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Making a Livelihood
A study of rural migrants in Bathore, Tirana

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FOREWORD

Freedom is nothing else but a chance to do better.
Albert Camus

Albanians re-embraced that chance after many long years of strict isolation. An undertaking aimed at improving one's livelihoods resulted in massive waves of internal migration in complete absence of any kind of planning or regulation. By all accounts, this phenomenon was so overwhelming that few could then have a clear picture of its real magnitude and its consequences for the future.

Said to say, soon after I realized my interest in the subject, I became aware of how poorly and inadequately the issue of internal migration is still addressed and how scarce the existing knowledge or scientific research on the subject is. Therefore, if anything, this research has been written to fill a gap, with the basic premise that effective planning or policies are not possible unless they are well grounded on a thorough understanding of migration and migrant livelihoods.

This research comes at a time when the Government of Albania is committed at a number of reforms, to mention in particular the legalization of informal settlements. This study is but a way of expressing my concern for and commitment towards a better Albania.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ACRONYMS

CBO	Community-based organisation
DFID	Department for International Development of the British Government
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GoA	Government of Albania
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HHQ	Household Questionnaire
HPI	Human Poverty Index
INSTAT	(Albanian) National Institute of Statistics
LSMS	Living Standards and Measurement Study
NELM	New Economics of Migration
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PL	Poverty Line
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
ULMP	Urban Land Management Project
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WB	World Bank
WDR	World Development Report

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SUMMARY

The present study explored the relationship between internal migration and poverty in Bathore, Tirana under a livelihoods focus. DFID's Sustainable Livelihoods Framework was used as the theoretical basis of this research, with few adjustments, like inclusion of political capital. A case study design was conducted, which made use of both quantitative and qualitative data gathered from primary and secondary sources. The study aimed at gaining a better understanding of the migration process and migrant livelihoods, as well as exploring possible policy issues of relevance to migration and development.

The demise of the communist regime in the country marked the start of a chaotic mass migration of unprecedented dimensions, giving rise to a wild process of urbanisation. From 1990, when migration to Bathore started, until the present day, migration has been continuous, and has operated in a laissez faire situation, largely unaffected by policies and regulations. Despite the significance of the phenomenon, attention has been minimal, both from a governmental/institutional and academic perspective.

Migration to Bathore is characterised by whole-family migration, driven by the hope for a better future for one's children. Income and employment opportunities were important, albeit not major factors in the migration decision. The majority of the migrants are neither poor nor rich, although both the very poor and the wealthy have adopted migration as a livelihood strategy.

Despite poor financial capital and severe unemployment, migration has resulted in improved livelihoods, in terms of better access to physical, human, social and political capital. Migrants engage in a variety of livelihood strategies, but for most, these strategies are targeted at survival. Thriving is difficult since the current, very limited asset base, does not allow for capital accumulation. Findings revealed a marked gender dimension in various respects, like intra-household power relations, employment and education. This calls for the inclusion of the gender perspective for effective policy making.

Bathore is in urgent need of state-led interventions in many respects. Investments in improving household's physical and financial capital seem the two most important, and most immediate interventions, which can have spillover effects to other assets. Special attention needs to be given to building human capital, indispensable for breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty. There is a need for migrants in Bathore, and similar areas, to be recognised as vulnerable categories.

In addition to the role of the government, and other actors, in improving the livelihoods of thousands of migrants, the findings also indicate the need for the Government of Albania to guide future migration so that the process of urbanisation goes hand in hand with the sustainable development of the country. Importantly, migration should not be the only livelihood strategy open to poor rural households.

Needless to say, one of the recommendations emerging from this study is the absolute need for future research on internal migration in Albania.

1.   INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides an overview of migration and the demographic changes of post-communist Albania. It then introduces the problem statement, the objectives of the study and the specific research questions. The chapter follows with a discussion on the methodology of the research, and closes with a section on the structure of the thesis.

1.1   *Background to the study*

In the early nineties, Albania, a country with a population of just above three million inhabitants, entered a new, dramatic phase of political, economic and social changes, informed by the changes occurring in the former eastern European bloc. In the first place, these changes meant the collapse of the communist regime and the adoption of a democratic system and transition to a market economy. Albania's communist regime was particularly harsh and one of the most oppressive ones of all countries in the former communist bloc. For more than 40 years, it had virtually cut the Albanians off from the Western world. Also within the country, by means of very strict regulations, population movements were first controlled and later prohibited. Albanians entered communism in 1945 already impoverished by WW II, and got out of it even more so. The state-run, autarchic economy of the communist time that relied chiefly on domestic production for sustenance and development left Albanians bitterly destitute and deprived of any kind of private ownership, including such important assets as land.

The fall of the communist regime and the new freedoms that ensued spurred tremendous demographic upheavals from widespread internal and external population movements and fast and chaotic urbanisation. The magnitude of these demographic changes has been so dramatic that Carletto et al. (2004, p. 1) rightfully point out that "migration, internal and international, is perhaps the single most important political, social, and economic phenomenon in post-communist Albania, and has been a dominating fact of everyday life in the last decade". Estimates show that as many as 900,000 Albanians (almost 30% of the total population of the country) migrated either abroad or within the country (INSTAT 2004c). International migration from Albania has been considered as one of the most spectacular in the 20th century Europe (INSTAT 2004c). But, internal migration waves were just as powerful and of unprecedented dimensions.

Most internal migration took place from the rural areas, especially those backward, remote, mountainous ones in the northeast and southeast of the country. The dire need to escape the long-standing dismal living conditions in villages was fuelled by high-unemployment rates following the disbanding of agricultural cooperatives which employed the majority of the workforce and the dissatisfaction arising from the agricultural land distribution[1]. Therefore, many chose to move towards the more endowed and geographically favourable areas in the centre and along the western coast of the country. The largest urban centres, in particular the capital city of Tirana and the port

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[1] The law for the distribution of agricultural land to peasants was approved in the year 1991. Nevertheless, there were many problems emerging which limited the success of the reform (see Çabiri et al. 2000).

city of Durrës, received the bulk of migrants from the entire country. At a time when the annual population growth at the country level was slightly above 0.5%, population growth in the main cities climbed sharply at 5-6% per annum. Country's urban population increased from 36% in the year 1989 to 42.2% in the year 2001 (INSTAT 2004c) to 45% at the present (INSTAT 2005a). Tirana is the largest urban centre in the country, with 67.8% of its population residing in urban areas (INSTAT 2004c).

To a great degree, migration towards cities happened in a laissez-faire situation as the ongoing influx of people met with the unpreparedness and ineptitude of authorities to accommodate them and offer adequate opportunities to start a new life. Consequently, a chaotic pattern of urbanization emerged, with informal (illegal) settlements mushrooming in the urban fringe, together with the growth of satellite 'cities' lacking (adequate) access to infrastructure and services, which was unlike the normal trends of urbanization seen in other countries (Hall 1996, Çabiri et al. 2000). Bathore is one such settlement built entirely on self-help housing. In terms of the level at which it took place, most internal migration was characterized by the entire family moving together.

While the initial reaction of the Government of Albania (GoA) towards these settlements was to dislocate the migrants to their places of origin, there is now an understanding that 'they are here to stay'. In the past years, recognition is growing about the importance of involving the migrants themselves in projects that aim at addressing their issues. This recognition is in part due to the approach employed by the international community, which has intervened in some of the informal settlements via pilot projects. Nevertheless, there is no institution or structure at no level of government that deals with internal migration; the only existence of such institutions is targeted at international migration.

Despite its significance, the phenomenon of internal migration in Albania has been relatively under-researched and little empirical data are available (see Çabiri et al. 2000, INSTAT 2004c, Cattaneo 2003, Zezza, Carletto & Davis 2005) compared with international migration, which has attracted a lot of attention and research (see for instance King & Vullnetari 2003, Nicholson 2001, 2002, Carletto et al. 2004, Castaldo, Litchfield & Reilly 2005, Zezza, Carletto & Davis 2005, Germenji & Swinnen 2005, etc.). Besides, most of the available studies on the subject are descriptive in nature and do not offer an in-depth understanding of internal migration in all its complexity. In most cases, the aggregation level does not allow for detailed analysis. Available research on internal migration in Albania employs a purely economic perspective focusing on market forces. For instance, the Albania HDR (Çabiri et al. 2000) or INSTAT (2004c) look at migration as the result of a surplus rural labour which migrates to the urban areas in order to reach equilibrium after the Lewis model of migration; and Cattaneo (2003) uses the neoclassical theory of migration by using wage and unemployment rate differentials to analyze the determinants of migration.

1.2 Problem statement

The sharp increase in the urban population poses an enormous challenge to both central and local governments in terms of service provision, but also in broader terms of accommodating and integrating the migrants to the life of the capital. Whilst the process of urbanisation takes time, the migrants often want to see immediate solutions to their problems (Çabiri et al. 2000). The already complex situation is further exacerbated by the continuous pressure of in-migration towards Tirana. The capital is not only the largest economic and financial centre of the country, but also the city with the largest concentration of educational, cultural and scientific institutions, making it a favourite migration destination.

Tirana is by far the city that was most gravely affected by internal movements of the population, with the number of residents doubling in less than a decade (unofficial figures even point to a tripling of the population). Migrants have managed to find their way in the city or its suburbs, the most significant of which is Bathore. Migrants come from diverse economic, social and cultural backgrounds. More often than not, indigenous residents of Tirana are not very welcoming of the newcomers, with the latter feeling excluded and ostracized from society. Most people came to Bathore in search of a better life, but they were confronted with a gloomy peri-urban reality which further maintains poverty, hardship and vulnerability. The newcomers are relying mostly on their own resources, with little support and a weak response from the government.

Despite the scale and chaotic pattern of migration, attention has been minimal. There is little in-depth understanding of the causes and processes of migration, and more importantly of the livelihoods of tens of thousands of migrants. There are few empirical studies, derived mostly from census data. This limited understanding obviously has an impact on the policies that are (or are not) designed and implemented at any level of government in Albania.

By way of this research, the author aims at drawing due attention to the issue and draw potential recommendations for the formulation of policies that better reflect the needs and priorities of migrant groups, helping reduce their vulnerability and improve their livelihoods.

1.3 Scope of research and description of the research area

The entire Greater Tirana region[2] has been affected by internal migration, including downtown Tirana. Nevertheless, due to time constraints the scope of this research is limited to post '90 internal migration to Bathore, a large informal settlement located in the outskirts of the city of Tirana.

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[2] Greater Tirana refers to the city of Tirana and the small municipalities developed around it. Bathore is part of the Greater Tirana region.

Bathore has an all-migrant population of about 25,500 inhabitants. The area is built entirely informally through self-help and is closely connected to the city of Tirana via access to and use of the city's labour market, education and health facilities. The name of Bathore came to exemplify all informal and illegal developments that occurred in Albania after 1990.

The first migrants arrived in Bathore in 1990, but it was not until 1997 that infrastructure investments were made in the area via the World Bank funded Urban Land Management Project (ULMP). Nevertheless, Bathore is still lacking adequate access to infrastructure and services, faces tenure insecurity[3], severe unemployment, low educational levels and a feeling of exclusion.

1.4   *Theoretical underpinnings of this research*

Most research on migration has employed a purely economic perspective focusing on market forces where migration is seen as the result of a surplus rural labour which migrates to the urban areas in order to reach equilibrium after the Lewis model of migration (see section 1.1). The present research, acknowledging some of the limitations of these theories, makes use of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA), which offers a more complex and realistic perspective[4].

While the SL framework has emerged and been predominantly used in a rural setting, the present research will apply it to the urban context. Considering migration as a livelihood strategy, the SL framework is a very useful analytical tool for exploring the phenomenon more in-depth.

To the author's knowledge, this is the first research conducted in Albania in any field that employs the SL framework as its theoretical basis.

1.5   *Research Objectives and Research Questions*

a.   The present study has two main objectives:

Objective 1: Providing a better and more in-depth understanding of the livelihoods of migrants living in Bathore by using the sustainable livelihoods framework.

Objective 2: Coming up with recommendations that would assist the Government of Albania in designing policies to support the migrants in coping with their livelihoods.

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[3] The beginning of the process of legalisation is bound to remove this insecurity.
[4] The SLA and the SLF will be discussed thoroughly in chapter 2, section 2.4.

b.   *Specific research questions and hypothesis*

The first four questions address objective number 1, while the fifth question addresses objective number two.

Research question no.1: What is the context of post-communism internal migration in Albania, and which policies and institutions deal with this phenomenon?

Research question no.2: What are the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the migrant households in Bathore?

Research question no.3: What are the causes for households' internal migration to Bathore?

Research question no.4: In what way has migration influenced the livelihoods of migrant households in Bathore?

Research Question no. 5: Which policies would likely improve the livelihoods of migrant households living in informal settlements in Albania?

1.6   Research Methodology

This section describes in detail the methodology of the research, including research design, research instruments, population and sampling, as well as the operationalisation of the variables under study.

1.6.1   Research strategy

Based on the problem definition and the specific research questions formulated following it, a case study approach is considered the most appropriate basis for this research. Case studies are particularly useful when complex and contemporary phenomena are being investigated, upon which the researcher has no control. Thus, one of the strengths of this particular strategy is that it allows for a holistic and real-life picture of the phenomena that is being researched (Yin 1991), in this case livelihoods of internal migrants in a peri-urban area of Tirana. Case studies also allow for a mix of both quantitative and qualitative data, both used in this research. The present research is explanatory, in that it aims at explaining the causes of migration, the impact of migration on livelihoods and the link to policies.

Bathore is chosen as the case study since it is the symbol of mass internal migration in the whole country. The area has also received some attention by the Central Government and the international community. Importantly, the author has had prior access to the area and contacts that would facilitate the research.

1.6.2 *Instruments of the research*

In order to investigate the topic, use was made of both qualitative and quantitative methods, by means of semi-structured household questionnaires (HHQ), key informant interviews with local and central authorities, community-based organisations (CBO) and non-governmental organisations (NGO) working in the area, focus group discussions with migrants, migrant life-stories, and secondary data.

Several researchers argue for the use of multiple instruments for various reasons (Adato & Meinzen-Dick 2002, de Haan, A. et al. 2002, Murray 2001, Kothari 2002). First, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the migration context and setting it is necessary to take into account the different perspectives offered by different stakeholders. Second, the collection of data obtained from different sources allows for triangulation and will thus enhance the reliability of collected data, and consequently, the reliability of the research findings. Last, but not least, such an integrated approach to data gathering is by definition part of an SLA, because the livelihoods of (poor) people are complex and diverse (Chambers & Conway 1992, de Haan A. 2002).

While quantitative methods can be helpful in generalizing results and findings, the use of qualitative methods provides more in-depth understanding which helps to better explain migrant livelihoods. Moreover, qualitative methods can prove especially helpful in understanding the *dynamics* of livelihoods, which could be difficult to unravel by quantitative data alone. In addition to the relevance of each data set (quantitative or qualitative) on its own, their combined use can prove beneficial in providing a better interpretation of available data.

1.6.3 *Research Population and Sample*

The population of this research comprises rural households that migrated to Tirana starting from 1990 and that now reside in Bathore. Due to time constraints, the research was based on a sample of the target population. A total of 60 household questionnaires were conducted in Bathore. Both male and female respondents participated in the survey (40 and 60 percent respectively). Sampling was done by the author in consultation with local people. For this purpose, Bathore was divided into different zones depending on the migrants' origin, access to infrastructure, etc. From zones with similar characteristics, one was chosen. Within one zone, due to a lack of a formal address system, every 25th house was selected. In cases when access was denied, the next house was chosen. In those cases when more than one household was living in the same house, only one of the households was interviewed. The random sampling of the 60 households that were surveyed for the purpose of this research consisted of families from Kukës, Dibër, Tropoja, Pukë, Kruje, Mirdite, etc., thus representing the population composition of Bathore.

Three focus group discussions were carried out, with women, men and youth respectively. Data gathering from the migrants themselves was complemented by three

in-depth interviews with a man, a woman and a 17 year old girl. Fifteen expert interviews were conducted at the local and central government level, and CBOs active in Bathore[5].

1.6.4   Data Collection and Analysis

Collection of secondary data started in March, and use was made of available academic literature on the topic, official documents and statistics. Primary data collection lasted 4 weeks, and started in July 2006 with the household questionnaires. Two experienced local research assistants were responsible for HHQ administration and data entry in SPSS. They were provided with clear explanations about the objectives of the research and instructions about questionnaire administration. In June, the HHQ was piloted with 4 different migrant households, and the comments reflected in the final version of the questionnaire. Interviews and focus group discussions were designed and carried out by the author. Analysis and quantitative data processing in SPSS was made by the author. Design of the research instruments was facilitated by prior access to and knowledge of the area.

Quantitative data were analysed at various levels by means of various tests. For instance, in order to assess the percentage of households having access to piped water simple frequency tables were used. Crosstabulations were used to plot results for more than one variable, for instance educational attainment by gender. Spearman's correlation is used in assessing whether the relationship between two ordinal variables is statistically significant, like pre and post migration financial status. Usually, a 95% confidence interval is being used, and respective statistics like probability values (p) or Spearman's 'rho' are given in each case.

There are no strict rules for the analysis of qualitative data. In some cases, such data were used to complement statistical findings and provide more in-depth information. Migrant narratives are sometimes stated as quotations or in boxes.

Data and information from secondary sources are used throughout the text, either as background information or as a comparative to the primary data.

1.6.5   Operationalization of research variables

Table 1 presents a clear overview of the research questions and how the variables under investigation are translated into indicators. The unit of analysis, data sources as well as type of data is specified for each question. The table cannot accommodate all the possible indicators used to measure each variable, which are reflected in detail in the household questionnaire and the interview and FG guidelines[6].

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[5] Please see Annex 4 for a complete list of the actors who were interviewed and the type of information obtained from each.
[6] See Annexes 1, 2 and 3 for a copy of the HHQ and the interview guidelines used during fieldwork.

Table 1.1: Research framework

	Research question	Unit of Analysis	Variable	Indicators	Type of data	Data sources
1	What is the context of post-communism internal migration in Albania, and which policies and institutions deal with this phenomenon?	1. country/regions 2. Local, national and international organizations and institutions	1. context of migration 2. policies/institutions dealing with migration	Demographic data Income/poverty/employment data Presence of policies, regulations, institutions that support or hinder internal migration	Primarily qualitative Complemented by quantitative data	Secondary sources Key-informant interviews
2	What are the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the migrant households in Bathore?	1. individual migrant (head of the household) 2. migrant household	1. Migrant characteristics 2. Household characteristic	Areas of origin Age structure Educational attainment Health Income level Family composition Social networks Etc.	Primarily quantitative Complemented by qualitative data	HHQ FGD Secondary data
3	What are the causes for households' internal migration to Bathore?	The migrant household	Causes of migration	Access to and ownership/use of assets (infrastructure, finances, education, etc.) Shocks/ stresses (such as illness, land disputes, national crises, etc.) Laws/regulations, etc. (that impact migration directly or indirectly)	Quantitative and qualitative data	HHQ FGD Life-stories of migrants Secondary data
4	In what way has migration influenced the livelihoods of migrant households in Bathore?	The migrant household	1. pre-migration livelihoods 2. current livelihoods	Access to and ownership of assets Shocks/stresses Policies/regulations (at the place of origin and currently)	Quantitative and qualitative	HHQ FGD Life-stories of migrants Key-informant interviews Secondary data
5	Which policies would likely improve the livelihoods of migrant households living in informal settlements in Albania?	Local and national organizations and institutions	Policies	Future policies or regulations that tackle the livelihoods of internal migrants	Primarily qualitative	Primarily key-informant interviews; complemented by data from the HHQ and the FGD

1.7   Limitations of this study

The biggest limitation of this research is its generalisability, in other words, its external validity. The findings of this research *might* only be extended to very similar cases of informal settlements in the peri-urban fringe, populated by mainly rural migrants coming from the north and northeast. The findings cannot be generalised to internal migrants living inside the administrative boundaries of the municipality of Tirana, or to migrants coming from other parts of the country, or to urban-urban migrants. This is a trade off of the case study research, which offers in-depth understanding of the subject, yet limits its external validity. Nevertheless, confidence in external validity comes with time, after a series of replications are done; and this applies not only to case study designs.

The inherent complexity of the analytical framework poses yet another limitation. Following the SLF, careful data analysis and presentation of findings requires abundant time. As a consequence, although a more detailed (especially quantitative) analysis would have been possible given the amount of data gathered, time constraints limited this possibility.

1.8   Thesis Structure

Chapter two lays the foundation of the present research. It starts with a historical overview of the development of the three concepts that are addressed in this study. The chapter then links migration, poverty and urban livelihoods, and presents the framework that will guide the research.

Chapter three will provide an answer to research question number 1. The chapter discusses the context of migration at the country, region, district and local (Bathore) level. Characteristics of the (migrant) sending and receiving areas are elaborated in this chapter, as well as the policies and regulations that have affected post-90 internal migration in Albania.

Chapter four is dedicated to the analysis of data, and it answers research questions 2, 3 and 4. The chapter is organised in three main parts, each corresponding to the respective research questions. The main findings of the study are presented in this chapter.

Chapter five reflects the conclusions and recommendations, thus providing an answer to research question number 5. Conclusions summarize the findings of the study, and recommendations are given with regard to what policies can improve the livelihoods of migrant households living in informal settlements. The usefulness of the sustainable livelihoods framework is discussed, and recommendations are given with regard to further research in the area.

Bibliography follows the last chapter and annexes are attached at the end of the document.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Three are the main concepts discussed in this study, namely migration, poverty and livelihoods. The first section of the chapter provides an overview of the evolution of the concept of migration, to proceed with an outline and critique of migration theories. Next, in section 2.2, follows a discourse on the shifts that have taken place in the definition and measurement of poverty over time. The next section is dedicated to the discussion of the sustainable livelihoods approach and framework. Then follows a section on the proposed changes to the SLF and a presentation of the theoretical and analytical framework that will guide the research. The chapter closes with a summary where the links between rural-urban migration, poverty and livelihoods are revisited.

2.1   *The concept of migration*

A definition of migration

Before presenting a review of migration theories, it is necessary to start with a definition of it. The Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (Marshall 1998, p. 415) defines migration as "the (more or less) permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and communities". The same source (p. 324) defines internal migration as:

> "population shifts which occur within nation-states as labour migrates
> towards growth poles in the economy. [T]hey have accompanied the
> processes of urbanization and industrialization and have involved large
> scale movements of people from rural to urban areas".

This definition of migration, to be tackled more in depth in this section, reflects a purely economic perspective. The operational definition employed by INSTAT is "the ratio of the persons residing in 1989 in a district different from the residence district in 2001, expressed in percentage" (INSTAT 2004c, p.11). Nevertheless, as Kothari (2002, p.28) points out, migration is more than numbers; "it is a cultural and social event, that articulates unequal social and power relations", and numbers alone cannot explain migration.

Recent developments worldwide have challenged some of the previously accepted characteristics of migration, such as its permanency. Migration is increasingly recognized as a highly-context specific phenomenon, which makes it difficult to generalize beyond broad lines; it is selective, which requires caution in investigating it and has implications for policy development.

2.1.1 Historical overview of migration theories

Throughout the years the topic of migration has been investigated from various perspectives and theoretical frameworks, presented in the following overview. It has to be acknowledged that most of the academic work on the topic has focused on international migration[7], with some exceptions.

a.   Ravenstein and the emergence of migration studies

The start of migration studies is usually traced back to Ravenstein's 1885 article that aimed to describe 'laws' of migration, in which the relation between distance and the volume of migration was central (de Haan A. 1999a). These laws aimed not only at explaining migration, but also at predicting it. Two of the key words in Ravenstein's work were 'absorption' and 'dispersion', where the former can be conceived as the receiving area and the latter as the sending area. His analysis, based on UK census data, showed that the 'absorption' counties were industrialized, whereas the 'dispersion' counties were almost all agricultural. One of Ravenstein's laws stated that "The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country" (http://www.csiss.org/classics/content/90), and indeed rural migration is a much more pronounced phenomenon than urban migration.

b.   Neo-classical theory

"The direct predecessor of the neo-classical theory, and probably the first instance of a truly theoretical explanation of migration, was W. Arthur Lewis' model of 'Economic Development with Unlimited Supply of Labour'[8] in 1954" (Arango 2000, p. 284). The Lewis model assumes there are two coexisting sectors, the traditional one, i.e. agriculture, and the modern one, i.e. industry. When the modern sector expands, labour surplus from the traditional sector will be attracted to it. Thus, this model assumes that migration is "a crucial mechanism of development for the economy as a whole" (Arango 2000, p.284). Nevertheless, the Lewis model assumes homogeneity of the labour force and thus fails to capture the social and cultural factors that determine migration, as evidenced in Indian rural to urban migration (Dubey, Palmer-Jones & Sen 2006).

The neo-classical theory of migration, developed after the 1950s, predicts that migration is the result of geographical differences in demand for and supply of labour, so that abundant labour from low-wage countries/regions would flow to labour scarce, high-wage countries/regions with the end result of reaching equilibrium and abolishing wage disparities. In theory, because migration is caused by income disparities, when equilibrium is reached, migration will cease, which experience has shown not to be the case.

Compared to other theories or models of migration, the Todaro (and Harris & Todaro) model is perhaps the one that has found the most application in the study of rural-urban

[7] The theories that deal exclusively with international migration will not be reviewed, as they fall beyond the scope of this research.
[8] According to Arango (2000), Lewis' model is not a theory of migration per se, rather, a model of development.

migration. The model takes the individual migrant as its unit of analysis, with no consideration for the role of the household or the community in the migration decision. It assumes a context of perfect information enabling the individual to make a rational decision based on wage differences and the probability of employment (Cattaneo 2003), and ultimately aims at improving one's well-being, or in more economic terms, increasing one's utility. The decision to migrate is taken after a cost-benefit analysis where the costs and benefits of both staying and migrating are calculated and weighted against each other. Lee's work on the push-pull model of migration is a logical extension of the Todaro model. Debate though has amounted regarding whether push or pull is more important, and there is empirical evidence for both views (de Haan A. 1999a).

The real challenges to the neo-classical theory as a valid explanation of migration came from its intrinsic shortcomings. The theory could no longer respond to the changing reality of the mid 1970s[9] and it could not explain why structurally similar countries had different rates of emigration or immigration. The theory dismisses politics altogether, while the reality shows that barriers imposed by institutions and policies do have an impact on migration (Arango 2000). Another critique to the model comes from the many empirical findings that emphasize the selective nature of migration – and not homogeneous as the neo-classical theory assumed – because the poor are not a homogenous group (de Haan A. 1999a, Castaldo, Litchfield & Reilly 2005a, Kothari 2002, Waddington & Sabates-Wheeler 2003, Dubey, Palmer-Jones & Sen 2006, Mosse et al. 2002). The theory fails to incorporate any non-economic factors that potentially affect the decision and ability to migrate.

c.   Structuralism

One of the challenges to the neo-classical theory came from the Dependency theory in the 60s and 70s, "which saw social processes in terms of conflict rather than equilibrium" (Arango 2000). According to this approach, people had no choice; labour migration was inevitable in the transition to capitalism (de Haan A. 2000), marked by the commodification of labour (Miles 1990[10]), especially relevant in the urban setting (Moser 1998). De Haan A. (1999a) views structuralism as a theory of migration that focused only on the institutions, leaving no space for the individual or the household. Thus its merit in emphasizing the role of the institutions in migration decisions and occurrence, a perspective previously ignored, is at the same time its major weakness in that it fails to take account of individual or other factors that affect migration (Mosse et al. 2002).

Attempts have been made to try to link the institutional and individual focus on migration via Giddens' structuration theory in 1984. When applied to migration, it incorporates aspects of the individual motives, structures that affect migration, as well as cultural influences. Nevertheless, the theory has not found wide application so far.

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[9] See Arango (2000) for a review of the changes in migration patterns during the last quarter of the 20th century.
[10] Miles (1990) argues for a 'political economy' approach in the study of migration, emphasizing the crucial role played by politics in shaping both international and internal migration.

d.   *New Economics of Labour Migration*

As de Haan A. (1999a) and Arango (2000) review, the new economics of labour migration (NELM) can be considered as an extension or refinement of the neo-classical model. As its name suggests, it takes an economic perspective in explaining migration decisions. The NELM shares with the neo-classical theory the assumption that migration is the result of a rational choice. Contrary to the neo-classical theory though, it takes the household as its unit of analysis, and describes migration as a household strategy, aimed not at increasing one's wealth, but at diversifying the income sources, thus spreading risk (Zezza, Carletto & Davis 2005). Yet another difference with its predecessor is that the NELM takes account of income distribution and *relative*, as opposed to absolute, deprivation which leads to differing predictions about the occurrence of migration (Stark & Taylor 1991). Moreover, the NELM acknowledges that migrants and households operate in a context of incomplete and imperfect information.

The main critiques to the NELM come first from its limited applicability, the theory seems to be (successfully) applicable only to peculiar cases, and it cannot be applied to migration of whole households either. Second, the theory focuses on the sending countries only.

e.   *Dual Labour Market Theory*

The development of the dual labour market theory is attributed to the work of Piore in 1979 (Arango 2000). Contrary to the NELM, the dual labour market theory focuses its analysis on the receiving country, thus emphasizing the 'pull' factors. The basic assumption of this model is that of a segmented labour market, where two distinct sectors are identified; the capital-intensive primary sector and a labour-intensive, low-productivity secondary sector. The primary sector has a more permanent character, is better-paid, requires higher skills, enjoys better prestige and ultimately is attractive to the natives. On the other hand, the secondary market consists of mainly low-skilled jobs, is poorly paid, unpleasant, and unattractive to the natives, but attractive to the migrants.

The dual labour market theory can account for the apparent paradox in demand for foreign labour at a time of (relatively) high unemployment rate among natives. The theory does as well shed light into, and disproves, claims that foreign labour competes with the local one and affects its wages and employment opportunities.

However, this theory has some drawbacks, as did the previous ones. It focuses attention only to the 'pull' factors, and consequently discards any causes for migration at the sending countries. Current migration patterns, i.e. asylum seekers, highly-skilled migrants, etc., do not necessarily fit into the theory. The theory also fails to explain differential immigration rates in structurally similar countries.

f.   *Migration Networks*

Entzinger (2003) attributes the development of this theory to Boyd, in her 1989 work, although the occurrence of the phenomenon and some writings on it do appear before this time. Migration networks are based on social capital and serve many purposes, like

provision of information, financial assistance, assistance in finding employment and accommodation, etc. (Arango 2000, de Haan A. 2000), and even a perceived reduction in vulnerability (Meikle 2002). Thus, networks reduce the costs of migration, making it accessible to more people.[11]

Available networks in the destination place act like catalysts for further migration (Entzinger 2003, Germenji & Swinnen 2005), making migration a self-perpetuating phenomenon (Arango 2000, Entzinger 2003), [which] may explain the continuation of migration independently from the initial causes (Arango 2000, Zezza, Carletto & Davis 2005). The theory is an intermediate level that links the micro-level, i.e. the individual, to the macro-level, i.e. the structural determinants. Network migration is clearly linked to and facilitated by the advancements in the means of transportation and communication. Nevertheless, the theory has not found wide application, and "has not gone beyond the stage of a conceptual framework" (Arango 2000, p. 292).

2.1.2 Interim Summary

Each of the theories[12] described above attempts to explain migration by looking at the receiving or sending regions. Some theories focus on the micro and some on the macro level. De Haan A. (1999a), while criticizing the polarization evident in most migration perspectives, points to the need to combine these two separate views in order to provide a more coherent picture of migration. As captured by Kothari (2002, p.10) "it is the complex interaction, rather than opposition, of individual agency and macro structures within a historical context which provides a more useful framework for understanding why people migrate and the consequences of this movement". Most of the theories employ an economic perspective, while "population movements are not economistic reactions to push and pull, but patterns of migration are determined by social and cultural institutions, embedded in local customs and ideologies" (de Haan A. 1999a, p.9), and regional variations in migration reflect a combination of cultural and economic factors (Germenji & Swinnen 2005).

It is the time when the focus of migration studies shifts from the causes of migration to other aspects of it, such as migration processes, consequences (not only at the macro-level) (Arango 2000), relationship of migration to development (de Haan A. 1999a, Arango 2000), migration and gender (King & Vullnetari 2003), to mention but a few.

Available literature on migration focuses almost exclusively on migration of individuals, with a few articles briefly talking about migration of whole households (Mosse et al. 2002, de Haan A. 2002). Albania might be quite unique in this respect, with most post '90 internal migration being mostly permanent and taking place at the household level. For this reason, also the term labour migration might not accurately depict the type of internal migration taking place in Albania.

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[11] Saskia Sassen has also carried out a series of 'innovative studies on global cities', where she analyzed the role of networks in migration (Entzinger 2003).

[12] Arango (2000) states critically that not all of the theories of migration meet the standards to be called as such, since they do not guide empirical research. Part of these limitations comes from migration itself, which is highly diverse and context-specific, difficult to define, measure or generalize.

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2.2 The Poverty Discourse

The concept of poverty, its definition, analysis and link to development, has attracted considerable attention, reflected in a vast amount of scholarly literature as well as numerous anti-poverty policies, projects and programs. Available literature shows that poverty is closely linked to migration and to the development discourse, thus a review of the development of the concept and its link to migration is indispensable.

Significant professional and academic work dedicated to poverty has contributed, among other things, to a shift in the way poverty is conceptualized and defined. These shifts are particularly important in that they directly affect and guide local, national and international policies and agendas. "It is now generally accepted that understanding the vulnerability of the poor and the ways that they cope with it is essential for well-informed policy and action" (Meikle 2002, p.45). Poverty is not a concern only for the poor themselves, but also for the wider society.

a. Poverty as lack of sufficient income

Income poverty was the first definition and measurement of the concept, dominant until the late 1980s-early 1990s.The first (international) indicator used for measuring it was the poverty line (PL), which was based on per-capita consumption. Absolute or relative PL were, and still are, widely used by the multinationals such as the World Bank. This purely economic focus on poverty was influenced by the prevailing Zeitgeist accompanying the structural adjustment policies and the Washington Consensus, and also by the relative ease of collecting necessary data.

However, the use of the PL (or sometimes the un/employment rate) as determinant of poverty has been challenged, among other things, because of its reductionist character and failure to capture poverty in its multi-dimensionality, dynamism and in the way the poor themselves perceive, feel and live poverty (Chambers 1995, Raczynski, 1998, WDR 2000-2001, Rakodi 2002a)[13]. De Haan A. et al. (2002, p. 14) point to the fact that the assumptions upon what minimum expenditure is 'may reflect technocrats rather than poor people's views'. Another crucial criticism to the poverty line measure is that it fails to capture differences among regions or urban vs. rural differences in consumption patterns and living requirements. "The data themselves do not 'explain' poverty, they merely record it" (de Haan A. et al. 2002, p. 14). Moreover, income-based or employment data may not be highly accurate, since they fail to capture the 'informal' activities and income generated by it.

b. Vulnerability

The concept of vulnerability, though often confused with poverty (see Moser 1998, de Haan, A. 1999b), differs from it in that poverty is a static concept whereas vulnerability is dynamic and better depicts the reality of the poor. Vulnerability encompasses both one's exposure to shocks and stresses and one's ability to cope with them. The latter is captured

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[13] A historical review of the WDR clearly illustrates how the concept of poverty and its definition has evolved within the WB itself.

by the term resilience (Moser 1998). The term captures not only those who are poor now, but also those who are at risk of impoverishment in the future should stresses or shocks hit them. By employing the term vulnerability, attention is also given to the economic, institutional, political and environmental context. Security of livelihoods cannot and does not depend solely on income.

c.   Deprivation and Social exclusion

Chambers (1995, 174) defines deprivation as 'lacking what is needed for well-being', and the concept includes material as well as immaterial aspects. Sen talks about poverty in terms of capability deprivation (Sen 2000). Possession of physical assets or commodities does not equate with well-being; and what people *can* do and achieve is more important than what they have (Sen 2000, Deneulin 2006, Chambers & Conway 1992, emphasis added). When an individual faces capability deprivation, i.e. "the lack of the capability to live a minimally decent life" (Sen 2000, p. 4), he or she will feel impoverished and might feel excluded from social life. It follows from the capability approach that migration is a way of exercising individual agency (Deneulin 2006).

Social exclusion can be defined as "the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in society" (de Haan A. 1999b, p.6). According to Sen (2000) social exclusion has to be considered both as a cause and a consequence of deprivation and poverty. De Haan A. (1999b) considers social exclusion as a *framework* to guide analysis on deprivation, and not as a new concept to define poverty (emphasis added). Perhaps the most important contribution of the concept of social exclusion is that it casts light to "the *processes* through which people are being deprived, taking the debate beyond descriptions of merely the situation in which people are" (de Haan A. 1999b p. 5, emphasis in the original). This view is also shared by Sen (2000) who stresses the relational features provided by the concept of exclusion. The concept also emphasizes the multidimensionality of deprivation. Reaching a common understanding of deprivation, though, is not easy (Rakodi 2002a).

d.   Participatory poverty assessments: Voices of the poor

Participatory poverty assessments (PPA) represent an approach to the study of poverty, and not a definition of it or an alternative concept. It is included here because of its significance in institutionalizing the shifts in the conceptualization, measurement and analysis of poverty, as illustrated by the World Bank's adoption of a multidimensional, participatory approach.

Today's new paradigm in the development discourse conceptualizes poverty by including terms like income, lack of access to services, lack of participation in decision making, lack of power, lack of representation, high vulnerability, ill treatment by institutions, etc. (see WDR 2000-2001). The 2001 report 'Voices of the Poor' takes up many 'new' concepts, like assets or capitals, vulnerability context, and the role of institutions in both influencing and analyzing poverty – social exclusion, Sen's conceptualisation of capabilities, etc.

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2.2.2   Interim Summary

The above discussion served to highlight the major developments in the poverty discourse taking place during the past half a decade. Considering the shifts in the way poverty is conceptualized, it can be safely said that the concept has not merely changed; indeed it has evolved leading to a paradigm shift. The 'voice of the poor' is being heard better, and they are no longer considered as "passive victims" (Rakodi 2002a, p.6). Chambers (1995, p. 173) firmly states "in the new understandings of poverty, wealth as an objective is replaced by wellbeing and 'employment' in jobs by livelihood".

On the international level, UNDP has taken the concept of poverty beyond the monetary dimension with the Human Development Indicator (HDI) in 1990[14] and the Human Poverty Index (HPI)[15]. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) also reflect a complex definition of poverty. However, it has to be said that income, consumption and employment measures are still the most prominent indicators of poverty, and they are being widely used by development professionals, multinationals, as well as governments (Chambers 1995).

The development discourse is nowadays being centred around the livelihoods approach, explained in detail in section 2.3. This, more complex yet more realistic, view on poverty fits into the context of informal settlements in Tirana, which are facing diverse challenges, like lack of, or inadequate basic services, tenure insecurity, poor transportation infrastructure, insufficient public spaces, informal status impeding entry to the credit/loan system, etc. The following sections take an in-depth analysis of the sustainable livelihoods approach and the framework of analysis.

2.3   The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

One of the early definitions of livelihood comes from Wallman (1984 cited in de Haan L. & Zoomers 2003, p. 352; 2005, p.32) "livelihood is never just a matter of finding or making shelter, transacting money, getting food to put on the family table or to exchange in the market place. It is equally a matter of ownership and circulation of information, the management of skills and relationships and the affirmation of personal significance . . . and group identity. The tasks of meeting obligations, of security, identity and status, and organizing time are as crucial to livelihood as bread and shelter".

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[14] The indicator was developed in the year 1990, and it was first put to use by UNDP in the year 1993 in its Annual Human Development Reports

[15] The HDI adds issues of education and life expectancy to the traditional GDP per capita and is now a standard means of measuring well-being. The HPI is based on measured deprivations in the three basic dimensions – a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living.

2.3.1   The contemporary livelihoods approach

Chambers and Conway, with their work in the early 1990s, are accredited with the development of the livelihoods concept and approach to understanding poverty the way we understand and use it today. Chambers & Conway (1992) conceived of livelihood as consisting of people who exercise their capabilities and make use of both tangible and intangible assets in order to be both environmentally and socially sustainable. Although this approach was developed having in mind the rural context, its application is being now extended also to urban areas (see eds. Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones 2002).

After this work, many institutions operating in the development arena arduously took up the concept (Cahn 2002). The Department for International Development of the British Government (DFID) and CARE are among those institutions. DFID provides one of the most commonly used definitions of livelihood, adapted from Chambers & Conway (1992):

> "A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources), and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base" (DFID Guidance Sheets 1999, section 1.1, p.1).

None of the elements comprising the SLA are new, what is new is their coming together (Cahn 2002). Perhaps the most important aspect of the approach is that it is people-centred, recognizing their strengths as opposed to their weaknesses (DFID 1999). The approach recognizes that poverty is multi-dimensional. Bebbington (1999 cited in Haan & Zoomers 2005, p.32) emphasizes the holistic nature of livelihoods, and describes the assets people own as more than means of making a living; indeed the assets "give meaning to that person's world" and being. The SLA recognizes that (poor) people do not act in a vacuum; rather they live in and respond to a changing environment. Their livelihoods are affected, and even shaped, by the specific vulnerability context as well as by the existing institutions, policies and regulations. In doing so, the SLA takes into account the macro-micro links between the household and the structures and processes. While previous approaches looked at the poor as being in a static situation, the SLA recognizes that livelihoods are dynamic, and people can go in and out of poverty.

The SLA has been adopted by a number of organisations and (almost) each has developed its own framework of analysis. As Carney (2002, p.48) states, the SLA is a way of looking at poverty and development, 'not a clear-cut recipe'. The following section explores in detail the SL framework that will form the basis for this research.

2.3.2   The sustainable livelihoods framework

This section will take up the SL framework developed by DFID and analyze all the components of the framework separately and how they relate to one another. The most appropriate place to start is by analyzing the *assets* owned by people. Next, the *vulnerability context* will be discussed, third the *structures and processes*, and fourth the

livelihood strategies and outcomes. Based on the analysis of DFID SL framework the author develops her own framework to guide the present research.

Figure 2.1: DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
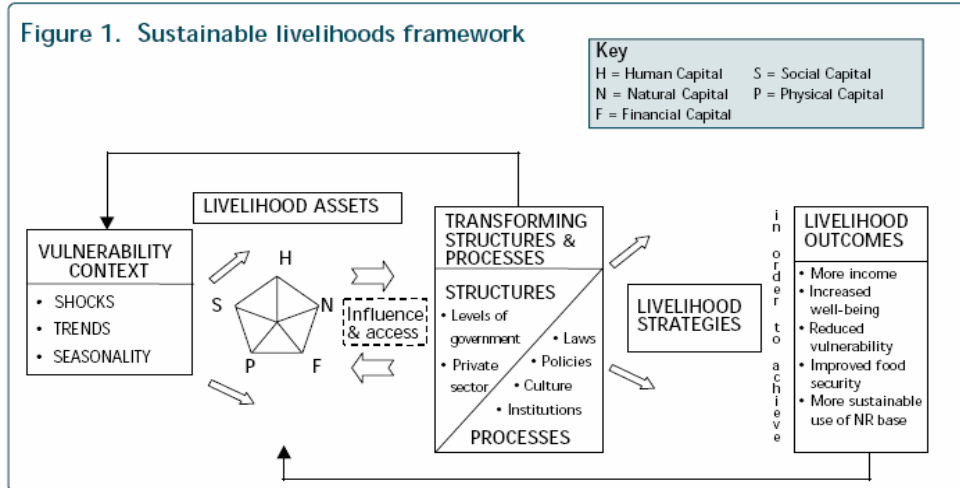
Source: DFID, Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets

a.   Assets

The individual/household is at the centre of the SL framework, which employs an 'active' view of the (poor) people, focusing on their strengths. The approach recognizes that while the poor might not have sufficient financial resources, they do have other assets which allow them to survive, and even prosper. Basically, people are believed to rely on an asset base composed of five different types of assets/capitals[16], as described in Box 1.

Not all types of capital are equally important to the urban and rural livelihoods. As Moser (1998) discusses, three are the main aspects that differentiate urban and rural areas. First, commoditization of the urban livelihoods means that labour and income generated from it are of crucial importance for sustaining and improving livelihoods. Second, environmental hazards are higher in the urban areas, due to higher population density, inadequate water and wastewater services, higher concentration of industrial plants, etc. The condition is further exacerbated by 'loss' of natural capital compared to the rural areas. Third, the urban areas are more socially and economically heterogeneous, which implies a decrease of the social capital, or a breaking of the social fabric in the urban areas. Not all empirical evidence supports this latter claim though, especially with regard to the poor (de Haan A. 2000, eds. Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones 2002).

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[16] In the literature the terms capital and asset are used interchangeably, and sometimes together (like "capital asset"), and so will be its use throughout this study.

> **Box 2.1: Definitions of the five types of capital**
>
> **Human Capital**: represents the skills, knowledge and ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood outcomes. Besides its intrinsic value, human capital is required in order to make use of the other four assets.
>
> **Social Capital**: (in the context of the SL framework it refers to) the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. These are developed through (i) networks and connectedness; (ii) membership of more formalized groups; (iii) relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges (informal safety nets). Social capital gives a person a sense of identity, honour and belonging.
>
> **Natural Capital**: the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived. These include forests, rivers, etc. as well as biodiversity. Within the SL framework, the relationship between natural capital and the Vulnerability Context is particularly close.
>
> **Physical Capital**: combines basic infrastructure and producer goods (tools and equipment that people use to function more productively) needed to support livelihoods. The main components of Physical capital necessary to sustain a livelihood are (i) affordable transport, (ii) secure shelter and buildings, (iii) adequate water supply and sanitation, (iv) clean, affordable energy, (v) access to information (communications).
>
> **Financial Capital**: denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives, i.e. the availability of cash or equivalent that enables people to adopt different livelihood strategies. There are two main sources of financial capital, available stocks (cash, bank deposits, liquid assets) and regular inflows of money (salaries, pensions and other state assistance, remittances).
>
> Source: Adapted from DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets (1999)

The relative importance of each type of capital differs between the urban and the rural setting, because of the different social, economic, political and environmental context. For instance, while natural capital is considered to be significant to the rural livelihood, Carney (2002) cites an Indonesian study which found that natural capital, the way it is conceived of in the SLF, does not represent the urban reality.

On the other hand, the highly monetized life of the cities makes financial capital essential. To a great extent, the vulnerability of urban households comes from inadequate financial capital, which tends to be the most versatile of all capitals. It is for this reason that the poor have to rely more on the other assets in order to compensate for lack of sufficient financial capital. Moreover, financial capital is the only type of capital for which no direct actions or measures can be taken to support asset accumulation (DFID 1999). Similarly, human capital, especially in the form of education and skills, is believed to be more important in the urban setting since it affects access to financial capital via better employment and income opportunities.

Physical capital is crucial in the urban setting, with tenure security being of particular importance to the urban poor. Availability of and access to infrastructure is one of the core components of the non-monetary dimension of poverty. The opportunity costs associated with poor infrastructure are very high, for instance, time spent in unproductive activities such as fetching water.

People use assets in a creative, proactive and dynamic way in order to cope with stresses and shocks, as well as to enhance their capabilities. The analysis below shows how access to and use of assets is affected by the (external) socio-economic, political and environmental context. De Haan L. (2000) considers the concept of *access* fundamental in determining the real use of capitals. Deprivations arising from inaccessibility to any of the capitals interact and reinforce one another, further constraining livelihood choices and outcomes for the poorest.

b.   Vulnerability Context

In the context of the SLA, vulnerability refers to the "insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households and communities in the face of a changing environment, and implicit in this, their responsiveness and resilience to risks that they face during such negative changes" (Moser 1998, p.3).

These threats to livelihoods come from three main sources: shocks, trends and seasonality. Chambers & Conway (1992, p.25-26) define shocks as "impacts which are typically sudden, unpredictable, and traumatic" and stresses as "pressures which are typically cumulative, predictable, and variously continuous or cyclical". Trends refer to overall patterns in population changes, (macro) economic indicators, technology, etc., and seasonality refers to the seasonal effect of agricultural production, employment opportunities, income, etc.

There are two facets to vulnerability; an external aspect which represents the stresses and shocks to which livelihoods are subjected, and an internal aspect which refers to the capacity to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, i.e. resilience (Chambers & Conway 1992, Moser 1998). The vulnerability context is usually outside of peoples' immediate control, and usually negative (though, sometimes it can provide positive opportunities). Vulnerability is closely linked to assets, so that the stronger the asset base the less the vulnerability, and the weaker the asset base the higher the vulnerability. Moreover, people's access to and use of assets also serves as a buffer in times of shocks or stresses (Moser 1998, Rakodi 2002a, Meikle 2002). In other words, the better and stronger the asset base over which people have control and can use, the better their resilience and the more successful their livelihood and coping strategies. People's strategies to cope with stresses and shocks can be preventive, i.e. before they happen, such as by building up the asset base, or in case of insecurity and vulnerability, engaging in a number of coping strategies.

c.   Structures and Processes

Peoples' access to and use of assets is influenced by (formal and informal) structures and processes at all levels (household, community, city, national, and even regional and global), and in combination affect the livelihood strategy(ies) adopted by (poor) people (DFID 1999, Carney 2002).

Structures or institutions can be public, private, or belong to the civil society sector. Processes, such as laws and regulations, policies, etc., influence the way organizations relate to each other. Power and gender relations are also part of these processes.

Processes also determine whether an asset can be transformed into another. In this framework, social capital is the asset most closely linked to the structures and processes.

In DFID terminology, structures can be considered as the hardware which makes processes function. An absence of appropriate structures can be a major constraint to development. On the other hand, processes, the software, determine the way in which structures – and individuals – operate and interact. By looking at both the individual or household and the structures and processes, SL framework links the micro to the macro.

d. *Livelihood Strategies and Outcomes*

People employ livelihood strategies[17] in pursuit of their livelihood outcomes. Individuals and households can engage in a number of different strategies at any given time, as a means of spreading risk and improving the chances of achieving their livelihood objectives. De Haan, L. (2000), in addition to multiple livelihood strategies, also talks about multi-local livelihood strategies, to refer to the fact that many (poor) people draw on resources and opportunities from more than one locality.

Livelihood outcomes can be conceived of as being the goals toward which people aim. The realization of these goals is affected by the livelihood strategies that people pursue and the available livelihood opportunities. The urban context offers more opportunities to enter the formal labour market, earn a better income, have access to better education, physical infrastructure, etc. compared to the rural context. Access to these opportunities is in turn affected by the asset base the individual or household already possesses, as well as by the prevailing policies, rules and regulations.

The achieved livelihood outcomes, in turn, feed into the cycle again, mainly by building on (or sometimes weakening) the asset base.

2.4 *Reflections*

The livelihoods framework discussed above is a useful analytical tool for exploring the complexity of (poor) people's livelihoods. Below, a few complementary modifications to the framework (Figure 2.2) are proposed.

First, political capital is increasingly recognized as the missing dimension of the SL framework (www.chronicpoverty.org online). Some institutions, like CARE have already transformed the pentagon to a hexagon in its *household livelihood security* framework (see Sanderson 2002), and Baumann (2000) argues that political capital should be an endogenous part of the SLF. Political capital, and not just social capital, is closely (if not more closely) linked to the structures and processes, and it is of both analytical and practical importance (Baumann 2000). The inclusion of political capital could overcome some of the criticisms of the SLF that it plays down on power relations.

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[17] While the term 'strategy', gives agency to the individual/household, is also debated by some researchers who question the appropriateness of the term when referring to the *decisions* people make (see Rakodi 2002).

Political capital has to do with power and awareness of one's rights as well as willingness and ability to assert those rights (Carney 2002). It includes the right to vote, participation in (political) decision-making, ability to affect policies, political affiliations, etc. Political capital can be perceived as "a gatekeeper asset, permitting or preventing the accumulation of other assets" (Booth et al. cited in eds. Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones 2002, p.11). Sen (2000) perceives exclusion from participation in political processes and governance as an impoverishment of human lives. It is crucial for influencing policy making that would enhance peoples' assets, reduce their vulnerability, help them achieve livelihood outcomes and consequently improve their wellbeing. Therefore, the author believes that political capital should have its distinct place in the livelihoods framework used in this research.

The second change proposed to the framework regards the vulnerability context. The author proposes to conceive of it as consisting of two distinct levels. Taking the perspective of an individual or a household, the vulnerability context can be external and mostly beyond one's control, like country's macro-economic performance, but it can also be internal, expressed in the forms of shocks and stresses, like in the case of an illness or death of a family member, divorce, family violence, etc. which severely impact the livelihood of the entire household. The poor are especially vulnerable to these types of shocks and stresses.

Third, the author believes it is important to distinguish between four main structures, (i) government (at all levels), (ii) private sector[18], (iii) civil society sector (the latter two are combined in the original framework), and (iv) the international community, especially donors. All these organisations do have a clear influence on the livelihoods of (poor) people, either directly or indirectly.

Fourth, livelihood outcomes are slightly changed, in order to reflect the urban context to which it is being applied. For instance, sustainable use of the NR base is omitted, and increased participation and citizenry is added to the framework.

To conclude, although this research does not deal with the concept of gender in detail, data and information on this issue have been included whenever appropriate or necessary.

2.5   Chapter Summary

Urban growth is a fact of our lives, as is urban poverty; and migration is closely linked to both. As Chambers (1995) notes, the poor tend to be concentrated more in the urban than in the rural areas, and they are more likely to be refugees or displaced than settled people, landless as opposed to landowners. Migration of poor rural households is one of the arguments used when talking about an increase in the incidence of urban poverty (Rakodi 2002b). Zezza, Carletto & Davis (2005) talk about a relocation of rural poverty to the urban areas, and Aliaj (2002) argues for a concentration of the poor in Tirana's outskirts.

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[18] Carney (2002) and Meikle, Ramasut & Walker (2001) state that mostly, the livelihoods of the poor take place within the private sector.

What makes urban poverty specific is the complex social, economic, political (including governance) and environmental context in which the urban poor live, and which affects their livelihoods (Meikle 2002). This context, mediated by the prevailing structures and processes determines a household's access to and use of resources, which affects that household's vulnerability and resilience.

Scoones (1998) identifies migration as one of the three rural livelihood strategies, Kothari (2002) describes it as a central livelihood strategy for many poor households, and Satterthwaite & Tacoli (2002) view migration as an important way to increase income and improve access to assets. In many cities of the developing world, rural to urban migration has resulted in the creation of informal settlements, which lack adequate basic physical and social infrastructure, lack tenure security, and face a number of problems. Migration puts pressure on the land market, the building industry and on the local government for the provision of services.

Migration cannot be understood in economic terms only (see interim summary 2.1.2). Due to its holistic perspective, the SLA is used in this research to bring the missing dimensions to the study of migration. Adato & Meinzen-Dick (2002) emphasise the role of the framework in indicating the multiple and interactive influences on livelihoods. Migration needs to be understood from a livelihoods perspective and policies need to be designed through multidisciplinary and multisectoral study and analysis.

Figure 2.2: Theoretical framework of the study - Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Types of Capital

Vulnerability Context

1. **Internal**
a. Shocks & stresses

2. **External**
a. Shocks & stresses
b. Trends
c. Seasonality

Human

Financial

Social

Physical

Political

Natural

Structures & Processes

1. **Structures**
Tiers of Government
International Community
Private Sector
Civil Society Sector
2. **Processes**
Constitution & Laws
Policies
Regulations
Culture

Livelihood Strategies aimed at achieving livelihood aspirations

Livelihood outcomes

a. Increased well-being
b. Increased income and job-opportunities
c. Increased livelihood security (food, legalization, etc.)
d. Reduced vulnerability
e. Increased participation and citizenry

Source: Adapted from DFID SL Framework (1999)

3.   THE CONTEXT OF INTERNAL MIGRATION IN ALBANIA

This chapter starts with a brief historical overview of migration in Albania and then discusses post-'90 migration dynamics at the country-level. The second part deals with regional differences between sending and receiving areas. Next, migration at the district level and the emergence of Bathore are elaborated. The chapter closes with a section on policies and regulations that have affected migration and migrants' livelihoods.

3.1   Overview of Internal Population Mobility

Views about migration and migrants are often based on an assumption of sedentarism, that populations were largely immobile and, that migration is a recent occurrence. There is however much evidence to challenge this sedentary bias, and to view population movement as the norm rather than the exception (de Haan A.1999a, Ellis & Harris 2004). This holds true in the Albanian context as well (INSTAT 2004c, King & Vullnetari 2003). While historical records show that external migratory movements date back to the 15th century and they proceed during WW I and II as well as during the first years of the establishment of communism in the country, very little is known with regard to internal migration up to the mid-fifties.

Contrary to the commonly held belief that internal migration is a post-communist phenomenon, scholars have argued that internal movements of the population, rural-urban, but also rural-rural, were present during the 1945-1990 period (Carletto et al. 2004, Sjőberg 1992 cited in King & Vullnetari 2003). During the same period, almost 1/3 of the growth of urban areas was due to rural-urban migration. INSTAT (2004c) identifies two main waves of internal population movements during the communist regime. The first wave, from 1950-1960, flows from rural to urban areas and it is oriented and controlled, but not totally forbidden. In the year 1961 free movement of citizens is prohibited (Labrianidis & Kazazi 2006), especially rural-urban mobility. This marked the start of the second wave of migration, which is clearly very limited, this time trying to induce (forcefully but unsuccessfully) an urban-rural population movement.

The main target of rural-urban population movements during communism was the triangle Tiranë-Durrës-Fushë Krujë, very similar to the typology of post 90 migration flows. Other similarities between pre and post '90 in-migration are the age structure of migrants, and the places of origin, with the northern and southern mountains being the main sending regions (King & Vullnetari 2003, INSTAT 2004c).

Nevertheless, while de Haan A. (1999a) argues for the existence of a certain pattern of migration, the case of post '90 internal migration in Albania was certainly unprecedented in terms of the scale of population movement, the scale of informality and the institutional and legal vacuum that accompanied it.

3.1.1   Post-90 migration flows

At the turn of 1990 Albania emerged from the most draconian communist regime, which had isolated the country and its people from the rest of the world for almost half a decade.

The change of the regime, unexpected and inconceivable by many, was a major shock affecting not only the livelihoods of people, but also the organization and functioning of the Albanian institutions. Nevertheless, while bureaucratic institutions take time to adapt, people had to take action at a time when their livelihoods were at stake. Among other things, the new political changes presented the Albanians with the opportunity to move freely and decide to choose one's domicile. In august 1990, right after the massive emigration via the embassies, the president of that time talks about the lifting of the ban on the free movement of the population. Nevertheless, this wasn't sanctioned by law until the year 1993. Çabiri et al. (2002) compares the issuing of this law and its consequences to the opening of the dike of a huge lake without having a plan for where to channel the rushing water and avoiding subsequent flooding. The political chaos and a perceived and real lack of state authority and law enforcement laid the perfect ground for what was about to happen. Rightfully, Carletto et al. (2004) has termed Albania as 'a country on the move'.

3.1.2 Country level migration flows

The Albania HDR (Çabiri et al. 2002) considers internal migration to be one of the most dramatic processes of transition in Albania, leading to massive depopulation of the poorest areas of the country and an increased concentration of people in the most developed urban centres. Carletto et al. (2004, p.18) name it an 'internal demographic transformation'. Internal migration in Albania can be analyzed at a regional, prefecture and district level. In other words, post '90 population flows were observed between two regions, two prefectures, and between two districts of the same prefecture (INSTAT 2004c). The focus of this research is inter-regional migration, namely that from the north and north-eastern part of the country towards Tirana[19].

Figure 3.1: Direction of population flows

The scale and pace of migration led to dramatic changes in country's demography, among others, reflected in increased urbanization as well as changes in population and building density. Over 400,000 Albanians (roughly 13% of the country's total population) are estimated to have migrated within the country (Myftiu et al. 2005).

In 1989 only 36 percent of the country's total population was living in the urban areas, whereas in 2001, a decade later, this figure rose to 42.2 percent, now being 45 percent. Construction industry in the main (migrant) receiving areas boomed, and as Nicholson (2001, p. 39) remarks "in the summer of 2000, it seemed that half of Albania was building itself a house".

Source: Tirana Municipality 2006

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[19] Labrianidis & Kazazi (2006) consider the north/northeast – Tirana/Centre trajectory as a distinctive category.

The north-eastern and south-eastern (mountainous) regions of the country are the ones that account for most population loss. Official data show that north-eastern districts of Kukës, Dibra, Tropoja and Puka have lost about 30% of their population during the 1989-2001 period (INSTAT 2004c), mainly to inter-regional rural-urban migration, but also due to within-district rural-urban migration[20]. The poor and remote northeast is said to specialise in internal migration according to Zezza, Carletto & Davis (2005). Thirty-seven per cent of all migrants, at the country level, are coming from two north-eastern prefectures, those of Dibër and Kukës; and 70% of them chose the prefecture of Tirana as their destination.

INSTAT (2004c) reveals that migrants are usually young, with about 46% of the inter-prefecture migrants less than 30 years old in the year 2001. This also points to a concentration of the working age population in certain areas of the country. Despite the labour force concentrating in two main districts of the country, Tirana and Durrës, the local labour markets have not been able to integrate the newcomers, thus increasing unemployment rates. While international migrants are usually men, internal migration is predominantly characterized by the movement of the whole family.

Education levels of internal migrants are relatively poor, also reflecting a gender bias, with men being better educated and having more skills than women. Nevertheless, this difference in education levels does not apply to younger migrants (aged 22-31 in the year 2001). Although most migrants are of active working age, only about 60% of them are actually employed. Men find it easier to find work after migration compared to women (INSTAT 2004c).

According to de Soto et al. (2002, p. 42) "all those who are trying to cope with difficult economic conditions and who can withstand the physical rigors of migration are potential migrants". The same study found no significant difference in migration rates among different socio-economic groups (except for the better off who experienced lower incidence of migration), or among the landless and landowners. Social capital emerges as an important asset in assisting migration. While these conclusions were mainly derived for international migration, the present study shows their significance for internal migration as well. Poor and non poor alike do migrate, and social capital is indeed crucial in informing and facilitating migration. De Haan A. (2002) also presents some proof, though inconclusive, of the migration of the very poor in Bihar, India. Yet, available literature (de Haan 1999a, Waddington & Sabates-Wheeler 2003, Kothari 2002, 2003), stress the highly selective nature of migration. Direct comparison needs caution, though, since in the present study migration of whole households is studied, as opposed to single members.

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[20] Tropoja's population loss is 38%, 77% of which due to internal migration (INSTAT 2004c).

3.2   Regional inequalities

Figure 3.2: Human Development Indicator: Country Mapping[21]
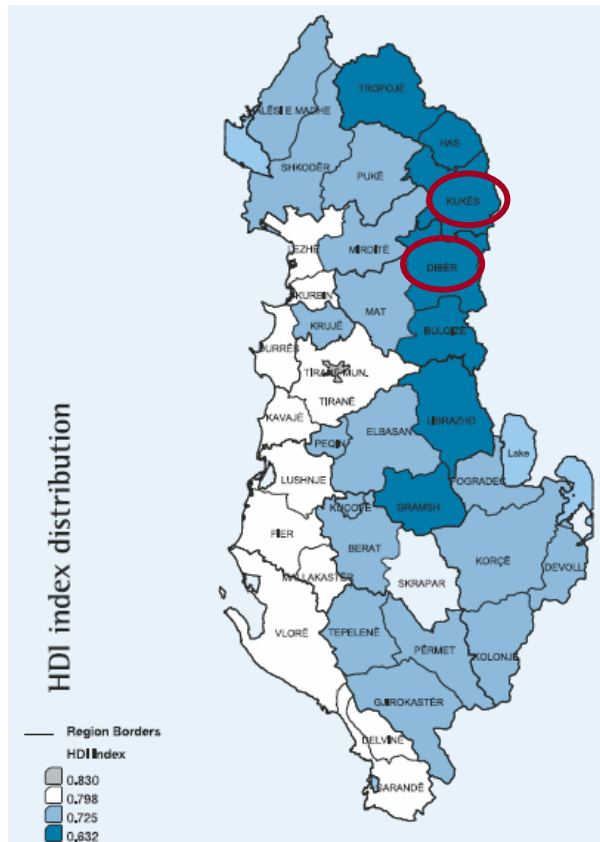
Migration in Albania is widely considered as closely linked to poverty (Çabiri et al. 2002, INSTAT 2004c, Zezza, Carletto & Davis 2005, Carletto et al. 2004). In its turn, poverty shows a marked regional and spatial dimension, with rural areas and the mountainous regions being consistently poorer, in monetary and non-monetary terms (de Soto et al. 2002, World Bank 2003, King & Vullnetari 2003, INSTAT 2004d, 2004g, Zezza, Carletto & Davis 2005, Germenji & Swinnen 2005).

Rural dwellers spend less on consumption, have poorer access to basic infrastructure, health and education facilities. They are, on average, poorly educated and have fewer skills compared to urban residents.

Source: Myftiu et al. 2005

Unemployment rate in remote rural areas is high, road and telecommunication infrastructure extremely poor, and due attention from the central government lacking. The harsh climate and the mountainous geography of these areas make life even harder. The disparity between the central regions and the rest of the country was further pronounced after 1980, at a time when the communist state was facing major financial strain. This inevitably led to a concentration of investments in the central region of Tirana-Durrës-Elbasan (Çabiri et al. 2002, Aliaj, Lulo & Myftiu 2003); a trend maintained also after the demise of the regime. While the country has made visible progress and economic growth, the spatial distribution of this growth needs consideration. The Tirana-Durrës corridor absorbs most of the investments, while the rural, especially mountainous areas have stagnated and are faced with continuous depopulation (Myftiu et al. 2005).

The north-eastern region of the country is characterized by economic backwardness and low urbanisation rates; it lacked proper investments during the communism era and suffered from de-industrialisation following the collapse of the regime. The emerging private sector could barely offer compensation for this loss, as there was hardly any private sector development in remote rural areas. Moreover, "the natural conditions have

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[21] The Districts of Kukës and Dibër, the two main sending areas in Bathore, are marked in red. Mapping of HPI, Education Index and GDP show similar distribution (see Myftiu et al. 2005).

constrained the penetration of outside influences and the northern 'highlanders' have kept a more tribal, traditional culture than in the south or along the coast" (Germenji & Swinnen 2005, p.13).

Figure 3.3: Urbanisation rates by district
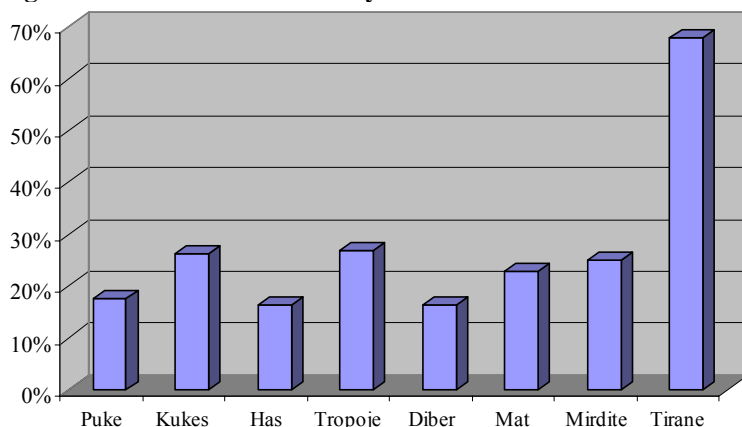
Source: Author's compilation based on data from INSTAT (2004c)

Official figures reveal that income poverty is highest in the prefectures of Kukës and Dibër, where over 35% of the households are under social economic assistance, compared to the 12% national average (INSTAT 2004c). Almost half of the residents in the north and northeast of the country are poor, and more than a fifth of them live in extreme poverty (WB 2003)[22]. The HDI measured at a prefecture level for Albania reveals that the northern and northeastern prefectures rank at the bottom of the ladder (Çabiri et al. 2002). The depth and breadth of poverty in these areas is much higher compared to Tirana, or to other urban centres in the country.

Table 3.1: Unemployment rates and poverty headcount by district

	Districts	Unemployment rate (in %)	Poverty Headcount (in %)
1	Kukës	28.3	40.6
2	Dibër	15.9	38.1
3	Tropojë	31.4	33.3
4	Pukë	32.2	42.3
5	Mirditë	23.9	37
6	Mat	18.6	37.5
7	Has	44	47.5
8	Krujë	14.8	33.3
9	Tiranë	7.5	22.8

Source: Unemployment data (for the year 2004) obtained from the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities (http://www.mpcs.gov.al); Poverty headcount data obtained from INSTAT (2004d).

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[22] Analysis is based on data collected for the Albanian Living Standards and Measurement Study (LSMS) 2002

While agriculture is the main activity in rural areas, it is the presence of other sources of income that differentiates between poor and non-poor rural households. While poorer households tend to rely slightly more on the land compared to non-poor households, the latter make use of more diversified sources (WB 2003), thus the better off display a diversified portfolio of livelihood strategies. In many cases, remittances are the most important non-agricultural income source (de Soto et al. 2002, Carletto et al. 2004).

De Soto et al. (2002) identifies Kukës as one of the poorest districts of the country, characterised by high rates of unemployment and underemployment, and closing down of many industries, like mining, which provided employment to a large number of men. Estimations reveal that unemployment in Kukës district might be as high as 40% (de Soto et al. 2002), at a time when unemployment at the national level was recorded at 15.8% (INSTAT 2005a). Kukës also suffers from violence from feuds[23], and its women feel more excluded compared to women living in other areas of the country, especially the south (de Soto et al. 2002). Tropojë is another extremely poor, predominantly rural district. The economy has been functioning very slowly since the 1980s, and unemployment rate has doubled (INSTAT 2004c)[24]. Agricultural production in these areas is hampered by the presence of divided plots, poor (or sometimes lack of) irrigation systems, and difficult mountainous geography. Only about 30% of livestock and agricultural products are traded in the market. This, coupled with an inadequate social protection system, has resulted in a significant decrease in the living standards (King & Vullnetari 2003).

Throughout the previous regime, educational indicators were lower for the northeastern districts (INSTAT 2004f). Education facilities and quality were also poorer; the completion of the 8-year compulsory education usually marked the end of one's academic lifespan. Education was one of the areas most gravely affected after the demise of the regime, marked by the closing down of a number of schools in remote areas as well as by a decrease in learning and teaching quality. Parent interest in their children's education is also poor, overshadowed by more pressing economic concerns.

The long-term disadvantage of these areas has been further aggravated by the presence of (blood) feuds, a phenomenon not evident in the central or southern Albania. This has hampered development prospects and served as a motive for migration for some. In Bathore there are 6 reported cases of blood feuds[25].

The chronic deprivation of the north and northeast is countered by the disproportionate development of the central and coastal region, which presented better prospects for future development. These areas, and Tirana in particular, offered not only better employment opportunities, but also much better access to infrastructure and services, educational,

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[23] The presence of a blood feud in the family confines all male members of an extended household to stay indoors and never go out for fear of being killed. In these cases, the women of the household take charge of both male and female tasks.

[24] A review on the other northern and north-eastern districts of the country is difficult due to lack of reliable data. Nevertheless, it can be said that their conditions are similar to Kukës and Tropoja.

[25] Because confinement is a very sensitive issue, no interviews were made with any of these 6 households. In addition, their small number compared to the total number of households in Bathore is unlikely to compromise the results of the study.

cultural and health facilities, etc. (Çabiri et al. 2002). Tirana is the political, economic, financial and cultural centre of the country, and being its inhabitant certainly has its wide-ranging benefits.

However, while rural migrants come to Tirana in search of a better life, they are confronted with the painful peri-urban reality. As King & Vullnetari (2003, p. 16) argue, "some of the rapidly growing peri-urban areas are even more impoverished than remote rural areas". The already poor rural dwellers, unable to afford the cost of living in the city, 'choose' to settle in the underdeveloped peri-urban areas, thus maintaining a vicious cycle of poverty. Zezza, Carletto & Davis (2005) point out that although migration from the underdeveloped, mountainous and remote areas is considered as a way to cope with rural poverty, it has contributed, among other things, to the relocation of poverty in urban areas.

3.3   Migration to Tirana and the Making of Bathore

3.3.1   Tirana after 1989

Tirana, the capital of Albania, has suffered significant demographic changes following the nineties. Official data show that the population of the capital increased from 368,000 in 1989 to 520,000 in 2001 (INSTAT 2002), and almost 600,000 in the year 2004 (INSTAT 2005a). Unofficial (but perhaps more accurate) estimates indicate that the number of people living in the district of Tirana is about 800,000 (de Soto et al. 2002). The annual growth of Tirana, one of the highest in the world, is around 7-8%, about 2/3 of which attributable to mechanical growth (Tirana Municipality 2006). Every year, an estimated 7,000-10,000 families (30,000-50,000 people) arrive in the city (Aliaj 2002), making Tirana the recipient of more than half of the total migration inflows (INSTAT 2004c). Besides adding to the absolute number of the population of Tirana, migrants are also 'filling in' the gap created by the emigration of Tirana residents.

Figure 3.4: Population Changes in Tirana during the 2001-2005 period
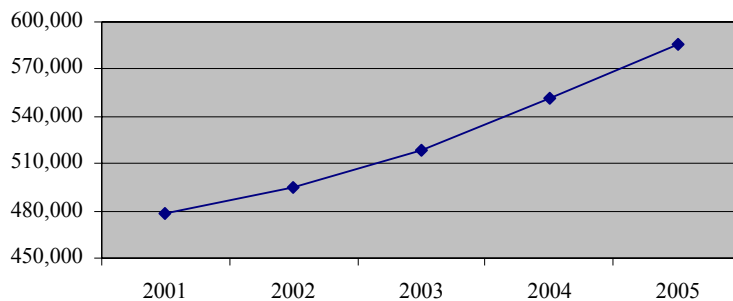
Data source: Tirana Municipality 2006

The urbanisation rate of Tirana is 67.8%, much higher than the 42.2% national average, and population density has increased to about 8,537 people/square kilometre, more than 80 times higher than the national average (INSTAT 2004a). The number of buildings constructed after the year 1990 accounts for more than 51% of the total number of

buildings in Tirana (Tirana Municipality 2006), and an estimated 70% of all constructions made in Tirana after the year 1990 are informal (Aliaj, Lulo & Myftiu 2003). This poses great burden on the local service provision (Hall 1996), as an estimated 50% of the city's population has poor access to infrastructure (Aliaj 2002).

Informal settlements in Tirana cover an estimated area of 900 hectares, materialised in around 25,000 informal buildings accommodating 75,000 people (Tirana Municipality 2006). Informal areas have developed within as well as outside of the administrative boundaries of the municipality. The peri-urban areas of Tirana are mostly inhabited by migrants, are largely informal, and characterized by individual, low density housing. This unmanaged growth has resulted in constructions on public land or agricultural land, usually lacking adequate (or any) physical and social infrastructure (Aliaj 2002, Tirana Municipality 2006). This uncontrolled growth has led to the formation of an area which is neither urban nor rural. As a consequence, there is now a strain on the provision of public services and infrastructure, including housing, water and sanitation, provision of electricity, health care facilities, etc. that has affected not just the areas where migrants have settled, but the whole city. As de Soto et al. (2002) identify, peri-urban residents of Tirana suffer from very high rates of unemployment, poor health and poor perception of government.

Migrants come from all over the country, since Tirana is the principal destination for all the five main sending districts, attracting approximately 70 percent of migrants from Dibër and Kukës, and 21 to 52 percent of migrants from the other main expelling areas. Migrants from Kukës and Dibër alone comprise 47% of the total number of migrants residing in Tirana[26]. Available data shows that migrants coming from the northeast to the centre[27], i.e. Tirana and Durrës, are young (68% of them are aged 12-39), and of relatively higher education compared to non-migrants in their areas of origin. Unemployment is slightly higher among migrants than non-migrants in the areas of origin, and significantly higher than non-migrants in the destination area, especially among women (INSTAT 2004c).

Another phenomenon accompanying the (informal) migrants is a growing informal economy, though this does, by no means, imply a causal relationship between the two nor is the phenomenon observed exclusively among migrants. Nevertheless, their informal status, poor skills and imperfect knowledge about the urban 'system' make them more prone to entering the informal market.

The immediate growth of Tirana 'transformed' overnight a considerable proportion of the rural population to *citizens*, without giving it enough time to go through a natural process of adaptation (Çabiri et al. 2002, Tirana Municipality 2006, emphasis added). As INSTAT (2004c, p. 15) concludes, there is "an increase in the urbanisation level and a decrease in the level of urbanism", because large scale migration has upset the existing balances in all the elements of the urban ecosystem, thus (negatively) affecting the urban living standards[28].

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[26] In Bathore, migrants from Dibër and Kukës comprise 63% of the population.
[27] No data are available for Tirana alone.
[28] INSTAT (2004c) goes beyond acknowledging the difficulty of integration of the migrants, to state it is almost impossible.

3.3.2 The making of Bathore

Bathore is part of Kamza Municipality, located north of the city of Tirana, and part of Greater Tirana. Until the year 1990, Kamza was a rural area counting no more than 7,000 inhabitants. Kamza experienced the highest rate of urban expansion in the country (Aliaj, Lulo & Myftiu 2003), and its population today is about 80,000[29]. These developments paved the way to the establishment of Kamza municipality in the year 1996. Kamza municipality has been the host of most people migrating to Tirana, with the native population of Kamza being now a minority against the in-migrants living there (de Soto et al. 2002). More than 25,000 people, or about 32% of the total population of Kamza, are living in Bathore[30].

Bathore is referred to as a transitory area between the city and the countryside (Tirana Municipality 2006), and it is the largest informal area in Tirana (Çabiri et al. 2002), and also in the whole country (Aliaj 2002). What happened in Bathore has been termed as "a wild process of urbanisation" (Aliaj, Lulo & Myftiu 2003, p.74), following the stages of occupation-building-servicing-planning (Pengu, Kelling & Çakalli 2003). Bathore came to be the symbol of mass migration and informality in the whole country. Once an agricultural area, Bathore is now considered by many 'qyteze'[31] and a part of Tirana.

Box 3.1: The process of migration

Usually the head of the household is the first to come to Tirana. In some cases he is accompanied by relatively grown-up son(s). Sometimes, a son working abroad provides financial assistance. At the beginning they build a makeshift or even a camping tent to live in while the house is being constructed. When the first floor of the house is completed the rest of the family joins. If the family has enough money, it will invest in the construction of the second floor of the house, sometimes even higher. The construction of the house lasts, on average, two and a half years. After the construction of the house is finished, the men will try to look for a job, mainly in the construction industry or other low-skilled labor. Women are rarely employed outside the household.

Once settled, most will try to bring their kin and friends to Tirana, sometimes by arranging for a plot of land near their own.

Box 3.2: The first settlers

One of the early migrants in the area recollects his first days in Bathore in 1991:

"One morning I woke up to see that all around my house was surrounded with makeshifts, made mainly of plastic. They were not there the night before. They looked like mushrooms after the rain".

Many of the first newcomers purchased big plots of land from the owners, but did not obtain all the proper documentation. This land was in many cases subdivided and sold to future migrants, relatives and friends.

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[29] Data obtained from fieldwork interviews at the Municipality of Kamza.
[30] Data obtained from the Civil Registry office of the Municipality of Kamza.
[31] The Albanian term *qyteze*, literally means small town.

Social capital is an essential part of livelihood strategies (Phillips 2002), and in the case of migration, networks play a key role in facilitating it. This is done in various forms, like provision of information, financial assistance, assistance in finding employment in the destination area, etc., and makes itself evident in the spatial distribution, or better said spatial concentration of households related by blood or physical proximity at the place of origin.

Bathore became a favourite target of migration for several reasons. First, its location alongside the main road axis, proximity to the Agricultural University and to Tirana offered more development prospects, better employment opportunities and better access to infrastructure and social facilities. Second, the relatively cheap prices made it the most appropriate choice for migrants with limited budget; and informal, self-help housing is the cheapest alternative possible (Aliaj 2002). Third, there was plenty of free space in this former agricultural area, which could accommodate growing numbers of migrants. Nevertheless, Bathore had its drawbacks as well. Precisely because it used to be agricultural land, it lacked any infrastructure, and for many years the migrants had to live without the basic necessities, like water, sanitation and electricity. As one of the migrants states 'the majority of people living in Bathore come from the most remote, northern and northeastern mountainous and least developed areas of the country; those better off at the place of origin have managed to find a better shelter for their family, with better access to infrastructure and closer to the city. It is the poorest of the poor who is living in Bathore'.

Conflicts over land during the first years of Bathore as a residential area have been numerous, resulting in violence and a few casualties[32]. Conflicts have occurred among settlers, migrants-owners, and between the migrants and the police. A woman recalls:

> *"during a protest I took stones and threw them to the police. They did the same. I had a bag full of stones. At the beginning, we had to fight to live here, blood was shed. Now it is all over".*

Currently the situation is much improved and no major conflicts are reported in Bathore. Some of the conflicts have been addressed by the municipal authorities. What happened during the early settling period fuelled among the Tirana residents the belief that migrants, especially northern 'highlanders', can be a source of violence and crime. Current evidence, though, shows the opposite. Inhabitants of Bathore live in peace with each other and the citizens of Tirana.

Box 3.3: Co-living

Tirana is perhaps the best example of heterogeneity in the whole country, where the 'highlander meets the civilized Tiranas'*. In Tirana one can see a melting pot of cultures, traditions, norms and values. Here, the most developed, highly educated and better-off meets the poorest, least developed and less educated. This heterogeneity brings with it many challenges related to the integration of migrants.

* Tiranas refers to an inhabitant of Tirana who has lived there before 1989.

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[32] Only two casualties are reported in the almost 16-year-long life of Bathore.

Although not part of the municipality of Tirana, inhabitants of Bathore are closely connected to the city via its labour market, health and educational facilities. Moreover, Tirana is also of psychological importance to the newcomers who identify themselves as its inhabitants. Nevertheless, the reality shows that their integration to the life of the capital is affected by numerous factors, discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

3.4 Existing policies and projects

Whilst the state did little in the early 1990s to either prevent or accommodate fluxes of migrants coming to Tirana, it did change its attitude in 1995. At this time, the GoA was determined to relocate the settlers living in informal areas to their home localities and demolish the informal buildings. A similar attempt was undertaken in the year 1998, after the unrest stemming from the collapse of the pyramid schemes. Nevertheless, both attempts faced tough confrontation evidenced in clashes between the police and the migrants. Social unrest was soaring, and the government acknowledged that the migrants as part of the change. This was the first time the migrants had an influence on public policies, although they had to fight in order to achieve it.

The World Bank was the first to enter Bathore and another informal area in Kamza municipality in the year 1997 with the Urban Land Management Project (ULMP). Most of Bathore has now improved water supply and sanitation conditions due to the ULMP (de Soto & Cila 2005). Seeing investments being made in the area raised the spirits of the local population about the possibility of legalisation. Part of Bathore has also benefited from the new (pilot) municipal solid waste collection scheme, again through donor funding. The municipality of Kamza itself has made modest investments in Bathore; however, its contribution is minimal considering the needs of the area. Some of the CBOs have benefited from various trainings provided by NGOs, like Co-PLAN.

Only at the beginning of the year 2000 started politicians talking about legalization, the forbidden dream of migrants for many long years. The subject, though, was many times used as propaganda during electoral campaigns, culminating in a riot in May 2003. The first law on legalization, approved in the year 2004, met with disapproval of migrants and development professionals alike. The new law, approved in 2006, seems more popular, although it met the resistance of the political opposition[33].

Legalization is without doubt the main issue at the political level that aims at addressing once and for all the informal status of Bathore and similar areas. The process of legalization has started in mid July 2006 with the self-declaration of the land and building by the informal settlers throughout the country. Upon completion the informal migrants are expected to enjoy a wide range of benefits, like increased house and land value, eligibility for loans, a better functioning real estate market, and increased chances of capital investments being made in the area. In its programme, the GoA foresees a second stage, where employment and crediting programmes, as well as infrastructure investments will aim at their integration.

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[33] One of the main issues of the first law was the ambiguity regarding the cost of legalization. Rumours spread that people living in informal areas would have to pay the market price of 2004, and this met with overwhelming dissatisfaction resulting in refusal to declare one's land and building to the authorities.

A DFID funded inter-sectoral strategy on social exclusion in Albania does not consider migrants as a separate target group. While the author acknowledges that not all migrants need to be included in this strategy, those rural-urban migrants living in areas like Bathore certainly deserve more focused attention.

A separate department is established within the Albanian Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities that deals with international migration; and IOM in Tirana is also committed to dealing with this issue. On the other hand, far from having a specialized department dealing with internal migration, any attention to the subject is lacking. If one needs any information regarding internal migration, one doesn't know where to look at. No websites, no documents or national strategies are available that target the issue (except INSTAT 2004c, which anyway is not a policy document, but a first institutional attempt to try to shed some light into the phenomenon). One is left wondering "is this really so unimportant?"

3.5   *Chapter summary*

This chapter discussed the dynamics of population movements in Albania and more specifically in Tirana and Bathore. Large scale internal population movements in the country started in 1990 with the demise of the communist regime. The law on the free movement of population resulted in an unprecedented phenomenon, where the share of the rural population decreased by about 13% in a decade, compared to a 20% increase in the past years (INSTAT 2004c). Tirana was the principal destination for most migrants, with a more than doubling population and buildings in about 10-years time.

Internal migration in Bathore is characterized by migration of whole families. The migrants come mainly from the north and northeast, which are the least developed areas of the country in both monetary and non-monetary terms. These regions rank the poorest also when measured in terms of HDI and HPI. On the contrary, the destination of migrants, i.e. Tirana, is not only the administrative capital of the country, but also its economic, financial, social and cultural capital where opportunities are greater and life better. Despite their initial dreams, what migrants in Bathore were confronted with was a bitter peri-urban reality. Land and housing prices served as a filter, 'allocating' migrants to specific areas matching one's pocket, with most of the poor settling in Bathore.

Migration is certainly affected by policies and institutions. The approval of the law 'on the free movement of the population' and the collapse of the pyramid schemes did fuel migration, as did the government's decree on the free registering inflate the numbers of registered migrants[34].

The following chapter goes deeper into the analysis by combining all data sources in order to answer the research questions posed in chapter one.

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[34] Government's decision to lift the registration fee resulted in 13,000 people registering in the Civil Registry Office in Kamza municipality. In reality, only 1,000 people are estimated to have arrived in Kamza in the year 2005.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the main findings of this study by answering the research questions 2, 3 and 4. Analysis is based on quantitative and qualitative data obtained from primary and secondary sources[35]. The first section provides a description of the characteristics of migrants and their households; the second dives into the causes of migration; whereas the third assesses the impact of migration on livelihoods. The chapter closes with a brief overview of the main livelihood outcomes of migrant households in Bathore.

4.1 *Background of migrant households in Bathore*

Most literature deals with migration of single members of a household. The present study looks at whole-family migration, which took place in a specific political, economic and social context. While migration to Bathore is a continuous phenomenon, it is possible to discern two main waves of population movement. The first, between 1991 -1992, is immediately after the fall of the regime and the lifting of the restriction on free population mobility. The second wave corresponds with the collapse of the fraudulent pyramid investment schemes, the biggest post '90 financial and social crisis in the country. This is a clear illustration of the impact that historical and political events as well as financial shocks have on peoples' livelihoods.

Figure 4.1: Timeline of Migration to Bathore
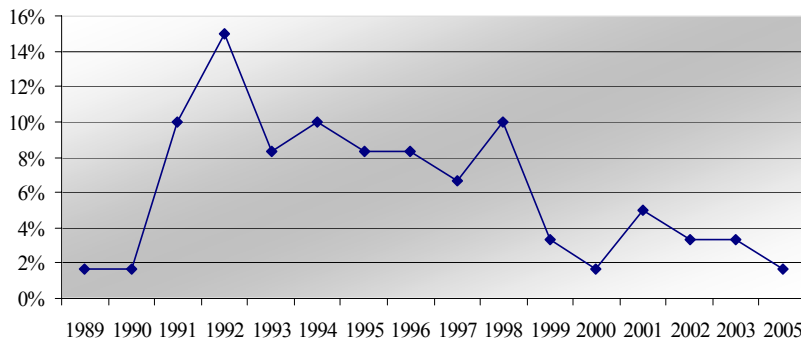
a. *Demographics*

Although Bathore is home to people coming from 26 (out of 36) districts of the country, over 80% of the households originate from the north and northeast, with Dibër and Kukës districts being overrepresented (63% of all registered families). This pattern is in line with other research, as reviewed in de Haan A. (1999a, 2002), which shows that migration streams are segmented, and that this segmentation is further maintained via

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[35] Primary data analysis is based on a sample survey of 60 migrant households in Bathore, 15 key-informant interviews, three focus group discussions and three migrant life-stories (refer to the methodology section in chapter 1).

networks. Indeed, once settled, a large number of migrants proceed with bringing along their relatives, usually by arranging for a plot of land near their own.

Figure 4.2: Bathore residents by district of origin
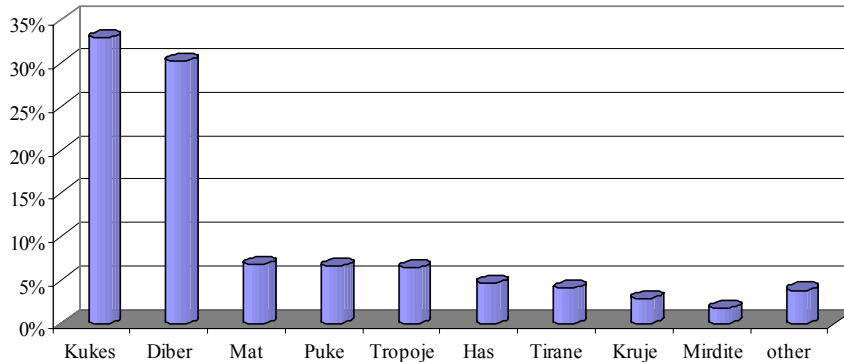
Data source: Civil Register of Bathore 2006

At the present, Bathore's population is around 25,500 inhabitants (personal communication, municipality of Kamza). Bathore has a very young population, (around 27 at the moment of migration, and 30.79 at the present[36]), with almost 45% of its residents belonging to the 0-25 age group, and 85% being less than 50 years old[37].

Migrant households are rather large and often consist of extended families[38]. Average family size among surveyed households is 5.6 (ranges from 2-8 members), higher than the national average of 4.22 (INSTAT online)[39]. The number of children per household ranges from 0-8, with a mean of 3.7. The northeast has traditionally had high reproduction rates, and apparently still continues to do so (INSTAT 2004c). Although most surveyed households admitted they would like to have many children, when asked about the 'right' number of offspring a household should have, the majority (74%) opted for a maximum of three (with the mean = 3), arguing that it is difficult to raise many children given the high costs involved, especially in Tirana.

The average age of the household head at the moment of migration was 40,8. Whilst indicative of an economically active population, their age is higher than that of international migrants[40]. While the latter tend to be young and single, internal migrants are married and have children. Hence, the reasons and pattern of migration is likely to be different for these two categories.

Studies suggest that large family size is correlated with deeper poverty (WB 2003), and households with seven or more members have the highest poverty rates (INSTAT 2004e).

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[36] This figure is close to the national average of 31.7 years of age (INSTAT online).

[37] Age calculations are based on the sample survey; population parameters might not be exactly the same.

[38] Extended here refers to the presence of three generations in one household, grandparents/in-laws, parents and children.

[39] Pengu, Kelling & Çakalli (2003) assessed the average household size in Bathore at 5.1.

[40] Most male population loss to international migration has been in the 15-35 age range (King & Vullnetari 2003).

INSTAT (2004f) finds that the poorest category in the country is the youth, with 55% of all poor being younger than 25 years old. It follows that residents of Bathore are exposed to a double risk; by having a rather large family size (28.2% of surveyed households have more than 7 members) and a very young population at the same time. Age composition is thus a crucial indicator since it points to the specific needs of the society, and as such, it should inform policy-making.

b.   Socio-economic status

As already discussed in the third chapter, the areas where migrants living in Bathore come from were faced with chronic poverty and deprivation. The 1991 law on the distribution of agricultural land to former state cooperatives and farm employees provided ownership titles to a number of rural households. Nevertheless, many respondents stated that the land they benefited was not arable, thus not directly beneficial to sustenance[41]. Part of the households have sold the land, while others still own it. However, connection to the land and to the place of origin is lost for most surveyed households.

Figure 4.3: Household financial situation prior to migration
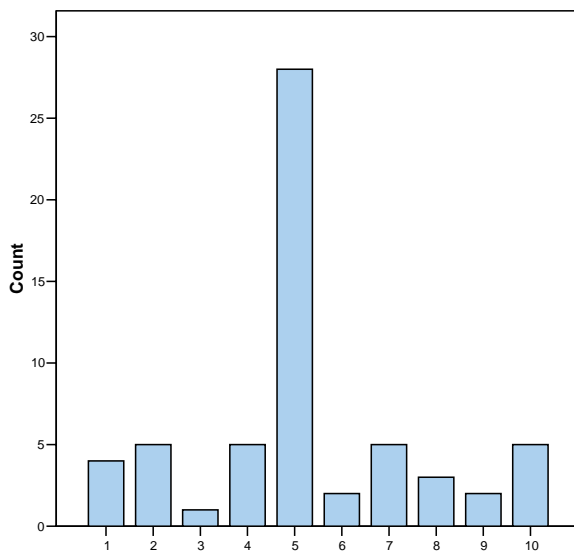
A first look at figure 4.3 reveals that most migrant households were neither poor nor rich at the moment of migration (50% rated themselves around average, i.e. rankings 5 and 6)[42].

Yet, 15% of surveyed households report being the poorest in their villages (ranking 1 and 2), and 11.6% were the better off in their home localities (ranking 9 and 10).

Those raking at the bottom (1-4) remark being unable to properly feed themselves; the main reason for this being both unemployment and large family size. On the other hand, those raking in the middle (5-7) were usually employed with a (rather) stable source of income, and those ranking at the top (8-10) were also employed, but usually held a higher status job with better-earning potential. Data on relative poverty give a similar picture. Almost 12% of surveyed households were "amongst the poorest" in their places of origin,

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[41] Since arable land in mountainous areas was in short supply, most of the land provided to the households was pastures or other non-arable land, which are unsuitable for ploughing and sowing.
[42] Respondents were asked to place their household in a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 represents the poorest and 10 the richest.

and slightly over 13% were amongst the richest, with the majority (53.3%) being in the middle (see figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: Reported relative poverty in the area of origin
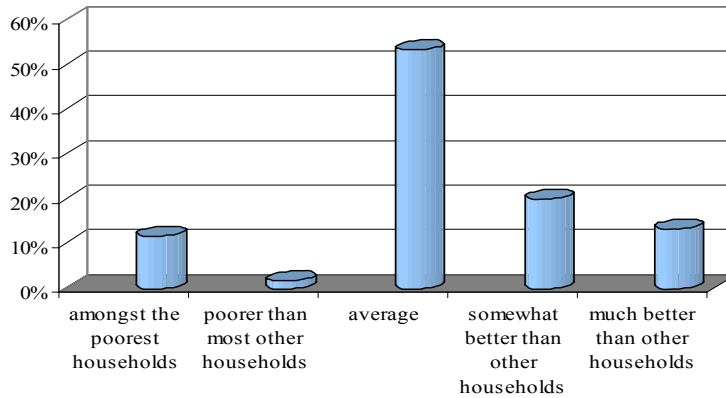
Although there were more unemployed women than men at the place of origin, unemployment rates for each are very similar. This is explained by a large number of unemployed women who are not looking for a job. Indeed, the number of unemployed women who are not looking for a job is almost 60% higher than the number of those unemployed but looking for a job. This helps explain the discrepancy in employment between men and women, which is to a great extent rooted in cultural norms and tradition whereby the men of the household are those responsible for providing for the family, while the women are responsible for the household chores and the upbringing of children. Of those who held a job, over 85% of the times it was in the public sector, which shows the relative insignificance of the private sector in remote rural areas.

Table 4.1: Unemployment at the area of origin

		N	Unemployed[43] (in %)	Unemployment rate[44] (in %)
1	Men (15-59)	127	31.2	32
2	Women (15-54)	114	54.5	34.3
3	Household head	51	15.7	14.6
4	Spouse	51	47.1	18.7

Most migrants lived in dismal conditions in their places of origin, with very poor access to basic services, including, and perhaps especially, health and education. Table 4.2 shows that 44% of household heads had 8-year schooling or less at the moment of migration. On the other hand, it should be noted that 48% of them had graduated from a secondary school (including vocational schooling), and 8% had university education. These figures are higher than what would be expected in a rural context.

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[43] Figure calculated based on the percentage of those who are unemployed against the total working age population.
[44] Figure calculated based on the percentage of those who are unemployed, but actively looking for a job against the total labour force.

Nevertheless, the picture is somewhat different for women, with their educational levels being significantly different from men's. This probably reflects the prevailing attitude in the remote rural areas about the (un)importance of education for women. Knowledge of a foreign language or computers was also very limited in the area of origin.

Table 4.2: Educational attainment

	Highest educational level attained	Household Head (in %) N=50	Spouse (in %) N=52	Total (in %) N=102
1	Illiterate	2	0	1
2	Primary (1-4)	12	9.6	10.8
3	Primary (5-8)	28	65.4	47.1
4	Secondary	40	21.2	30.4
5	Vocational	8	1.9	4.9
6	University	10	1.9	5.9

Crosstabulation of data for two variables, the educational level of the household head and household's reported financial situation, shows that educational attainment is not a good predictor of the financial situation of the household, perhaps the only exception being those holding a university degree. Nevertheless, the number of cases per cell is too small to make correct inferences.

The above data indicate that migrants come from differing backgrounds. Some are poor some not, some unemployed, others not, some are better educated, others have barely finished compulsory education. It seems that migration, as a livelihood strategy, was accessible to most households[45]. The question arises as to how these very poor households managed to migrate. It becomes apparent that (access to) social capital facilitates migration and assists the migrant in various ways, such as providing information, shelter upon arrival to the destination, assistance in finding land, employment, but also borrowing. Social capital proves crucial for informing and facilitating the migration process, more so for the poor. While some of the better off did not have any friends/relatives in Tirana at the moment of migration, all poor and very poor households did have a contact in Tirana who assisted them. Thus, it would seem that social capital is important, perhaps, as important as financial capital in a household's ability to migrate. Besides relations, these households have shown a very strong mental capital and entrepreneurial spirit in undertaking migration at a time of macro-level instability.

However, it has to be pointed out that one of the reasons why early migration might not be highly dependent on one's finances is the relatively low cost for settling in Bathore, which rendered it affordable to most people. Future migration to the area might be more dependent on financial capital, therefore inaccessible to the poorest of the poor, since land values have increased by almost 10 times since the establishment of Bathore (de Soto & Cila 2005), and might be expected to increase further with legalization. In this case, it seems that time factor in combination with a continuously changing socio-economic context plays a significant part in determining access to migration. However,

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[45] Over 90% of surveyed households state that the number of inhabitants in their home localities has decreased significantly, which again shows that migration was open to a large number of households.

research is needed in the sending areas as well to be able to analyze whether poverty (or other factors) actually determines access to internal migration, and if yes, to what extent[46].

c.   *Family and social organisation*

A patriarchal organisation is revealed within the household, with men governing important decision-making, like migration. In half of the cases, household heads were the one who took the decision. In other cases, decision making transcends the boundaries of the nuclear family to involve other people, like parents and in-laws. Yet, sometimes decision making becomes a social process where relatives and other networks are engaged. For almost 57% of respondents, friends and relatives in Tirana had affected their decision to migrate.

Table 4.3: Decision to migrate

	Decision taken by:	In % N=60
1	Head of the household	50
2	Spouse	3.3
3	Both husband and wife	18.3
4	Parents/in-laws	5
5	The eldest son(s)	15
6	The whole family	5
7	Other*	3.3

*Other includes two cases when the decision was taken by the head of the household together with his parents, but not his spouse.

Spatial concentration of households in Bathore is also affected by kin relations. As one of the migrants playfully said "we have a small Kukës here", referring to a certain area in Bathore occupied by households coming from the same area in Kukës[47]. This finds support in the available migration literature whereby households related by blood or coming from the same area tend to settle close together at destination (de Haan A. 1999a, Sanderson 2002). Family as an institution is very important in Albania, and fear of breaking it down, or leaving it unattended, has ruled out the option of migrating abroad for many.

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[46] While poverty status does not seem to be of particular importance for internal migration, data reveal that for international migration a household's financial situation determines who is able to migrate and who not (42% of respondents admitted considering the possibility of migrating abroad for at least a member of the family, and many of them cited financial constraints as a limiting factor). Germenji and Swinnen (2005) similarly conclude that international migration in Albania is an option not open to the poorest.

[47] The district of Kukës is located in northeast of the country (see Figure 3.2).

4.2 Reasons for Migration

Reasons for leaving one's place of origin are numerous and complex. Contrary to what the neoclassical or the NELM theories would predict, migration is not a simple response to regional disparities in income and employment opportunities, and "internal migration in Albania is not only a migration of workers" (INSTAT 2004c, p. 23). A rural to urban migration of workers would imply a working age member (or at most a few members) leaving the household, working in the city and remitting back home, usually for a certain period of time. In the case of Bathore, as with most internal migration in Albania, the entire household migrates, mostly permanently. Thus, by migrating, people are doing more than simply increasing their chances of employment and better income. Most importantly, they are choosing to change one's 'home', and leave everything behind.

It is interesting to note that, while most expert interviews believed that at least part of the migrants, would return to their places of origin provided employment opportunities, only three out of 60 surveyed households and none in the FDG admit wanting to go back. This shows that migration was not only about finding a job in Tirana, but making a livelihood.

Box 4.1: Life in the village - migrant statements

'Back there you couldn't even dream of the things you here can touch.'

'I had 6 children, and I was the sole breadwinner.'

'We were ten in our family, and we would all eat out of the same bowl.'

'We had a winter which lasted 6 to 7 months. The mountainous geography made it very difficult.'

'I had to walk for about an hour and a half to get to work.'

'I can go to Tirana in less than half an hour. Back there, in the middle of the mountains, the wolf could enter the house. Some villages had no road path for vehicles; you could only access them on foot or by horse.'

'Working in the fields, under the sun or in cold weather, was very difficult, especially for women.'

'Just imagine what it means being a woman in the mountains. You have to walk for at least 10 minutes in order to fetch water for drinking, cooking, washing; and you only have your shoulders for carrying.'

'Where we come from, one could die even of a minor illness because there were no doctors or hospitals.'

'In some of the places we come from, there was no primary school. Our children had to walk for a couple of kilometers to get to the school of a nearby village.'

These migrant statements illustrate fairly well the relative complexity of migration. They comprise various aspects of a rural livelihood, which make it so difficult. Far from developing and accumulating assets, many households were striving for survival. The situation was slightly different for the better off, who had the money and could (potentially) accumulate assets, but lacked adequate infrastructure and services.

> *"My family was not poor. I was running a small business, and I also got products from my land. Yet, we decided to move. Money is important, but not everything"*. (personal communication, fieldwork 2006)

Most households in the rural north/east lacked access to piped water, or proper sanitation system, schools were inadequate and health care even worse. Under these conditions, as one respondent expressed 'whoever can, migrates'. This description matches Mosse et al. (2002) 'forced migration' category, one arising out of necessity, and it is in line with Stark & Taylor (1991) conclusion that internal migration is affected by absolute, rather than relative intra-community, deprivation. In the case of Bathore, when the entire family migrated permanently, often contact was lost with the area of origin, which would make intra-community comparisons and as a consequence, the relative deprivation assumption irrelevant. People were simply trying to escape dismal living conditions which had plagued them for decades, and made living extremely difficult.

Box 4.2: Gendered Livelihoods

Village life is tough for all, but especially so for women who worked both inside the house and in the fields. A woman's ordinary day would start early in the morning, around 5 or 6 o'clock, and they would work all day with almost no break. Especially when living with a mother-in-law, which was the case more often than not, the prevailing social norms and moral obligations asked from the daughter-in-law to show she is capable of doing a lot of work.

When attempting to understand the reasons of migration, it is necessary to comprehend the wider social, economic and political context in which it took place. During communism, massive expropriation took place under the dogma of collectivism, and rural households were dispossessed of land, cattle, and any other property for almost three decades. The majority of men and women were working in the agricultural sector and others in industries, which were all centrally controlled. Upon the collapse of the regime, when the state owned cooperatives and enterprises closed down, people were left with no viable alternatives, and their livelihoods were threatened. Restitution of land and livestock in 1991 was not enough for increasing wellbeing. In the early 1990s, when the first migrants left, private sector development was almost inexistent.

Under these conditions, (rural) households would try to diversify their livelihoods to help them survive or improve their living conditions (Scoones 1998, de Haan A. 1999a, Ellis 2000, Murray 2001, Mosse et al. 2002), and to buffer them against stresses and shocks. However, these remote rural areas from where the migrants come from barely offer the

opportunity to diversify one's livelihood strategies, making people feel entrapped. In most cases, livelihood diversification strategies in the home locality were simply non-existent, independent of one's asset portfolio. What an individual or a household can do is very limited in a context where the hand of the state is lacking. In these circumstances, migration was perceived as the only 'wise thing to do', and Tirana was a very strong magnet, for it offered what they were lacking for all those years. As one of the migrants put it "we had been to Tirana before, to its hospitals".

The situation did not improve for those who stayed put either. Very few or no investments were made in the remote mountainous areas after the 1990s, and life become even harder due to rising living costs, continuous depopulation, and gradual or abrupt closing down of health or educational facilities. Apart from the economic drawbacks, continuous depopulation had a psychological impact on those staying put, as captured by one of the migrants "you see most of the people around you, your fellow countrymen, leave one by one. That is a hint".

The reasons for migrating are numerous. Poor development prospects in the area of origin and the belief in a better future for one's children in the destination area is the most important reason for migration[48]. And, when considering that most parents' dream is for their children to have a better life than they had, it seems only logical that these people were trying to achieve their most important livelihood goals.

Table 4.4: The most important reasons for leaving one's place of origin

	Reasons	In % N=60
1	No development prospects in the place of origin	43.9
2	Unemployment	19.3
3	Everyone else was leaving	12.3
4	Geographical position / rough terrain	7
5	Very poor access to physical and social infrastructure	5.3

* Respondents were asked to choose the most important reason that led to migration.

Employment is an important, yet, not the most important motive for migration, as illustrated by the significant difference between the two most important reasons (table 4.4). This finding does not support Carletto et al. (2004) study which finds that employment and better income opportunities were the most important reason for migration. On the other hand, Cattaneo (2003) finds that wage differentials at origin and destination affect migration, but employment is not a significant factor. The relevance of employment decreases in the case of whole family migration, where prospects of employment for women are not an influencing factor, as shown in the analysis of migrant characteristics. Indeed, the patriarchal nature of northern men would not favour the employment of women outside of the household. As some of the men in Bathore state "I

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[48] In a separate question, 96.7% of respondents chose 'a better future for the children' as a factor of migration, and 55.9% of them chose it as the determining reason for migration.

wouldn't send my wife to work to Tirana or a place that is far away. If there were jobs in Bathore, then it would be different".

Lack of, or poor access to physical and social infrastructure, and the fact that 'everyone else was leaving' are important reasons for migration for most of the households. One of the migrants explained:

> *"even those who are still living in the rural areas will come gradually to Tirana.*
> *We can deal with poor (physical) infrastructure, but not with the lack of hospitals*
> *and schools".*

On the individual level, marriages emerged as important reasons for migration, but only for women. Sometimes, migrant households with a marriage-age son try to arrange him a bride from their places of origin. In these cases, both parties are satisfied; the parents because they make a good match for their son, and the girl and her parents, because she gets to move to Tirana.

Livelihoods are complex, and a sustainable livelihood consists all of the factors discussed above. As a migrant nicely captured:

> *"in life you need everything: you need a job, good infrastructure, good education*
> *and health facilities, a social and a cultural life".*

The areas where the migrants come from could not offer the opportunities for achieving these livelihood goals or enhancing one's capabilities. Whereas, in the words of another migrant:

> *"Tirana is the metropolis of the country, and it also offers*
> *more intellectual space".*

These households, like many others throughout the country, were severely oppressed for nearly 50 years, and almost isolated from the rest of the country. Chronic poverty and inter-regional disparities only increased with time. Tirana was like a ray of light amidst their difficult livelihoods. Importantly, the psychological significance of the capital city was enormous to the migrants, since the mere fact of living in Tirana automatically gave people a feeling of upward social mobility. Eventually, the children of the migrants are at an advantage over those who stayed put, and have better chances of achieving one's livelihood goals. Tirana offers more space and opportunity for increasing one's asset base thus facilitating intergenerational upward mobility.

4.3   Impact of migration on livelihoods

This part of the study explores the impact of migration on livelihoods in Bathore, and it is organised in three main parts. The first takes an economical perspective in assessing the impact of migration on livelihoods; financial capital is included in this part. The second brings the capital assets of the SLA to give a more complete picture of this impact, and the third discusses livelihood coping strategies. The chapter closes with a brief summary where livelihood outcomes are discussed.

4.3.1   Income, expenditure and employment

Despite the goal of a better life which drove migratory movements from the most deprived areas of the country, Bathore remains a very poor area. Unlike the majority of the rural poor who can draw on a number of (free) natural resources for consumption, the urban poor have to dig into their pocket. Thus, urban households need a higher cash income than their rural counterparts (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002). This makes financial capital a crucial asset for the urban dweller, and one that is in short supply in Bathore.

About 20% of the families of Bathore are extremely poor[49], but only about 10% of them benefit the monthly state economic assistance. The other ten percent are not eligible to this form of social protection because they do not meet the necessary legal requirements. Most of this latter category consists of female-headed households, whose husbands have passed away. These households cannot benefit this type of social protection because at the moment of death, the head of the household was not insured. This reflects how an internal shock to the households coupled with a poorly functioning formal private sector negatively affects livelihoods and increases their vulnerability. Such shocks not only have an immediate impact on the financial capital of the household, but also on social capital, since some of the social relations will tend to fade away with the death of the household head.

Fifteen percent of surveyed households are under the national food/extreme poverty line of 3,047 Lekë/per month/per capita; and almost 32% fall under the full poverty line of 4,891 Lekë/per month/per capita[50], at a time when the national full poverty line is at 25.4% (INSTAT 2004d). Although poverty is still deep, there is an improvement compared to district level poverty headcount rates (table 3.1).

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[49] Based on the standards used by the department for social protection in Kamza Municipality, derived from the line ministry. Figures are calculated in terms of income, not expenditure. (Data source: key-informant interviews at Kamza municipality, 2006)

[50] These figures were calculated based on expenditure data of surveyed households. For the food poverty line, reported food expenditure was divided by the number of household members. For the full poverty line, food and some non-food expenditure, like clothing, education, bills, going out, were added and then divided by the number of household members. The results obtained by this method might not be directly comparable to INSTAT (2004e) data, since its methodology relies on a calorie-consumption basket, which is later translated to money value.

Figure 4.5: Household financial situation - pre and post migration
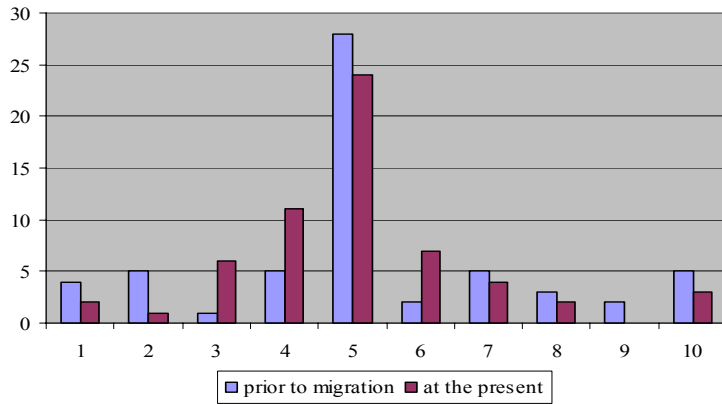
As figure 4.4 shows, household's financial situation has not shown any significant improvement over time. There are fewer households which rank at the very bottom of the ladder (1 and 2); however, there is a visible increase in the number of households ranking poor (3 and 4), and also a decrease in those ranking at the top (9 and 10).

Figure 4.5 shows that the household financial situation at the present has a tendency towards normal distribution, though there is still an overrepresentation of the average-ranking households.

Figure 4.6: Shifts in household' financial situation
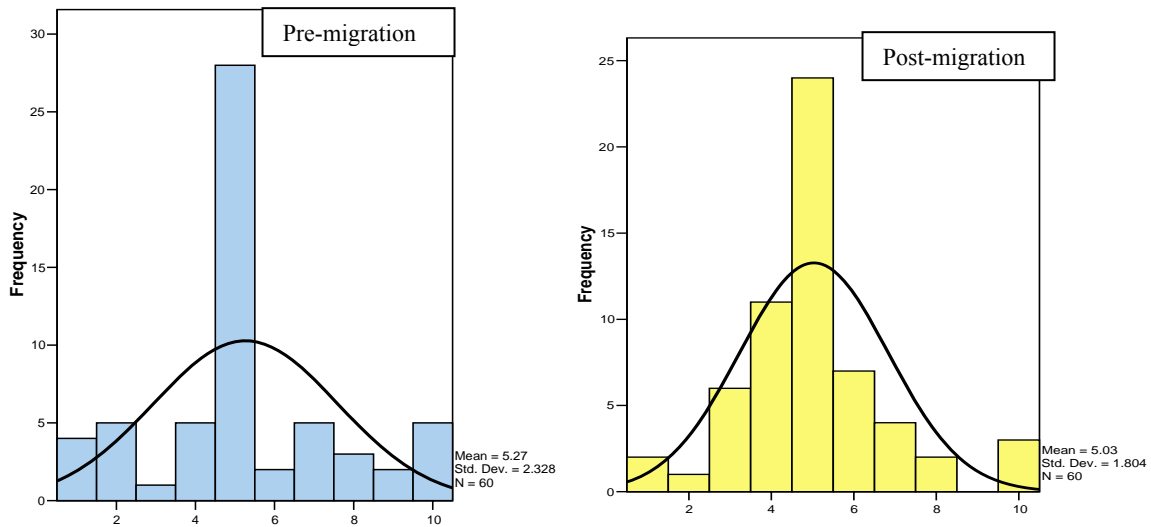
Spearman's correlation computed for the association between pre and post migration financial situation showed a significant relationship between the two variables (rho = 0.449, p = .001). This finding suggests that the better the financial situation in the place of origin, the better the financial situation at the present.

An unemployed woman, whose husband is also unemployed remarks:

"Some succeeded and prospered. Those who were poor, remained poor".

This differential outcome of migration – whereby the better off at the beginning are also those benefiting the most from migration – finds support in available literature (de Haan A. 2002, Rye 2006, Waddington & Sabates-Wheeler 2003, Cattaneo 2003).

Average monthly household income in the year 2003 is estimated at 27,000 Lekë (Pengu, Kelling & Çakalli 2003), while the present study shows that household income has increased to about 29,000. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily indicate an improvement in household financial situation, since living costs have also increased over the years. Only 8.3% of the households (N=5) have a savings account.

Figure 4.7: Household income sources
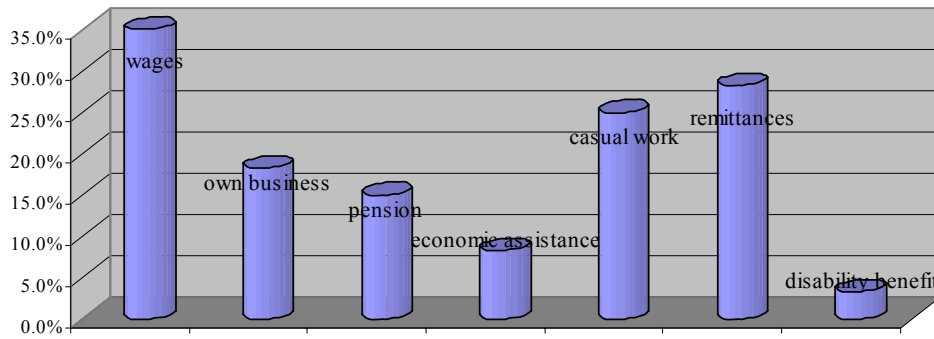
* Wages include earnings from both private and public sector employment.

Salaries from employment in the public and private sector (dominated by the private sector) form the primary source of income. In addition, casual work and remittances appear to be crucial to the survival of the household. While casual work is reported by about 25% of surveyed households, qualitative data revealed its incidence is much higher. Pengu, Kelling & Çakalli (2003) estimate that 45% of the workforce of Bathore relies on casual work in Tirana.

Low income of Bathore residents stems from high unemployment or underemployment[51] rates, which in turn is linked to various factors, like poor education and skills, but also a malfunctioning formal sector. Finding employment once in Bathore was not very easy. It took at least a year for almost 40% of household heads to find employment. Unemployment at the moment of migration was about around 32%; in the year 2003 it is at 52% (Pengu, Kelling & Çakalli 2003), and at the present it is estimated at around 40% (table 4.5), while unemployment rate for Tirana is just 7.5% (Tirana Municipality 2004). Interviews at the municipality of Kamza also revealed that estimated unemployment in Bathore is around 40%. These figures are higher than unemployment rates of most of the districts they come from (see table 3.1), and slightly higher than the pre-migration unemployment (see table 4.1). As Shtepia Jone Bathorja (2005) described, the people of Bathore are mere consumers, because almost nothing is produced in the area. There is a marked gender dimension, with women being 1.6 times more likely to be unemployed.

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[51] Underemployment here stands for casual work or other part-time job.

Table 4. 5: Current unemployment among surveyed households

		N	Unemployed[52] (in %)	Unemployment rate[53] (in %)
1	Men (15-59)	140	31.2	35
2	Women (15-54)	121	51.6	45.9
3	Household head	50	17.7	13.3
4	Spouse	51	46.2	21.8

A major factor that has a negative impact on employment rates is the complete lack of big employers in Bathore or Kamëz, compelling men to go and seek casual work in Tirana (almost) on a daily basis. Besides high rates of unemployment, presence of a large-scale informal sector is also disturbing. About 70% of surveyed household members who are working (part or full time) are operating in the black market. This figure could be even higher, as Pengu, Kelling & Çakalli (2003) conclude that only 10% of the workforce of Bathore is employed in the formal sector. Lack of a job, as well as dim prospects of finding one, coupled with informality, are the main plagues of the area as identified by many respondents. Informal sector work deprives one of accessing social and health benefits, including old age pension, and it is an insufficient and unreliable income source. However, considering the high unemployment rate in Bathore and the subsequent competition in Tirana, as well as their poor education, the migrants are not in the position to say no to an informal job once they find one.

The construction industry continues to be one of the leading sectors of the economy, being at the same time the largest employer of under-skilled (mainly rural) in-migrants, accounting for over 30% of the jobs held by migrants[54]. Some of the women of Bathore work in shoe factories in Tirana. However, a number of them have quit, due to health issues arising from working with chemicals.

Figure 4.8: Average monthly household expenditure
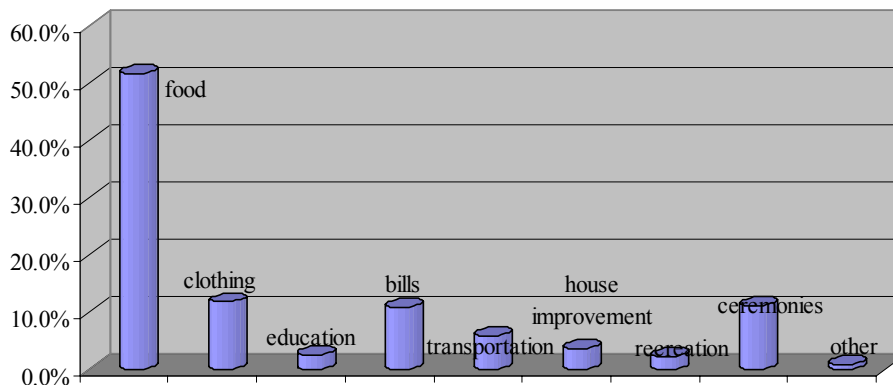
According to the sample survey, households spend on average 40,500 Lekë for their monthly consumption, and most of the budget is spent on food (almost 52%). Bills pose a significant burden on the poor household as well, especially electricity[55]. It is interesting

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[52] Figure calculated based on the percentage of those who are unemployed against the total working age population.

[53] Figure calculated based on the percentage of those who are unemployed, but actively looking for a job against the total labour force.

[54] Mosse et al. (2002) have come up with similar findings about migrant workers in western India.

[55] Bills here include electricity, water, gas and wood expenditure.

to note that ceremonies comprise a high proportion of the household budget. This is mainly spent on weddings, engagement ceremonies, funerals, etc., as demanded by the prevailing social norms in Albania, and is an important way of maintaining social capital. Paradoxically perhaps, you need financial capital to feed your social relations.

The discrepancy between reported income and expenditure is rather high. This is partly due to a reluctance to disclose one's real income, and a tendency to inflate expenditure. In addition, reliance on volatile income sources, like remittances and casual work, make accurate calculations difficult. Importantly, part of this gap is covered by the use of credits, as described below.

Table 4.6: Households' reported affordability levels

	Items	I cannot afford it (%)	I can afford it sometimes (%)	I can afford it most of the time (%)	I can easily afford it (%)
1	Food	23.3	20	20	36.7
2	New clothes	40	35	10	15
3	Transport	15	21.7	16.7	46.7
4	Health care	35.6	32.2	8.5	23.7
5	Education	29.5	36.4	18.2	15.9
6	Bills	33.3	40	10	16.7
7	House improvement	66.7	21.7	5	6.7
8	Going out, recreation	70	16.7	5	8.3

* N=60 for each of the row totals (100%).

As table 4.6 shows, a considerable proportion of households face difficulty even to feed themselves and lead a hand to mouth existence. Under these circumstances, informal, trust-based crediting from local shops is a common way of coping. Over 20% (N=13) of surveyed households are buying on credit, that is to say, taking goods from shops and paying at a later time. Most of the time the credit is used at grocery stores, but sometimes also at drugstores. The shopkeeper writes down the creditors' names and the amount indebted, and once the debt is paid, a line is drawn over it. It is important to note the crucial role played by these local shops in aiding the household to cope; at supermarkets this wouldn't be possible. Thus, social capital based at the neighbourhood level also serves to soothe financial difficulties faced by households.

Table 4.7: Household welfare during the last three years

		a. satisfaction with the financial situation (in %) N=60	b. satisfaction with life in general (in %) N=60
1	improved a lot	10	10
2	somewhat improved	41.7	50
3	remained the same	35	31.7
4	somewhat deteriorated	10	6.7
5	deteriorated a lot	3.3	1.7

Household's satisfaction with its financial situation is positively and significantly correlated with the overall satisfaction levels (Spearmans' rho = .735, p = .001).

4.3.2   Access to capitals

This part elaborates household's access to and use of five assets (human, physical, social, political and natural) and how this situation changed over time. Political capital is discussed under the heading of social capital. Financial capital is already discussed above.

a.   Human capital

Schools were lacking in Bathore when the first migrants arrived. Years later, two elementary schools (9-year schooling) were built, and a third one is under way. A high school was opened a year ago, and it resulted in immediate increases in the number of enrolments, especially among girls. While, previously, a number of parents were reluctant to send their daughters to school in Kamza, now that there is a school in Bathore, their attitude has changed. In late 2005, Bathore had its first library established in the community centre, now widely used by students. Nevertheless, progress is slow and the improvements made do not always meet migrants' goals. A migrant woman explained "better schools for our children was a major reason for us to come here, but we were disappointed".

Migration, at least during the first few years, has disrupted the educational cycle. At the moment of migration over 16% of surveyed household members (N=60) were enrolled in schools, and had to abandon it in order to migrate. For most of this group it was impossible to restart school immediately after settling in Bathore for various reasons, like lack of schools in the area, the (moral) responsibility for working in order to support the family, etc.

At the present, educational attainment of Bathore residents as well as their knowledge of foreign languages and computer literacy has somewhat, though not significantly, increased. Despite these improvements, the area faces serious problems regarding school abandonment especially among girls, who comprise 60% of all dropouts. Interviews reveal that abandonment is mostly evident in the upper level of the compulsory education (5th-9th grade). While the belief that girls do not need schooling in order to perform their role in society leads many parents to force their daughters out of school; for boys, economic reasons account for most of the causes of school drop out.

Although many parents acknowledge the importance of education, they are not willing to accept its externalities, an attitude rooted in their cultural norms and values. For instance, parents will not approve of their daughters socializing outside of school hours, or talking to their (male) classmates if they see each other on the street. Sometimes, they [the parents] disapprove of their daughters using the community library during the summer; failing to understand the relevance of the library outside of school time. As a 17-year old girl states:

> *"as a consequence, the [perceived] value of education goes down. What you see is that for many girls, education ends at the eighth grade. After that, they only wait to get married".*

Bathore lacks public crèches, which, besides their importance as cradles of education, confine many women at home, reducing their chances of employment.

Table 4.8: Presence of social infrastructure and facilities prior to migration and at the present

	Presence of:	In the place of origin (in %) N=60	At the present (in %) N=60
8	Crèche	80	36.7
9	Kindergarten	81.7	93.3
10	Primary school	93.3	91.7
11	Secondary school	76.7	91.7
12	Health care centre	83.3	73.3
13	Post office	53.3	18.3
14	Internet café	5	21.7

Another very important element of human capital is health, including one's health status and access to health care facilities. At the home locality, access to health centres was limited, and doctors were usually sought after only in serious cases. Minor illnesses were often treated at home, either by medicinal plants or a local 'medicine man', or simply not treated at all. During the early settling period the situation became even worse, as there were no health care centres in Bathore. The first facility was established in the year 1995, and today the area counts three health care centres. Nevertheless, the area still needs major investments in health infrastructure; a specialized polyclinic, a microbiological laboratory, and preferably a maternity hospital were the main needs of the area, as identified by medical professionals and Bathore residents alike.

At the present, almost 85% (N=315) of household members report 'very good' or 'good' health condition. Although this figure is similar to the pre-migration health conditions, a lower aggregation level reveals a sharp decrease in the number of those reporting 'very good' health from 63.5% (N=237) to 46% (N=171) after migration. Most of this discrepancy is accounted for by an increase in the number of those reporting 'good' health, from 23.8% (N=89) to 38.6% (N=144).

A medical professional explained that health problems related to the gastro-intestinal tract increase during the summer, mainly due to consumption of well-water for drinking[56]. Wells, used by a number of households who do not have access to piped water supply, are dug close to pit latrines, increasing the risk of bacteria spreading and eventual health problems.

Some of the data in table 4.8 regarding social infrastructure need careful interpretation. For instance, the apparent decrease in access to health care centres is not due to lack of such facilities in Bathore. Qualitative data did not reveal any concerns regarding access to primary health care, whereas there were many complaints regarding lack of hospitals and specialised health care in the area. There is no hospital in Kamëz and whoever needs it is obliged to go to Tirana. This incurs various costs on people, like time and money, but it does also put a strain on the hospital's capacity. A lower score also reflects peoples'

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[56] Nevertheless, this number is decreasing over the years.

frustration with the 'under the table' payments made to health care professionals. The poor are especially vulnerable to these 'extralegal traps' stemming from corruption. Over 50% of respondents (N=32), including those who rely on credit to purchase food, admitted making extra payments to doctors in exchange for the service. Such payments pose a major burden to the households in Bathore, increase their dissatisfaction with the health care system; and what is worse, might prevent access for those who need medical assistance but cannot afford it.

Human capital, especially education and skills, are very important for the urban poor to be able to enter the labour market and earn a reasonable salary. Indeed, qualitative data indicated that those holding a university degree were better able to enter the formal labour market, mainly in the public sector.

b. Physical capital

Housing is perhaps the most essential physical capital owned by the migrant households, and investing in the construction of the house is an important way of increasing one's wellbeing. For this reason, most of the migrants have invested almost all they had in the constructing houses of acceptable quality in terms of space, building material and construction quality. The house is a significant investment, and as such the migrants have made use of multiple sources of income in order to finance construction or purchase[57]. The three most important sources of financing by order of importance are household savings (used by 78.3%), money borrowed from relatives/friends (58.3%) and remittances (43.3%). Remittances have facilitated internal migration (Labrianidis & Kazazi 2006) by investing in the most essential asset, the house. Indeed, as one of the FGD participants noted "remittances made Bathore". The average amount invested for the house is 2,052,000 Lekë[58]. The value of houses in Bathore has at least doubled since the early nineties, and legalisation is expected to increase it even further.

The average size of the plot is 595 square meters, while the average size of the habitable area (only construction space) is about 144 square meters, much higher than what most households countrywide own. Seventy percent of surveyed households have one-storey houses, and 70% of them have 3-4 rooms. Concrete blocks are the most widely used building material (50% of the cases). Another 40% are built with bricks, and the rest with a combination of bricks and concrete. One of surveyed households, after more than ten years, is still living in a shack made of tin and wood.

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[57] Investing large amounts of money for housing is a common occurrence among all Albanians. After the collapse of the regime, and of course supported by higher financial capital, a number of households moved to newly build apartments while others started making significant reconstructions to their own house, including changing of the tiles, and bringing down of walls. There clearly was a distinct tendency towards individualism, after many years of collectivism.
[58] Approximately 16,820 Euros calculated at today's exchange rate of 1 Euro = 122 Lekë. Figure based on the calculation of 55 households, 5 of them have refused to respond. One of the respondents has reported a very high figure, which, if omitted from the calculations would drop the average invested amount to 15,613 Euros. Today, an apartment of 100 square meters in the city of Tirana would cost at least 50,000 Euros, and depending on location the price can go as high as 100,000 Euros.

As already introduced, Bathore used to be a farmland until the year 1990, when the first migrants arrived. The area lacked any infrastructure, and migrant households had to live without water connection and sewerage system for about six years. A woman recalls:

> *"At the beginning we had to carry water for about three kilometres. Today most of us have water at home. This has definitely improved our livelihoods, especially for us, women".*

At the present, most of Bathore has piped water, but only for a few hours per day, and reported quality is not satisfactory. Those parts which are out of the system coverage are still relying on wells. Despite the demanding needs of the area, access to infrastructure services are better now than in the home locality; and improvement over time in Bathore is visible. For instance, almost 80% of Bathore is covered by the solid waste collection service, while before migrating only 15% of surveyed households had access to this service. Needless to say, while this keeps the neighbourhood clean, it also has a positive impact on the health of the population, especially children. Improvements are evident also with respect to pubic spaces, street lighting, and indoor tap (table 4.9).

Table 4.9: Presence of physical assets prior to migration and at the present

	Presence of:	In the place of origin (in %) N=60	At the present (in %) N=60
1	Access to a paved road	11.7	71.7
2	Waste collection service	15	78.3
3	Street lighting	1.7	38.3
4	Indoor tap	33.3	78.3
5	Indoor WC	62.3	90
6	Pit latrine	45	28.3
7	Well	8.3	78.3[59]

Most of these improvements took place during the implementation of the ULMP. In the framework of this project, the residents of Bathore contributed 20% of the total costs, making a significant investment for their future by being agents of the change, not just passive recipients of services.

Inadequate road infrastructure also poses a burden to households in Bathore. While the distance from Bathore to Tirana is a mere 7 kilometres, it takes more than half an hour (even 1 hour in rush hours) to get there. Dire conditions of the road infrastructure hamper mobility to work places, and importantly hospitals.

Improvement in peoples' livelihoods is also indicated by the household equipment owned, as indicated in table 4.10. There is a remarkable increase in the number of households owning assets, like a refrigerator or a washing machine. In addition, many more households have access to and use 'luxury' items, like mobile phones, computers and cars. Also for cooking and heating purposes, more households rely on 'modern' sources, like gas and electricity. In the home locality, wood was the most appropriate choice for a household, for various reasons, like its availability (sometimes for free), poor electricity grid (very low voltage), and very cold winters. Bathore lacks fixed line

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[59] Wells are usually dug collectively, so the figure does not suggest that 78.3% of households in Bathore have their own well.

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telephony which forces people to rely heavily on the use of a mobile phone, paying extremely high tariffs[60].

Table 4.10: Possession of household equipment prior to migration and at the present

	Equipment owned	In the place of origin (in %) N=60	At the present (in %) N=60
1	Coloured TV	42.4	93.3
2	Black and white TV	76.7	20
3	Refrigerator	53.3	100
4	Washing machine	10	61.7
5	Wooden cooker/heater	100	63.3
6	Electric cooker/heater	28.3	66.7
7	Gas cooker/heater	5	78.3
8	Mobile phone	15	91.7
9	Computer	1.7	15
10	Car	5	25

c.   Social capital

Meikle, Ramasut & Walker (2001) identify social capital as a key asset for the urban (as well as the rural) poor. Indeed, as findings of this study suggest, social capital has continuously proven to be a crucial asset, and it has played a fundamental role during the early settling period (see section 4.1). Contacts at this time proved indispensable for a variety of functions, like finding a plot, assistance in constructing the house, finding employment, etc.

Social capital in Bathore operates at both an informal – through kinship or neighbour based relationships – and a formal level – via community associations and organisations. From the early settling down period, there has been an increase in social capital at the formal level. There are about five active CBOs in Bathore, including women's and youth's associations, and over 8% of respondents are members of a CBO. Nevertheless, as Phillips (2002) notes, establishment of such organisations doesn't necessarily mean that capital has been built. Indeed, despite the active role of some of the CBOs in the area for many years now, only 30% of surveyed households stated they knew about the existence of such organisations. Moreover, access to such organisations is bound to membership and requires a certain level of human capital, which makes it inaccessible (and even unattractive) to some.

There is an increased awareness among the residents of Bathore (or at least part of them), they are better informed, more open-minded, can better state their concerns, and know where to go to whenever they have a concern (de Soto & Cila 2005), although this empowerment is not distributed evenly among the people of Bathore.

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[60] Extension of the fixed line telephony is not expected to decrease the number of those owning a mobile phone, since it is very fashionable to have a mobile in Albania and most poor households have one. Nevertheless, the fixed telephony would help decrease the communication costs faced by the poor.

At an informal level, social capital tends to be organised around kinship systems or among people of the same area of origin; these bonds tend to be rather strong. There is no evidence that social capital among residents of Bathore has decreased. Relying on relatives and neighbours for assistance in times of distress or need is common, as is reliance on informal credits in local shops. However, many respondents reported that someone had broken into their house at some point in their livelihoods in Bathore. Interestingly, this doesn't seem to change their perception about their neighbours, since over 90% of them describe their relationship with neighbours as either 'very good' or 'good', and perceptions about safety are high.

On the other hand, social capital outside of Bathore is not fully developed. Just about half of respondents admit having Tiranas friends. This is influenced by several reasons. First, the physical distance lowers the chances of contact. Second, cultural differences, acknowledged by 75% of respondents, play a major role in hindering contact. Language (dialect); the more old fashioned, conservative mentality especially with regard to gender relations; the way of living; certain customs and ways of celebrating; the way of dressing and even the way of cooking are among some of the cited differences. When asked whether he felt part of Tirana, a man stated:

> *"Yes and no. I feel different from them [the Tiranas], but at the same time I live here. Most of the Tiranas look down on us, the highlanders, who came and occupied their land".*

The migrants perceive themselves as more hospitable and more loyal compared to the Tiranas. The latter are considered as being better educated and more civilized, but also less careful with their spending habits. Inter-marriages are a good way of integration, as perceived by the majority of respondents.

Five respondents (8.3%) are members of a political party (two of whom are at the same time members of a CBO). Over 18% of respondents are active with electoral campaigns and other political activities. Importantly, Bathore has its own representatives in the municipal council (8 out 35 seats). Nevertheless, political capital tends to be biased towards men. Women are rarely involved in issues that relate to the development of the area. As a woman respondent states 'these are not issues for a woman to deal with', when asked whether she had ever participated in any organised meeting. In addition, there are no women representatives of Bathore in the municipal council. Interestingly, 43.3% of the respondents believe that an ordinary man can influence the decisions taken by the local government.

Qualitative data also reveal a potential relationship between household's successful outcome of migration and presence of political capital. Migrants in focus group discussions stated that those having political affiliations, including activism during electoral campaigns, are able to ripe more benefits, both formally and informally. They get better access to (better) jobs, as well as other types of favours. A man explained "when our neighbourhood had a problem with the water pipes, the repairmen came to fix it. But they did not solve the problem for all of us. They stopped the repair when they reached X's house. He got that favour because he is an acquaintance of the mayor".

Perhaps the only area where very little, if any, improvement is observed is the intra-household power relations. "Only the voice of the men is heard in the household", states a woman. There is (tacit) evidence of domestic violence, both psychological and physical, albeit unreported. The subject is taboo and considered acceptable by many women, provided it comes in 'acceptable doses'. While being aggressive comes with manliness, being submissive is part of a woman's identity. However, there is an increased awareness among women that employment and education are the key towards their empowerment. "When the woman is employed, her authority in the household also increases" affirms the head of the women's association. The gender bias shows up even with regard to mobility. While men travel quite often to Tirana, mainly for work purposes, for women the picture is different. This difference holds true for children and young students as well. As reflected in the focus group discussion with youth "we, boys, can go to Tirana quite easily. It is different for girls; the parents will not allow them".

Certainly, city life has had its impacts on the population of Bathore, showing in dressing and a slightly more liberal attitude, and a positive, albeit slight, change in the attitude regarding the education of girls. Shtepia Jone Bathorja[61] (2005, p.20) states that "kinship-based organisation is profoundly altered and the elements of civic organisation are in a conception phase. Bathore's community finds itself caught in between two fires", indicating that the migrants display both a rural and an urban identity. The links with one's place of origin have been severed for many, and for the youth they are almost inexistent.

d.   *Natural capital*

As literature would predict, surveyed households have lost natural capital when moving out of the rural area. In the home locality, most of them had access to forest, water sources, pastures, etc. while at the present access to most of these assets is either minimal or inexistent. Nevertheless, surveyed households are not experiencing this loss, since often access to these sources was a way of compensating for lack of substitutable alternatives. For instance, using a fresh water source was the result of lack of piped water. Despite the (probably better) water quality, this came at a price; one had to walk for some time to get to the source, and then had to carry buckets of water by bare hands; in the snowy winter months this became a highly demanding activity. Regarding land, as already stated in section 4.1, not all of the land benefited after the disbanding of agricultural cooperatives, was arable, which made it almost useless. Findings of this study show that the harsh climate and the difficult mountainous geography made living difficult, and, indeed, these were among the factors influencing the migration decision. The only element of natural capital that migrants miss is the clean and fresh air, which is highly valued amidst Tirana's pollution.

4.3.3 Household coping strategies

The people of Bathore are indeed poor, in both monetary and non-monetary terms. A woman stated "we couldn't find here the good life that we wanted and what we needed to

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[61] Shtepia Jone Bathorja is a CBO in Bathore.

make a living. We came for a better life, but feel like we fell into a deep well". Households engage in a number of livelihood strategies in trying to reduce their vulnerability and cope with the daily stresses and difficulties. And, (almost) every member of the household is contributing.

Men are predominantly responsible for providing income for the family. This is a social norm embedded in values, prominent especially in the highly patriarchal regions where the migrants come from. Lack of formal employment forces many of them to seek casual work in Tirana, which, after all, is not a sustainable strategy. Chances of finding a job are dim, insecurity and externalities high and returns low. For this reason, a large number of men, usually young, turn to emigration. About 11% of surveyed households have a emigrant member (older than 18), while 28.3% of them declared obtaining remittances. Emigration estimates could be as high as 40% (Shtepia Jone Bathorja 2005). It is usually the son(s) of a household who migrates, but there are also cases of migration of the household head. From surveyed households, there is only one case of female emigration. Nevertheless, this strategy is not accessible to all those who might need it due to the costs involved. In addition, social norms make it difficult for the head of the household to migrate if there is no one to care about their wife and children. Some of those who manage to migrate, are either caught at the border with Greece trying to pass illegally, or are not very successful in finding employment. Those who succeed, remit back home. However, rarely is remittances the only income source for households of emigrants, who have to rely on other sources as well in order to make ends meet. Emigration is likely to continue in the future, as long as local employment opportunities will not improve. Over 20% of surveyed households admit that their sons would like to migrate abroad. In the majority of these cases, (almost 78%) migration is perceived as a temporary livelihood strategy in order to take the family out of poverty. On the other hand, a majority of 66% state they are not considering emigration, and about 14% are undecided[62].

Employment of women is another livelihood diversification strategy, though not very wide spread. The majority of women[63] are rarely working due to lack of on-site employment opportunities for them, but also due to the conservative attitude that a woman's place is in the household. Some of the men in Bathore state "I wouldn't send my wife to work to Tirana or a place that is far away. If there were jobs in Bathore, then it would be different". However, some women are employed in shoemaking factories and a few others work as caregivers for the elderly in Tirana.

In most cases, the migrants work in the informal sector, where income tends to be not only volatile (like in the case of a casual work), but also below the minimum wage approved by law (like in the case of caregiving for the elderly). Thus working long hours and spending about two hours a day commuting is not profitable, but it is the best one can get. Some of the women of Bathore, aided by the Woman's Association, established a small handicrafts' enterprise. Three stores were opened, in Bathore, Kamza and Tirana, but all three had to close down after some time. This illustrates that the good will and the embroidery skills of these women were necessary, albeit not sufficient for success. Better

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[62] This would contradict the prediction found in Castaldo, Litchfield & Reilly (2005a, b) and Zezza, Carletto & Davis (2005) that most internal migration is just a prelude to international migration.
[63] Key-informant interviews in Bathore indicate that female unemployment is around 70%.

coordination with the local government, as well as some assistance in marketing skills might have led to different results.

Children's labour is another coping strategy for the poor households. Male children need to work in order to alleviate the financial burden of their families. Their work mainly consists of selling cigarettes, lighters, air-freshener for cars, and other small items in the streets of Tirana. In fact, most of the children who work in the streets of Tirana come from the peri-urban areas, including Bathore. Most of them are the eldest sons of a large family, and as such they feel responsible to support the family (Gazeta Standard 17 Korrik 2006, p. 9). Some of these children abandon school altogether, some others go to school in the morning and work in the afternoon. Although this strategy may alleviate the financial difficulties of the household in the short term, it will tend to increase them in the medium to long run. It is utterly unsustainable for young children (and their future livelihoods) to be forced to work and neglect school.

Urban agriculture is yet another livelihood strategy adopted by poor households. Forty percent of surveyed households report owning a plot of land where they grow some products for household consumption, like tomatoes, onion, some fruits, but also vine. Nevertheless, this strategy is bound to seasonality effects, and can help buffer them against stresses mainly during late spring and summer. Livestock, on the other hand, is more difficult to manage in the peri-urban context. Only five, out 60 surveyed households, own livestock (cows, goats, rabbits and hens are reported). Only of the respondents said he travels from time to time to his home locality, where he ploughs the land and gets the produce.

Buying on credit is a frequently used coping strategy for the poorest households, those that face difficulty even feeding themselves (explained in detail two sections above). Over 35% of surveyed households had invested in the fraudulent pyramid schemes in order to increase one's revenue. Eventually, the consequences of the collapse (starting in late 1996) were severe for some. In a number of cases, money invested was borrowed from a relative, thus leaving a household not only penniless, but also indebted. Some of the migrants said that they had to sell their livestock in order to somewhat make up for the loss, but not all households had assets readily convertible to money.

One of the women in the focus group discussion, embarrassed and frustrated at the same time, spoke "If you don't have a job, you won't have anything to eat. This is why some of us have to steal. It is the government, the whole system which is forcing us to do that". A number of surveyed households (N=24) stated house break-ins at some point in time, and for 14 of these households the damage was significant. Poverty, coupled with the heterogeneity of the area increases such internal shocks to the household.

4.5   *Livelihood outcomes*

The analysis in this chapter showed that migration from remote mountainous areas was a livelihood strategy adopted by a significant number of rural households, poor and non-poor alike. Causes are numerous, being institutional and political, social and economic. The shock of the collapse of the regime was the first to set the 'mechanism' in motion, later legitimised by the law on the free movement of the population. Chronic poverty and

extreme living conditions of the north and northeast, in monetary and, especially, non-monetary terms were the main pushing factors for entire households. In the eyes of thousands of migrants, Tirana offered a better and more secure livelihood for them and their children. Migration is characterised by the movement of the whole family, and it is not only labour migration. Most of the population of Bathore is young, with about 70% of the population being of working age, not highly educated or skilled.

Migration to Bathore has resulted in increased income for most households compared to their home localities. Nevertheless, this effect is countered by higher living costs in Tirana, and by volatile income sources from informal sector work. Household's reported financial situation has not improved compared to the pre-migration period, and a number of them still face food insecurity. Nevertheless, most migrants are rather satisfied with their current livelihoods. Through migration, they have been able to build various types of capital, especially physical, (vertical) social and political capital. Human capital in terms of education also has shown some increase, but not significantly. Households engage in a number of livelihood diversification strategies in order to cope with stresses and shocks. Some of these strategies include casual work, emigration, children's work, informal credits at local shops, etc., and at least part of them are built on or facilitated by social capital. Although these strategies provide some short-term relief to the household, they are not sustainable in the longer run. From a context of complete deprivation of individual freedoms, the people of Bathore are now actively participating in the development of their community. Their vertical social capital organised around community based associations has increased, while horizontal social capital still continues to play an important role. Political capital shows to be important in accessing other types of capital.

There has been some progress toward achieving some of the livelihood outcomes, as presented in the SL framework. For instance, livelihood security in the form of tenure security has entered a positive stage with the legalisation process underway. In addition, the people of Bathore have now access to more social and political capital, in terms of participation in civic and political life, and their reported well-being has increased as well. Nevertheless, these households have not been able to substantially increase their income and job-opportunities, and they are still highly vulnerable to shocks and stresses, be it at the individual household level or external.

An analysis of migration and poverty from an income or employment based, economic perspective would have missed out the real impact of migration on livelihoods. The livelihoods approach points to the significance of looking at poverty as multi-dimensional and dynamic.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter presents the main findings of the study and the recommendations arising from the analysis, both at the theoretical and policy dimension. Some recommendations are given with regard to future research on the subject.

5.1 Conclusions of this study

This study focused on migration and livelihoods in Bathore, an informal peri-urban area of Tirana. The main objectives of the study were (i) providing a better understanding of the livelihoods of migrants living in Bathore, and (ii) coming up with potential recommendations that would assist the Government of Albania in designing policies that aim the improvement of migrants' livelihoods.

The economic theories of migration reviewed in this study fail to capture the complexity of the phenomenon. Thus, the SLA was used in this research, which brings together these views and combines them into a complex people-oriented framework of analysis. A few changes are made to the original DFID framework, to better suit the local context.

5.1.1. Main findings of this research

The emergence of the country from the totalitarian regime in the year 1990 was accompanied by large scale, uncontrolled migratory movements both within and outside of the country that resulted in major demographic changes. Country-level urbanisation rates have increased by 9% in about 15 years, and population distribution and densities concentrated in major urban centres. Tirana's population increased by 45% (Tirana Municipality 2006) during a decade, and still continues to increase. Other areas, like the north and northeast, have lost a considerable proportion of their population, mainly due to internal migration.

The sending areas have suffered from long-standing poverty and deprivation, manifesting itself in poor income, severe unemployment, inadequate physical and social infrastructure, lower standards of living, and lower levels of schooling and education, leading to an overall poor quality of life. This condition was maintained throughout the years via preferential investment policies, which excluded the north and northeast. Deepening interregional disparities in development and extreme living conditions are forcing a significant number of households to migrate.

Migration towards Bathore started as soon as 1990, preceding the law on the free movement of the population, approved by the Albanian parliament in the year 1993. This migration is quite unique for a number of reasons. First, the scale of the phenomenon was unprecedented, causing a wild and chaotic urbanisation inside a legal vacuum. Second, migration of the entire household was the norm, rather than the exception. Third, migration was not restricted to the better off, poor and non poor alike did migrate. Fourth, internal migration was not labour migration, in the strict sense of the term.

Migrants are usually young, with the majority being of working age; they belong to large households that reflect a highly paternalistic structure. 'A better future for the children' is the driving cause of migration, due to lack of development prospects in migrant's home locality. Better employment opportunities is also a reason for migration, although, more so for men. Women's employment in Tirana was not an influencing factor. Lack of proper social infrastructure emerges as a crucial unmet need in the home locality.

Migration has increased access to physical capital, in terms of housing, improved access to infrastructure and facilities, as well as more household equipment. Income has also increased compared to the pre-migration situation, since in the urban setting employment and income sources are more diverse. Nevertheless, expenditure and living costs are also higher in urban areas, which, exacerbated by extremely high unemployment rates and job insecurity among migrants in Bathore, make accumulation of financial capital a difficult undertaking.

Human capital, in the form of education, has seen some improvement as well. Years of schooling and awareness about it have increased over the years. Nevertheless, the area is facing school abandonment, especially among girls. Parents' attitudes towards education have changed to an extent. Yet, factors like conservative mentality and financial difficulties overshadow the importance of education.

Social capital, operating mainly on the basis of kinship or neighbourhood, has proven indispensable during the early migration period. Provision of information, assistance in finding employment, shelter, etc. are among its various manifestations. Social capital still continues to buffer the households against financial constraints. Paradoxically perhaps, financial capital is necessary for maintaining or strengthening social relations. It follows that, impoverishment of the migrants in Bathore, coupled with the heterogeneity of the area, might jeopardize social capital.

Findings indicate the importance of political capital in Bathore in terms of gaining access to other types of capital, which increases the asset base of the household and thus decreases their vulnerability.

There is a significant decrease in natural capital compared to the home locality. Nevertheless, this capital does not seem to constitute a highly valued asset for the livelihoods of the migrant households in Bathore.

The vulnerability context is affected by macro-level policies and regulations (or lack of them), and also by internal shocks and stresses. The former are related to the structures and processes dimension of the sustainable livelihoods framework, like poor enforcement leading to large-scale presence of informal sector activities, lack of investments in the area leading to high unemployment rates, or shocks like the collapse of the pyramid investment schemes, etc. At the household level, job loss or death of income-earners have a tremendous impacts on the livelihood of the household.

Households in Bathore engage in a number of coping strategies, and all household members contribute in this endeavour. Casual work, emigration, child labour (predominantly among men), women's employment (sporadic) and informal credits in local shops are among the most frequently used coping strategies. Most of these strategies, though, are not beneficial in the long run and do not contribute to building sustainable livelihoods. In many cases, household's available assets do not allow for accumulation and more pressing short-term needs obscure the path toward achieving longer-term livelihood outcomes.

To summarize, livelihoods in Bathore are better compared to the place of origin, and have been improving since the early settling period. Most households have increased their asset base and engage in multiple coping strategies. Nevertheless, they are still far from being sustainable, or from reaching the desired livelihood outcomes, and a number of interventions are needed that aim at improving their livelihoods. The following section discusses this issue in detail.

5.1.2. *Policy recommendations*

Policies with regard to internal migration can be seen as operating in two, simultaneous directions. First, the design and implementation of anti-poverty policies for migrant households in informal settlements. Second, policies targeted at managing future migration flows. In both cases, policies should be based on a thorough understanding of migrants' livelihoods and the link between migration and development.

a.   *Anti-poverty policies*

Migrant's ability to climb out of poverty and to integrate to the urban way of life, is not just a function of his or her education, health and other assets, but is largely dependent on the interplay of macro and micro level factors. This is a process, where the economic, social, cultural, political and institutional factors act together to assist vulnerable categories in achieving their livelihood goals. Çabiri et al. (2000, p. 49) states that "they [the new comers to the cities] have acquired a number of individual democratic freedoms, but feel deprived of the social advantages that a contemporary, well-studied policy of urban integration could offer them". By understanding the multiple livelihood activities and strategies employed by the poor (in which case migrants living in informal settlements), one gains insight into the possible sources of vulnerability and the (positive or negative) impact of structures and processes (i.e. institutions and policies, etc.) on the quality of peoples' livelihood.

To begin with, there is a need for the government to recognise migrants living in informal areas as a vulnerable category, requiring special attention, and not just regarding legalisation. Policies and projects need to be designed and implemented that target the asset base of households and individuals, decrease vulnerability and assist them in achieving their livelihood goals.

Legalisation is the main measure taken by the Government that has highly positive effects on the livelihoods of migrants living in informal settlements. Benefits deriving from legalisation are numerous, like tenure security (increase in physical capital), access to credits (increase in financial capital), formal recognition (paving the way toward citizenry), etc. Legalisation is an important step as it assists people in achieving their livelihood goals. Nevertheless, legalisation alone is insufficient to solve the multiple problems of informal settlements. The intervention that would have the most immediate and direct impact on the livelihoods of migrants is generation of employment opportunities. More jobs and an evolution of real wages are crucial in fighting poverty in the highly monetised urban setting. Such interventions will be especially needed now that a potential restructuring of the social protection schemes in Albania is expected to decrease the number of beneficiaries.

Migrants are more prone to engage in informal sector activities, and this brings various externalities to the households themselves as well as to the local and central government finances. Therefore, it becomes necessary for the migrants to be included in the formal employment sector. Employment of women has to be a target of development policies, not only as a means of increasing household's financial capital, but also as an effective way to reach the empowerment of women and give rise to more egalitarian intra-household relations.

Increased employment and income opportunities for both men and women will decrease household's vulnerability in a number of ways. Food security and welfare will increase, which will allow for asset accumulation (not only financial and physical), and thus make them people more resilient to shocks and stresses. Importantly, it will help decrease the number of working children, fostering better chances for their education. The better the employment and income opportunities for the parents, the greater the chances of investing in their children's education. Better financial capital also helps increase social capital by investing more in it. Investments in physical infrastructure are also closely linked to investments in jobs and income-generating activities, as well as to human capital.

Investing in human capital, especially in education is an indispensable measure for breaking the poverty cycle and foster intergenerational upward social mobility. Educational policies need to take into account the gender dimension. Finally, participation of the poor in decision-making and their ability to influence city-level policies is recognized as an important element in the fight against poverty in the development discourse.

What the livelihoods approach suggests, is that interventions in the area of internal migration cannot nor should be the responsibility of one sector or one ministry alone; rather, a more holistic approach needs to be taken. There may be a case for creating a separate coordinating body that deals with internal migrants in informal areas. The central and local governments need to pool resources with local communities, the private sector and civil society, as well as the donor community in this development process.

b.   *Mitigating future migration*

Migration from rural areas is part of an urbanisation process that has been ongoing for the last 16 years. Population projections show that in the year 2021 Tirana and Durrës will host over 32% of the country's total population (INSTAT 2004b). What will the authorities do in the face of continuous migration pressure?

Migration impacts the urban ecosystem, and unplanned growth can lead to a disruption of it. Consequently, future migration should be dealt with more carefully, by taking measures aimed at making the process as positive as possible for all stakeholders involved. The government needs to mitigate future migration flows, so that no more new informal settlements are established, and no more chaotic migration occurs. Channelling of rural migration to urban areas, other than Tirana or Durrës, or within district rural-urban movements might be necessary to maintain a more harmonious spatial distribution of the population. Measures need to be taken to reduce the depopulation rate of remote rural areas and the resulting abandonment of land and property. Migration should not be the only survival strategy open to poor and deprived rural households.

One of the objectives of the current government is to try to promote a more balanced regional development, thus narrowing the gap between central Albania and the more disadvantaged areas of the country. While this might improve peoples' livelihoods in these areas, there is also evidence that, at least in the short to medium term, this will tend to increase migration rates. Development means better access to resources which will make migration an affordable livelihood strategy for an increasing number of people. Studies so far have shown that agricultural intensification would not curb down migration. Adoption of non-farm activities in the sending areas is necessary in order to mitigate future migration flows (Ellis & Harris 2004, Germenji & Swinnen 2005).

Urbanisation is an integral part of the development process. It is the responsibility of the Government of Albania, in close cooperation with the local governments that are affected by internal in and out migration, to formulate and enforce policies that will guide urbanisation and foster the sustainable development of the country.

5.2   *Usefulness of the theoretical framework*

Use of the SL framework in this study made possible a better understanding of livelihoods of migrant households in Bathore. If economic theories would have been used, which focus on the income and employment dimensions, the findings might have been the opposite. The SLA reveals that despite poor financial capital and high unemployment rates, migrants are better off compared to the place of origin, precisely because they have better access to the other capitals. The applicability of the framework in the urban setting seems reasonable, except for natural capital, which, the findings of this study showed, is not relevant to the urban context (at least not at the household level).

In addition, the framework could incorporate two more types of capital in order to better reflect the complex reality of (poor) people. These are the political capital, already part of this study, and cultural capital. Regarding the former, findings of this research suggested that it is indeed an important asset whose main function is to provide access to other capitals. The latter is recognized as important by Cahn (2002) and Adato & Meinzen-Dick (2002), and might be important in explaining, for instance, differential access to resources by migrants coming from different cultural backgrounds. Moreover, the gender dimension emerged in various aspects of livelihoods, which shows that it is necessary to include it in the framework. Findings of this study also showed the importance to differentiate between internal and external context of vulnerability. An understanding of the latter is important for well informed policy making.

5.3   Areas of further research

Albania presents a unique case of internal population movements, characterized by en masse and chaotic, barely selective, whole-family migration, leading to significant changes in the country's demography. As already pointed out at the beginning of this study, there is a lacuna of information and knowledge regarding internal migration in Albania, despite the significance of the phenomenon. As a consequence, future areas of research from a policy and academic perspective are endless.

To start with, there is a need to explore the link between migration and development in both destination and sending areas. Second, as already noted in the third chapter, very little is known with regard to the history of internal mobility in Albania. Adopting a historical perspective would add to the current, very limited, body of knowledge on the subject and help guide further research on this issue. Third, internal migration has led to the creation of a melting pot in the destination areas receiving people from all over the country. As a consequence, research is needed that explores the impact of culture and tradition on livelihood outcomes. Fourth, although this study does not focus on intra-household gender relations, it did reveal that livelihoods are gendered. Future research needs to focus on gender and power relations within the household as well as at a community level. Fifth, research on the impact of migration on livelihoods needs serious consideration. This requires a thorough study of those who migrate and those who stay put. Analysis at a disaggregated level is necessary if future research is to lead to effective policy making.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1

Household Questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of an academic work, which aims at gaining a better understanding of the livelihoods of the people and families who have migrated after the year 1989 and are at the present living in Bathore. The questionnaire includes questions related to the pre-migration period, settling down period and the current situation.

All respondents will be anonymous, and the results will be used solely for the purposes of this research. Thank you for your understanding and cooperation.

Date of interview: _____

Name of interviewer: _____

Number of questionnaire: _____

Name of respondent _____

Sex of respondent: 1. Male   2. Female

Address of respondent: _____

Human Capital

Table 1: General Indicators before moving to Tirana (while still living in the place of origin)

	a. Family member	b. age	c. place of birth	d. place of birth 2	e. sex	f. marital status	g. health status	h. chronic illness	i. highest educational level attained	j. was the person still studying?	k. employment status	l. Sector of employment	m. Job /occupation	n. knowledge of computers	o. are you entitled to social security	p. do you have health insurance
1																
2																
3																
4																
5																
6																
7																

Codes for Table 1:
  a. family member: 1. head of the household; 2. spouse; 3. daughter; 4. son; 5. parents; 6. in-laws; 6. brother/sister; 7. other (specify)
  b. age: please write down the age (in years) for each family member (calculate the age if the respondent tells the year of birth)
  c. place of birth (write the name of the district): 1. Diber; 2. Kukes; 3. other (please specify)
  d. place of birth 2: please write down the place of birth of each family member (village, town)
  e. sex: 1. male; 2. female
  f. marital status: 1. married; 2. single (never married); 3. divorced; 4. separated (not legally divorced); 5. widow(er)
  g. Health status: 1. very good; 2. good; 3. average; 4. poor
  h. do you suffer from any chronic illness?   1. Yes   2. No (please take note which illness)
  i. highest educational level attained: 1. illiterate; 2. primary school (up to 4 years); 3. primary (8 years); 4. general secondary; 5. vocational school; 6. university; 7. higher (if the person has started a certain educational level, say university, but has not completed it, please write the code **6.2**)
  j. was the person still studying at the moment of migration: 1. Yes   2. No
  k. employment status: 1. employed in the public sector; 2. employed in the private sector; 3. own business; 4. unemployed, looking for a job; 5. unemployed, not looking for a job; 6. pensioner; 7. pupil/student; 8. military; 9. migrant; 10. other (please specify)
  l. sector of employment: 1. formal; 2. informal; 3. NA (not applicable) [formal employment: when the person pays social insurance contributes]
  m. Job/occupation: please write down the specific job/position/occupation of each employed member
  n. Knowledge of computers: 1. none; 2. basic; 3. good; 4. very good
  o. are you entitled to social security: 1. Yes; 2. No (all persons who are employed in the formal sector; those who own a formal business; and the disabled are part of the social security scheme)
   p. do you have health insurance: 1. Yes; 2. No (all children, pensioners, disabled, soldiers, and those who are in the social security scheme benefit health insurance)

Table 2: General Indicators at the present

	a. Family member	b. age	f. marital status	g. health status	h. chronic illness	i. highest educational level attained	j. still studying/ attending a course?	k. employment status	l. Sector of employment	m. Job /occupation	n. knowledge of computers	o. are you entitled to social security	p. do you have health insurance	q. is the person living in the house now?
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														
6														
7														

The codes a-p for this table are same as above.
q. Is the person living in the house now: 1. Yes   2. No

Table 3: Knowledge of foreign languages

	Household members*	At the place of origin: did the person speak:				Now: does the person speak:			
		English	Italian	Greek	other	English	Italian	Greek	other
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									

Codes for Table 3: (for the "other" category please write down the language)
1. no knowledge of the language
2. basic knowledge
3. good
4. very good/fluent

* the list of household members should correspond to the ones above

How many children do you have? _____

What do you think is the 'right' number of children a family should have? _____, and why?

_____

Migration History

6. Where were you born?
    a. City/town _____
    b. Village _____

7. When were you born? _____ (please indicate year)

8. Was there an elementary school (1-4 years) in your village?   1. Yes   2. No
9. If no, how far was the nearest school?
    1. less than a kilometer away
    2. less than 2 km away
    3. less than 4 km away
    4. other (please indicate) _____

10. Was there a primary school (5-8 years) in your village/area?
    1. in my village/area
    2. in the nearby village

11. Did the children in your village attend school regularly?
    1. Yes   2. No
12. If no, please explain _____

_____

Question 13
Table 4: Please indicate what were the reasons you decided to leave your place of origin:

	Reasons for migrating	a. 1. Yes 2. No	b. Please tick the most important reason
1	I was unemployed		
2	Very poor access to physical infrastructure		
3	Very poor access to social infrastructure		
4	No development prospects		
5	Everyone else was leaving		
6	Conflicts (blood feuds)		
7	Conflicts over land		
8	The land I had was not sufficient to sustain my family		
9	It was not safe any more (presence of crime, violence, etc.)		
10	Harsh climate		
11	Geographical position / rough terrain		
12	Other (please specify)		

Question 14

Table 5: Please indicate what were the reasons you decided to migrate *to Tirana:*

	Reasons for migrating	a. 1. Yes 2. No	b. Please tick the most important reason
1	Better employment opportunities (better income)		
2	Better access to physical infrastructure		
3	Better access to social infrastructure and facilities		
4	Better future for the children		
5	My friends/relatives were living in Tirana		
6	Other (please specify)		

15. Look at the below ranking: 1 represents the poorest, and 10 the richest.
Where would you position your household before migrating (while still at the place of origin)?

poorest									richest
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

16. Please explain your answer (independent of the ranking chosen)
_____
_____

17. Compared to other households in your place of origin, how would you consider your household?
    1. much better off than the rest of the households
    2. somewhat better off than the rest of the households
    3. average
    4. less well off than the rest of the households
    5. (among) the least well off of the rest of the households

18. Who took the decision to migrate?
    1. the male head of the household
    2. the female head of the household
    3. the couple discussed and decided together
    4. parents/in-laws
    5. other (please specify) _____

19. While deciding about moving from your place of origin, did you consider the possibility of migration abroad?   1. Yes   2. No
20. Please explain more (independent of your answer) _____
_____

21. Did your household benefit from the 1991 law on the distribution of agricultural land?   1. Yes   2. No
22. If yes, how many hectares did you benefit? _____ ha
23. Do you still own these lands? Please explain. _____
_____

Settling Down in Tirana

24. Year when the first member of the household came to Tirana___(please indicate year)
25. Year when the whole family came to live in Tirana _____ (please indicate year)

26. Who came first to Tirana:
    1. only the male household head
    2. the whole family
    3. part of the family _____ (indicate who)
    4. other (please specify) _____

27. Why did you choose Tirana, and not abroad?
    1. we could not afford it
    2. we didn't know the language
    3. there was nobody to take care of the rest of the family if the head migrated abroad
    4. it was not possible for the whole family to migrate, and we didn't want to divide it
    5. we preferred to stay in our home country
    6. other (please specify) _____

Housing

28. Where did you settle when you first came to Tirana?
    1. a temporary barrack/shack
    2. at a friend's/relatives' place
    3. other (please specify) _____
29. Is the house you live in now:
    1. built by you/your family
    2. purchased
    3. other (please specify) _____

30. When did you start building/buy your house? _____ (please indicate year)
31. How long did it take you to build the house? _____ (number of months)

Question 32
Table 6: Please indicate whether you used the following sources of income to finance the building/purchase of the house.

	Sources of income for financing housing	a. 1. Yes 2. No	b. Which was the most important source?
1	family savings		
2	remittances		
3	I sold my land in my home town/village		
4	I sold my house in my place of origin		
5	I borrowed money from friends/relatives		
6	Loan from a bank		
7	other (please specify)		

33. What has been the total amount invested for constructing/purchasing the house?
_____ million (new) Leke

34. What is the material used for building the house?
    1. concrete   2. bricks   3. other (please specify) _____

35. What is the surface area of your house (construction and garden/backyard) in square meters _____
36. What is the surface area of your dwelling (habitable space) in square meters _____
37. Do you think this area is enough for you?   1. Yes   2. No
38. How many floors does the house have? _____
39. How many rooms does your house have? _____

40. Do you possess a legal house building permit?   1. Yes   2. No
41. Have you completed the self-declaration form? (part of the legalization process)
1. Yes   2. No
42. If not, please explain why _____
_____

Employment

43. What was the first job the (male) head of the household got when arrived in Tirana?
_____
44. How long did it take to find a job? _____ months

45. At your first job, did you consider your salary lower than that of a Tirana native doing the same job?   1. Yes   2. No

Social capital

46. When you first came to Tirana, did you have any relatives/friends living in Tirana?
1. Yes   2. No

47. If yes, how did they help/assist you for migrating? (please check all that apply)
    1. they influenced my decision to come to Tirana
    2. they provided me with necessary information
    3. they helped me find a piece of land
    4. they offered me to stay at their house while I built mine
    5. they provided me with financial support
    6. they helped me find a job
    7. they did not help me
    8. other (please specify) _____

48. If no, how did you cope on your own when you first arrived in Tirana? Please explain
_____
_____

Current situation

Physical assets
Question 49
Table 7: Please indicate whether you have now and in your home village the following services:

	Service	a. In your home village/town 1. Yes 2. No	b. Now 1. Yes 2. No	Compare the quality 1. now better 2. similar 3. now worse 4. NA (if the person didn't have the service at the place of origin)
1	Connection to the water supply system			
2	Connection to the sewerage system			
3	Connection to the electricity grid			
4	Connection to a paved road			
5	Connection to the drainage system			
6	Coverage by the solid waste removal service			
7	Street lighting			
8	Internet connection			
9	Indoor tap			
10	Outdoor tap			
11	Public tap			
12	Indoor toilet			
13	Outdoor toilet			
14	Indoor bath/shower room			
15	Outdoor bath/shower room			
16	Well			
17	Pit latrine			
18	Other (please specify)			

50. Do you now have a small plot of land or a garden in which you grow produce?
1. Yes   2. No
51. If yes, what is the area of this plot in square meters _____
and, what do you grow on this plot? _____

_____
52. What do you use this produce for:
    1. only for household consumption
    2. for household consumption, and some for sale
    3. all for sale
    4. other (please specify) _____

53. Do you have any livestock in your house?
1. Yes   2. No
54. If yes, which of the following do you have (check all that apply):
    1. cow(s) 2. sheep   3. chicken   4. rabbit   5.other (please specify)

55. In your opinion, which of the following markets do you need in your neighborhood?
(check all that apply)
1. fruit-vegetable market
2. industrial market
3. electric-electronic market
4. other (please specify) _____

Question 56
Table 8: Please indicate whether you have the following household appliances/items now and in your home village:

	Items	a. In your home village/town 1. Yes 2. No	b. Now 1. Yes 2. No
1	Colored TV		
2	Black and white TV		
3	Video player		
4	Satellite dish		
5	Cable TV		
6	Refrigerator		
7	Washing machine		
8	Dishwasher		
9	Wood stove		
10	Electric stove/cooker		
11	Gas cooker		
12	Boiler (shower)		
13	Air conditioner		
14	Electric radiator		
15	Water tank		
16	Sewing machine		
17	Microwave		
18	Fixed line phone		
19	Mobile phone		
20	Computer		
21	Radio		
22	Stereo		
23	Camera		
24	Digital camera		
25	Video camera		
26	Car		
27	Motorcycle		
28	Bicycle		
29	(power) Generator		
30	Other (please specify)		

Question 57

Table 9: Please indicate in the following table whether you have/had the below-mentioned facilities in your neighborhood? In column C please indicate whether a specific facility is needed in your neighborhood.

	Facilities	a. Place of origin 1. Yes 2. No	b. Now 1. Yes 2. No	c. Which facility is needed now? 1. needed 2. not needed
1	Crèche			
2	Kindergarten			
3	Primary school (1-4 years)			
4	Primary school (5-8 years)			
5	Secondary school			
6	Vocational school			
7	Primary health care center			
8	Specialized health care center			
9	Dentist			
10	Maternity hospital			
11	Playgrounds			
12	Cultural/community centers			
13	Library			
14	Post office			
15	Bank			
16	Supermarket			
17	Shopping mall			
18	Internet center/café			
19	Cinema			
20	Parks/flower gardens			
21	Other (specify)			

58. Where is waste from your toilet/bathroom discharged?
    1. into the sewerage system
    2. in an open canal
    3. in a pit latrine
    4. other (please specify) _____

59. Where do you throw your household (solid) waste?
    1. in the solid waste bins in my neighborhood
    2. in an open space in my neighborhood
    3. by the river/canal
    4. other (please specify) _____

60. How often is the solid waste removed?
    1. every day
    2. about 5 days per week
    3. about twice a week
    4. once a week
    5. less than once a week
    6. never/ there is no service
    7. I don't know
    8. other (please specify) _____

61. Do you use tap water for: (please check all that apply)
    1. drinking
    2. cooking
    3. watering my garden
    4. other (please specify)

Question 62
Table 10: Please indicate how many hours per day you have access to the following services:

	Service	a. Daily supply in hours: summer	b. Daily supply in hours: winter
1	Water supply		
2	Electricity		

63. Do you have a contract with KESH (Albanian Power Corporation)?
1. Yes   2. No
64. If no, why not _____

65. Do you have a contract with the Water Supply and Sewerage Company?
1. Yes   2. No
66. If no, why not _____

67. Do you have a house in the place of origin?
1. Yes   2. No

68. If no, why?
    1. I sold it to get money for building/buying the house here
    2. It didn't belong to me (father/brother)
    3. other (please specify) _____

69. If yes, is someone living there now? Please explain _____
_____

Social capital

70. How would you rate your relations to your neighbors?
1. very good   2. good   3. neither good nor bad   4. poor

71. Are you close to Tirana natives (friends, exchange family visits, etc.)

72. Do your children have non-migrant friends?
1. Yes   2. No
73. If not, please explain: _____
_____

74. In your opinion, does your family hold customs or values which are different from those held by Tirana natives?
1. Yes   2. No
75. If yes, could you please explain: (a) what these customs are _____
_____, and
(b) how they affect your integration to the rest of the society? _____
_____
_____

76. How often do you go to Tirana _____ (indicate number of times per month)

77. How long have you been living in this neighborhood? _____ (in years)

78. For the following statements a-d, please indicate whether you think they are true or false:

a. If I need help, most people in the neighborhood are willing to help me.
1. True   2. False
b. I only have a few friends on whom I can count if I need help.
1. True   2. False
c. I can only rely on myself to solve my problems.
1. True   2. False
d. In general, people cannot be trusted.
1. True   2. False

79. Have you ever joined forces with other people from this neighborhood when attempting to solve a common problem?
1. Yes   2. No

80. If yes, could you please describe the nature of the problem, how you cooperated, and the outcome. If not, please explain why: _____
_____
_____

81. Would your family be willing to contribute in case of an (physical and social) infrastructure upgrading project?
    1. yes, physical contribution (labor, equipment, etc.)
    2. yes, financial contribution
    3. yes, both physical and financial contribution
    4. no, my family cannot (afford to) contribute
    5. no, my family doesn't want to contribute
    6. I don't know
    7. other (please specify) _____

82. Is there any CBO (community based organization) or any other association operating in your neighborhood?
1. Yes   2. No   3. I don't know
83. If yes, could you please explain which organizations they are and their role:

_____
_____

84. Are you a member of any organization?   1. Yes   2. No
85. If yes, please list the organization(s) _____

_____

86. Do you believe that the CBO/neighborhood association operating in your area (if any) is representing the people?
1. Yes   2. No   3. I don't know
87. Please explain your answer _____

_____

Natural capital

Question 88
Table 11: Please indicate in the following table whether you had/have access to:

	Asset	a. In your place of origin 1. Yes 2. No	b. Now 1. Yes 2. No
1	Forests		
2	Pastures		
3	Water springs (sources)		
4	Rivers		
5	Plot of agricultural land		
6	Fruit-bearing trees		
7	Other (specify)		

89. How would you compare the quality of air in your place of origin to here?
    1. much better in my place of origin
    2. slightly better in my place of origin
    3. similar
    4. slightly better here
    5. much better here

90. Have you or any family member developed (since you settled in Tirana) any health-related problems? (serious illnesses, not flu or the like)   1. Yes   2. No
91. If yes, please specify the type of illness: _____
_____

Financial capital

92. How much did you pay for the land? _____ in (new) Leke
93. What is the value of the land now? _____ in (new) Leke
94. What is the value of your house now? _____ in (new) Leke

Question 95
Table 12: Please describe your sources of income (in an average month)

	Source of Income	a. Do you benefit it? 1. Yes 2. No	b. how much in (new) Leke
1	Wages/Salaries		
2	Own business		
3	Pension - urban		
4	Pension – rural		
5	Social assistance		
6	Disability benefit		
7	Casual work		
8	Remittances		
9	Rental income		
10	Lottery[64]		
11	Other (please specify)		

---

[64] In this context, lottery refers to a system whereby a group of people make a monthly contribution and each month one of members benefits the whole sum.

Question 96
Table 13: Please describe your expenditure in an average month

	Type of expenditure	Amount in (new) Leke
1	Food	
2	Clothing	
3	Education	
4	Electricity bill (winter)	
5	Electricity bill (summer)	
6	Water bill (winter)	
7	Water bill (summer)	
8	Gas (for heating, cooking, etc.)	
9	Wood (for heating, cooking, etc.)	
10	Transport (public, own car)	
11	Improvements to the house	
12	Rent	
13	Entertainment (going out-cinema, bars, restaurants, etc.)	
14	Ceremonies (weddings/engagement ceremonies, funerals, etc.)	
15	Other (please specify)	
16	**Total monthly expenditure**	

Question 97
Table 14: Please indicate how often you consume(d) the following, both now and in your place of origin:

	Type of Food	**a.** How many times per week **did** you consume it?	**b.** How many times per week **do** you consume it?
1	Beef		
2	Lamb		
3	Chicken		
4	Chicken legs		
5	Pork		
6	Fish		
7	Milk		
8	White cheese		
9	Kackavall		
10	Fruit		
11	Vegetables		
12	Rice		
13	Pasta		
14	Desserts		
15	Other (specify)		

98. In your opinion, what is the minimum amount of money a family needs to satisfy its basic needs (food, shelter, bills, etc.) _____ new Leke per month
99. Do you buy on credit?   1. Yes   2. No
100. If yes, please indicate where? (check all that apply)
    1. grocery store
    2. drugstore
    3. other (please specify) _____

15

101. Please rank from 1-4 (look at the codes below) the affordability of the following:
1 = I cannot afford it   2= I can afford it sometimes (not on a regular basis)
3= I can afford it most of the time   4= I can always afford it

    a. proper nutrition (including meat, dairy products, vegetables, and fruit) _____
    b. (new) clothing (i.e. not the second hand clothes market) _____
    c. Transport _____
    d. health care (visits to the doctor and buying medicine) _____
    e. children's education (including private lessons) _____
    f. bills (electricity, water, plus gas and wood costs) _____
    g. "renewing" the house, including changing furniture and household equipment ___
    h. going out (cinema, theater, restaurant, etc) _____
    i. going on holiday (either within Albania or abroad) _____
    j. other (please specify) _____

102. What do you use the banking system for: (check all that apply)
    1. family savings
    2. to obtain a loan
    3. to pay the bills
    4. to get my salary
    5. to receive remittances
    6. I do not use the banking system
    7. other (specify) _____

103. Have you ever obtained a loan?   1. Yes   2. No
104. If yes, what was the purpose of the loan?
    1. to improve my house
    2. to start a business
    3. to buy a car
    4. other (please explain) _____
105. If not, why?
    1. I don't need a loan
    2. I cannot afford it
    3. I am not eligible to it
    4. other (please specify) _____

106. Please look at the below ranking: 1 represents the poorest, and 10 the richest.
Where would you position your household now?

poorest									richest
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

107. Did you invest in the pyramid schemes?
1. Yes   2. No

108. If yes, could you please explain the impact of the collapse of the pyramid financial schemes had on you and your family: _____
_____

109. In your opinion, is a Tirana native paid more than you for the same job?
1. Yes   2. No

110. What are the principal economic activities in this neighborhood?
    1. _____
    2. _____
    3. _____

111. In your opinion, what are the potential economic activities that can be developed in your area?
    1. _____
    2. _____
    3. _____

Political capital

112. Are you registered in Tirana (formal registration in the Civil Registers)?
1. Yes   2. No
113. If no, why haven't you registered here? _____
_____

114. Where do you vote?   1. In Tirana   2. In my place of origin

115. Did you vote in the last parliamentary elections (July 2005)?
1. Yes   2. No
116. If no, please explain why? _____
_____

117. Did you vote in the last local/municipal elections (September 2003)
1. Yes   2. No
118. If no, please explain why? _____
_____

119. Are you affiliated with any political party?   1. Yes   2. No
120. Are you politically active?   1. Yes   2. No
121. Are you involved (or do you plan to get involved) with the electoral campaign for the upcoming local elections? (September 2006) 1. Yes   2. No

122. What is you opinion about the work of the current (local) government?
    1. the municipality is doing a very good job
    2. the municipality is doing a good job
    3. neither good nor bad
    4. the municipality is doing a poor job
    5. the municipality is doing a very poor job

123. When you have any concerns/issues (at the community level) that need to be resolved, what do you do?
    1. I talk with the rest of the community members and we try to come up with a solution
    2. I go and talk with the kryeplak[65]
    3. I go to the municipality (public relations office) to complain
    4. I go and meet the mayor
    5. none of the above, I try to resolve the situation on my own
    6. I don't do anything
    7. other (please explain) _____

124. Why do you use this method? _____
_____

125. Have the people in this neighborhood ever gathered to write a petition to the local government for something benefiting the community?
1. Yes   2. No
126. If yes, could you please describe when, how many times, and for what purpose?
_____
_____

127. Do you think that the municipality is taking decisions that benefit (i.e. help the development of) your neighborhood?
1. Yes   2. No
128. Explain your answer _____
_____

129. Do you think that the Central Government is doing a good job?
1. Yes   2. No   3. I don't know

---

[65] A traditional local leader of a community – formerly it used to be an elderly, wise man

Vulnerability Context

Question 130
Table 15: Please indicate the type of shock(s)/stress(es) faced by your family in the corresponding time periods

	Type of shock/stress	a. Before migrating 1. Yes, mild 2. Yes, severe 3. No	b. During settlement 1. Yes, mild 2. Yes, severe 3. No	c. Now (recently) 1. Yes, mild 2. Yes, severe 3. No
1	Dispossession of land			
2	Unexpected death of income earner			
3	Unexpected death of non-income earner			
4	Imprisonment of income earner			
5	Serious illness			
6	Job loss			
7	House destroyed/burned			
8	Flood damage			
9	Pyramid scheme			
10	Violence on any member			
11	Conflict regarding land ownership			
12	Blood feuds			
13	Conflict in the community			
14	Robbing			
15	Breaking into the house			
16	Wedding/engagement ceremony[66]			
17	Other (specify)			
18	Other (specify)			
19	Other (specify)			
20	Other (specify)			

131. On a scale 0-10 where 0 = it does not constitute an issue for my family and 10 = it constitutes a major issue for my family, please rate the different aspects of your livelihoods:
1. financial issues (lack of sufficient money) _____
2. finding employment _____
3. land ownership and tenure security _____
4. health _____
5. safety _____
6. other (specify) _____

---

[66] Not a negative stress, but it possess a lot of financial burden on the family.

Question 132

Table 16: Have you ever had to provide 'gifts' in money or in kind to someone in exchange for a service:

	At the:	Indicate the code
1	Municipality	
2	Health care centers/hospitals	
3	Teachers at your children's school	
4	KESH	
5	Other (specify)	

Codes:
1. Yes, but only once; 2. yes, rarely; 3. yes, often; 4. no, never

Question 133

Table 17: How satisfied are you with your current: (please tick the most appropriate option)

		a. financial situation	b. Life in general
1	fully satisfied		
2	rather satisfied		
3	somewhat dissatisfied		
4	totally dissatisfied		
5	don't know		
6	refuse to respond		

Question 134

Table 18: Do you feel that in the past 3 years, your household's:

		a. financial situation	b. Life in general
1	improved a lot		
2	somewhat improved		
3	remained the same		
4	somewhat deteriorated		
5	deteriorated a lot		
6	don't know		
7	refuse to respond		

135. In your opinion, how do Tirana natives look at you/the newcomers? (please explain)
_____
_____

136. What do you think about Tirana natives? (please explain)
_____
_____

137. Do you feel part of Tirana?   1. Yes   2. No
138. Please explain your answer _____
_____
_____

139. Are there inter-marriages between Tirana natives and newcomers?
1. Yes   2. No
140. What is your opinion regarding this issue? _____

_____

Future Aspirations

141. Are you thinking of going back to your place of origin?
1. Yes   2. No
142. Please explain your answer: _____

_____

_____

143. Are you, or any member of your household, planning to migrate abroad?
    1. yes, the whole family
    2. yes, the children (sons) when they are grown up
    3. no
    4. I don't know
    5. other (please specify) _____

144. If yes, will it be: a. temporary   b. permanent
Please explain: _____

_____

145. Do you know anyone (relative/friend) who is planning to come to Tirana?
1. Yes   2. No
146. If yes, how will you help/assist them? _____

_____

147. Do you know anyone in Bathore who has regretted migrating?
1. Yes   2. No

148. Do you know anyone in Bathore who plans to return to the place of origin?
1. Yes   2. No

149. In your opinion, the number of inhabitants in your home village/town has:
    1. significantly decreased
    2. somewhat decreased
    3. no change
    4. increased (as a result of migration from other areas)
    6. I don't know

150. In your opinion, why have the people/households in your place of origin not migrated? (for those families that still live in respondent's place of origin)
    1. they cannot afford to migrate
    2. they already have a family member migrating abroad who provides remittances
    3. they do not have many contacts here who can assist them
    4. they like staying there
    5. they are too old to migrate
    6. other (please specify) _____

151. In your opinion, what does a family need to prosper, i.e. succeed in life?
_____

152. Please indicate where _specifically_ you would like the municipality/central government to invest in: (please rank by order of importance)
    1. _____
    2. _____
    3. _____
    4. _____
    5. _____

153. Please state whether you agree or not with the following statements:
a. A person/household is able to succeed in life if it tries hard:
1. Agree   2. Neutral   3. Disagree
b. I am responsible for my success:
1. Agree   2. Neutral   3. Disagree
c. I am responsible for my failures:
1. Agree   2. Neutral   3. Disagree
d. The decision to migrate was my own free choice:
1. Agree   2. Neutral   3. Disagree
e. It is the 'destiny' which decides and shapes our life:
1. Agree   2. Neutral   3. Disagree
f. Being part of Tirana depends on what the Tirana natives think about us:
1. Agree   2. Neutral   3. Disagree
g. Finding a job means knowing the right people:
1. Agree   2. Neutral   3. Disagree
h. The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions:
1. Agree   2. Neutral   3. Disagree

154. Is there anything you would like to add?
_____
_____
_____

Thank you for your cooperation!

Annex 2
Guidelines for the Focus Group Discussions

Pre-Migration Period

1. Where are you from/What is your place of origin?

2. Please describe your daily lives in your place of origin.

3. Do you still have your properties in your place of origin (house, land, etc.)?

4. What did you know about Tirana before migrating here?

5. Why did you decide to migrate? And why did you choose Tirana?

Settling down Period (the first 1-2 years)

6. Why did you settle in Bathore (why not in another area in Tirana, or why not any other city?

7. Did you have friends/relatives here to assist you? How did they assist you?

8. What helped you the most during the first year of your settlement in Bathore? What is the asset that is most beneficial now?

		First year in Tirana	**Now**
1	Friends/relatives I had here		
2	Job/employment		
3	Income from property		
4	The fact that I had grown-up sons who could work		
5	Political affiliations		
6	Education (the better educated you are the easier it is to prosper)		
7	Other		

The Current Situation

9. What are the relations among Bathore residents like? If some one/ a family needs help, what will the reaction of others be?

10. Please describe your livelihoods here. Are you satisfied with it? What are your concerns?

11. How have the livelihoods of your families changed from the moment you came to Bathore? (improved, worsened, what has improved, what has worsened, how has this change taken place, how did you affect this change, and how did it affect you)?

12. What is the livelihood of Bathore women like? Compared to men's? (in terms of employment, participation in CBOs and other associations, participation in decision-making within the household, etc.)

13. What are the main economic activities and the main employers of men and women of Bathore?

14. Is international migration widespread among households in Bathore?

15. What type of markets are there in Bathore (fruit-vegetable market, industrial, etc.) and what other markets are needed?

16. How do you rate public transport, especially towards Tirana?

17. What is your health like, and how has it changed after migration? How is it related to inadequate infrastructure?

18. How does your family cope with various difficulties/problems? (financial difficulties; serious illness; conflicts over land; etc.)

19. How would you rate health services ? (primary health care; specialized health care; public hospital; private clinics)

20. How would you rate educational facilities in Bathore? What is needed with regard to education? What can be improved? How would improved education affect your life?

21. What is your opinion on recreational/cultural centres in Bathore? (cinema, library, community centre, etc.) What can be done to improve the situation?

22. Is there any religious institution operating in Bathore? Do you rely on it/them in case of difficulties?

23. What is your opinion on the process of legalization? Have you completed the self-declaration form? What do you know about the progress of the process? What are your sources of information regarding this issue?

24. Please describe your relations to the municipality of Kamza and the MP of your area. What has been their role throughout these years in developing the area?

25. Is your voice heard at the municipal decision making level? Do residents of Bathore take part in the municipal council meetings?

26. What are the main issues/concerns facing your family?

27. What type of interventions are needed in order to improve your livelihoods?

28. In your opinion, what type of economic activities would help the development of the area? (based on the specific characteristics of the area)

29. What is your opinion regarding the education of the children of Bathore?

30. What are your dreams about the future?

31. What is the role of the media in reflecting the situation in Bathore and the issues faced by its community?

Annex 3
Guidelines for the Key-Informant Interviews

Could you please provide a description of the development of the area starting from 1989?

What have been the policies/actions taken by the municipality to improve the lives of the migrants living in informal settlements? To what extent have these policies been affected by the informal status of these areas?

What are the main economic activities in Bathore?
What are the main economic activities in which Bathore residents engage in? (also data on unemployment rate; the sectors of employment, gender aspects in employment, etc.)

Could you please provide some information on the socio-economic status of the area?

What could you tell about the condition of the physical infrastructure in Bathore?
What could you tell about the condition of the social infrastructure in Bathore?

What has been the role of the central government in dealing with Bathore?

What has been the role of the international community / donors?

Could you please provide some information on the process of legalization (how is it going? How many households completed the self-declaration form – also in %; what are its impacts on the development of the area, etc.)

What are the main challenges laying ahead in the development of these communities?
What are the main needs/areas of intervention in these areas? What are the priorities for intervention? Which areas constitute a priority for investments, why?

In your opinion, what can be done to facilitate the integration of migrants into the wider society? Which policies are needed? What is the role of the:
   a. central government
   b. local government
   c. international community, in this endeavor?

What are the current/future policies and actions regarding future migration fluxes to Tirana? Where and how will the future migrants be accommodated?

Do you think that Bathore will grow in population in the following years? If yes, what is being done to accommodate the new flows? What should be done?

In your opinion, is there a need to establish a separate department/section within the municipality which deals exclusively with issues of migration? Please explain.

Based on your perspective, what are the main legal, institutional, political, economic, social, and environmental challenges arising with the informal settlements?

What is the role of the resident of Bathore in the development of the area? To what extent have they been involved so far?

What is the relationship of the municipality with the CBOs? How can this relationship be improved? How can it benefit the community now and in the future?

What are the main difficulties faced by the municipality in service provision to Bathore?

What are the potential areas of economic development in Bathore? Duke patur parasysh karakteristikat e zones dhe te banoreve te saj, si e shihni zhvillimin e zones? (ne cilat drejtime/sektore ekonomike; arsimore, etj.)

How is the issue of migration linked to the National Strategy for Socio-Economic Development (NSSED)? If not, why? Will there be any room in the future for the incorporation of migration to the NSSED?

(CG level): Please describe/elaborate on the process of legalization of informal settlements, and urbanization. What are the plans/strategy for accommodating future migration flows to Tirana? What type of interventions are needed in areas like Bathore?

(CBO): What is the role of the CBO? How was is established and when? What have been its major activities until today? What is organizational structure of the CBO? Who are the members?

Do inhabitants of Bathore participate in meetings of the Municipal Council? How is their voice heard?

Annex 4: List of expert interviews

Table 1: Stakeholders involved and type of information required

	Stakeholder	Information gathered
1	**Central Government**	
	a. Expert on the legalization platform	Information about the process of legalization and urbanization of the informal settlements; ways of dealing with future migration flows;
	b. Expert on the NSSED[67]	Information on the progress of the implementation of the NSSED, with a focus on the poor peoples' livelihoods.
	c. Ministry of Social Affairs/DFID (a DFID funded strategy)	Information on the social policies at the national level, with a special focus on the migrant group; information on what can (or should) be changed in these policies.
2	**Local Government:** Kamza municipality	
	a. Deputy mayor	Comprehensive information on Kamza and Bathore regarding issues like legalization, employment, infrastructure needs, education, etc.
	b. Planning department	Information on current planning, and predicted future master plans; information on the links between the Tirana master plan and a master plan for Kamza.
	c. Public works department	Information on the availability and accessibility to and quality of infrastructure services; investment plans.
	d. Social affairs department	Information on the incidence and distribution of the poor in Kamza municipality, with special focus on Bathore; information on current social policies and programs and future challenges.
	e. Legalization department	Information on the legalization process in Kamza and Bathore; potential challenges of the law
	f. Head of the Municipal Council	Information on the role of the council in the development of the area; participation of Bathore residents in the council
	g. Head of the health care centre in Bathore	Information on the conditions of the health care system and health of the population of Bathore.
3	**NGOs**	
	a. Co-PLAN	Chronological information on the various community development programs/projects that have been and are still undergoing in Bathore; information on the role of the NGOs in development efforts;
4	**CBOs in Bathore**	
	a. Rilindja CBO	Information on the social organization within the community; relations with other stakeholders; main issues faced by the community; challenges, etc.; information on the role of CBOs in decision-making.
	b. Women's association	Information on the livelihoods of women and children in the community; power relations; challenges for the future.
	c. Youth's initiative	Information on the main issues faced by and needs of the migrant youth; their dreams and aspirations.
	d. Local newspaper	Role of the media in raising awareness and influencing policy-making
5.	**Migrants and migrant households**	
	migrants in Bathore, and their households	Information on migrant livelihoods, their assets, livelihood strategies, (perceived) vulnerability and ways of coping with it, and livelihood outcomes; information on the reasons for migrating, and migrant/migration characteristics.

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[67] NSSED stands for the National Strategy for Socio-Economic Development