14.9	26.6	21.3	34.0			

Sources: 1989 and 2001 censuses. 1989: men 15-59, women 15-54. 2001: men and women 15-64.

Figure 13: Age pyramid of the population of working age. District of Tirana, 1989 and 2001.





Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

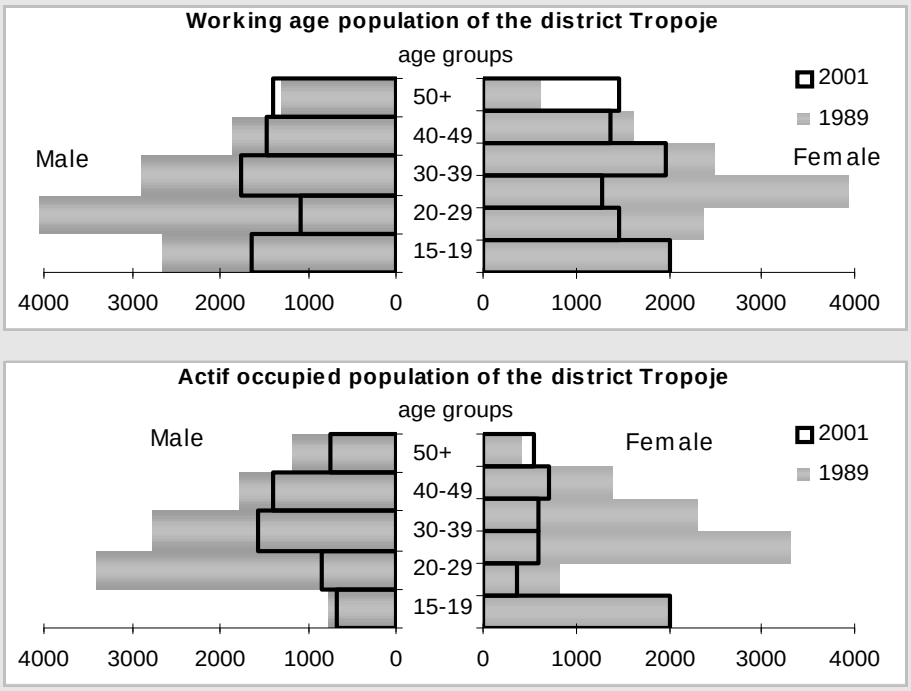
tant reduction of working population has affected the young active population, especially the young women: the number of economically active women, ages 20-39 was cut in half. The number of employed diminished by 66% among women and 47% among men. This transformation of the labor force is clearly linked to the emigration status of Tropojë, which is a good representation of the situation in the North-East of Albania. The emigration of the youngest population has not increased the working opportunities for the non-migrants. Most of the inhabitants worked in their own farm, and the size of the agricultural sector is not large enough to absorb the working force surplus (UNICEF, 2000).

Table 34: Labor force indicators. District of Tropojë, 1989 and 2001.

	1989			2001			Evolution		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Employed	17992	9781	8211	7992	5196	2796	-10000	-4585	-5415
Unemployed	2117	1076	1041	2584	1436	1148	467	360	107
Total active	20109	10857	9252	10576	6632	3944	-9533	-4225	-5308
Non active	4162	2372	1790	6258	1607	4651	2096	-765	2861
Potentially active	24271	13229	11042	16834	8239	8595	-7437	-4990	-2447
Activity rate	82.9	82.1	83.8	62.8	80.5	45.9			
Employed rate	74.1	73.9	74.4	47.5	63.1	32.5			
Unemployed rate	10.5	9.9	11.3	24.4	21.7	29.1			

Sources: 1989 and 2001 censuses. 1989: men 15-59, women 15-54. 2001: men and women 15-64.

Figure 14: Age pyramid of the population of working age. District of Tropojë 1989 and 2001.



Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

4.4.3 The Sarandë and Delvine districts.

Sarandë and Delvine in the South of Albania are in the same situation, with a strong decline in the working-age population and in the labor force. The number of economically active women ages 20-29 was reduced six fold between 1989 and 2001. The loss of active population was more important in the rural area (-67%) than in the urban parts of these districts (-38%). Again, migration flows can explain this evolution. It seems that emigration has had an impact on the spatial distribution of the youngest worker: the number of occupied active population aged 15-19 has fallen of 60% in the rural parts of the district, as stayed at the same level in the cities. Compared to the case of Tropojë, emigration in these districts was not followed by a strong degradation of the economy, expressed by the unemployment rate: this rate is less than 20% in 2001 which is below the national level.

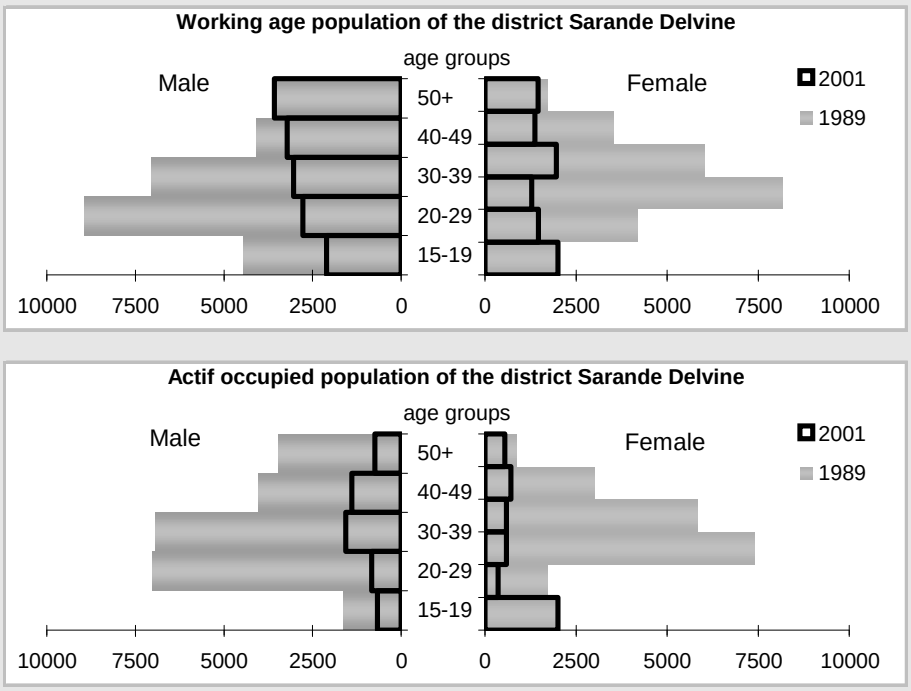
In conclusion, these examples illustrate that migration and spatial distribution of the population have had an important impact not only on the demographic evolution in the districts, but also on the economic development. Despite the increase and new concentration of women in the work force as well as the aging working age population, economic activity has still fallen by 18% between 1989 and 2001. These two phenomenon are interrelated: the economic difficulties (the unemployment rate had risen to 16%) certainly encouraged large segments of the young adult, mostly male population, to emigrate abroad and compel women to withdraw from economic activity. The qualitative characteristics of the Albanian labor force thus became more and more homogenous: In fact, we have noted bipolarity in the migration of highskilled migrants and lower educated migrants on the other side.

Table 35: Labor force indicators. Districts of Sarandë and Delvine, 1989 and 2001

	1989			2001			Evolution		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Employed	41520	22749	18771	14317	9749	4568	-27203	-13000	-14203
Unemployed	3464	1313	2151	3540	1881	1659	76	568	-492
Total acitve	44984	24062	20922	17857	11630	6227	-27127	-12432	-14695
Non active	6764	4040	2724	10999	3071	7928	4235	-969	5204
Potentially active	51748	28102	23646	28856	14701	14155	-22892	-13401	-9491
activity rate	86.9	85.6	88.5	61.9	79.1	44.0			
Employment rate	80.2	81.0	79.4	49.6	66.3	32.3			
Unemployment rate	7.7	5.5	10.3	19.8	16.2	26.6			

Sources: 1989 and 2001 censuses. 1989: men 15-59, women 15-54.
2001: men and women 15-64.

Figure 15: Age pyramid of the population of working age. District of Sarandë and Delvine, 1989 and 2001.



Sources : 1989 and 2001 censuses

chapter

5

Conclusions and main findings

One decade after the political transition in Albania that has led the country from a planned to a free market economy, the face of Albania has changed considerably. Breaking out of the political and economic isolation imposed by the communist regime has brought social and economic problems, which in turn has contributed to a greater spatial mobility of the population. Political turmoil following the democratization process had certainly compromised sustainable economic development and plunged a great part of the Albanian population into poverty. Given the obsolete infrastructure of the Albanian industry (heavy and mining industry) after transition, production was greatly diminished and many enterprises closed down. The privatization of the agricultural sector increased the production, but also brought problems such as the fragmentation of the land in the peripheral or mountainous regions. The exploitation of these small plots of land was not sufficient to enable households to make a living and pushed them to diversify their sources of income. Thus, these political and economic transformation played a considerable role in changing the landscape of Albanian demography.

The analysis from both census show that approximately 20% of the population have left the country between 1989 and 2001, whereas 8% lived in other prefectures of the country. After the democratization process, Albanians had more opportunity to migrate. The population observed this new opportunity for the first time in decades, and despite its young age structure in 1989, a demographic decline began. However, it should be noted that not all the regions of Albania were affected by migration with the same intensity.

Internal population shifts between prefectures was primary directed to the main centres – i.e. the important economic and coastal regions of Tirana and Durrës had absorbed 72% of migrants – as well as to other secondary centers or sea-ports of the country, particularly to Fier, Vlorë and Lezhë. Other prefectures, especially those located in the inner-North regions, lost up to 34% of their populations as enumerated in 1989 census due to internal migration. The regions located in the South show a moderate level of migration. In fact, the inhabitants leaving the North migrated mostly within the country, while those coming from the South or who settled in the centre tended in greater numbers to go abroad. External migration is often supposed to be a continuation of an earlier internal movement, as the principal destinations of the internal migration coincide with the principal points of departure of the international migration.

It is also interesting to note the progressive selectivity of the internal migration flows. Mi-

gration is not the same in terms of gender, age and educational level. As internal migration flows from the Northern regions of the country affected all demographic groups, migration from the secondary centers has been characterized as young, educated and female. Additionally, it has been found that it is young males who are most likely to choose external migration. Both conclusions support a sex-specific migration model for the period 1989-2001 as well as a hypothesis of a complex household strategy.

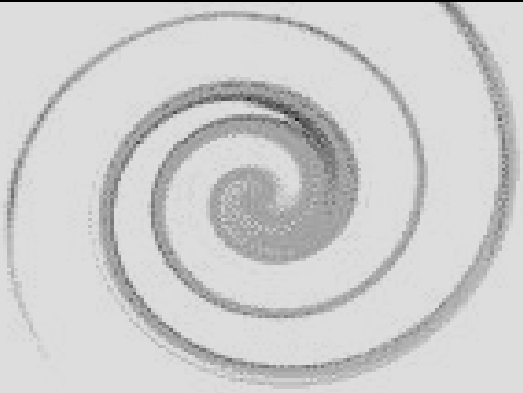
Although this study was not able to proceed with a longitudinal analysis of the Censuses, the transversal approach evidenced important consequences of the migration processes on the population as well as on the labor market.

Mass emigration has considerably modified the age structure of the population in Albania between 1989 and 2001. Young adults, mostly men, have migrated abroad which has consequently contributed to the decline of birth rates in Albania. Thus the population aged 35 years and above has gained in importance demographically in the country. The cumulative effect is that the Albanian population is beginning the aging process well-known in Europe.

This evolution has a considerable impact on the labor force. Given the young age of migrants, the renewal of this economic factor is compromised for the future. The situation is particularly critical in the peripheral regions of the country, namely the North and the South.

The internal population shifts have also intensified the urbanization of the country. Economic forces have been concentrated intensely in the centre and on the coast. The labor market in these regions has not manage to integrate the new arrivals. Consequently, rising unemployment phenomenon has incited young adults to emigrate abroad and caused women to withdraw from economic activity. The country has become more dependants on the salary of those who worked abroad as well as on foreign investments.

Migration in Albania is also characterized by a brain drain. As migrants were either highly skilled or very poorly educated, the educational level of the population who stayed within the country has become limited in scope. As a result, the country has lost the most innovative part of its population. Therefore, further development of the country depends on its capacity to reintegrate the highly skilled, innovated segments of the population as well as to build the capacity to benefit from their new knowledge or their remittances. Given the concentration of internal migration flows, that shows the low level of regional integration in Albania, structural reforms should bring more balanced development as well as a relative equity between the regions in the future.



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