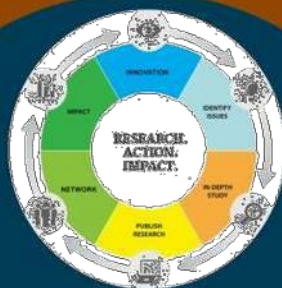JSHER

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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN GJIROKASTRA REGION AND THE IMPACT

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ABSTRACT

Albanian society after 1990 (referred to as the transition) is facing with the new social phenomena in shape, but particularly in the content. Such phenomena (by different researchers), are also observed in countries that have been in the same socio-economic system as our country (Eastern Europe). It seems clear that emigration becomes component (factor) determinant of demographic regime in our country, because of political instability, economic and social difficulty, high level of unemployment, opening of the country with the world etc. This situation provoked and stimulated a great movement in our population in the 1990s. The analyze of the emigration dynamic show that in the first years it was very intensive.

The international migration (especially to Greece), is one of the main impact factor to all socio demo-economic evolution in Gjirokastra region. This research is focused in statistical evidences and analyses of the international migration from Gjirokastra region, after 1990: factors, dimensions, directions, motifs and typology of migrations (causes, distances, individual or familiar, etc.). International migration has been an illegal phenomenon, especially at the beginning. For a better evidence of this phenomena, it is seen and taken under researches and analyses in three dimensions: time (periods of time) and in space that is a more complex in form and content (seen according to communes and villages) and structural of the population (age, gender, ethnic group, education level and settlement). This research will be accompanied by some conclusions and suggestions, at the end. This region has been characterized by a deficit populating evolution, first of all, because of the migration.

Key words: *international migration, district, consequence, motives, typology.*

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1. INTRODUCTION

After 1989, Albanian society faced a new social phenomenon, observed even in countries that took the same political and socio-economic direction like the ones in Eastern Europe. One of these phenomena is related to the immigration of Albanians, that although occurred early in our population, presented new features before and after 1990.

In the early 1990s, Albania was nailed by a deep economic crisis with parameters that indicated the existence of a failing economy, making it difficult to fulfill the needs of its population. Political instability, difficult economic situation, high unemployment etc. provoked and stimulated migrant waves in our population in the 1990s (Dumani 1995). This immigration in our country since 1990 has made the phenomenon more complex and typical, influencing many aspects in demographic and socio-economic regime, comprehensive and distinct in the study. The general scheme of migration factors and external triggers can be summarized in many factors such as: economic, political, historical, etc., where one of them is always crucial in relation to others.

Started as a protest against the former communist system (the embassy phenomenon), this mostly stimulated migration as an economic necessity and a way to freedom (King, 2003). Graduation from a centralized economy to a market based economy was accompanied by major economic and social difficulties (as the planned economy or market economy, lacked of confidence and insecurity for today and tomorrow). Such a situation served as the starting point for the creation and strengthening of thought to leave abroad, aspiring for a better life for themselves and their families. Examination of the dynamics of the migration shows that in the early years it has been intense. As such, it served as a buffer in the deep discrepancy (inherited) between high surplus of natural population and limited employment opportunities.

Based on the research conducted in this context it turns out that for most of the villages in the region, in Gjirokastra and Permet, this process started at the beginning of 1991 when it encountered the greatest influx of emigrants to Greece. This process continued reaching another peak in 1997. After the events of 1997 which resulted in the total collapse of the state, a lack of peace and insecurity occurred in the country which gave rise to a massive way of people leaving the country.

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2. THE FEATURES OF MIGRATION

- This phenomenon has been continuous with higher numbers during early years of the 1990s followed by a decline in the coming years. Although no other exodus like the ones of the 1990, 1991 and 1997 has ever occurred, this bleeding has not ever stopped.

- According to statistics(done by neighboring countries), the structure of Immigration proves that a large number of people by about 94.0% of them were found situated in Greece. This is due to its geographical proximity.

- Initially started to the neighboring country of Greece and later was directed to the countries in the West. What is noticed also is that this phenomenon is getting more and more the character of a remote migration.

- Immigration of this scale has mostly been uncontrolled and illegal. The official figures do not correspond with the massive influx of the immigrant at the time. Coming up with an approximate number was to evaluate data drawn from survey done during (process included all the villages of the district), population registration and other information available at the time.

3. THE DIMENSIONS OF MIGRATION

Referring to the data collected, the process of migration has affected a significant part of the population of the region. According to INSTAT, during 1989-2001 (INSTAT 2001) the country has a high level of migration (6.8% of total internal migration of the country). Internal migrants who fled the region make up of 11.0% of the population in 1989-s, while foreign immigrants make up 25.3% of the population of the county in 1989 -en. While referring to the data gathered from the survey, the situation turns even more aggravated. After 1990, about half of the rural population of the county resulting in 60,635 people, emigrated abroad. Reduction in population size resulted in 49.2% and the number of households with 45.4%, compared with 1989. In the rural area of the district after 15 years has remained around 51.0% of the population and about 55.0% of households in 1989. The most affected communes which have a negative migratory balance are: Buz (-46.3 ‰), Lopes, Kurvelesh Suke, Deshnice, etc., known as mountainous county (with limited agricultural land 12:27 hackers, and problematic infrastructure, etc.).

After 1990, in the district of Gjirokastra has migrated 55.7% of its total population and about 40.0% of households. The county of Permet with 42.6% of the population in 1989 and 44.2% of households in 1989. These figures indicate a greater migration per family than individual. The number of emigrants in the District Tepelenë during the same period shows a migration of 35.4% of the total population and 31.6% of rural families, versus 1989. The above survey also shows that in the District Tepelenë, the weight of individuals and immigrant families abroad is lower compared with the Gjirokastra and Permet, since it is involved more in internal migration towards Tirana, Saranda, Vlora, etc., In Gjirokastra it noted that about 60.0% of the

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municipalities of emigrant account for over half of the population (60.0%) of the total number of population in municipalities (communes Pogon, emigrants abroad account for 87.4% of the total population in1989 Lunxhëri 78.0%, Odrie 75.0%, Dropulli Upper 66.6%, Dropulli Lower 60.7%, etc. In municipalities above, the weight of emigrants compared to other municipalities around is dedicated also significantly to the ethnicity facts which are among the municipalities with the largest share of the Greek and Vlach minorities. In the county of Permet analysis of the phenomenon of external migration at the municipal level generally indicates that the share of emigrants and families individually under this indicator stands for municipalities in the region of -49.2%. In the county of Tepelenë and all its municipalities the average weight of immigrant families from the villages is lower in comparison with the district of Permet.

4. TYPES OF MIGRATION:

    a. Cause (economic, political, educational, family reunion, etc.).
    b. Form of organization (organized and spontaneous) and legitimacy.
    c. Duration (long or permanent, temporary, seasonal, weekly).
    d. Manner of implementation (in stages, chain).
    e. Form of migration (individual and family).

a. Types of migration by causes:
Economic and social development. The reasons behind immigration factors are due to
lack of resources to sustain sources of livelihood. Historically, economic factors were primary in migrate processes and continue to be so in relation to other factors. Unemployment, insufficient income, aspirations for a better life and secure independent economic freedoms, constitutes the origin of its movement. In the years 1991-1992, the Albanian economy had a drastic decline that was expressed throughout the whole country, with high levels of unemployment, limited opportunities etc. The analyses in this context show that: 39.0% of the population has migrated as a result of unemployment; 20.0% for the lack of income is insufficient; 16.0% emigrate to secure a better future for their children and 24.0% as a result of economic uncertainty. Other social motives are also present such as educational which resulted in theincrease.
Family reunification, especially the integration of female element in the family after 1996.
b. Form of organization (organized or spontaneous) and legitimacy organized migration generally occupies a small percentage in comparison to a spontaneous and illegal migration.
c. Duration, migration for a long time. Most of the migrants into the area in the study appear to escape for a period slightly longer (about 20 years), especially for the emigrant abroad (in late 1990), the proportions in the municipalities where the ethnic Greek and Romanian minorities.
d. Temporarily Migration includes *seasonal migration*, is a phenomenon encountered by many villages that are very close to the border with Greece, such as Kakavijë, Llongo, Koshovicë, Mavrojer, Sopik, Çarshovë, Biovizhd etc. The move is closely related to the time of the agricultural work in the neighboring country, the need of general activities to get the seasonal products ready on time etc. Another form is the *weekly* movements, especially men who are employed in the construction sector. At the end of each week they return to their country of origin. This form of movement usually occurred in villages Dropull Upper, Lower Dropull, Pogon etc.

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e. Individual migrations and family. Initially it started as an individual form of migration. With the acquisition of documentation and residence permits (after 1998), subsequently the rest of the family was withdrawn.

5. TYPES OF MIGRANTS

a. Age
b. Gender
c. Educational-professional level
d. Family size
e. Type of residence (urban, rural).
f. Ethnic background.

a. In analysis to the migration abroad it is important to stress out that its structure is presented by age, gender, level of education, settlements etc., a The age structure of migrants. The age structure of migrants is relatively new. Lack of data and proper information on the age of the population emigrated abroad we refer to studies done by INSTAT titled "Migration in Albania" as well as interviews and surveys on the ground (with the mayors, older men and individuals). Migratory flows in all persons in the age group 15-45 years constitute the majority 69.0% of emigrants. Migration as a selective process has affected especially the young age. Young people tend stronger emigration, since the benefits from reduced capital investment with increasing age. While older people have more deep connection with the land, their family and the environment. This process was accompanied by increased average age of the population over 35 years old. Active age group of 15-34 years old decreased from 64.7% (1989) to 46.1% (2001)[1].

b. Structure migrants *by gender*. Male immigrants account for over 50.0% of total evacuees from the county versus 46.4% of women left.

Table 1. Migration according to the gender (Duri 1990)

Years / Units	'89-'94		'94-'99		'99-'04		'89-'04	
	NM[2]		NM		NM		NM	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Region	-43.5	-56.5	-59.4	-40.6	53.0	-47.0	-52.6	-47.4
Urban area	57.4	42.6	60.0	40.0	-52.2	-47.8	59.5	40.5
Rural area	-52.5	-47.5	-56.0	-44.0	-51.2	-48.8	-53.7	-46.3

The statistics speak for a greater mobility of men compared to women both inside and outside the county. The low mobility of women is related to the migration reasons that women are somewhat different, due to different social norms that affect them. However, gender differences

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have been narrowing. As a result of selective migration feature coefficient of masculinity for the age group 20-24 shows decreased by 9.2% by 1989.

c. *Migrant by educational level*. About 26.0% of immigrant has a primary and secondary educational level, 53.0% with secondary education and 21.0% higher. Generally what results from surveys in this context is that the vast majority of the emigrants respond to a secondary level education followed by those with 8-year education and higher. In this context it will not be left out to be mentioned the phenomenon of migration identified as an intellectual elite which is presented with its features, relatively well established that is distinguished from the mass migration. Even though the overall figure of its emigration is difficult to determine with precision, it is significant and deserves special attention. This process has involved mainly young people under 40, many with families. This feature distinguishes it from the mass migration, showing that social movements of this layer are thoughtful and can be deemed sustainable migration, with a view to be embedded and to integrate into the host country.

d. *According to civil status and family size*. Initially migrants by marital status was dominated by people without getting into marriage, a phenomenon which later was replaced by the growth of contingent spouses. Over 31.0% of the total number of families with 4-5 members account against families with up to 3 members who make up only 10.0%. e. Migrants by type of settlement. The rural population results not only moving but emigrated more than urban. The rate of emigration in the village turns 29.1 ‰ from 15.6 ‰ in the city.

e. *According to ethnic groups*. Ethnic minorities such as Greek and Vlachos resulted in higher migration in comparison to the Albanian population. Even among them, the Romanian migration is relatively higher than the ethnic Greek minority. This population, generally had lower indicators of its integration into the economic, social, political and cultural life of the country. A mistaken perception but common is the view of migration as a consequence of dysfunctional consequence of the macroeconomic situation and the thought that migration can disappear when the economy improves. The character of migration and all its manifestations is one that presents an irresistible process in general evolution of humanity. But the real recognition of this phenomenon, eventually is an important element in the formulation of policies that are appropriate and necessary for the realization of a long-term sustainable development.

6. THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON THE LABOR FORCEPOTENTIAL.

According to INSTAT, in 2001 the county lost 27.7% of its population in 1989 due to external migration, while rural spaces lost 35.2%. Over 50.0% of the municipalities had a 0.3% negative a.a.g.[3], low natural growth of 0.3 1.6 ‰ in vitality index. Mountain municipalities lost about 40.0% of their population, due to rural exodus with 87.2% of arable land, left uncultivated and abandoned to degradation. Comparing data from INSTAT[4] (present population) to the resident population), shows that external migration represents only 25.3% of the region population in 1989. The age groups of 14 years old decreased by 15.2% against 1989, while that above 60 years old increased by 43.2% of that in 1989. In mountain municipalities, the index of age ranges from 40.0% to about 80.0%, which is about introducing them in the process of Ageing, in

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[3] *Annual average growth*

[4] *Statistical Institute*

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accordance to its demographics. The process of ageing, created an impact on the working force with immigration levels going up, the reduction of 14 year old group age, followed by low fertility levels. Based on statistics, the number of pupils in year 9 was reduced from 47250 to 11820 in 2001(INSTAT 2001), the decrease by 3.9 times.

The average age has gone up from 30 years old and over. The weight of dependence overall decreased in young people. They represent 44.2% of it, while the weight of the elderly dependency has risen by 15.6% from 12.3%. This factor increases the cost of meeting the needs in the field of social security. The process of demographic ageing has brought numerical and structural changes also reduced the level of economic activity. Labor resources are the most dynamic human resources; structural changes determine potential opportunities of this important indicator as a factor of development. These changes are associated with the impact of migration, reduced fertility and the ageing process. In 2001 the number of the working age population decreased by 19.4% with an average annual grow around - 2.0% versus 1989.

Table 2. Annual average growth of the labor force

Units		Region			Gjirokastra District			Permet district			Tepelena district		
		Region	Urban	Rural	Gj.	Urban	Rural	Pr.	Urban	Rural	Tp.	Urban	Rural
a.a.g.		-1.8	-0.3	-2.6	-0.8	-0.4	-1.0	-2.6	1.0	-4.3	-2.7	-1.1	-3.4

The active age group 15 - 34 years old decreased from 64.7% in 1989 to 46.1% in 2001, at 18.6%. Emigration statistics referred through selective character has led to the reduction of the pace of population growth in working age. According the INSTAT, the group of 30 ÷ 44 years old age represents about 40.0% of the labor force. The potential impact of migration in the labor force has decreased its levels of activity with 21.0%, from 85.9% in 1989 to 65.1% in 2001. Parallel to this phenomenon occurred at the time, the inactive population increased by 12,585 individuals in 1989 to 25,179 in 2001, an increase of 2 times in comparison with 1989. Overall emigration has affected the general gender structure of the population in the county, with further reduction of masculinity in working age group of 20 ÷ 39 years by 114% to 97.2%.
A mistaken perception but common is the view of migration as a consequence of dysfunctional consequence of the macroeconomic situation and the thought that migration can disappear when the economy improves. The character of migration and all its manifestations is one that presents an irresistible process in general evolution of humanity. But the real recognition of this phenomenon eventually is an important element in the formulation of policies that are appropriate and necessary for the realization of a long-term sustainable development.

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" I AM AN EMIGRANT IN MY OWN COUNTRY": A PROFILE OF ALBANIAN RETURNEES FORM GREECE[5]

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ABSTRACT

The economic crisis, in Greece has strongly affected labor migrants. As result, many long term Albanian labor migrants (75 % of them men) have returned in Albania from Greece in the last years (INSTAT 2013). Their motivations for returning vary from losing their jobs (mainly male migrants) to family reasons (female migrants). The aim of the paper is to construct a typology of return migrants and understand their re-integration strategies once they return to their country of origin. We use a biographical approach (Mrozowicki, 2011) to collect and analyze detailed narratives of life histories of Albanian return emigrants from Greece. This paper uses 27 biographical interviews with return migrants aged 25-65. We found that most of the migrants return with a (re) integration plan. Investing their social and financial capital back in the country of origin is their main reintegration strategy. They face a troubled social, cultural and psychological (re)integration. There is a strong socio-cultural dissonance that returnees experience once back. They have difficulties to adopt making them feel outsiders in their native country and doubt their Albanian identity. Alienation seems to be stronger when migrants settle in big cities or the capital rather than their native community. Returnees make use of their gained financial and social remittances to economically integrate in the origin country. They also make use of their social network and family relation to socially integrate in the host country. The social and economic (re) integration difficulties, the lack of employment opportunities and failing investments make returnees considering re-emigration as an exit strategy.

Key Words: *Return migration, circular migration, integration, national identity*

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1. INTRODUCTION

The economic crisis, in Greece has strongly affected labor markets, especially labor migrants (Caro and Lillie, forthcoming). As result, many long term Albanian labor migrants (75 % of them men) have returned in Albania from Greece in the last years (INSTAT, 2014). Their motivations for returning vary from losing their jobs (mainly male migrants) to family reasons (female migrants). This paper aims to construct a profile and typology of Albanian return migrants and their experiences of integration once they return to their country of origin.

In the last decades, the main focus of European academic and policy debates has been almost exclusively on migration flows from the relatively poorer countries (of CEE) to the relatively richer countries (in Western Europe) while the question of return migration has been overlooked for a long period of time (Martin and Radu, 2012) making it the least studied and understood practice of migration (Bastia, 2012). However, migration is a dynamic process which intertwines and depends on many factors and situations in both sending and receiving countries. The current global economic crisis and the austerity measures that followed did have severe outcomes for the migrant workers, the sectors that have been hit hardest by the economic crisis are those in which migrant workers, especially men, are over-represented (Castles et al, 2014; OECD, 2009). These events did alter the relationship between migration and development (Bastia, 2012) staring a chain of reactions - migrant workers lose their jobs being less able to remit in the country of origin hence affecting the well-being of the left behind who rely on remittances to cover everyday expenses (IOM, 2009). One of the coping strategies in these hard times has been returning to their country of origin ahead of planed time. A massive return has potentially negative consequences for the countries of origin, especially the countries dependent on remittances but also for the returnees who might not be able to reintegrate in their origin countries,

According to the neoclassical migration theory return migration is associated and regarded as a failure to integrate in the host societies while the new economics of labour migration considers return as the normal step taken by the migrants after the fulfillments of the migration objectives i.e earning enough financial and social resources to invest in their origin countries (de Haas at al, 2014; Constant and Massey, 2002). This is true for so long the decision to return is based on the individual decision making process and integration outcomes. In the situation when other macro level factors, such as the global economic crisis, come to play an important role in the return equation the projected return is then likely to be taken before the achievement of the migrant's objectives and his full integration. In these conditions, is return regarded as a failure and/or the failure to return regarded as a success? Return migrants are likely to be successful especially at increasing the possibilities of integration into the labor market due to their accumulated financial and social resources, experiences, skills and investment plans, capacity inputs they bring with into home country labor market (Elezi, 2015)

In this article we will try construct a typology of the returnees and understand who are the return migrants? How migrants decide about returning to their country of origin during times of crises? What motivates and influences the return process? What are their return strategies? What are their reintegration strategies in the country of origin and how successful are these strategies in time? What are the challenges of re-integration and the factors that influence failure/successful re-integration? We aim not only to fill a gap and add to the knowledge on return migration but also to inform policy makers in Albania on the needs and struggles of the return migrants.

2. ALBANIAN MIGRATION TO AND FROM GREECE

Greece and Italy are the main destination countries for Albanian emigrants. Estimates show that 47 per cent of Albanian emigrants live in Italy, followed by Greece with 43 per cent (INSTAT 2011). The number of Albanian citizens living and working in Greece has always been a controversy issue, mainly because of its illegal features. The estimates range from 65 % of the total migrant population (Kanellopoulosm et al, 2006) to 57 % according to the 2001 Census, and 50 % according to Labriandis and Hatziprokopiu, 2005. For the regular (permit-holder) migrants the statistics are more reliable while little is known for the irregular Albanian migrants (in considerable numbers according to estimations) living and working in Greece. However, based both on estimates and official data we can say that Albanians, indeed constitute the biggest migrant group in Greece growing constantly in time (Maroukis, 2008).

The gender structure of the Albanian population in Greece did change in time. Initially the emigration towards Greece has been male dominated while now days there are a balanced gender distribution (Caro et al, 2012; Maroukis and Gemi, 2011). The balanced gender structures can be attributed mainly to the family reunion and lately to the higher percentage of male migrant who did decide to return to Albania following the recent economic crisis that started in 2008 (Caro and Lillie, 2016 forthcoming). This fact accords also with other studies such as Pracha and Vadean (2009) who based on statistical data and analyses concluded that women are more prone of settling down in the host country than men, who at the contrary have higher chances to remain a migrant, mainly circular or return (Marouikis and Gemi, 2013: 16). Being men, but also young seem to be the main characteristic that portray circular and return migrants (ibid; see also INSTAT, 2014).

3. THE ECONOMIC CRISES IN GREECE TRIGGERING RETURN MIGRATION.

The recent global economic crisis result of neoliberalism (Becker and Jäger, 2012) and trigger of austerity policies, has deregulated the dynamics of labour market and revitalized old divisions of work based on gender and ethnicity (Castles et al. 2014). The austerity policies challenged the employment regimes and hit mostly the male (migrants) dominated sectors of economy, decreasing the demand for male labour while women did increasingly enter the labour force (ibid). Migrants in general are often segregated in the most deteriorated and unskilled jobs, resulting in increased social inequalities, and erosion of workers' rights. Following, there has been a differential inclusion of migrants incorporated into the labour force and excluded in other spheres such as welfare system, citizenship and political participation (Riva and Zanfrini, 2013). Moreover, the market logic did set new demands for the workers in the service sector and for the organization of the work process (Kalleberg 2003; Caro et al, 2015).

Greek is typical southern European migration labor market regimes show high presence of underground economy, lower occupational mobility for migrant workers and stronger segregation for women migrant (Cavounidis, 2013). Moreover there is a tendency of downward mobility for immigrant workers throughout the economic crisis (Cavounidis, 2013; Fellini et al, 2015). Other differences in the southern European labour market include territorial segmentation (Reyneri 2004) and racialization (Fullin, 2015).

Albanian migrants entry point in the Greek labor market has usually been low-skill and/or low-paid jobs, often in the underground economy. The ease of access to the underground economy and ability to work without an employment and/or residence permit has been listed as one of the reasons why some migrants chose Greece as a destination country (Reyneri, 2001). Although the location of the immigrants in the underground economy might indicate an oversupply in labor this does not apply to Greece, in which the underground economy has been well-established prior to the new migration waves (Reyneri, 2001). Not being the cause does not mean migrants do not help perpetuate the system, which is also reinforced by the migrant legalization procedures, the high cost of labor in certain sectors, and recently by the economic crisis (Caro and Lillie, 2016 forthcoming). It has been the economic crises the reason many migrants lost their jobs, in the formal and informal labor market while find as the only alternative of survival the return in the origin countries.

4. THE RETURN MIGRATION TO ALBANIA

Albanian migration is a dynamic process. Various forms of mobility are present, such as return, circular, emigration, seasonal migration and transnationalism. Such variety and dynamics needs to be addressed with the right academic involvement but also regional and national policy (Caro and Lillie, 2016 forthcoming). In Albania, being one of the country's most affected by emigration in a global level (King, 2015), the focus and attention of the academic studies but also policy programs has been on the population moving out of the country while return migration has been a marginalized issue with regards to the study of the migration phenomenon (King, 2015; INSTAT 2013). As result the patterns of the reintegration process of the returnees are understudied. Yet, return migration is not a new phenomenon for Albania. Indeed, in accordance with the theory of new economics of labor migration (de Haas et al, 2014) there is evidence that Albanian emigrants do not settle in the host countries with the intention to stay permanently and return is considered in their future aim after the fulfillments of the migration objectives or motivations (Caro 2011, IMF, 2006). Even before the 2008/9 global economic crisis there has been ongoing mobility in and out of Albania within the migrant labor force (see Labrianidis and Hatziprokopiou, 2005).

Emigrants have been always regarded as a potential human and economic capital to use for a developing national economy (IMF, 2006). Returnees are expected to make valuable contribution; according to IMF (2006: 24) since 2005 around a third of the small business owners in Tirana have a migration history and working experience abroad while around 70% of this group did consider their foreign experience to be very useful for their business (IMF, 2006). But how did the picture of return migrants change in the light of the recent economic crisis, when even though return is still in major part vulnerary is not a natural step in their migration process and cycle but more a forced decision out of necessity which in turn brings along a more difficult return process and reintegration in the home society (de Haas et al, 2014).

In Albania a comparison between the last two censuses 2001 and 2011 did reveal that about 139.827 (INSTAT, 2014). While there has been 133.544 Albanian migrants of the age group 18 years old and above have returned to Albania only in the period 2009-2013 (53.4 % during 2012-2013) and most of them were men (over 73 %) (INSTAT, 2014). Their motivations for returning vary from losing their jobs (mainly male migrants) to family reasons (female migrants). The returnees tend to be relatively young, and of working age. While some of these individuals return to Albania permanently, for many of them return is of a temporary nature (Maroukis and Gemi 2013). The return has been mainly on voluntary terms for 94% of the returnees. The main country of origin is Greece with 70.8%, followed by returns from Italy 23.7% and other countries such as United Kingdom (UK), Germany (INSTAT, 2014).

Even though it might be taken for granted that the return has taken place triggered by the global economic crises that hit the host countries labor markets, the survey with return migrants conducted by lately by INSTAT (2014) could not indicate whether the crisis has had any impact on the labor mobility of Albanian migrants. Nevertheless, based on our study which rely on qualitative research, namely biographical interviews with 27 return migrants from Greece and 20 others still working in the Greek labor market, it became evident that Albanian labor migrants have been strongly affected by the economic crisis. Moreover, recent case studies (such as Triandafyllidou & Maroukis 2012; Maroukis & Gemi 2011) indicate that the shrinking of the construction sector over the last years has put the largest group of foreign workers out of work. Migrants that used to work legally in small industries, nowadays work in the same businesses illegally (Triandafyllidou & Maroukis 2012) or did lose the job altogether and deciding to return to their origin countries to look for better opportunities.

5. METHODOLOGY

We adopted a biographic approach to get detailed accounts of the experiences of Albanian migrant workers from the micro perspective. Biographic-narrative interviews (Wengraf, 2001) were conducted using biographical-oriented interview method, following Adam Mrozowicki's (2011) three-phase interview structure. The first phase of the biographic interview consists of one question only, aimed at inducing a narrative (Kou and Bailey, 2014). This first phase gives the participant an opportunity to tell his or her life story from scratch, thereby assigning value to the experiences and events he or she considers important enough to relate (Wengraf, 2001). Participants were asked to tell their life story from the period when they still lived in Albania, the period of migration in Greece and the return to Albania. In the second phase of the interview, the necessary details of the narrated biography were specified by the principal interviewer in order to engage with the participant but also to probe for new information. In the final phase, any relevant topics not covered in the life story were brought up by the interviewer in an effort to obtain a full picture of the life story of the participant. The final stage included also some theory based questions. To ask informant to tell her/his story we tried to let them "position themselves as central actors in their mobility" (Passerini et al.2007, 6). The participants were asked to reflect on their past and current education, employment, working relations, migrant identity, household and migration paths, as well as on their future plans regarding these domains. The results discussed in this paper are drawn from 27 biographic interviews carried out between November 2014 and January 2015. The majority of the biographic interviews were conducted in Albania but also in the destination country Greece. The starting points for the recruitment of participants were several personal contacts, followed by the use of the snowball sampling technique through different points of entry. In both countries, the fieldwork sites included major pivot areas such as Tirana and Athens. Duration of the interviews varied from 50 minutes to 3 hours after which they were transcribed and analyzed through MAXQDA- data analysis program. We conducted the interviews using, Albanian language. The participants were sought among Albanian migrant returning in Albania or circulating between Albania,   Greece

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and/or Italy aged 18 to 65 who has been living in Greece at least temporary. The interviews were transcribed preserving the original language, further the transcriptions were analyzed using the qualitative data software MAXQDA. The first cycle of coding involved identifying both inductive and deductive codes. In the second cycle, the codes were grouped together in code families. A thick description was made based on the code families and their relationships, which resulted in the identification of three overarching themes of the migration process outlined in the finding section.

6. FINDINGS - WHO ARE THE RETURNEES?

We base this study on 27 life stories. This sample it might not be representative and draw generalizations, yet through qualitative data we can understand more in-depth the underlying motivations, struggles and strategies of the returnee.

In line with the study of INSTAT (2014) on return migrants in Albania our data show that Albanian migrants who have returned home tend to be relatively young while the majority of them are men. In our case the age of migrants ranged from 21 to 60 with an overrepresentation of the age group 25-35 years. We interviewed 15 men and 12 women and only 3 of them were single, the rest was married and with family. Additionally, 12 cases did have a university/professional education, 10 cases did finished high school and only 5 cases had a secondary education level, overall showing a relatively high educational level of the returnees. Nonetheless, we noticed that only in 2 cases there was compatibility between education level and the profession or type of job they performed in Greece, the rest of the migrants have been largely deskilled and downgraded in the Greek labor market. We also found that there was a higher level of compatibility between the profession/job migrants preformed in Greece with the type of job or business they perform now in Albania. From a total of 19 return migrants 9 of them (5 men and 4 women), did use they gained skills in Greece in order to find a job or establish a business in Albania. All the return migrants in our data decided to return voluntary while the majority with integration plan.

> This time we decided to come, I mean willingly, not like other times where the Greeks forced us to leave. It was not 'fshesa' (the broom) this time, it was us. But it was not easy to decide to return. It took time and a lot of thinking. My husband came sev

partner who lost the job did return to Albania. Such situations were difficult to maintain oftentimes ending up in return of the whole family.

Elda had only two option" either to leave her family return and to keep her job in Greece or return together with them.

> ...there came a moment when someone worked and someone else didn't work, someone was successful and other not, someone went and never return and some other returned. I felt, you know I saw it reasonable be with my family. You can never fed up with money, but it comes a moment when you decide that family is more important and above all other things (Elda, unemployed aged 37)

The focus of our study has not been only the de facto returnees but also migrants in Greece who do intend to return in the near future. Our data gave us the opportunity to understand the reasons and motivations of return (and intention to return) depending on the typology and the profile of the returnees. Oftentimes Albanian emigrants find themselves trapped between the decision to

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return or stay in Greece while some of them see return as the only available option driven by the economic crisis but also by the risk to be sent home involuntary if the Greek state will deport them. They believe that such a forced/conditioned decision for return will come as the economic crisis and austerity measures progresses.

> *We will all (Albanians) leave sooner or later. If we will be deported from here, and we don't know where to go, we will have to return, but if it's up to me I don't want to return (Niko, mechanic, now jobless since 2 years, aged 52)*

Based on the typology of the return migrants we can see that the main reason driving the return and the intention to return seem to be related to the economic crisis and unemployment situation. The motivations hindering circularity are linked to expanding employment possibilities, failing businesses in Albania and divided family mainly in the cases where women are still working in Greece while men move between Albania and Greece. The re-emigration after return is triggered by failing businesses, difficulties to integrate and is more evident among younger migrants. The re-emigration cases but also the intention of returnees to re-emigrate does show the difficulties of reintegration opportunities in Albania**.** We also found that the reasons for a planned return to Albania are related closely with the difficult economic situation in Greece, better prospects and opportunities in Albania. However, the standby position is conditioned by the need to convince children to follow their parents in Albania, working women and sometimes the time to construct a return and integration strategy. Migrant's doubts on return migration are intertwined with many factors that affect their uncertainty on whether they should return, stay or re-emigrate to another country.But economic reason and expanding employment opportunities are not the only one that triggers return. Return has been a prospect for many emigrants that in a certain moment in their life course did intend to return home (de Haas et al, 2014). The economic crisis and financial difficulties might have accelerated this decision making process. We found that many returnees experienced feelings of worthiness in Albania while many others did experience an upward mobility, both in the labor market and in the society using their skills and education level which they could not use in Greece.

> *Wherever I go, I feel home only in Albania* (Argon, construction worker, aged

> *I returned because I was challenged intellectually in Greece. I needed to be at my level, we could not get it there. Here I feel good. If the Greeks would ask my daughter 'where do your parents work?' I did not want her to feel ashamed when answering ''my dad is a waiter'. I wanted my husband to get what he deserved. If we were not highly educated I think we would have integrated in Greece, but being brain wasted it has been always my problem. Now I feel complete that my husband works as a lecturer at the University. (*Landa, Hairdresser, aged 45)

6.1 REINTEGRATION STRATEGIES

The decision to return was not always easy and straight forward but often has been a difficult and challenging transitory process. Many of the Albanian migrants return with the intention to stay permanently while for many others return is only temporary or serves as a platform to re-emigrate back in Greece or in other Western countries after spending a short period of time in Albania. We found that frequently the migrants return with the intention to invest in Albania, mainly their financial capital. They also their human capital such as skills and knowledge they have gained in the Greek labor market while deciding to invest their financial capital in establishing a business or an enterprise.

One of the most interesting findings of our study is that return migrants do return, not only voluntary, but also with a clear plan how to reintegrate into the origin country. Their reintegration plan includes previous visits to Albania in order to test the business climate and look for business opportunities. Often times one of the partners (usually the husband) comes beforehand to study the environment, finds a suitable location where to settle, testing both the capital city Tirana and the origin city or village, looks for places to rent and asks family and friends what is the most appropriate and worthy business to invest.

> *Foto (47, a former construction worker who lost his job because of the crisis) did come first in Tirana, around 1.5 years after he lost his job. After staying for several weeks with family he rented a house in an area in Tirana where he thought to invest also in opening a fast food. Afterwards, he found a small shop and he did manage to restructure it all by himself into a fast food. Further, he went to Greece to buy all the needed furniture because he had connections there and knew where to find things. The second time he returned together with his wife Evjenia (42, who had to leave her job as a waitress in a fast food to follow the husband in Albania) and two children and since then stared to work in their business (Field notes and informal conversation, November 2014, Tirana)*

It happens that the first business idea is not successful or perhaps the location is not the best one, in these cases the strategies the returnees employ are to change business destination, expanding the business in other cities or change business location and/or business destination. Based on our data and analyses we can say that the Albanian return migrants employ several strategies to navigate the Albanian labor market or business environment, among them:

a) Use of their gained skills (social capital)

b) Use of economic capital

c) Family networks in Albania

d) Business plans prior to return

e) Adapting the Greek culture and style in the Albanian settings such as using or selling Greek products, Greek food and so on

f) Studying the market and complaining with the roles and regulations

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g) Modifying the businesses according to Albanian labor market characteristic and client needs – lowering prices

Our data show that the returnee's investments are predominantly in the service sector such as restaurants, shops, hairdresser, and retail trade. An interesting finding is that there is an increased number of return migrants who tend to return in their origin areas and invest in agriculture (see also INSTAT, 2013). However we also need to acknowledge the problems the return entrepreneurs face in the Albanian business environment. We found that in many cases the returnees were forced to re-emigrate triggered by failing businesses while others found alternative solution such as entering the labor market or changing business destination and type.

> *We invested everything in Albania, all our savings from Greece, to open a marble factory, but it did not work. We could not afford the taxes, the Albanian state does not support us (the returnees), not at all, we are left worthless and on our own. We failed and we had to return (in Greece)!* (*Linda, domestic worker, aged 48*)

Even though the reintegration process is a complex one and oftentimes difficult and stressful the migrants who invested their financial capital in successful businesses found that it has been a worthy decision to leave the financially broken Greece and to return to Albania, a country that with all the problems it provides also new opportunities.

> *When I returned to Albania, it was very difficult, everything from the beginning, to find a job, to open a business, we needed money but our money were gone all for bricks and mortar. Initially, I regretted returning but now when I hear about the situation in Greece and that all my friend have lost their jobs, I think we took the right decision!* (*Ana, aged 40, business owner and cook*)

6.2 STRUGGLES AND IMPEDIMENTS TO INTEGRATE BACK INTO THE ORIGIN COUNTRY

Migrants did return to Albania with some integration and investment strategy and with the hope that returning to their own country would be a smooth process. However, they do experience lots of difficulties while trying to make it back home. Many of them have been living and working in Greece for more than 20 years, which make their social integration a challenging process, experiencing and facing many social-emotional integration dilemmas and ambiguity in everyday

life but also in the labor market. The main reason producing a challenging integration, as explained by the returnees, are related with their long absence from the Albanian society, unfamiliarity with the new labor market regulations, laws, but also new social norms and tradition making their re integration process difficult while doubting their connections with the origin country and oftentimes feeling foreigners both in origin and destination countries

'Here (in Albania) I feel emigrant in my own country'   (Majlinda, hairdresser, aged 37)
When I am in Greece they say to me 'The bastard Albanian' when I come to Albania they say to me 'Go to Greece you, Jorgo'   (Astrit, unemployed, aged 52)

They also face difficulties in establishing and keeping enterprises or even small family/individual business, mainly related to institutional and administrative issues for setting their business, labor market rules and regulation while not receiving any orientation or any other kind of support, facility and service tailored particularly to returnee's investment in the home country. Based on individual and family biographies, none of our participant did receive any support, of any kind, from the Albanian state and alternative structures such as migration services centers.

We invested everything in Albania, all our savings from Greece, to open a marble factory, but it did not work. We could not afford the taxes, the Albanian state does not support us (the emigrants), not at all, we are left worthless and on our own. We failed and we returned (in Greece)!   (Anila, domestic worker, aged 41)

Based on our data and analyses following we have constructed a list of the most important challenges the returnees face in Albania.

a) Difficulties to reconstruct a new life

b) Readapting to people and social norms

c) Readapting to unknown working environment and employer relations

d) Concerns regarding pensions and social insurance

e) Feeling abandoned in case of failure or unemployment

f) Difficult and competitive business environment

g) Difficult reintegration of children /Language difficulties

h) No government structures for their reintegration process

Even in cases when their business/entrepreneurship or the returnee's integration into the labor market has been successful there are other motives, more social and emotive, which hinder their integration process into the Albanian society.

Here I feel being a migrant in my country. Though now things have been changed, people have not changed, they seem even worse. It is just their outer facade that has been changed. I stayed, but my friend returned in Gjirokaster and opened a modern hairdresser salon, which was very successful but she returned again in Greece, "I can't live there she said…is impossible, I just can't". She had a nervous breakdown because of this and left. (Liljana, 42 years old, hairdresser)

7. CONCLUSIONS

Return migrants are considered to be potential drivers of human capital development in their country of origin if successfully reintegrated into labor market (Elezi, 2015; Bastia, 2012). Hence, studies conceptualized to help policy makers address and maximize the potential and developmental effects of return migration are very important. Through this paper we intended to examine the struggles of re-integration strategies that Albanian labor migrants employ once they return to their country of origin. Since 2009 in Albania there has been an increasing trend of return migration with the majority of return taking place from Greece. The economic crisis, in Greece has strongly affected labor migrants, and as result, much long term Albanian labor migrants have returned in Albania from Greece in the last years (INSTAT 2014). Their motivations for returning vary from losing their jobs (mainly male migrants) to family reasons (female migrants). According to INSTAT (2014) 133,544 Albanian migrants have returned to Albania in the period 2009-2013, making this a considerable number which indicate the need to study return migration, the motivations and the effects and impact on the returnees themselves, their families and communities where they settle, as well as the impact of return migration on institutional reintegration capacities (INSTAT 2013: 57).Based on biographical narratives, we found that most of the migrants return with a (re) integration plan. There is an overall increase in investments following return migration, mainly in the service sector. Investing their social and financial capital back in the country of origin (often times in the region of origin) is also the main reintegration strategy employed by return migrants. Circular migration, combining periods of return and emigration and re-emigration are other strategies Albanian migrants employ. These strategies usually come after a certain period following the return as returnees face reintegration difficulties such as lack of employment opportunities, failing investments but also the whole new set of social, cultural and political differences they notice and have difficulties to adapt. Returnees in general do face a troubled social, cultural and psychological (re)integration. We found that there is a strong socio-cultural dissonance that returnees experience once back in their origin country. They are feeling alienated while approaching a whole new set of social, cultural and political differences which they have difficulties to adopt making them feel outsiders in their native country and doubt their Albanian identity. Alienation seems to be stronger when migrants settle in big cities or the capital rather than their native community. These social (re) integration struggles, but also lack of employment opportunities and failing investments make returnees considering re-emigration as an exit strategy. We argue that return challenges migrants' perceptions of their identity and their relationship with both the country of origin and that of migration. Many migrants do not see and perspective neither in Greece nor in Albania. The majority of them have a plan for further migration in another country such as US, Belgium, Germany. The important issue of return migration needs to be discussed and dealt with from different actors and perspectives. The academic research is fundamental to inform the policy makers and offer research based recommendations. None of the returnees in our study did receive or asked for assistance from the state upon return, even though for them are provided the so called Migration Centers. The main reasons that push return migrants to re emigrate or fail in their re integration process are the lack of the adequate services, the need to be informed and assisted while navigating the labor market, health system, and the social structures. Strengthening the reintegration services, making the public services more efficient and providing the needed information and assistance according to the needs of returnees should became priorities in the movement agenda while dealing with the issue of return migration.

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REDUCING LABOR MIGRATION BY INCREASING LOCAL EMPLOYMENT AND TALENT ENGAGEMENT THROUGH SOCIAL BUSINESSES

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ABSTRACT

The recent events of high migration flows from Albania, Kosovo, and generally from the whole Western Balkans toward EU, recall a deep economic crisis characterized by high levels of unemployment, corruption, and ample social problems. Consequently, social perceptions related with future generations are presumed to be high rated in uncertainty and low rated in hope and some kind in optimism also. Another problematic is also the brain drain and loss of talent. In order to restructure unemployment, social pains, and talent lost, we propose in this study the perspective of Yunus Social Business (YSB) as a new way of dealing with capitalism and economic problems by underlying the concepts of social pain, sustainability, entrepreneurship and, talent engagement. For fulfilling the main aim, this study relies on the interpretivist paradigm and the method of literature review and theory development. Therefore it uses the qualitative methodology since it is a conceptual research. In accordance to the originality and value of the present study, this is the first time that social business is used as a conceptual and practical framework for reducing labor migration by increasing local employment and talent engagement. Regarding practical implications, for instance, through the "Accelerator Program", YSB Balkans seeks to support social business in Western Balkans by empowering local entrepreneurs, providing business development services and increased access to capital, and ultimately creating jobs.

Keywords: *social business, social pain, sustainability, entrepreneurship, talent engagement*

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1. INTRODUCTION

The recent events of high migration flows from Western Balkans and especially from Middle East toward EU, recall a deep economic crisis characterized by high levels of unemployment, corruption and ample social problems. Consequently, social perceptions related with future generations are presumed to be high rated in uncertainty and low rated in hope and some kind in optimism also. Another problematic is also the brain drain and loss of talent. In order to restructure unemployment, social pains, and talent lost, it can be suggested the perspective of Yunus Social Business (YSB) as a new way of dealing with capitalism and economic problems by underlying the concepts of social pain, sustainability, entrepreneurship and, talent engagement. It seems counterintuitive to push developing countries to focus the attention on sensitive aspects of capitalism such as society and environment. Logically the objective of developing countries is to grow, and generally during the first stages of growth aspects like social responsibility and sustainability are ignored (this is also the example of many actual developed countries). However, contrary to the common belief that associates social responsibility with developed countries, it can be found a connection between developing countries and the social side of business development.

Since there are many basic/primary problems (making a parallelism with Maslow's hierarchy of needs – Maslow, 1954), the focus is limited on aspects such as survival and competition, loosing at the same time the perspective of talent identification and engagement which is strictly based on collaboration and consonance (Barile, 2013). This happens because at lower levels of Maslow's pyramid the perspective is more materialistic. Therefore, because talent is something "soft" and more intangible (related with skills and competencies), positioned in higher levels of the pyramid of needs, than we lose the focus since we are constrained to see only the bottom. This phenomenon can be defined also as "talent myopia". There are also little funds dedicated to research and development (R&D). As a consequence, this situation stimulates the phenomenon of "brain drain" and the loss of talent. The loss of talent is related with less entrepreneurial intent and with less qualified workforce. These factors influence the investment levels on business activities, which, on the other hand, impact the employment rate and perceptions related with future subjective-wellbeing. Nevertheless, unemployment, consequent "social pains", and talent promotion can be solved in part by a new perspective of perceiving capitalism that is the *Social Business* way.

2. FROM PAIN TO OPPORTUNITY THROUGH SOCIAL BUSINESS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The problematic exposed in the previous paragraph is systemic and a model or a theory alone cannot solve the problems aroused. Hence, the solution should be interdisciplinary and holistic, facing different fields of science and research that sometimes and for some scholars seems to be apparently unrelated. According to Blaise Pascal, as cited in Morin (2005, pp. 47), *"I think it's impossible to know the whole if you don't know in a particular way the individual parts, as it is impossible to know the individual parts without knowing the whole"*. Thus, this part of the study aims to offer a systems and strategic perspective of problem resolution taking "pieces of knowledge" from economics, business management, sociology, psychology, social psychology, marketing, anthropology, cybernetics, political science, etc

Taking a cue from the Indian Independence Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi it can be noticed that people stayed cohesively together because of a common social pain derived

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from the lack of independence, accompanied by severe social and economic conditions. They were unified under Gandhi's leadership philosophy of "peaceful non-cooperation" with British government and peaceful protests based on nonviolent civil disobedience (King, 2013). If Indian slavery was caused by external forces, there are many other realities in which modern slavery can be seen caused by internal factors and misgovernment, non-accountability and unresponsiveness. For example, having an unemployment rate around 40% among youth is a kind of modern slavery or a homicide of hope for future generations. Somewhat, this is the case of many countries, not only in Western Balkans and Middle East, but also in Europe (e.g. Italy). Obviously this situation creates a social pain. Differently from Gandhi's approach of fighting the social pain, the case of the actual world reality can be solved by different means, given the context, the time, and other variables that are totally different from the era of Indian Independence.

Before offering a perspective of problem resolution, some questions arise:

1. Why the social business is by default a sustainablebusiness?
2. What is the nature of socialpain?
3. What is the relation between social pains, social needs, and social businesses?
4. Can the entrepreneurship engine engage community and become a "pain solver"?
5. Can we create a strong social identity through entrepreneurship and social business as Gandhi did with his followers by promoting through civil protests the non-cooperation with "outsiders" and the internalcohesiveness?
6. Does the entrepreneurship movement transform the pain into an opportunity?
7. Does the social pain makes people together to collaborate, or it divides them by stimulating aggressive competition for resource possession and fight forsurvival?
8. How can we orient the energy of youth in order to be synergic? Which are the forces behind?
9. If we can create groups by common pain, how can be these common pains divided by categories?

Now, returning to a "Gandhistic" alternative in solving social and economic problems, it comes in our help the Nobel Peace Prize (2006) and Indira Gandhi Peace Prize (1998), Prof. Muahammad Yunus. We remember that Muhammad Yunus is a Bangladeshi social entrepreneur, banker, economist and civil society leader who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for founding the Grameen Bank (www.grameen.com) and pioneering the concepts of microcredit and microfinance. Yunus' entrepreneurship movement is called Yunus Social Business (YSB) or simply "social business" (Yunus, 2009, 2011; Yunus, Moingeon, and Laurence, 2010).

"A social business is a company created with the sole purpose of solving a social problem in a financially self-sustainable way. Good social business combines an unwavering focus on meeting social needs with entrepreneurial energy, market discipline, and great potential for replicating and scaling successful enterprises" (www.yunussb.com). A social business is a bridge between a charity and a traditional business. Like a charity it works to solve a social problem, and like a traditional business it is financially sustainable because all the profits are reinvested to help the business grow and benefit society. On the other hand there is a difference between a social investor and a traditional one. The latter invests for his own benefit; instead, the social investor invests to benefit others. When a social business becomes successful

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it pays back the initial investment, and since the social business is non-dividend based, all the quotas are reinvested by developing the same social business or investing in other social business ideas.

Why the social business is by default a sustainable business?

To give an answer to this question it is mandatory to introduce the concept of Corporate Sustainability. Looking through an historical viewpoint, most of the organizations started to integrate the social responsibility on their annual reports only recently, and by a survey conducted by Ernst & Young in mid-1970s, it was founded that only 1 per cent of Fortune 500 companies provided separate social responsibility booklets along with annual reports (Buhr, 2007). However, important initiatives and developments on the field increased the attention and awareness of being responsible organizations. The responsibility (sustainability) movement started in 1972 with the Stockholm Conference on Environment Deterioration. After that, followed: Brundtl and Commission Reporting – Our Common Future (United Nations), 1987; UN Conference on Environment, Social, and Economic Development, Rio de Janeiro, 1992; Global Reporting Initiative (GRI) for Environmental Protection, 1997; United Nations Global Compact, 2000 (e.g. Circles of Sustainability); World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg, 2002; Global Reporting Initiative (GRI), 2002: Sustainability Principles, Guidelines, and Reporting; etc.

Because of this tendency, it becomes "mandatory" to create activities within every institution related with Corporate Sustainability. Regarding the Corporate Sustainability, this is an evolutionary concept that covers better many open questions and scientific confusion (in terms of definition) of Corporate Social Responsibility (Frankental, 2001; Frederick, 1994; Welford, 2005). While CSR has not well-defined the concept of environment, or failed in trying to do so (Fukukawa and Moon, 2004; Willard, 2002), the CS has recovered this gap. In the academic setting the most practical approach of Corporate Sustainability is the Triple Bottom Line (TBL) approach (Elkington, 1997, 2008). It is focused on the economic, social, and environmental performance of the organization. An organization can be sustainable both internally and externally in terms of the above three performance criteria. From the economic standpoint, an organization is internally sustainable if it has a good market presence and realizes enough profits to ensure the survival. But an organization can be also externally sustainable if contributes at macroeconomic level by, for example, increasing the employment among youth or other demographic categories. From the social perspective, an organization can be internally sustainable if it engages employees; contributes to health and safety standards; improves training and education programs, etc. Externally it can be socially sustainable if it respects society in general (e.g. local communities, anti-corruption policies, anti-competitive behavior, etc) and if it promotes engagement with specific stakeholders inparticular.

Finally, in the internal environment perspective the organization can increase efficiency and reduce cost through a good planning of resource allocation and consumption. Externally the organization reduces the environmental pollution and respects the land (materials, energy, water, biodiversity, etc). Given the above considerations, from the moment the social business contributes to society, economy, and environment is by default sustainable. It satisfies a social need (in YSB's definition, the social need can manifest also an economic or environmental

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character). Cases around the world in which social business initiative have taken place have shown the sustainability perspective in real practice.

What is the nature of social pain?

What is the relation between social pains, social needs, and social businesses?

Can the entrepreneurship engine engage community and become a "pain solver"?

Can we create a strong social identity through entrepreneurship and social business as Gandhi did with his followers by promoting through civil protests the non-cooperation with "outsiders" and the internal cohesiveness?

Does the entrepreneurship movement transform the pain into an opportunity?

The first thing to clarify in this context is that the term "social pain" assumes a double perspective. The first refers to a sociological viewpoint that makes people stay together by underlying a common social problem from which derives the social pain (a term associated per convenience). The second view comes from psychology and social psychology. It refers to the pain of exclusion from a defined group (Forsyth, 2010).

Regarding the social pain (from the sociological view) it can be said that this is the pain related with unsatisfied social needs. The social need here refers to a common need of a community to be fulfilled in order to avoid the social pain (i.e. the common pain of the community). Starting from a common pain – not a personal one, and not a similar one related with the pain of exclusion from a group – which can be perceived also as a threat, people have the tendency to create group in order to overcome the obstacle (i.e. the threat). It is important to maintain the pain at group level in order to identify each member with the group's pain. This creates a social identity (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1979) that can be an answer to the following question: *Does the social pain makes people together to collaborate or it divides them by stimulating aggressive competition for resource possession and fight for survival?* Thus, if the pain is perceived only as personal this stimulates competition, but if it is perceived as social (common) it stimulates collaboration.

But: *How can we orient the energy of youth in order to be synergic? Which are the forces behind?* First of all it is fundamental to create cohesive groups under different pain categories.

If we can create groups by common pain, how can be these common pains divided by categories? The categories of pain are as much as they are the unsatisfied social needs of a defined community. It should be underlined that categories of "pains" are relative to every society. What it is considered pain in one society cannot be considered the same in another. For example, Africa and Australia have different kind of problems ("pains"). Substantially, any physiological need, or any safety and belongingness need which is not satisfied for the majority of society's members can cause a social pain (e.g. unemployment, hunger, etc). Therefore, by identifying the unsatisfied social needs we identify also the derived social pains that maintain people together. However, this kind of group cohesion manifested as "togetherness" (Luthans, 2011) is very fragile if the energy will not be channelized to produce some solution. And in order to produce a solution, the pain should be transformed into an opportunity. Figure 1 is a synthesis. The figure shows how unsatisfied social needs generate social pains that are as much as they are the unsatisfied needs. Under common social pains are created social groups, each one of them is identified with a particular need (pain). These social groups are at the same time targets or segments to be served (using a marketing terminology) and "entrepreneurial incubators" that generate leaders or social entrepreneurs.

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This phenomenon is known   in

leadership literature as "emergent leadership" or the leader that emerges from the situation (Northouse, 2013). Mahatma Gandhi is a classical example of emergent leadership; he was a sort of entrepreneur. A unique perspective on leadership emergence is provided also by social identity theory (Hogg, 2001). *"From this perspective, leadership emergence is the degree to which a person fits with the identity of the group as a whole. As groups develop over time, a group prototype also develops. Individuals emerge as leaders in the group when they become most like the group prototype. Being similar to the prototype makes leaders attractive to the group and gives them influence with the group"* (Northouse, 2013, pp 9).
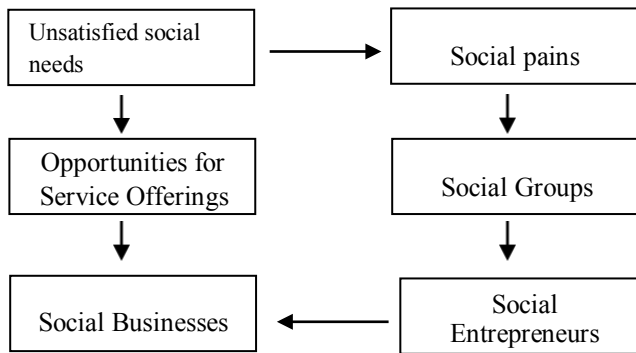
Fig. 1. From pain to

Hence, the social entrepreneur emerges from the group as a "pain solver", but the same one can be external to the group. Nonetheless, by taking the initiative, the social entrepreneur (internal or external), makes an analysis of pains and needs by transforming them into opportunities for change. Thus, with his observation, he becomes an observing system that perceives from the surrounded context an opportunity (Foerster, 2003). Once the opportunity is perceived, a service offering is ready to fulfill the unsatisfied needs. In other words, the identified and categorized pains/needs stimulate certain people to perceive define opportunities and to set up social businesses that remedy the social or economic cause. This is the way of how a business can be defined: you identify first the target group (who?) that expresses a need (what?) to be fulfilled with a service (what?) offered through a defined technology (how?) in a specific area (where?) and timeframe (when?) (Abell, 1980).

In our perspective what it is offered to the community is always a service offering. We use the term "service" and the marketing perspective of Service-Dominant Logic (Lusch, Vargo, and Wessels, 2008; Vargo, Lusch, 2006) that is the theoretical foundation of Service Science (Maglio, Kieliszewski, Spohrer, 2012).

It is in contrast with Good-Dominant Logic that is product-based and exchange-based. S-D Logic is based on value proposition, value co-creation and value-in-context (Vargo, Maglio, and Akaka, 2008)

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Thus, every offering is a *service* because products are created by service (i.e. the human work) to offer a service (i.e. the functional and/or symbolic benefit – i.e. the reason – for which the product is created). This perspective is more community/society oriented since it relies on value co-creation and value-in- context. It means that the beneficiary (e.g. the community) collaborate to improve the value received (this process is called value co-creation) by testing it in a specific context (this process is called value-in-context).

3. CAPACITY BUILDING, BRANDING, GROUPING, ANDENGAGING

Does the social business contribute in identifying core competencies of the labor force by producing services for which people are specialized?

Remembering that a social business is a company created with the sole purpose of solving a social problem in a financially self-sustainable way, then, it means that first social problems should be identified. Seeing the social problems ("social pains" or unsatisfied social needs) from a business perspective, they can be defined also as opportunities or challenges. How to take advantage to opportunities and challenges? Of course it is needed to have some skills in order to overcome barriers. Every nation has specific challenges and specific qualified workforce for defined operational fields. Therefore, and according to Ricardo every nation should be concentrated on those services for which the workforce produce more. In other words, a workforce that performs better in both effective and efficient terms. This is what Ricardo called "comparative advantage". The comparative advantage stimulates the free trade and distinguishes countries in terms of products and skills by avoiding the concern of producing "everything". Thus, every nation should be specialized on those operational fields that are more productive. The rest is complementarity with other nation's products and skills. For example, Albania actually is a country with high unemployment rate. This is a social problem (social pain or need). On the other hand, Albania has a long coast for tourism and many fertile lands for agriculture. It is illogical to ignore these opportunities and to be an industrialist country. Consequently, the country should be specialized in these two sectors of economy (agriculture and tourism) in order to export what produces more and to import what produces less (e.g. industrial goods). This logic creates also an identity for the country. People can be identified with organic and biological foods and with excellent touristic service. The concept of identity makes people feel more cohesive with each other. Especially group cohesiveness increases when group members are proud for their identity. This is very important because group pride is one of the components of cohesion, and cohesion itself impacts performance, as it is impacted at the same time by performance (Forsyth, 2010, pp.138).

Now, since pride is related with identity, the main question is: how to reinforce identity? One interesting way of doing it is by using the marketing lever of branding national products and going proud about them. The following example and explanation is an answer for the following question: Does branding enhance the group pride by creating a social identity under branded national products/services?

For instance, all we know the wonderful taste of Italian food. Recently, the Italian Ministry of Agriculture Policies presented at Expo Milano 2015 the new logo "Made in Italy" for agro-alimentary products represented by an Italian flag with three waves that express the concept of development along with the inscription "The Extraordinary Italian Taste".

The present branding initiative creates also a competitive advantage, not only for specific producers but for the country as a whole (Porter, 1990), contributing positively as well on the "country of origin effect". This is a typical example of how we can start from a social need, transforming it into opportunity, and achieving competitive advantage of industry and national by promoting

entrepreneurial activities. As Porter (1990, pp. 73) sustains: "A nation's competitiveness depends on the capacity of its industry to innovate and upgrade. Companies gain advantage against the world's best competitors because of pressure and challenge". Without pressure and challenge there is no adrenaline and energy to move forward. The pressure is like the social pain and the challenge is like the process of opportunity identification. Sometimes it is exactly the problem that generates the entrepreneurial initiative. Many people who have suffered before are probably stronger than before. The social pain becomes an engine for change. For example, it is exactly the high rate of unemployment in Albania and Italy that will require people to take initiative and risk for improving the conditions. But this is good for future social and economic conditions.In this context the social business can be a good perspective of problem resolution by inspiring youth to create startups. The social business is a self-preserving strategy and a pro-social behavior because focused on social needs and the concept of helping or benefiting society (Aronson, Wilson, and Akert, 2010). By solving social needs/pains, social businesses create identity under the service offered to solve the problem. Actually in Albania social businesses have tried to solve different social needs by promoting group identity and cohesion. One case is that of "Saint George Valley", an Organic Farming Social Business near Shëngjergj village in Tirana (http://www.yunussb.al/index.php/en/).

Social Need: There are many issues and needs in the Albanian rural areas specifically in Shengjergj where the unemployment rate is extremely high (35%), families are poor and their lands are empty as they cannot afford to plant anything that will actually give them an income. 250 different plant species are harvested for medicinal and aromatic use in Albania. More than 50% of all sage imported by the USA comes from Albania, as well as 70% of all the wild thyme imported in Germany. Wild-harvesting of medicinal and aromatic plants accounted for 90% of the country's herbal plants sourcing; but soil erosion and irresponsible harvesting have drastically reduced the quantities available and traceability is becoming impossible.

The geo- climatic conditions of Albania favor a huge biodiversity of herbs. The farm will produce sustainably-grown organic herbs for local and international traders and processors of essential oils. It will also own a seedling nursery to ensure quality of input, rent plots from farmers and employ them for all works related to land preparation, planting, harvesting, and providing them with a source of income. Being organic-certified, it will open markets locally and internationally.

Solution: The management team has successfully been running an essential oils distillery since 2011 and is bringing agronomy skills and market knowledge in the social business. The farm already had its first harvest and a secured a stable client.

Does the social business promote talent identification and engagement?
After creating groups under common social needs or pains it is wise also to identify talents and to engage them. Theoretically, talented individuals must have appropriate cognitive resources, capabilities, and competencies with a requisite variety (e.g. knowledge) that is greater than the variety of the problem (e.g. problem's complexity) (Ashby, 1957; Barile, 2008). Since social problems are to be addressed, the proposed individuals for solving them must have also strong ethical foundations. Recent developments of the Viable Systems Approach (Golinelli, 2010)

regarding the Theory of Information Variety (Barile, 2009, 2011) show that the ethical decision making is strongly related with categorical values. On the other side, the problem solving skills are deeply related with information units (cognitive resources), general interpretation schemes (capabilities), and synthesis interpretation schemes (competencies).
One of the main points of talent identification is creativity and innovation. Social business like any other business tries to exploit the creativity of youth by welcoming innovative ideas. YSB Accelerator Program identify and engage new talents by financing new pilot projects that address social, economic, and environmental needs. Therefore, students and any social category can express their creativity and talent by initiating a social business. In this way, they become self-employed and employers at the same time. In other words they become internally and externally sustainable.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study put into practical context the role of social business and entrepreneurship for founding the basis of social capitalism. It starts by real life problems that cause the so-called "social pain" that with the traditional logics of capitalism can only be replicated entering a vicious cycle. With the aim of escaping from this cycle and creating a brighter future also for "low-profile" people that have never thought about business initiatives, here the social business serves as a new virtuous feedback loop. Thus people start from social pain, and create groups identified by common pains and unsatisfied social needs. Inside groups, the entrepreneurial spirit and intention comes up by transforming these pains into opportunities. The opportunity means that something which sound "bad" today can sound "good" tomorrow thanks to social innovations. Through innovations the local community as a group, and specific talents as individuals, can be engaged. They can create unique local products and services that in a near future might become high rated national or international brands, thanks to the genuine properties and sincere engagement of people. This ensures also a competitive advantage of the nation. Therefore, if we think capitalism in a win-win logic it can become a source of very interesting initiatives as this study has shown. Hence, the social business can be a cure to social pains without inventing anything, but only through the reorientation of what already exist in the appropriate direction.
Still the YSB is a young tendency in the consolidated mindset of "how to do business". More studies and best practices are needed for having strong foundations. Thus, the lack of a massive diffusion is a limitation. Nevertheless, only in Albania, YSB Albania has financed 5 social businesses since 2012, directly financing more than $595,000, while mobilizing almost $60,000 from its co-investors. According to YSB Annual Report (2015), results so far include 7 countries, 26 social businesses, 400+ entrepreneurs supported, 1000+ jobs created and sustained, $7.4 million deployed, and more than 200,000 customers served.

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THE ALBANIAN MIGRATION: AN ANALYSIS OF TRENDS, CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

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ABSTRACT

In the past twenty five years Albania has experienced several migration flows which have been considered relatively substantial compared to its population. While the communist regime was harsh on people who were forbidden to leave the country, the new liberal economic regime brought new challenges related mainly to poverty, unemployment and political instability. During all these years, migration has had a strong impact on economy through remittances and in the labor market by decreasing the level of unemployment and calming the socio-economic tensions. Knowing the importance of migration patterns in social, economic and demographic conditions of the country, this paper will focus on analyzing the post-1990 migration trends of Albanians and the main push and pull factors of migration towards three main host countries: Germany, Italy and Greece. The analysis highlights, among other things, the main sectors of employments, gender breakdown, and level of integration of migrants the host countries. A special focus will be also on the industrial citizenship of Albanian migrants, how this has evolved in the past decade and its relation to the important process of return migration.

Key words: *Albania, Labor migration, Industrial citizenship*

1. INTRODUCTION

Contemporary migration of Albanians started with the fall of communism by spring 1990 when around 5000 Albanians seeking refuge in the Western countries embassies in Tirana. This first wave of migrants in countries like Italy, France, and Germany became the base for further massive migration movement of Albanians towards Western and neighboring countries. Access to migration was seen by many Albanians as a good option to escape poor living conditions and poverty. The evolution of Albanian migration in the past two decades makes Albania an interesting case study among Eastern European countries. Several Albanian and international authors have focused their studies on Albanian migration. King (2005) considers Albania a 'laboratory for the study of migration and development' and call migration a 'phenomenon that is at the heart of economic, social and cultural change in Albania' over the years post communism. Carletto et al. (2006) considers it 'a country on the move'.

A GIZ report on "Analysis and Migration of Western countries" conducted in 2012 showed that the number of stock Albanian emigrants in 2010 was 1,438,300, amounting to 45.4% of the population, being the country with the largest percentage share of immigrants compared to population. A 2009 report by European Commission showed that around 780,000 Albanian migrants legally reside in EU (EU-27), with most of them living in Italy (376,000) and Greece (347,000) (Commission of the European Communities, 2007, p.75). Despite a noticeable number of returnees, the net migration values reported by World Bank for Albania for the period 2010-2015 is around -50,000, showing that Albania is still a sending country mainly to EU countries and to US. These numbers make studying Albanian migration, its features, causes and consequences very interesting. This paper aims to give an overview of Albanian migration and analyze why Albanians decided to emigrate, what was their experience in the chosen countries and the process of return migrants back to the country. It is structured as following: first part focuses on migration flows, data through different sources and main characteristics of this migration; second part presents the host countries reaction to the different migration flows and the importance of industrial citizenship; third part aims to provide a clear picture of the returnees in the past five years.

2. MIGRATION IN POST 90S

2.1 Migration trends and reasons behind

Different authors have divided the twenty five years of post-communism period into different migration waves, some focusing on the main migration peaks while others have analyzed not only peaks but also periods where migration was not as high but still at important levels.

The *first* migration wave can be considered the one of early 90s, which included desperate people who were either illegally crossing borders with neighboring countries or travelling by boats in inhuman conditions to Italy. The main reasons behind this wave were the fall of the communist system, the removal of isolation, the sense of freedom and the economic situation. Vullnetari (2007) further divides this period into two smaller ones: first, the 1990 'embassy migrants', and second, the 1991 wave of people leaving mainly to Italy and Greece. The

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difference between them was that the second group left because of worse economic conditions but most of them were returned back as they were not considered refugees.

The *second* wave was in 1997 and was caused mainly by the fall of the pyramid schemes. People wanted to save part of the money they earned or got from remittances and some persons wrongly used people's willingness to save and the fact that the banking system was poor to create pyramid schemes. They flourished during 1995-1997, offering people high interest rates which grew continuously and reached almost 50%, who went so far as sell their only house or every property they owned. The collapse of pyramids in 1997 was inevitable, but its aftermath was defined by a political and economic unrest which fueled the second wave of migration.

Unlike the first two waves which were caused by internal factors, the *third* one had an exogenous cause: the Kosovo war, during which almost thousands of Kosovo Albanians crossed the border with Albania. While in the first two waves, the target countries were Italy or Greece, in the third wave, Albanians mixed themselves among Kosovo Albanians to reach EU and other Western countries. The years after 2000 were accompanied by a decline in migration as the economy became more stable but also due to improved migration controls from the target countries. An interesting survey was conducted by Gedeshi (2010) with 2474 long term migrants who crossed the border during December 2009 – January 2010. The survey showed that almost 20% of this group of people had emigrated during the first wave, 16% during the first wave and 30% in the third one. The survey showed also that 65% of this group migrated prior to 2000.

To better understand the waves, it is important to look at the situation in the country analyzing the push and pull factors for Albanians to migrate. In 1990 the economic situation in the country was similar to a period of crisis. Inflation was as high as 350%, GDP decreased continuously and exports in 1991 declined to 20% of what was in 1990, while the deficit reached the level of approximately 40% of GDP (Barjaba, 2000). In these circumstances, the development and employment opportunities did not meet the ever increasing needs and demands of a relatively young population which was considered well-educated. With more information at hand, people started to learn more about the western countries they had previously idealized and came to realize that migration was the only solution and way out of that situation.

The above mentioned push factors, were accompanied by an important pull factor like the access to Italian television for Albanian people during communism. The high standards of living projected in the TV were very attractive and affected the high level of Albanian migration. Apart from TV, neighboring countries like Greece and Italy had a much higher GDP per capita. Other factors are: better salaries in the western countries, better living conditions, personal development, and better futures for their families. On the other hand, there are factors that temper migration. When analyzing the Albanian migration, Carleto et. al (2006) argue that the Southern European model of migration is based on the "demand for cheap, flexible and informal labor", which can create a dangerous climate of mistreatment, prejudice and exploitation. Albanian migrants have been accused of crimes or ill deeds more than other nationalities and this has been done also with the stigmatization of these migrants done by the media. Another factor is the more restrictive migration policies implemented by countries like Italy and Greece. Last, illegal migration has shown to be very dangerous, and this is proven by the high number of deaths from drowning at the sea.

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2.2 Albanian migration data

The data on Albanian migrants abroad cannot be found easily despite being continuously mentioned on news as one the Eastern European countries with the largest number of migrants. The main reason for this is that most of this migration has been illegal and therefore not properly recorded. Until late 1990s, the data is either scarce or missing.

Barjaba (2013) estimates about 1.4 million Albanians to be international immigrants, compared to 2.8 million living in the country. He states that most of them live in Greece (600,000-700,000), and Italy (480,000), with lower figures in US, Canada, and EU countries. The latest complete OECD (2013) data show that the largest number of Albanians in Europe lives in Italy, followed by Italy and Greece.

Table 1: Estimates of the number of Albanians living abroad (OECD, 2013)

Country	
Italy	502,546
Greece	410,441
Germany	14,106
Belgium	4,932
Spain	1,910
Austria	1,840
Switzerland	1,196
Sweden	931
Netherlands	571
Luxembourg	539

3. HOST COUNTRIES ANDINTEGRATION

3.1 Host countrieswelcome

It is interesting to observe the change in response of Italy and Greece to different Albanian migration waves. Initially, in 1990-1991, both Italy and Greece considered them as refugees and a general sense of welcome and willingness to help was observed, because they saw Albanians as oppressed people trying to escape a communist regime. Later on, the other waves were not welcomed and the migrants were not given the status of refugees. Albanian migrants moved from being seen as communist heroes to ill-doers in the eye of the Italian/Greek authorities and of their media (Barjaba, 2015). The role of the Italian and Greek media became very important to the stigmatization of Albanian emigration. They were consistently portrayed as criminals connected to human trafficking, drug smuggling, prostitution, and violent behaviors.

By this time, Albanian migrants have become legal workers and residents in those countries. They contribute to the system as well as the other citizens of that country not becoming a burden anymore. Several studies mention that the characteristics of these emigrants now leaving in the host countries are: young, educated, fluent in the foreign language, have improved their eco-

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socio condition. However, the main areas of work remain: construction, service, domestic help, agriculture, etc. These stereotypes affected the public opinion, and as a result also the policy makers. By 2000, new legislations were put in place in Italy and Greece which aimed to regularize the Albanian immigration, which marked a turn toward less xenophobia and stigma (Barjaba 2015).

As already discussed, Albanians have chosen Greece, Italy and Germany as the main countries to migrate. The advantages factors for the Albanian migration in these countries are widely accepted to be: geographic closeness, familiarity with the language and culture, the desire to integrate in those societies, connection and help from friends and family emigrated there before, the existence of some organizations that help them work and integrated in the host countries. On the other hand, there are some very important barriers to the process of integration like: the increasing problems in the labor markets of the host countries, the new economic reforms undertaken by Italy and Greece in the frame of EU standards, influence of circles like mass media, an increase in racist trends, and the negative image that Albanian migrants have been portrayed (Barjaba, 2000).

3.2 Industrial citizenship

Citizenship has been usually understood as membership to a state and its community, where citizens have equal rights of speech, association, and political participation. Around 1950s, T.H.Marshall introduced the idea that citizenship is composed of three main elements: civil, political and social. The novice in his study was 'industrial citizenship' which is the right of employees to form and join unions, request higher wages, better working conditions and possibility to go on strikes. Marshall considered the rights related to 'industrial citizenship' secondary to other rights related the three main components of citizenship, because he did not see the rights of workers as a separate form of citizenship, but rather as a type of civil rights.

Globalization and neoliberalism have challenged the citizenship regimes that were accepted in democratic societies after the Second World War. Only by 1980s a connection between citizenship and migration started to be addressed in different studies. Before this period, it was assumed that citizenship was something that would eventually happen to migrants in the general process of assimilation. However, the large migration flows to Europe were composed also of workers who initially invited to work only temporarily in a host country and were not supposed to become future citizens, but with family unification were turned to regular migrants.

In the long run, a good solution to labor migration would be sustainable economic development in the country of origin. However, until then and in the presence of inequality among countries and globally integrated markets, removing migration through controls will be tough (Gordon 2009). Under these circumstances, the main concern related to labor migration is related to the fact that most of the Albanian migrants work in low-wage industries where the minimum workplace standards may have not been in place. Migrants with no legal documentation are not willing to report employers who pay below minimum wage and make them work in an unsafe working place.

Currently, no big destination country for Albanian migrants has ratified the United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Member of their

Families 25 years after its adoption. When looking at the US case, Gordon 2009 suggests a 'thought experiment' known as 'Transnational Labor Citizenship' would work best through facilitating the possibility of the migrants to "choose to migrate on temporary basis, while including them in efforts to establish baseline working conditions".

4. RETURN MIGRATION

Since 2000s, a lot has been talked and written about return migration, but a clear estimate of the number of return migrants could not be found until the 2011 Population and Housing Census results came out. These results showed that 4.9 percent of the Albanian population (139,817 people) that lived abroad, returned home after 2001 (INSTAT 2011). Return migration has been a subject of different approaches of many research studies on Albanian migration. Some authors have defined return migration as temporary or permanent, while others as voluntary or involuntary and time spent abroad (IOM 2011).

There are two schools of thoughts on the return migration process whose stands are opposites (King, 2005). One school considers returnees as a positive push for development in the country as they bring back capital earned abroad, new skills acquired, and work experience. The capital is very important as it helps eases poverty and creates means of investment in small and medium enterprises. The second school considers them as 'failures' that were either returned by force by the authorities or out of nostalgia for their past lives.

A study conducted in 2007 by ETF, concluded that there are four reasons to return. The first reason was forced return by police authorities of hosting countries after finding them (24%) without proper documentation to stay. Second reason was the inability to integrate in the host country and its labor market (10%). Others stated they returned for family or psychological reasons (1/3). Lastly and more importantly, were the successful migrants (7.7%) who returned after earning money that would help to build a future in the country.

The 2011 Population and Household Census provided more data on the return migration for the period 2001-2011. The INSTAT study "Migration in Albania' issued in 2014 (INSTAT, 2011) argued that the number of returns (2009-2011) has increased every year, especially after the 2008 global financial crisis. The registered returnees are mainly male (2/3 of total) of the age 30-34 years old. The majority of them were coming from Greece and secondly from Italy, while from the returnees from other countries like UK, USA, or Germany were much less. They stated as the main factor of return to be work and family related.

Since the voluntary return migration process became present in Albania, there have been a number of studies focused on the impact that the return migration and its capital in promoting growth and development.

Piracha & Vaedan (2010) studied the occupational choice of return migrants based on ALSMS data. They found out that own accounts workers have similar characteristics with those return immigrants not participating in the labor market (lower education level), while the entrepreneurship careers were related mainly to education, knowledge of foreign language, and

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successful emigration experience in terms of savings. More importantly, it was observed that with more time spent on Albania after return, the migrants falling under the 'non participation' and 'own account work' seem to want to become part of the paid employment structure.

5. CONCLUSION

Although the process of returnees in the country by 2010 was generally seen as a positive sign, twenty five years after the fall of communism and the first wave of migration, thousands of Albanians decide to migrate in 2015 to Germany. At a time when the country is supposed to have reached better economic development that in 1990s, Albanians still migrate for the main reason: better life and economic conditions. An ideal solution to migration would be sustainable economic development in Albania. Since this is far from being reached, the Albanian government should work closely with destination countries to improve migration control process not to encourage new migration. Also, it should cooperate with these countries to improve the conditions of existing Albanian migrants who currently work with low wages and minimum standards of working places.

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TESTING THE RELIABILITY OF HUMAN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FLOWS DATA USING BENFORD'S LAW: ALBANIA'S CASE, JANUARY 1992 – JULY 2015

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"Benford's Law reflects a profound harmonic truth of nature" L. V. Furlan
"Departure's from Benford's Law indicate that some kind of manipulation has occurred" C. Durtschi, W. Hillson, C. Pacini

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study is to develop the Benford analysis of the human international migration flows in Albania during the period January 1992 – July 2015. The appropriate test statistics is Pearson's ^{2} distribution. The sources of official data are Institute of Statistics Albania and Ministry of Interior Affairs of the Republic of Albania. The random sample contains 37 groups of the data. The sample size (total number of observations) is n = 396.

Some results of the study include:

1. The observed value of test statistics for the second digit of the data is $\chi^2 = 17.4543$, and the critical value of test statistics is $\chi^2_{0.05}(9) = 16.919$. Therefore, $\chi^2 > \chi^2_{0.05}(9)$.
   Decision Rule:
   The probability distribution for the second digit of the data contradicts Benford's Law at the confidence level 95%.
2. The mean of the second digit for the data is equal to 4.17 and 95% confidence interval for the mean is (3.90, 4.45). The expectation of the second digit for Benford's Distribution is equal to 4.18739. Therefore, the mean of the second digit for the data is consistent with Benford's Law, at the confidence level 95%.

In conclusion, the official data for the second digit of human international migration flow contradicts Benford's Law at the confidence level 95%. Thus, these data are susceptible for fraud.

Keywords: *human migration, Benford's Law, second digit, Albania*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the present study we develop a statistical analysis, based on Benford's law, for the second digit of the migration flow in Albania during the period January 1992 – July 2015. Human migration is the movement by people from one place to another with the intentions of settling temporarily or permanently in the new location. The movement is typically over long distances and from one country to another. Migration may be individuals, family units or in large groups.

Benford's Law governs the asymptotic probability distribution of many (but not all) real-life sources of data (random variables) X which satisfy the following assumptions:

1. The set of possible values of X is $R^+ = (0, +\infty)$.
2. X range over many different orders of magnitude.
3. X arise from a complicated combination of largely random independent factors, with different random samples of X selected from different independent factors.
4. The data have not been artificially rounded, truncated, or otherwise manipulated.

Benford's probability distribution is a second generation distribution, a complicated combination of other probability distributions.

If random variables are selected at random, and the samples are obtained from each of these random variables, then the combined samplings will converge to Benford's distribution, even though the individual distributions may not closely follow the Benford's law, see Hill (1995, 1998) and Tao (2009). The key is in the combining of data from different sources. Benford's distribution is a distribution of distributions. Janvresse and la Rue (2004) advanced the similar probabilistic explanation for the appearance of Benford's law in everyday-life numbers, when we consider mixtures of uniform distributions. Benford's law reflects a profound harmonic truth of nature.

Table 1 shows the expected relative frequencies for all digits 0 through 9 in each of the first four places in any positive real number, based on Benford's law.

Table 1. Expected relative frequencies based on Benford's law

Digit	1st place	2nd place	3rd place	4th place
0		0.11968	0.10178	0.10018
1	0.30103	0.11389	0.10138	0.10014
2	0.17609	0.10882	0.10097	0.10010
3	0.12494	0.10433	0.10057	0.10006
4	0.09691	0.10031	0.10018	0.10002
5	0.07918	0.09668	0.09979	0.09998
6	0.06695	0.09337	0.09940	0.09994
7	0.05799	0.09035	0.09902	0.09990
8	0.05115	0.08757	0.09864	0.09986
9	0.04576	0.08500	0.09827	0.09982

Source: Nigrini (1996)

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Definition 1

The base 10 mantissa of an arbitrary positive real number x is the unique real number $u \in [0.1, 1)$ such that $x = u \times 10^n$ for some integer $n \in Z$.

The general form of the Benford's law:

$Prob(mantissa\ of\ any\ positive\ real\ number\ x \leq u) = \log_{10}(10u), \forall u \in [0.1, 1)$

Benford's law is stated here for base 10, which is what we are most familiar with, but the Benford's law holds for any base, after replacing all the occurrences of 10 in the above law with the new base, of course.

The Benford's law tends to break down if the assumptions 1-4 are dropped. For instance, if the random variable X concentrates around its mean μ (as opposed to being spread over many orders of magnitude), then the normal distribution tends to be an appropriate mathematical model, as indicated by the Kolmogorov's Central Limit Theorem. The independence property of the factors (see assumption 3) is crucial. If, for instance, population X growth always slowed down for some (inexplicable) reason to a crawl whenever the first digit of the population X was 6, then there would be a noticeable deviation from the Benford's law in digits 6 and 7, due to this bottleneck (bottle-neck).

Roughly speaking, Benford's law asserts that the bulk probability density distribution of $\log_{10} X$ is locally uniform at unit scale.

Benford's law enjoys scale invariance: this law should be independent of the unit chosen (by changing the unit of measurement); for example, using metric system of units versus English system of units. However, according to Knuth and Gnedenko, there is no scale invariant probability measure on the Borel subsets of R^+. Therefore, the Borel sigma-algebra (the smallest sigma-algebra containing all open intervals) is not the appropriate domain for the Benford's law. An appropriate probability domain $\mathcal{A}$ for the Benford's law is defined rigorously by Hill (1995), p323.

Definition 2

The appropriate domain $\mathcal{A}$ for the probability is the smallest (minimal) collection of subsets of the positive real numbers, which contains all sets of the form

$$\bigcup_{n=-\infty}^{\infty} (a, b) \times 10^n, for\ a > 0, b > 0$$

and which is closed under complements and countable unions.

Main properties of the appropriate domain $\mathcal{A}$

1. Every non-empty set in $\mathcal{A}$ is infinite, with accumulating points at 0 and $+\infty$.
2. $\mathcal{A}$ is closed under scalar multiplication: $\forall a > 0\ and\ \forall S \in \mathcal{A} \implies a \times S \in \mathcal{A}$.
3. $\mathcal{A}$ is self-similar in the sense that if $S \in \mathcal{A}\ and\ n \in Z$, then $10^n \times S = S$.

The definition of the appropriate domain $\mathcal{A}$ for the probability is the first step toward making rigorous sense of the Benford's law.

Theorem 1 (Hill, 1995)

On the appropriate probability domain $\mathcal{A}$, scale invariance implies Benford's law.

Theorem 2 (Tao, 2009)

If the random variable X obeys Benford's law and U is an arbitrary positive random variable independent of X, then the product $Y = X \times U$ obeys Benford's law, even if U did not obey this

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law.

Absorptive property

If a random variable Y is a product of n independent factors $X_1, X_2, \ldots, X_n$ and if a single factor $(X_1 \ or \ X_2 \ or \ \ldots \ X_n)$ obeys Benford's law, then the whole product

$$Y = X_1 \times X_2 \times \ldots \times X_n$$

obeys Benford's law.

Benford's law is the <u>unique probability distribution</u> with this absorptive property. If there is another law with absorptive property, what would happen if one multiplied a random variable with that law with an independent random variable with Benford's law?

Diaconis and Freedman (1979), p363, offer <u>convincing evidence</u> that Benford's law manipulated the round-off errors to obtain an even better fit. But even the unmanipulated data seems a remarkably good fit, and Benford's law has become widely accepted.

The 1990 census populations of the 3141 counties in the USA follow Benford's law very closely, see Nigrini and Wood (1995).

T. Hill (1995, 1998) noted that Benford's law is applied to census statistics, stock market data and certain accounting data. For instance, the series of one-day return on the Dow-Jones Industral Average Index (DJIA) and the Standard and Poor's Index (S&P) reasonably agrees with Benford's law.

Benford's law has been promoted as providing the auditor with a tool that is effective and simple for the detecting fraud in a population of accounting data, see Durtschi, Hillson and Pacini (2004).

The contemporary bibliographic database on Benford's law includes more than 180 scientific studies, see

http://www.benfordonline.net

The rest of the paper is organised as follows:

- Section 2 contains statistical analysis of the data set.
- Section 3 provides the Benford's analysis for the second digit.
- Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DATASET

The data set contains migration flow data in Albania during the period January 1992 – July 2015. The source of the official data is INSTAT. We distinguish 37 groups of the data, containing 396 observations.

Using SPSS, IBM Version 22, we developed the statistical analysis of the data set (Field, 2009). Statistical parameters for the first group of the data are presented:

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Mean		4.17	.142
95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	3.90	
	Upper Bound	4.45	
5% Trimmed Mean		4.14	
Median		4.00	
Variance		7.942	
Std. Deviation		2.818	
Coefficient of Variation		67.6%	
Minimum		.0	
Maximum		9.0	
Range		9.0	
Interquartile Range		4	
Skewness		.125	.123
Kurtosis		-1.229	.245

3. BENFORD'S ANALYSIS FOR THE SECOND DIGIT OF THE DATA

If the second digit of the data obeys Benford's law, then the expectation of the second digit is $\mu = 4.18739$.

Using SPSS, IBM Version 20, we find the 95% confidence interval for the mean of the second digit: (3.90; 4.45)

Therefore, 4.18739 (belongs to) (3.90; 4.45) at the confidence level of 95%. That is, the mean of the second digit for the data follows Benford's probability distribution at the confidence level 95%.

Observed frequencies	Expected frequencies
$v_0 = 40$	$p_0 = 47.39$
$v_1 = 51$	$p_1 = 45.10$
$v_2 = 50$	$p_2 = 43.09$
$v_3 = 38$	$p_3 = 41.31$
$v_4 = 37$	$p_4 = 39.72$
$v_5 = 27$	$p_5 = 38.29$
$v_6 = 56$	$p_6 = 36.97$
$v_7 = 36$	$p_7 = 35.78$
$v_8 = 32$	$p_8 = 34.68$
$v_9 = 29$	$p_9 = 33.66$

- **We apply five-step procedure for hypothesis testing, based on the data for the second digit (Ramachandran and Tsokos, 2009)**

Step 1: Formulate the null hypothesis and alternative hypothesis

H_0 : The data obeys Benford's Law
H_1 : The data does not obey Benford's Law

Step 2: Select the significance level $\alpha = 0.05$.
Step 3: Select the appropriate test statistics Pearson's χ^2 test (Hogg, 2009).
Step 4: Formulate a decision rule based on steps 1, 2 and 3.

$$\begin{cases} v_k \text{ denotes observed frequency,} \\ p_k \text{ denotes expected frequency according to Benford distribution.} \end{cases}$$

If the observed value of the test statistics $\sum_{k=0}^{9} \frac{(v_k - p_k)^2}{p_k}$ <critical value $\chi^2_{0.95}(9)$, then accept the null hypothesis H_0 at the confidence level 95%.

If the observed value of the test statistics $\sum_{k=0}^{9} \frac{(v_k - p_k)^2}{p_k}$ >critical value $\chi^2_{0.95}(9)$, then reject the null hypothesis H_0 at the confidence level 95%.

If the observed value of the test statistics $\sum_{k=0}^{9} \frac{(v_k - p_k)^2}{p_k}$ = critical value $\chi^2_{0.95}(9)$, then perform supplementary observations or change the significance level α.

Step 5: Make a decision regarding the null hypothesis H_0, based on the sample information and interpret the obtained result.

We will use the five-step procedure in our study.
The observed value of the test statistics is:

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{k=0}^{9} \frac{(v_k - p_k)^2}{p_k} = \frac{(40 - 47.39)^2}{47.39} + \frac{(51 - 45.10)^2}{45.10} + \frac{(50 - 43.09)^2}{43.09}$$
$$+ \frac{(38 - 41.31)^2}{41.31} + \frac{(37 - 39.72)^2}{39.72} + \frac{(27 - 38.29)^2}{38.29} + \frac{(56 - 36.97)^2}{36.97}$$
$$+ \frac{(36 - 35.78)^2}{35.78} + \frac{(32 - 34.68)^2}{34.68} + \frac{(29 - 33.66)^2}{33.66} = 17.4543$$

The critical value of the test statistics is $\chi^2_{0.95}(9) = 16.919$.

Decision rule:
$\chi^2 = 17.4543 > \chi^2_{0.95}(9) = 16.919$, which implies: accept alternative hypothesis H_1 at the confidence level 95% for the second digit of international migration flow during the period January 1992 – July 2015 in the Republic of Albania.

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4. CONCLUSION

The international human migration is a world – wide problem. The incentive to migrate is higher in countries that have a high level of unemployment rate associated with high level of economic inequality and corruption. According to Neoclassical Economic Theory, the main reason for labour migration is wage difference between the destination country (Germany, Greece, UK, etc) and country of origin.

In the present study we develop a Benford Analysis for the second digit of the human international migration flows in Republic of Albania during the period January 1992 – July 2015. The sources of official data are INSTAT (Institute of Statistics of Albania) and Ministry of Interior Affairs of the Republic of Albania. The data set contains 37 groups and the total number of observations is n=396.

Benford's Law is a second generation probability distribution, a complicated combination of other probability distributions. Benford's Law governs the asymptotic probability distribution of many random variables which satisfy Tao's conditions 1, 2, 3, and 4, described in the first section of this study.

The main results of our study are presented below:

1.   The observed value of test statistics for the second digit of the data is $\chi^2 = 17.4543$, and the critical value of test statistics is $\chi^2_{0.05}(9) = 16.919$. Therefore, $\chi^2 > \chi^2_{0.05}(9)$.

> Decision Rule:
> The probability distribution for the second digit of the data contradicts Benford's Law at the confidence level 95%. Therefore, the official data for human international migration flows in Albania during the period January 1992 – July 2015 are susceptible for fraud.

2.   The mean of the second digit for the data is equal to 4.17 and 95% confidence interval for the mean is (3.90, 4.45). The expectation of the second digit for Benford's Distribution is equal to 4.18739. Therefore, the mean of the second digit for the data is consistent with Benford's Law, at the confidence level 95%.

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WHY BULGARIAN NURSES WANT TO EMIGRATE?

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ABSTRACT

Nursing labor market is largely influenced by the globalization of the world economy. Modern researches in the field of labor resources have noted global shortages and chronic deficiency of nurses in recent years. This negatively affects the labor market in developing countries such as Bulgaria and is serious obstacle to normal functioning of health facilities.The aim of this study has been to research the emigration attitudes of Bulgarian nurses and factors, which determine them. Material and Methods: The cross-sectional study conducted between October 2013 and January 2014 covered 391 nurses employed on the territory of Bulgaria's South Central Region. Primary information was collected using voluntary, anonymous inquiry. The average age of the whole group was 44,79±11,207 years. The software product SPSS 17 and MS Excel were used for data processing. Descriptive, non-parametric and factor analysis methods were used.Results: The results established high positive emigration attitudes of nurses (29,2%,n=114).

Factors that determine them are complex:

1. Economic (related tosalary);
2. Organizational (work conditions and relations within theorganization);
3. Age-related characteristics;
4. Social status;
5. Psychological (burnoutsyndrome).

The first factor explains 28.730% of emigration attitudes, the second factor - 17.528%, the third factor - 8.340%, the fourth factor - 6.570%, and the fifth factor - 5.900%.

Conclusion: There are positive attitudes towards emigration in a significant proportion of the studied population. This justifies the need to analyze the current situation in Bulgarian labor market in order to be taken adequate measures for retention of nurses.

Key words: *emigration, nurses, emigration attitudes, emigration factors.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Normal functioning and efficiency of each economics depends on the quality and quantity of available resources - material, labor and financial, and their management.Modern researches in the field of labor resources have noted global shortages and chronic deficiency of nurses in recent years (Buchan and Aiken, 2008; Buerhaus at al., 2009; Juraschek at al., 2012; Li at al., 2014; Prescott and Nichter, 2014). In the same time nursing labor market is largely influenced by the globalization of the world economy. The migration of highly skilled workers from less-developed nations to industrialized nations is an inevitable part of the process of globalization (Jones and Sherwood, 2014; Pittman at al., 2007).This negatively affects the labor market in developing countries such as Bulgaria and is serious obstacle to normal functioning of the health system.The aim of this study has been to research the emigration attitudes of Bulgarian nurses and factors, which determine them.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

2.1 Study design
This cross-sectional design study is part of a University Research Project № 06/2013, entitled: "Factor analysis of nursing turnover in the South Central Region of the Republic of Bulgaria". The current study analyse the attitudes towards emigration in Bulgarian nurses and the factors that determine such attitudes. The study took place in the period from October 2013 and January 2014 in outpatient or hospital medical health care in the South Central Region of the Republic of Bulgaria.

2.2 Ethics
This study was socio-psychological and non-interventional, voluntary and performed after obtaining informed concept and therefore not subjected to ethical evaluation by University Committee, which was acceptable.

2.3 Recruitment
The estimated minimum sample size of nurses was 383, based on the results from a pilot study of proportions of studied variables – the importance of the test and sufficiency of information and an error of 5%. Since the expected percentage of non-response to questionnaire surveys is very high in Bulgaria, considering the probability of missing data or participation drop-out, this number was increased to 490. Inclusion criteria: nurses without consideration to their gender, age or level of education. Exclusion criteria: an explicit refusal to participate to the study or a long absence of respondents for sickness or long leave. The front page of the survey explained that participation was voluntary and the results would be kept in strict confidence. A two-stage sampling technique was used to recruit the participants. In the first stage were randomly drawn the number of health-care establishments using data from National Health Insurance Fund web site (http://www.nhif.bg). In the second stage: 30 nurses were recruited from each hospital and 10 nurses from each outpatient establishment - a total of 490. Eligible subjects were randomly selected using a lottery method. The data for all nurses, working in the selected health establishments were taken from their Human resources departments. In the course of the study

435 were returned after a reminder (response rate - 88.76%). The number of validly filled-in questionnaires was 391, which was 6.5% of all nurses in the South Central Region of the Republic of Bulgaria.

2.4 Data collection tools

Primary information was collected through a voluntary and anonymous inquiry among respondents administered at their respective work place. For data collection, a self-administered questionnaire and Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) were used as the research instruments. The self-administered questionnaire included questions relating to the demographic characteristics of the respondents (6 closed questions) as well as questions relating to the organisation and management, social and economic factors of work place and emigration attitudes of nurses. Social-economic, organisation and management factors were determined through assessment of different signs pertaining to such factors (e.g. salary, work conditions, relations with the management and with peers, etc.). The questionnaire included 30 questions aiming at assessing these signs, of which 6 questions were open-ended in view of clarifying the answer to certain close-ended questions. Nurses' attitudes towards emigration were measured using a single-component model. This model measures attitudes only through the positive or negative feelings for a person, an item or a question (Neshev, 2010).In our case, the question that measured the attitudes of the respondents was: "Do you envisage emigrating abroad within the 12 months to come?" with possible answers: "yes", "neither yes, nor no", and "no".

The MBI is a self-administered instrument, to be answered by means of a six-point frequency scale that goes from one (never) to six (every day). The inventory is composed of 22 items that evaluate the three dimensions independently of one another, which are: emotional exhaustion (9 items), depersonalization (5 items) and personal accomplishment (8 items). The items of personal accomplishment are reversed (lack of professional efficiency) – low value means good capability. High scores on emotional exhaustion and depersonalization and low scores on personal accomplishment were indicative of burnout (Maslach and Jackson, 1981a).

2.5 Statistical analysis

Results were analysed by descriptive statistics of the data (mean, standard deviation, number and percentage), and presented in the form of tables, using the SPSS 17.0 program. To compare the variables the non-parametric Chi Square ($\chi2$) test was applied, and for this a level of significance of 5% probability ($P < 0.05$) was adopted. To measure the strength of correlations was used contingency coefficient (C). Other statistical analysis method that was used is factor analysis.

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3. RESULTS

The average age of the respondents was 44,79±11,207. Respondents had an average experience 21,25 ±11,95 years. The average managerial experience was 1,97±4,62 years. Their socio-demographic characteristics are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics and work place of the respondents.

		N	**%**
Marital status	Married	253	64,7
	Not married	65	16,6
	Divorced	35	9,0
	Widow / Widower	18	4,6
	Domestic partnership	20	5,1
	Total	**391**	**100,0**
Number of children	No child	88	22,5
	One child	161	41,2
	Two children	135	34,5
	Three and more children	7	1,8
	Total	**391**	**100,0**
Educational level	College degree	206	52,7
	Bachelor degree	138	35,3
	Master degree	47	12,0
	Total	**391**	**100,0**
Rank	Nurse	337	86,2
	Senior nurse	44	11,3
	Head nurse	10	2,6
	Total	**391**	**100,0**
Property's form of health organization	State	56	14,3
	Municipal	150	38,4
	Private	123	31,5
	Mixed	62	15.9
	Total	**391**	**100,0**
Activity's area (workplace)	Outpatient care	50	12,8
	Hospital care	341	87,2
	Total	**391**	**100,0**

The results have shown relatively high attitudes towards emigration in the respondents (29%, n = 114). To assess the factors that impact these attitudes we used either non-parametric and factor analysis. Table 2 shows all signs where were established a statistically significant relationship with emigration attitudes

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Table 2. Relationship between demographic, organizational and economic signs and emigration attitudes.

N	Signs		Non-parametric analysis	
			χ^2	P
1.	Age		13,923	0,031
2.	Experience		22,752	0,004
3.	Level of education		10,568	0,032
4.	Region		45,954	0,000
5.	Activity's area		16,625	0,002
6.	Living conditions at work		41,871	0,000
7.	Safety		24,860	0,002
8.	Relations with the management		30,838	0,000
9.	Relations with peers	Emigration attitudes	20,851	0,008
10.	Prestige of the profession		32,708	0,000
11.	Career opportunities		28,997	0,000
12.	Payment method		35,838	0,000
13.	Distribution of the salary fund		41,335	0,000
14.	Salary/Duties ratio		49,538	0,000
15.	Remuneration compared to that of other professions		37,142	0,000
16.	Social evaluation on the scale "Poor/Rich"		36,210	0,000
17.	Social evaluation on the scale "I deprive myself of everything/nothing"		27,495	0,002
18.	General satisfaction with the remuneration		55,536	0,000
19.	General satisfaction with the profession.		24,536	0,000
20.	Shift work		36,182	0,000
21.	Burnout		21,133	0,002

Some social, demographic and organizational characteristics such as family status, number of children in the family, position and ownership of the health-care establishment and etc. had no impact on the attitudes towards emigration of nurses. To reduce and highlights the main determinants that influence emigration attitudes was used factor analysis. Some of demographic characteristics, which are not appropriate for factor analysis such level of education of the subjects (№3), the region where they work (№4) and the sector of activities (№5) were removed from analysis. The signs measured using numeric scales were processed using factor analysis. The signs with factor weight < 0,5 were also removed (№10, №11, №19 and № 20). The others signs were subjected to rotation using the Varimax method that aims at increasing their factor weights on account of those that were removed. In this way, the studied variable, namely emigration attitudes, is explained using the least possible number of factors containing logically interconnected signs. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy is 0,774 (i.e. > 0.5) and Bartlett's Test of sphericity is Sig. = 0,000, which proves that the use of factor analysis is acceptable. The results from factor analysis have shown that there are five factors that determine emigration attitudes (see fig. 1).
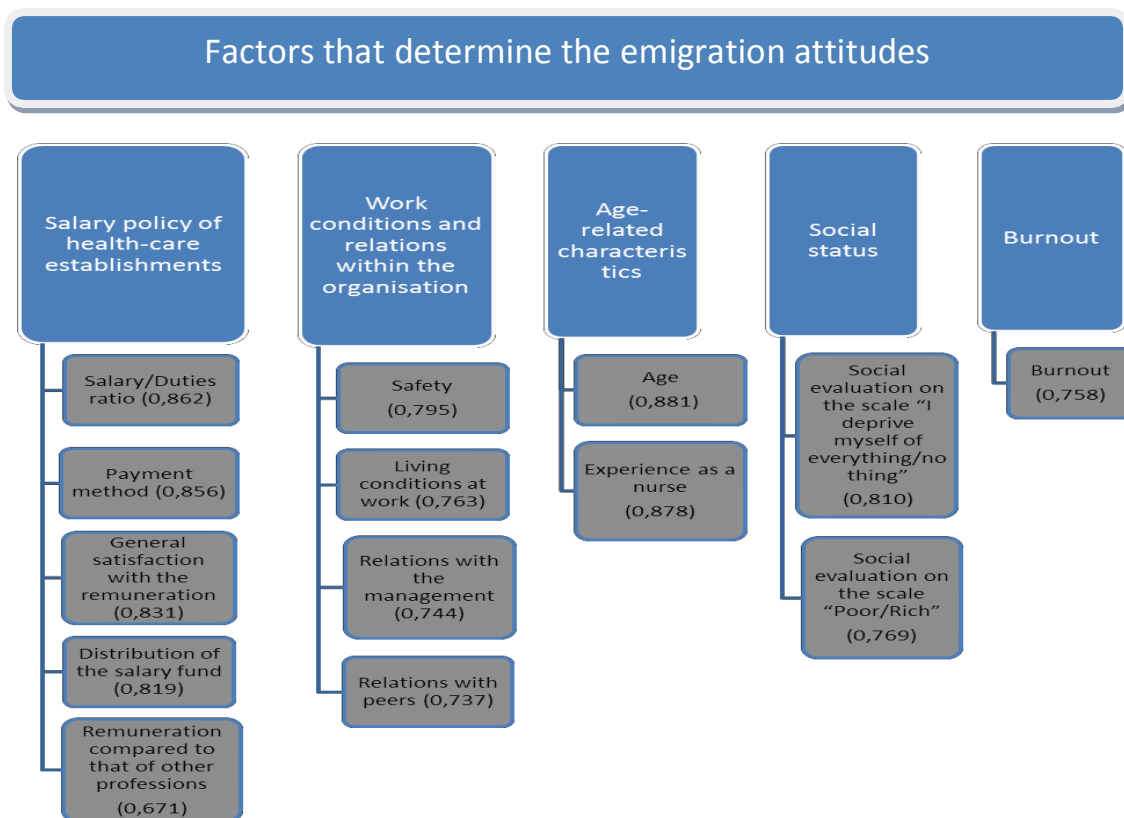
The first factor explains 28,730% of emigration attitudes, the second factor -17,528%, the third factor - 8,340%, the fourth factor -6,570% and the fifth factor -5,900%. Some foreign studies have shown that the migration of nurses is multifactorial, too. It is not limited to financial incentives. Non-economic factors that influence the decision to emigrate to a foreign country are (Aiken at al., 2002; Buchan and Sochalski, 2004; El-Jardali at al., 2008; Larabee at al., 2003; Lorenzo at al., 2007; Ross at al., 2005):

- poor strategies by government and health authorities to recruit and retain graduated nurses;
- dissatisfaction with working conditions;
- socio and economic instability in the country concerned;
- negative public image of the profession in the country;

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4. CONCLUSIONS

There are positive attitudes towards emigration in a significant proportion of the studied population. The factors that determine such attitudes are complex and should be considered as interconnected. Nevertheless, the relative factor weight of the criteria for evaluation of the salary policy for this category of staff is the highest, i.e. the economic factors relating mainly to the salary for labour are determining of the attitudes towards emigration in Bulgarian nurses.

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ALBANIAN WOMEN MIGRATION IN GREECE: NATURE OF WORK AND RETIREMENT IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Albanian migration in neighbour countries dates at the early '90s. However, women migrants went to Greece in the most recent years, mainly during the last 15 years. Women's migration was responsive to economic incentives and constraints. Although migration started off as a highly men – led phenomenon, a higher gender balance was achieved in recent years. The most usual labor sectors of women migrants were: household labor, domestic work and generally service providing. These types of labor, called "individual", can lead to the isolation of these women and to the reduction of their information networks. However, probably the most important feature of this type of work is that in its vast majority it is uninsured, leaving women participating in domestic work in a precarious situation. Return migration has been intensified during the last years, because of the economic crisis in Greece and the major difficulties of migrants in finding work. Many migrants have already returned to Albania along with their families, struggling to start a new life there, notwithstanding the fact that employment is still a major challenge for them. There is a specific category of migrants that they want to be retired when returning in Albania. The problem arises because of the lack of recognition of their years of work in Greece and the respective retirement contributions. Particularly for women there is an added challenge: many of them have been working in informal sectors, without any insurance whatsoever for many years, struggling to ensure their families' survival. This paper examines the status quo of this women returned migrants and aims at identifying the existing gaps in the policies and legislative framework of the two countries, using a policy analysis methodology.

Women migrants working for many years in individual service providing are one of the most vulnerable population of the returned migrants in Albania, facing an insecure future.

Key words: *gender, return migration, policies, retirement, unemploymen*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Greece has experienced major changes in its migration patterns. After a century or so om emigration it has now become a country of immigration (Charalampopoulou, 2004). Recently, Greece is facing one of the major refugee crisis that has affected Europe in general and Greece in particular. Albania and Greece have a long history of relations and are connected by geographical proximity. This eased the border crossings for migrants. Greece has approximately more than one million immigrants (Baldwin-Edwards, 2005; Kanellopoulos et al., 2009). In relation to women migration in Greece, although some women left Albania together with their husbands and fathers, generally speaking, Albanian men were the first to migrate. The women were left behind to take care of the family where they became isolated subjects; concentrated in the private sphere, namely home (Lazaridis 2000). In the early 2000s, most of the irregular migratory movements and employment evolved into a permanent family settlement and a family reunification strategy was implemented in Greece (King and Vullnetari, 2012). The majority of migrants, men and women, in Greece were occupied in various personal services, and were not insured by state welfare organizations (Sakellis and Spyropoulou, 2007; Gemi,2014).

There is a great degree of job segregation by sex for migrants in Greece, with mostly migrant women filling the domestic roles left by Greek women (Lazaridis and Theotoky, 2002). Women from the Philippines, Albania, and Eastern Europe dominate migrant domestic work in Greece, and indeed make up the majority of immigrants from those countries—76% of Bulgarian immigrants, 70% of Albanians, 76% of Romanian, 85% of Poles, and 80% of Filipino immigrants to Greece are female. Greece has the highest female migration rate in Europe (Karakatsanis and Swarts, 2003). Albanian women migrants in Greece, as well as women from other South East European Countries, cannot pass unnoticed; they are mostly domestic workers engaged in taking care of the elderly and children. These immigrant women constitute an important part of the economic and family life of many Greek men and women. In spite of the disparity between their educational background and their actual occupation, the main reason for leaving their homes and families to work in a foreign country appears to be their deep desire to contribute to the wellbeing of their families and to provide their children with the possibility of access to a higher education (Vassilikou,2007).

1.2 Greek financial crisis: Impact to albanian migrants and pension system

The Greek economy has been in continuous recession since 2008. Between 2007 and 2012, GDP decreased by 20.4 per cent and employment fell by 18.5 per cent between December 2008 and December 2012 (Karamessini, 2014; Akalin, 2014). According to a press release from the Hellenic Statistic Institution, unemployment was 27, 2% in 2013 versus 21,5% on January 2012 and 25,7% on December 2012.

Affected by the crisis many Albanian migrants decide to return in Albania dreaming a better life in their homeland. At a recent national study conducted in Albania by INSTAT (2014) the total number of returnees was 133.544, whom returned in Albania during the 2009 – 2013 period, of which 30.005 were above 50 years old (approximately 22% of the total number of returnees). With regard to gender, there seems to be a significant difference among returnees' rates, where men are overrepresented compared to women, 73.7% and 26.3% respectively. Women above 50

years old comprise approximately 10% of the women population of returnees only. Figures also show that the average age of migrants returning home is 38.6 years.

1.3 The pension system in greece and its changes.

In Greece the majority of pensioners receive the minimum pension and these are pensioners with a job record consisting of periodic short-term jobs or with few insurance contributions corresponding to a short span of working life. According to the World Bank, 14.5% of Greek senior citizens are relatively poor, ranking the country among the five European countries with the worst ratios of poverty for senior citizens (Sotiropoulos, Featherstone and Karadag, 2014). Women are included among the poorest of pensioners if they have never entered the labor market. This is the case for housewives who have no insurance contributions at all and rely on a very low-level non-contributory pension.

Between 1990 and 2010 there were repeated failed attempts to reform the pension system in order to stabilize the rising pension expenditures that threatened to derail fiscal policy. A combination of high replacement rates, early retirement opportunities – particularly for married women with under-age children and public sector workers – and low insurance contributions has rendered the pension system financially unsustainable. The Greek dependency ratio is among the worst in Europe. Social insurance funds relied more and more on loans and subsidies from the state budget. A reform passed in June 2010, after the crisis broke out, and implemented in 2011 was a first step toward streamlining the pension system. The reform involved lowering replacement levels, raising contributions, preventing early retirement and merging dozens of small social insurance funds into a few larger ones (Sotiropoulos, Featherstone and Karadag, 2014). Albanian women migrants employed for many years in the services' sector, mainly as domestic workers, are now facing an unsafe future due to the nature of their employment and not having social security all the time. Other recent trends in Greece indicate that the retirement and security are two major issues affecting both Greeks and migrants. A raise in taxes for those occupied in agriculture (where many Albanians do) and in individual taxation also puts pressure in Albanian migrants to return in their homeland, but without having resolved their retirement for the years they worked in Greece.

Aim and research questions

The aim of this study is to explore the challenges faced by the Albanian women migrants in Greece and the returned women migrants in Albania in relation to their pension benefits. The research questions are as follows:

- What is the state of the art of Albanian women migrants focusing on those close to the retirement age?
- How do migration and welfare policies have tackled this problem until now?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Migrant women to Greece in particular are of note, and are particularly vulnerable to exploitation. Greek women continue to make strides in education and employment. Traditionally, the participation of Greek women in the labor force has been very low due to a lack of formal employment opportunities, an overabundance of unpaid activities in small family businesses or agricultural work, and prevailing cultural attitudes in Greece about the domestic role of women (Baldwin – Edwards, 2002). Greek women increased their presence in the labour

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market during the decades after 1970. Therefore, this created a demand for cheap, migrant labor in areas related to household and care work in Greece that was largely filled by women migrants.

A woman entering the receiving country through the family reunification strategy is referred to as a 'dependent immigrant'. She is dependent on her husband; i.e. on his documents, his job, his health insurance etc. (Vullnetari, 2009). However, as Vullnetari (2009) argues, we should be careful not to underestimate the economic role of Albanian women. They migrated not only to join their husbands, but also for the purpose of employment and therefore these women contribute to the economy of the household. While the majority of all women migrants in Greece are economic immigrants looking for good jobs that earn them a much higher salary than they can find in their homeland, women migrants, particularly undocumented ones, are vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. The Greek legal system offers very little protection to domestic workers and in some cases may actually increase their insecurity and vulnerability (Karakatsanis and Swarts, 2003; Tavanxhiu and Mancellari, 2015).

In line with the legal approach, Greek migration policies in the 1990s and 2000s have largely been characterized by a reactive approach to irregular migration and informal employment in the country's black market economy. The main legislative measures for normalizing the migration situation have been regularization programmes. Integration measures have been mostly on paper but in practice rather minimal (Triantafyllidou, 2014).From the professional viewpoint, evidence shows that emigrants passed from low-level jobs to promoted ones. Regarding the industry were the emigrants are employed, most of men work in constructions (55% per cent) and most of women in services (66%). Immigrants in Greece work in a highly segmented labor market, with temporary, part-time, heavier dangerous work – the jobs that Greeks refuse to do, especially in construction and heavy industry and for women domestic work (Baldwin-Edwards, 2002).

2.1 Retirement in migration and/or in homeland

Economic and financial crisis may make pension reforms inevitable (OECD, 2010a; Fall and Bloch, 2014). In deep recessions, the fall in pension contributions, which are typically linked to the payroll, may threaten the payment of pension benefits (Greece during the crisis), unless compensatory transfers from the central government are provided. Crisis may thus make an increase in the retirement age or a reduction in pension benefits, at a time when sacrifices are necessary also elsewhere in the economy, more acceptable (Fall and Bloch, 2014).

Many migrants returned to Albanian and others are thinking of it or struggling to survive in very unfavourable conditions. There is a strong gender dimension with respect to the decision to return. Women, despite the difficult circumstances they face, prefer to stay in Greece even in a regime of irregularity. The reasons they may use to justify this resistance are linked first to the fact that they continue to work even on different terms and second, the issue of their children's adaptation to the reality of Albania (Gemi, 2015). A critical issue that comes up is the non-recognition of pension rights for those who came to Greece formally in search of formal work and then lost their legal status, before returning to Albania.

Probably the most affected from the crisis are the migrants living in Greece or leaving it, particularly women migrants. Having little time with legal permit and even lesser with social insurance they face the risk of losing their right to pension in Greece as well as in Albania, because they fail to fulfill the necessary requirements for pensions.

3. METHODOLOGY

For the purposes of this paper secondary data were collected and analyzed. The used method was content analysis of policy documents related to migration and social welfare in both countries, emphasizing on pensions and women labour. The coding used was a priori, the author had some pre – selected categories, namely retirement and migration policies, return migration, women migrants, social insurance, pensions and financial crisis.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Nature of Albanian women migrants work and retirement implications

Greece has the highest female migration rate in Europe (Karakatsanis and Swarts, 2003). The integration of Greek women into the labour market, with accompanying changes in the family structure and the lack of adequate social infrastructure have resulted in increased demands for domestic support work (King 2000; Lazaridis and Psimmenos 2000). Regarding the industry were the emigrants are employed, most of men work in constructions (55% per cent) and most of women in services (66%). Two out of three Albanian women working in Greece are occupied in the domestic work sector (70%). The nature of the female domestic worker is also determined by her position in relation to the law. The official status of a foreign domestic employee, legal or not, plays an important role in her social disposition, her self-image, the feeling of being vulnerable, and her position in relation to the authorities and her employers, her sociability, the networks that she can join, etc. Her position in relation to the

law is part of a very uncomfortable identity. The problem of illegal immigration is only one aspect of this legal relationship; social welfare is another one. In many European countries, domestic workers, local or foreign, are not registered in the social security system (Destremau, Lautier 2002).Recent changes in Greece didn't have a focus on migration let alone women migrants. A law was passed in 2010 primarily focusing on preconditions of naturalization of migrants, but also somewhat improving the prospects of integration, but it went largely unimplemented. Obviously in 2011 – 2013 in the midst of the crisis, the integration of migrants into the labor market was further worsened by the economic depression and unemployment.

4.2 The Migration Code.

A new Migration Code (Law 4251/2014) has been voted in April 2014 in Greece. The new code like the previous migration laws, regulates matters of entry, stay and social integration of third country nationals in Greece, integrating previous laws and bringing the Greek legislation fully up to date with EU law (Triantafyllidou, 2014). Last but not least, the Migration Code seeks to streamline the management of permits, work and insurance issues for seasonal migrants working in agriculture or the fisheries. These are both areas of seasonal migration from neighboring countries (Egypt for the fisheries, and Albania or other Balkan countries for agricultural work). The reform in the pension system in Greece: its impact to Albanian women migrants

In Greece some 60% of older people are on the contributory minimum pension and a further 19% on safety-net benefits (Fall and Bloch, 2014). The different pension reforms, the phasing out of early retirement schemes and the tightening of eligibility criteria for other social transfer programmers that operated as *de facto* early retirement schemes are having an impact on retirement decisions. Due to a pension reform, statutory retirement age increased in Greece to 65 for all those men and women who started working on or after 1993. The adjusted retirement a g e

also applies to all individuals who report not having worked before 1993. Finally, for those insured before the 1992 reform early retirement age in Greece is 60 years for males and 55 for females, as long as they have completed 18 full years of contributions (equivalent to 4,500 working days). The requirement differs for those insured after 1993, for whom early retirement age is set to 60 years irrespective of the gender given a minimum amount of 15 years of contributions (Antonova, Aranda, Pasini and Trevisani, 2014)

Return migration and pensions. Returned migrants in Albania are facing challenges in their reintegration, particularly in terms of employment and education as well as reintegration for their children (Vathi and Duci, 2015). However, studies have not yet been focused on migrants above the age of 50 years old, whom have worked in Greece (or other countries as well) for a considerable part of their lives and are now returning in Albania, without a "safe" future in terms of their employment in Albania, but mainly in relation to their retirement age, chances for pension and benefits. One important element of reintegration assistance commonly referred to returnees by countries of origin covers social welfare-including health, counseling, social security and education. Germany and Russia offered psychological support to returnees or a health check-up and free insurance to ethnic returnees. A specific aspect of social welfare concerns the pension and social security rights of returnees. In most countries, returnees enjoy the same social rights as other citizens, but an issue which is of outmost importance to returnees is the extent to which their social security and pension payments in the host country are transferable. The Albania- Turkey agreement in this respect, operational as of 2003, is a positive example of how transfer of payments can work in reality. Another recent agreement in this direction is the Albanian – Luxembourg, from which a total of 3,500 Albanian migrants will eventually benefit (Grazhdani, 2013).

4.3 Are Albanian women migrants at risk of not having a pension?

A great number of Albanian and other migrants are at a serious risk of losing their years of work in Greece and their social contributions. According to the new law for social insurance in Greece, a foreign citizen can benefit for a pension in Greece only if there is a signed agreement between the two countries, besides the ones part of EU. Additionally, in order for a migrant to have a minimal pension n Greece s/he should be a permanent legal resident in Greece for the last 25 years before retirement and s/he should have at least 20 insured years of work. Afterwards, when s/he will be 67 years, s/he can benefit from a minimal pension, after declaring that s/he does not receive a pension from another country. Based on these criteria the vast majority of migrants cannot benefit from a minimal pension, while on the same time many of them have not been legal residents in Greece, because of the difficulties in having work permits for Greece. Even migrants whom have paid for many years for their social contributions are at risk of losing these and ending without any pension, because their years of work in Albania are again not enough to apply for a pension. A major part of the Albanian migrants entered Greece for the first time in 1991, and started paying for social insurance in 1998, when the legalization process started and they were obliged to pay for the social insurance in order to have legal work permits. Additionally, a vast majority started paying for social insurance early in 2000, where the second massive legalization process started.

Most of the Albanian migrants have 14 to 15 legal working years in Greece, with social insurance. Notwithstanding being close to the retirement age, crisis has raised the unemployment rates in Greece and many of them cannot afford being legal in Greece through these means, if

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they are not employed. On the other hand, for many of them return in Albania is a short term option for lower cost of living, putting at risk their pension benefits and possibility for retirement.

4.4 The case of women domestic workers.

In the case of the majority of immigrant women, sixty percent of which are in domestic services (EKKE, 2005; Alipranti, 2007; Tastsoglou and Hadjiconstanzi, 2003), the problem of social insurance and social security in general, is more than active. Looking purely at the options available for these women workers, under the existing statutory social insurance system, one concludes that these are minimal. Formally speaking, a large segment of the above population is being cut off from the welfare system due to their unauthorized entry into the country, whilst in regard to those who have attained all necessary documents for residence and employment, the volume of income contributions necessary for social insurance does not usually qualify them for either a pension or income subsidies like health, child care etc. Furthermore, informal hiring practices, temporary employment and work share between different employers, subcontracting and the substantial difficulties workers have in the understanding of bureaucratic rules makes matters worse (Psimmenos, 2011).

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The financial crisis in Greece has had a major impact in everyday life for Greeks and migrants. Many of them leaved Greece to return to their homelands, including Albanians. Almost one out of five returned migrants is above 50 years old, therefore closer to the retirement age. These migrants working years of living in Greece, if counted separately from the years living and working in Albania, do not fulfill the criteria for a pension. Albania has already signed a bilateral agreement with Belgium, Luxembourg and Turkey. However, the major concern is Italy and Greece due to the large number of Albanians living there and the large percentages of returnees from these two countries. A typical example would be the one of a migrants living for 19 years in Greece and for 14 in Albania, neither in Greece nor in Albania fulfils the minimal criteria for a pension (it is 20 in Greece and 15 in Albania). That would imply that s/he can lose all 33 years of work, which will not be reflected by in their pension. The possibility of a joint pension will be created only if the two countries will sign the bilateral agreement. In that case, the person of the example would benefit from a pension of 33 years, rather than nothing. Each state will have to pay for the respective contribution made from the migrant in different periods. Particularly Greece is one of the most challenging countries in terms of pension benefits, because a migrant should have at least 4500 working days for the last 15 years. However, a positive aspect is that Greece, as part of the EU, acknowledges the contributions of any other member state. All the different periods are calculated to the benefits received in Greece (EU Social Security Coordination, 2015).

Special emphasis should be given to the right configuration of the legislative framework that will protect domestic and caring providing workers, in order to feel safe and respect their individual and collective rights. Similarly, for the women that are occupied in these sectors and are undeclared as workers measures should be taken to regulate their pension rights, such as recognizing the years of work and the retirements criteria/framework. Furthermore, the legislative framework for domestic work should change/modernize in terms of: hours of work, benefits, leaves, insurance etc. .

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RETURN MIGRATION AND REINTEGRATION STRATEGIES

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ABSTRACT

Albania is a country where the weakening of the totalitarian regime and the changes of the 90s were followed by a high level of migration to countries in Europe and often even further.

The geographic vicinity to two Western European countries (Greece and Italy), was a core facilitation factor for Albanian citizens to cross the border towards countries where they were hoping to find better economic opportunities and create a better living for them.Despite of the fact that a substantial part of those Albanian economic migrants is in the meantime settled and residing legally with adequate documents in Europe or in other continents, the phenomenon of economic migration and other connected irregularities like crossing the border illegally or staying in the territory of destination country without proper documents, though not with the pace of the 90s, still continues to be existent. As a result of these irregularities, many of the immigrants of this category are subject to removal and return, to refusals of entry or other administrative measures or criminal sanctions imposed in the respective countries where they have migrated to. Driven also by the requirements in the framework of EU accession, there are efforts done over the years to reduce this phenomenon, yet the majority of the measures imposed relate to criminal and administrative and only rarely also to social policies.

The result is that we are still facing a high number of Albanian nationals, who are leaving and then – after a while – being forcibly returned from different countries. This leads to the conclusion that the activities undertaken so far, despite the positive impact they could have had, should be reviewed and analyzed, as other experiences and positive models in this field have shown that it might be more productive and successful to draft a serious and functional strategy on reintegration of returnees, which would not only secure that they come home, but would also facilitate re-establishment by assisting the returnees in housing, schooling and work and so contribute to an increase in the Albanian economic sustainability.

1. SHORT PICTURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF ALBANIAN MIGRATION ABROAD

With the establishment of the communist regime in Albania, outbound and inbound traffic of Albanian citizens across the state border became very difficult, reaching a stage that the only possible cross border movements were those strictly controlled by the government. Due to this isolationism and the therefore minimal migratory movements, Albania was confronted with the phenomenon of migration for the first time after World War II only in July 1990, when Albanian

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citizens massively entered into embassies of foreign countries in Tirana. This act highlighted the real situation of a country, in which citizens enjoyed almost no political and economic rights, as compared to other Western European countries and even to those belonging to the Eastern European bloc.

In the context of the political changes in Eastern Europe, around 5000 Albanian were then accepted by European countries, in whose embassies they seek protection. Almost at the same time, those who were unable to find the proper way or the proper time to enter into embassies of European countries, started to cross the land border towards Greece as the only EU Member State with a common border with Albania. After some ordeals, which were accompanied also with loss of lives, the borderline with Greece became the main gate of Albanian migration.
An additional factor were then political developments that have often adversely affected the security and the economic situation in Albania They became a further inducement for mass migration with vessels across the Adriatic Sea to Italy.

Despite the mass exodus to Italy and the opening of other opportunities for migration to other Member States of the European Union or even to the United States and Canada, migration to Greece (both legal and illegal) remained a constant factor. Year by year this migration even further increased through legal migration with work visas and through family reunification, but also by crossing the border with forged documents in order to enter mainly the EU.

A substantial part of the Albanian illegal migrants have since then benefited from various amnesties or legalizations enabling them to obtain residence permits in line with policies applied by the host countries. Influenced by the internal affairs of Greece, Albanian immigrants in this country have often encountered difficulties in converting their legal status from irregular migrants into lawful residents, however, Greece is still ranked the second country in providing resident permits for Albanian emigrants, compared to the total number of those in the European Union. According to EU statistics, it turns out that Italy issues around 450,000 residence permit each year for Albanian emigrants, while Greece issues about 350,000. Other EU countries are rather non-significant in relation to the above mentioned two countries, in granting residence-permits to Albanian emigrants.

The total yearly average of residence permits provided for Albanians in the EU is approximately 900 000, yet, considering European legislation on residence permits, which sets concrete deadlines for renewal of those permits, we have to consider that the number of annual applications does not represent the number of new applications of Albanian immigrants every year. Instead it includes also those who have earned this right already years ago and who meet the renewal periods. This number furthermore excludes those Albanians who have already obtained the nationality of their host countries.

However, based on these figures, the calculation leads to the conclusion that not less than 1.5 million Albanians are already established abroad.

Regardless of the motives and the different occasions that have pushed many Albanians to emigrate to the West, it seems that the main reasons for migration of Albanian citizens were – and still are- primarily related to economy. Albanian emigrants have aimed to improve their

economic situation and it seems that most of them have succeeded. Often, the long time of living abroad, the obtained legal status, a good professional career and successful investments in host country, have connected Albanian emigrants to their new residence, where they managed to build a road for the future of their children by integrating them in schools, courses and work.

2. REPATRIATION OF ALBANIANS INBRIEF

The first wave of Albanian emigrants was noted by the terrestrial and maritime neighbors of Albania as a dramatic outbreak of a people from a totally closed-off and poor country. A significant part of those migrants were supported by the local population, by governmental structures, NGOs and businesses. There were jobs provided to Albanians in Greece and Italy, which substantially helped to improve the economic situation of immigrants and also entitled them to stay in the host-countries for the period concerned and even further.

As in every mass- and uncontrolled movement, there were certainly also persons with criminal intentions, who tried to misuse the opportunities, the democratic regimes offered and so to ensure illegal incomes for those emigrants, who were seeking for a job, sufficient income for their families and a better future for their children in the area of freedom.

Some of the emigrants also failed to establish in long term and sustainable jobs, prompting them to wander and seek for a new job, or even to become, in some cases, a threat to public order.

Generosity towards Albanian emigrants was – over the years - gradually replaced by an increasing assessment of the positive and negative impact of such migration.

The Albanian emigrants, which were not assimilated by neighboring countries, began to become subject of repatriation. Greece, taking advantage of the geographical position of a common land border, unlike other western countries, which returned to Albania just persons considered as a threat, started to apply frequent returns already at the very early times of this emigration. Those groups of returnees comprised of persons considered to be a threat to public order and security, as well as unemployed persons or persons who worked in Greece without having the proper permits to do so. In addition to the returns from inland, the Greek army, which was protecting the national border, was also applying the "push back" method in order to discourage additional potential illegal migrants to cross the border illegally.

In certain periods, overloaded with irregular migrants, as well as with political tensions between Athens and Tirana, the return process of Albanians emigrants included not only the above mentioned illegal categories, but even a significant number of Albanians, who had entered Greece with regular visas. Greek operations called "The Broom" were in this context a combination of stringent controls inside the country regarding work places where Albanians were working illegally – often because of multiple delays in the process of issuing work and residence permits.

However, geographical proximity, human links on both sides of the border, common interests of Greek employers and Albanian jobseekers, differences of salaries in two countries and the porosity of the Albanian - Greek border continued to make Greece a permanent target country for Albanian emigrants.

Return operations from Greece, due to the high number of persons, as well as due to a lack of up-to-date agreements, were also often carried out without prescreening returnees.

Readmission is even today still performed on the basis of a police-cooperation-agreement, which also comprises a readmission clause. An up-to-date implementation agreement between Greece and Albania to the Readmission agreement between the EU and Albania is regrettably still

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missing. As a result, a significant number of the returnees was in the past identified only based on their own statements. Initially, the acceptance by Albanian authorities was likewise performed not only without questioning on emigration reasons, but even without verifying the identities of the returnees. Due to lack of proper national data bases in this regard, it is today impossible to achieve an accurate picture on these returns until 10 years ago.

By establishing electronic border information systems and implementing them in all BCPs of Albania, a clearer view with regard to the number and the emigration reasons of Albanian returnees was acquired. This period certainly is of great interest, since it started in 2007, when Albania had already signed the readmission agreement with the EU (2006) and the picture on Albanian emigration became clearer by being divided into the category of persons established abroad with regular documents and the category of persons who became subject of consecutive returns.

It is in this context recorded that, from 2007 to 2009, Albania repatriated on average 65,000 to 75,000 Albanian emigrants per year, out of which about 75% were returned from Greece. Those returns were based on different reasons, but illegal entry and illegal stay in the EU dominated by far compared to other ones. Persons returned due to a prison-sentence abroad or by being threat to public order and security were a minority with no real effect on the total number. Because of the limited number of Albanians, who carried EU visas during this period, even the reason of violation of duration of stay did not significantly influence the total number of returns. According to the interviews conducted with returnees, it seems that the main reasons, which drove them during those years to cross the border illegally, were permanent or seasonal job seeking and joining their family or relatives in the country they were returned from.

As regards the actual number of returns, it needs to be taken into account that the number of returns within a year does not fit to the number of physical persons who are subject of returns during the same year, as a significant part of them was returned several times within the same year. Calculating an average of the number of returns of the same person throughout the year, it can be assessed that the real number of persons subject to repatriation during these years was about 25,000 to 30,000 per year.

Distribution of motives was almost the same in 2010, but afterwards there was a significant decrease in the total number of returns to about 50 000. There might have been many contributing factors, but it seems that to a large extent the expected visa liberalization was among the primary issues linked to this situation. The hope of Albanian citizens for liberalization and simultaneously the fear regarding possible penalties in case of border offences, information campaigns undertaken in the context of visa liberalization and the maximal commitment of border police structures in order to meet the requirements imposed by the EU in this field, had a straightforward impact, especially in the second half of 2010.

In 2011, there was a record low in the number of repatriated Albanians, bringing the overall number to around 15000. Assuming that this figure included also persons who had entered the EU illegally or who committed an offence before liberalization, the number of Albanians who violated the rules of entry and residence in the EU this year was the lowest in history after the '90s. The reduced number of returnees gave even better possibilities for proper interviewing and clearer identifying of the motives of the return of these persons. Among the main motives the

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following were mentioned: the knowledge of those persons on an entry ban they had in Schengen area, the lack of knowledge of the terms and conditions of visa liberalization and employment in Schengen, the use of illegal border crossing due to not meeting the financial requirements for entry into Schengen and the lack of funds to obtain a biometric passport. In the second part of 2011 and in subsequent years there were also the motives of illegal border crossing for not identifying the duration of stay by stamps in passport, illegal employment and apprehension in the territory due to a previous entry ban (expulsion).

2011 was then characterized by an increasing number of refusals of entry of Albanian citizens when attempting to cross the Schengen external borders (over 10,000 persons being refused because of a previous entry ban in the EU; the second most popular reason being the inability to adequately justify the purpose of travel incl. the financial means). This was an expected increase due to penalties received by Albanian citizens in the Schengen area over past years, as well as due to increased attention of border police in the Schengen countries during border checks, taking into account visa liberalization which had waived the consular filter, up to then an important first filter in the EU 4 tier access control model.

2012 showed, in terms of repatriation, almost the same figures as 2011, or about 15 000 persons, of which about 13 000 returnees arrived from EU countries. The main reasons of returns, for this year also, were illegal border crossing, violation of duration of stay and illegal employment. The returnees from Greece represented still about 75% of the total of deported Albanians, which was about the same as in previous years. Also, the number of Albanians refused entry at the Schengen borders was approximately the same as the previous year, with the main reason for refusal being an existing entry ban and not justifying the purpose of travel (included here financial means). Greece was the main contributor even to the number of those refusals for the second consecutive year by about 70% of the total number of the Albanian citizens refused in the entry of Schengen borders.

In 2013 there was again an increasing number of deported Albanians, exceeding slightly 20 000, a figure that was repeated also in the following year 2014. A new element in those two years were returns from UK. Through visa liberalization, many Albanians first went to the Schengen area, but their final point of destination was the UK, to which they often tried to cross illegally (e.g. by using forged or falsified documents) from France or Belgium. Some of those Albanian emigrants were consequently returned from Schengen countries, where they were apprehended and some others were returned from the UK, where they were detected as irregular migrants in the territory.

Taking into consideration figures for the ratio of first half of 2015, it seems that this year will provide almost the same numbers of returnees. In the same period in 2014, the number of Albanian refused entry to the EU decreased to about 10 000 persons. Regarding the order of the reasons for refusals it turned out that the motive of not justifying the purpose of travel and the lack of financial means remained first and the entry ban decision was only being second any more.

A special feature of 2014 and 2015 is the massive increase of the number of Albanians who requested asylum mainly in Germany. According to the information obtained from different sources and based on data collected during rapid passport applications, the majority of Albanian citizens who used the asylum seeking as an emigration method were residents of rural regions of

Kukes, Elbasan and Berat (without excluding other regions), which are among the poorest areas of Albania. Based on the statements of the first returnees of this category, it appears that the majority of the Albanian asylum seekers have presented economic motives as main reason. It is expected that the figure of Albanian asylum seekers in 2015 will rise above 30 000. Some factors that influenced the scale of this phenomenon are believed to be the social assistance given to asylum seekers during the asylum request evaluation process, as well as the hope of finding work and avoiding the limitation of duration of stay only 90 days within 180 days.

In order to combat this phenomenon, return operations for Albanian "economic asylum seekers" Germany were seriously increased in the second half of 2015, so an ongoing flow of returnees can be expected to Albania from Germany as well as from other EU countries for the rest of 2015.

3. THE EFFECTS OF CURRENT MEASURES TOWARD MIGRATION

Since the first repatriations of the Albanian emigrants started, the prime governmental structure in charge of dealing with returnees was the Albanian State Police and there namely the General Directorate for Borders and Migration. Due to general socio-economic circumstances, as well as related to the focus that every police organization has, the only issue which concerned Police in this process at the beginning was that of wanted persons. Police checks were at those times primarily aiming to verify the identity of the persons and to consult in basic criminal databases or, together with police structures at relevant residences of returnees, regarding their possible criminal history. In case of any implication of facilitation of illegal border crossing or recidivist cases of illegal border crossing the returnees were criminally prosecuted. Identification of these cases was often difficult due to the huge number of returnees and the limited time and capacity available for verification. Albania's commitments to the European integration process, especially during and after the signing of the SAA, as well as before visa liberalization, led to an increase in the awareness for returns and readmissions, focusing even in the identification of migration motives, vulnerable border segments concerning illegal migration, origin and residence regions of the returnees, most affected categories, etc. Despite this new orientation, unfortunately, until 6 months before visa liberalization, the identification of these needs was left to be handled only by Police, which, at most, could identify the problem but not provide any solutions or strategies on how to change.

In June 2010 a National Strategy for Reintegration 2010 - 2015 was drafted. This strategy then also included other actors, beyond State Police and Ministry of Interior, in the process of treatment of returnees. Besides information campaigns in media and in the community concerning terms of visa liberalization, for the first time an information campaign was undertaken also regarding returnees and especially for those who were returned from EU countries. During the interviewing process of the repatriated persons, in addition to the verbal information from the interviewer, there were informative leaflets delivered, which included, among others, even the addresses of work services in each district. Joint groups with inspectors from Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Labor and other line ministries undertook outreach activities toward citizens and monitored activities over subordinate local structures in terms of reintegration of returnees. Cooperation in this area included all concerned governmental stakeholders as well as actors from civil society. There were commitments from NGOs and even private businesses in this context. For the treatment of returnees there were nutrition and

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transportation contracts signed to their place of residence, where they could contact local integration offices on which they were informed, in order to address them to the appropriate institution.

But, after the implementation of visa liberalization and the decrease of the figures of repatriated persons it seems that this way of treating again went down. About 100,000 Euros foreseen for transport and about 430,000 Euros foreseen for food were not allocated. Newly opened migration offices inside the territory were melted and dissolved, leaving without a response even those returnees who hoped for state assistance. The engagement of other actors (besides Police) was reduced just to problematic cases, particularly those of minors and victims of trafficking, for which there were specific obligations based on special documents (agreements, joint orders, etc.) and related to the functioning of a national anti-trafficking mechanism. Also, the Reintegration Strategy and its action plan failed to be concrete enough as regards steps to be followed for concluding reintegration and defining generic measures and recommendations allowing the rendering of deficiencies detected duringimplementation.

What did function was the State Police, which began, as one of key reporting structures related to post liberalization process, and in order to reduce the number of violators of the rules and therefore even the number of returnees, to systematically prosecute the repatriated persons who had left across the green or blue border bypassing authorized crossing points for illegal border crossing. Due to the legislation in place and the distance of the residences of the returnees from the district where the prosecution was taking place, although there was considerable commitment of the police personnel for the investigation of these cases, about 6 months after the beginning of this campaign it was noted that there was again no impact and no weakening and decrease of the phenomenon of illegal bordercrossing.

Because of this, investigation and prosecution was then replaced by the systematic application of fines(50 000 to 100 000 Lek = 350 to 700 Euros) based on the law "On control and surveillance of state border". This measure reduced trial costs and imposed obligatory fines on the returnees, as otherwise they were not allowed to cross the border again.

Assessing the figures in the electronic data base sand the results of interviews, it shows that these fines were paid generally by persons who performed an illegal crossing for the first time or by persons, who, after having committed such an offence, needed to again cross legally the border at a BCP for study, medical, legal work contract purposes, or other similar reasons.

On the other hand, most of the returnees with less income still continued to cross the border illegally, or in the best case they waited (or are waiting) until the prescription time is completed and the fine is to be erased as it is foreseen in the relevant legislation for administrative violations.

A third possibility - the procedure of execution of those fines through the seizure of assets of fined persons – also proved to be unsuccessful, as over 90% of charged returnees were living in poverty, without possessing any estate or mobile property or having any income, which could have been be seized.

Summing up, it appears that imposing fines and not allowing to leave the country legally before paying the fines often stripped even the last hope of those returnees to benefit from visa

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liberalization and in fact encouraged them to cross again the border, outside of the authorized BCPs.

The failure to reduce the number of returnees, the growing demands of the European partners during the post liberalization process, some indicators related to a kind of "asylum tourism" of Albanians in Schengen and the fact that the burden to monitor the correct implementation of the rules was put only on the shoulders of police structures set border guard finally resulted at the end of 2012 in the issuance of the "Procedure on refusal of exit for Albanian citizens" being applied toward Albanian citizens, who were repatriated from the EU and Schengen area and those ones refused entry because of an existing entry ban to the Schengen area.

This procedure raises considerable legal concerns.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Albania every Albanian citizen enjoys the right to leave the country as a fundamental right and the fundamental rights can be restricted only by a law and not by any standard operational procedure. However, this procedure is still in practice forcing persons, who are repatriated from the EU and Schengen area or who are refused entry (except for financial reasons and justification of travel purpose) to present a document in exit of Albania that proves the entry ban or hindrance to enter the EU and Schengen area does not exist anymore.

Beyond the mentioned legal concerns, since the measure is related to a forthcoming exit at a BCP, it is not expected to have any serious impact related to illegal border-crossing. On the contrary, considering the lack of informative campaigns for the procedure of handling this document (which can be issued only by a Schengen country and not in Albania), some misinterpretations of Greek and Italian police on cases related to expired entry ban decisions and some misinterpretations of Albanian border guards related to their own procedures, this measure turned into an artificial barrier against legal border crossing. Leaving aside the legal concerns, based on the statistics of the pursuant years, it turns out that the imposing of refusals of exit may have reduced the number of Albanian citizens refused entry at the Schengen external borders related to entry ban decisions, but it couldn't help in any case to reduce the repatriation figures. It is impossible to provide statistics in this regard, but from different interviews of returnees it looks that a high number of persons refused in exit have committed illegal border crossing after they exhausted unsuccessfully all the attempts for a legal exit.

Despite of differences in domestic legislations of the Schengen area regarding terms and conditions of penalties related to border and migration offences, it is clear that Albanian citizens apprehended inland as irregular and then repatriated are subjects of restrictive administrative measures, which are generally reflected in the SIS. Returnees who commit such offences more than once and the ones who are convicted even of other violations beside illegal border cross or illegal stay, like e.g. possessing forged or falsified documents or disobeying an order to voluntarily leave a country after a negative answers to an asylum application can be subject of more serious penalties. Consequently, a significant number of Albanians, constantly repatriated because of illegal border crossing, have now even become subject of entry ban decisions into the Schengen countries. All these people – now also under refusal of exit - have currently the potential to cross the border illegally again.

Summing up, refusals of exit due to a supposed entry ban in Schengen, or due to the lack of justification of travel purpose to a destination country, as well as obstacles due to a border related fine may in fact contribute – due to the absence of any clear reintegration-strategy –   to

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the rise of the number of persons again thinking of leaving – and this time definitely by circumventing border checks.

Coming again to statistics of post liberalization years, it is noted that the number of returnees due to illegal crossing of the border, violation of terms of stay, attempted transition to the UK and the illegal employment occupies over 85% of the total number of returnees, leaving far behind the motives of any imprisonment sentence and having an entry ban decision. Taken this in correlation with interviews conducted on emigration reasons it shows that most of the returnees have intended employment and income for a better life.

The same motive is confirmed by returnees whose asylum requests in Germany are refused.
The continuation of irregular migration, especially to Greece, despite the crisis and the reduction of salaries in this country, and the illegal labor migration even in other neighbor countries like Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo where the salaries are almost the same as in Albania, indicates that the category of returnees, not only has economical motives, but is among the poorest group of Albanian population most in need, which requires urgent social and economic support.

4. MILESTONES ON THE STRATEGY FOR THE REINTEGRATION OF RETURNEES

The central conclusion drawn for the previous chapter is that the majority of Albanian emigrants
- who cross the border illegally,
- who cross the border orderly but overstay in their country of destination,
- who cross the border and stay within duration of stay limits but work illegally,
- who tend to pass illegally to the UK or
- who request for asylum in Germany,
- who work seasonally or even only a few days in the EU or neighboring Balkan countries, are economical emigrants.

Without going through each measure taken so far, it is clear that all coercive measures that are taken against returnees or to prevent a possible irregularity, have not just failed to achieve the target, but may have even worsened the situation. The penalizing measures failed to motivate the poorest sector of the society, which continues to feel hopeless with nothing left to lose leading straight into a closed circle of endless irregular situations. Furthermore, some of the measures, such as the refusal of exit for fines or for entry bans in SIS, have even pushed a part of regular persons towards irregularities.

Despite of their shortcomings, other informative and supportive measures have managed to have – to a certain extent – to have a positive impact on citizens. A positive element to be mentioned here are the information campaigns on visa liberalization, during which the decrease in the number of deported persons and then following year this decrease was really significant. The Reintegration Strategy (2010-2015) failed to give real solutions to the problem of returned

Albanian emigrants, but during the time it was applied it had at least an impact on the general awareness.

If one looks abroad, there are good practices even in the close neighborhood for reintegration of returnees. For example it is the case of Kosovo, where, although the influx of irregular emigrants or economic asylum seekers still continues, the figures dropped down significantly as a result of the implementation of an effective strategy under which the Kosovo government took specific responsibilities regarding reintegration. Another good practice is the memorandum between Albania and Greece for discharging minors from border related offences in cases when they return voluntarily. This act, which has worked well even in practice, has urged minors to return home without being intimidated by potential penalties. A similar action is also the treatment of the Albanian voluntary returnees from Germany, where persons returned after their asylum request is not been approved or because they have given up of requesting asylum, are not handled as deported and are not penalized even if they have crossed border illegally.

However, these activities will not be effective if they operate separately from each other and are applied only in breakaway periods. The reintegration of returnees is a process and for this reason measures should be continuous and integrated.
As the strategy "For the reintegration of Albanian returned citizens 2011-2015" is almost finished and the work for the following strategy has started, the profile of illegal emigrants and returnees as well as the best experiences of countries with similar problem and the shortcomings of the current activities in our country should be taken seriously into account, for having a successful process in further in thisregard.

The strategy for reintegration and its action plan should define specific, measurable and timed targets. These should be accompanied also by specific and achievable steps and recommendations, for facilitating the implementation and also for monitoring the performance. Reintegration Strategy 2010-2015 states that 99% of returns are economic emigrants, based on records and interviews conducted with them, similar this result to that mentioned above. Following this reason, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs has to take a much more pronounced in this process. Depending on the needs of the repatriated persons, other concerned actors, like other line Ministries, law enforcement agencies representatives of NGOs and of the civil society, together with their specific duties, should be well defined. In order to ensure sustainability and effective interventions, the establishment of a national referral mechanism, similar to that of anti-trafficking, may be helpful in this regard, aiming to address the problems in time and appropriately.

It is necessary also that the subgroups of the category of economic migrants returned home to be defined carefully and accurately so that the measures taken clearly address their needs. Mixed measures, from which some of them address regular emigrants, some voluntary returnees, some others irregular ones and the others potential victims of trafficking might end up just being a waste of resources. The new strategy, in addition to general measures, should therefore include tailored measures for each detected subgroup of repatriated persons. For the reception and the treatment of repatriated persons it is not enough only to accept a high number of returnees, but it is indispensably necessary also to provide proper infrastructure, personnel and equipment.

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Contrary to the aforementioned, the high number of returnees, repeated routes and similar modus operandi, have currently turned interviews at the border into formal statements that do neither help police work, nor the identification of key issues related to integration. What would be needed is a qualitative prescreening of the returnees, as well to define properly the targets among these immigrants. Checks and interviews regarding police matters must be carried out on risk basis, while interviews that aim to identify the motives of emigration, regions of origin, age, gender, social and economic groups, should be carried out by social services. This would also help police services to better focus on cases requiring investigation and will provide the necessary time for the intended verifications. On the other hand, the identification of issues related to emigration will be facilitated because the interviews of social character, without the inclusion of personal data, are more acceptable for the people. These social interviews also provide the possibility of more influencing information toward citizens regarding further steps related to reintegration, having advantage against "cold" media campaigns and "harsh" police campaigns. To be successful with this approach, border police risk analysis capacities as well as interviewing and analytical capacities of responsible social and labor services should be strengthened. All this process will need to be supported simultaneously by other services like health, psychology, including the involvement of NGOs. Deployment of such groups in Border Police Stations receiving returnees is in this context considered an absolute necessity.

Setting of these obligations for every responsible field actors should absolutely not exclude additional information campaigns through flyers or direct meetings, at the border or in the territory, undertaken by each actor involved in the reintegration process. All these prescreening and informative actions should be part of a comprehensive process, must serve in an integrated manner for the necessary trust of returnees and make the general public aware about terms and conditions of regular movement and finally involve all stakeholders in any further steps towards integration.

A further link in the chain of measures should be the correction of the current practice of "refusals of exit" for Albanian citizens. To put it in the legal and European context (as already undertaken through legislative measures) and to better inform citizens on their right to access their personal data in the SIS would be first concrete steps.. The latter can be accomplished though leaflets showing the correct way on how to obtain the information and the possible involvement of NGOs and/or through free legal assistance for cases that require actual intervention.

For supporting an intensive campaign of identification and prescreening, it is necessary that reintegration offices are established, which are welcoming and equipped with adequate staff and powers. Having been informed, since the prescreening phase, on subgroups of repatriated emigrants and their motives, those reintegration units would then have it much easier to face and handle individual cases. Based on this preliminary evaluation, the milestones on major needs, such as those for e.g. social help and unemployment wage, health services, education, training, employment, involvement in economic activities could already be set.

It might even be helpful that the persons in working age are categorized by their professions and/or experiences they have acquired inland or during emigration. Elderly should be involved under schemes of economic help and support. To minors, who have interrupted their schooling

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for emigration reasons, a continuation of an educational process should be provided. Simultaneously measures should be evaluated and taken also for the economic situation of families, which may be the pushing factor for their emigration. Working age persons, who do not have proper skills, are needed to be included in appropriate vocational training courses, in order to earn a profession or a métier, possibly considering their personal aptitudes and needs of labor market.

When categorizing professions and providing training to returnees, the needs and the requirements of foreign labor markets should also be taken into account. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, besides the identification of the international market, could play an important role even in assisting those returnees to apply for employment abroad, whether seasonal or long-term. NGOs and private business should be included in the process of providing training and employment.

The orientation and the assistance of responsible authorities for undertaking private activities, like small business, can be also an important support to the integration of returnees. This measure may have a higher impact on regular emigrants that willingly returned home due to loss of their jobs in the country of destination, but it can also positively affect a part of young illegal emigrants who have gained some income from seasonal work and at the same time have the skills and the will to undertake private activities related to their vocation.

In order to avoid discrimination, the process of reintegration may push to several changes in the policy and the legislation concerning unemployment assistance, economical help, education, employment, social insurance, small businesses, etc. However, the effects of all this changes will be positive, as far as different categories of Albanian citizens who are not subject of returns, but in need for support in above mentioned areas, are permanently a potential for illegal emigration and repatriation. In this way they will have the opportunity to be integrated into social and economic life of the country, without becoming irregular emigrants in the future.

A possible support in the entire process, beyond the governmental structures, may be, as for expertise, as well as for finance, several NGOs that operate in the field of migration, private businesses, joint projects with the EU, etc.

The initial costs of a challenging strategy may be significant in terms of returns expenses, economic support, training and employment, but already mid-term it might pay back. The taxation on employment, the taxation of businesses, the incomes from legal emigration, the incomes from the right orientation of labor force according to market needs, the social support that protect vulnerable persons from victimization and the assistance to youth by holding them away from crime, are a profit for every country, both in economic terms and in terms of the quality of life.

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LONG PATH TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

ALBANIAN DIASPORA IN SWISS LABOUR MARKET FROM 1999 TO 2012

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ABSTRACT

Switzerland has been a country of immigration since early industrialization. In the 1990's the Albanian diaspora became one of the largest migrant groups in Switzerland, an estimated proportion of 10 percent of Kosovo citizens reside in Switzerland. Despite the welcoming reality towards migrants, ethnic Albanians have become one of the most prejudiced group and faced substantial discrimination. This lead to obstacles of social and economic integration into the host society. This paper will shed light on the process of labor market integration of Albanian diaspora in Switzerland over time. Therefore, we focus on the second wave of Albanian migration to Switzerland that took place in the 1990's primarily as a result of humanitarian migration and family reunification. Contrary to the first wave of Albanian migrants, in frame of guest worker policies of 1970's and 80's, the second wave was not driven by labour market demand. Panel data will be applied to track the labour market integration, since the arrival of many Albanian refugees fleeing the conflict of 1999 in Kosovo. Furthermore, we discuss specific determinants of labour market integration in the Swiss context. The paper is structured in the following way: At first, we present an overview of the Albanian diaspora in Switzerland and the methodological challenge of isolating them in social surveys. Then we discuss labour market integration in Switzerland and the relevant policy framework. The third chapter derives theoretical determinants for labour market integration of Albanians in Switzerland. Finally, the research design and results are discussed and conclusions are drawn.

Key words: *Albanian diaspora, labour market, integration, immigration, Switzerland*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Labour market integration of immigrants has been examined by many migration scholars and is considered a key indicator of immigrant's integration into receiving societies (Lodovici 2010). In western democracies persistent employment and wage gaps between the immigrant population and natives have been observed (Angrist und Kugler 2003, OECD 2010). Hence, the scale of these differences and gaps vary significantly among European countries (Eurostat 2011). Empirical studies have identified a broad range of individual and contextual factors explaining disadvantages of immigrants in labour markets (Dustmann und Fabbri 2005, Kogan 2007, 2011). In general there has been a wide research effort on explaining labour market outcomes of immigrants in general while studies focusing on outcomes for specific groups of immigrants are less common.

In this paper, we investigate the determinants of labour market integration of immigrants in Switzerland orginating from former Yugoslavia (FY). Immigrants from the Western Balkan experience substantially higher unemployment rates in Switzerland compared to overall migrant population and natives. Genrally acknowledged this has been related to skill differences (Sharani et al. 2010).

While Switzerland experience low unemployment and a dynamic labour market, immigrants from former Yugoslavia became one of the most prejudiced ethnic minority in the country (Wyssmüller 2005). Ethnic discrimination has created a major obstacle for their labour market integration (see Liebig et al. 2012). The goal of this paper is to shed light on the labour market outcomes of immigrants from former Yugoslavia to Switzerland over time. The main focus will be on reasons of migration and their category of entry. This specific migrant group is particularly suited for this investigation due to its composition of distinct subgroups. We argue that different migration pattern have a long term effect on immigrant's labour market integration. Therefore, we distinguish between guest worker migrants, humanitarian migrants, family migrants, mand second generation migrants (those who are born in Switzerland). So far there is mainly descriptive evidence that reasons for migration are correlated with labour market integration (see Cooper et al. 2014, Irastorza und Bevelander 2014). The absence of causal analyses can be partly explained by the lack of data sources for European countries linking immigration status on arrival with labour market outcomes over time. The main aim is to shed light on the knowledge gap on the employment outcomes of the different categories of migrants (Cangiano 2012). Many studies have been narrowed on labour market integration of a particular group like refugee population (see for example Bevelander und Pendakur 2009) or family migration (Irastorza und Bevelander 2014). To investigate group differences on labour market outcomes we use panel data from the Swiss Houshold Panel (SHP) between 1999 and 2012.

Common datasetscontaining information on labour market outcomes of immigrants include no questions about the legal status obtained by a migrant at arrival or the contextual motivation for the particular migration decision. By exploiting the coincidence of change in migration policy regimes in Switzerland and particular push factors of migration from Former Yugoslavia during different time periods, we are able to test indirectly the effect of different migrant categories on their long-term labour market outcome. We calculate panel data regression models including a series of socio-demographic controls. Results indicate that migrant category at entry has a long-term effect on labour market participation and individual income.

The paper is organized into three main chapters. The first chapter explores the conceptual framework of labour market integration of immigrants in receiving societies and briefly reviews the findings of previous studies on determinants of successful labour market integration. Then we proceed with the introduction of the key characteristics of Western Balkan immigration to Switzerland and its relevance for immigrant' long term labour market integration. Afterwards we present the data and research design of the study. Finally we present the empirical results and draw conclusions for future research.

2. TRAJECTORIES OF IMMIGRANT' LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION

Labour market integration is often measured in terms of individual employment or occupational status and income in the comparison between natives and immigrants. A series of individual and contextual characteristics are likely to influence individual labour market outcome and hence the gap between natives and immigrants (see Dustmann und Fabbri 2005, Fullin und Reyneri 2011, Kogan 2007, 2011). In this literature the individual human capital measured as education, skills or work experience and gender are found to be substantial explaining factors of this gap. The duration of residence in the receiving country is positively correlated with labour market integration (Bisin et al. 2011, Cebolla-Boado, H., Finotelli 2014). Over time immigrants develop their social network in the receiving country and they acquire more countryrelated skills like language fluency that is likely to increase access to job-related knowledge and job opportunities. Those migrants with strong identification with their ethnic group tend to experience lower labour market integration (Bisin et al. 2011).

Furthermore migration policies may influence the integration outcome of immigrants (Bilgili et al. 2015). The more safe and longterm the legal status of migrants in the resident country the more migrants are keen to invest into their stay there and the better opportunities they experience on the job market. A number of studies have found evidence that naturalization has a positive impact on the labour market outcome of immigrants (OECD 2010). Overall, results of these studies reveal that sociodemographic characteristics might explain only part of the unemployment and wage gap between natives and immigrants. After controlling for such socio-demographic explanation factors, migrants are still found to perform significantly worse in terms of their labour market outcome. Consequently, it is necessary to consider also other potential explanation factors. In this paper we argue that path dependency is a neglected determinant of employment and wage gap. The path of migrants in the labour market of receiving societies starts with the act of migration as such shaped by an individual motivation for migration and a legal status obtained at their arrival. The permit obtained at arrival is important because it selects migrants through the definition of entry rules and it defines the public services and individual rights available to immigrants after their entry. The legal category of entry reflects the characteristics of national migration policies. By path dependency we refer to the idea that present labour market outcome can be explained by individual migration history shaped by the context in which migration took place. The reason for migration in combination with the legal category places immigrants in a certain social and economic position that defines the starting point of individual integration trajectory from where integration process take place in an incremental manner. In the next section we discuss potential path dependency for labour market outcomes of FY immigrants in Switzerland.

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3. THE CASE OF WESTERN BALKAN DIASPORA INSWITZERLAND

In order to justify the selection of Albanians as study sample, we need to elaborate on the characteristics that distinguish the Albanian minority in Switzerland from the native society as well as from other ethnic minorities. Central to these migrant-specific characteristics is the motivation for migration. We can distinguish specific subgroups of immigrants from former Yugoslavia to Switzerland. The first wave of immigrants from this region has been experienced from the 1960's till the end of the 1980's. Guest worker were recruited in former Yugoslavia in order to fill labor shortages in the booming Swiss economy. These workers were employed as seasonal workers and enjoyed limited rights for residency and family reunion. The official policies were targeted on labor recruitment without long-term integration of these workers into Swiss society. Nevertheless, many seasonal workers stayed in Switzerland, got permanent residence in the end of 1980's and enjoyed the right for family reunification. This labour-recruitment policies from Yugoslavia has been stopped abruptly in 1992 when Switzerland redefined its migration policy and faced an economic recession during the following years.

However, the immigration from Yugsolavia gained momentum by people fleeing war and conflict during the 1990's. Many 10'000 humanitarian migrants from the Western Balkan found shelter in Switzerland during the Balkan Wars starting in the year 1991 and with a peak in the year 1998 and 1999. After this wave of asylum seekers the immigration of Albanians to Switzerland dropped substantially. Furthermore immigration continues till today but has changed again its main characteristics. While countries of former Yugoslavia are now considered safe states and asylum claims are rejected, the path mof family migration became the main source of migration from former Yugoslavia to Switzerland. Since the year 2000, an estimated number of 4000 persons arrived every year to Switzerland through the channel of family migration (Sharani et al. 2010: 32). Since then no major change of migration policy regime occurred for citizens in the Western Balkans.1 These three groups – guest workers, humanitarian migrants and family migrants - occurred not only in different periods, but also by different legal channels and with different motivation to migrate.2 The main pull factor for guest worker migrants were labor market shortages in Switzerland – and the active recruitment policy of Switzerland have been a mean to escape poverty by earning higher salaries with seasonal work in Swiss industries that enabled many to support their family at home. Migration of guestworker was mainly driven by the labor shortages on Swiss labor market and active political recruitment. The second group of FY migrants claimed asylum in Switzerland tried to escape persecution and violence during the

Balkan wars. It was not labour-market driven at first place, but the existing diaspora in Switzerland facilitated the flight. Humanitarian migration in the 1990's was initiated.
1. Within the Schengen area (includes Switzerland) visa liberalization for Balkancountries (except Kosovo) has been implemented, but the rules of entry for the purpose of residence are not directly influenced by this change.
2. As a result of policy changes the occurrence of categorical substitution effects is likely: migrants shift from one legal avenue to another, for example instead of labour migration they shift to family migration (see de Haas 2011). Policy change is nevertheless likely to influence labour market outcome of immigrants since not all would-be migrants are able to shift to another legal channel. Furthermore, for the migrants shifting from one legal category to

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another (mostly more precarious) the policy change mean that they are faced with different entitlements determining their access to public services and labour market. by the push factors of war and violence. The third group of migration since the year 2000 was mainly driven by social ties and familynetworks.

Based on these different categories we expect different starting points in labor market trajectories. Guest worker migrants purpose of migrating is directly linked to the labor market through active recruitment and hence guaranteed job before their entry. This gives them immediate access to labour market and working experience. They were urgently demanded industrial workers in Swiss industries arriving in a period of economic boom that facilitated their labour market integration. Humanitarian refugees on the other hand were granted asylum status after an administrative process of evaluating their asylum claims. Their main purpose of migration was escaping war and persecution. Access to labour market was more indirect since a range of restrictions for asylum seekers are in place. The temporary mindset of the flight and the prospect of returning back home after the conflict might negatively influence their integration efforts and lead migrants to accept low-skilled or low-paid jobs. Furthermore these refugees arrived at a time period when Switzerland faced a long economic recession with unprecedented levels of unemployment. The bad economic situation and the sudden influx of the highest number of refugees in Switzerland since the Second World War lead to a perception of threat posed by new arriving migrants. Family migration as the third group is as well not directly linked to the labour market. The main purpose of family migration is either establishment of a new family through marriage or reunification of an already existing family. Family ties might negatively affect labour market integration of these migrants since they enjoy an economic and social safety net within the family in the receiving society and their need for labor market activity is substantially lower. Marriages between the same ethnic group is likely to increase ethnic identification instead of social integration into receiving society. From these considerations we derive the following hypotheses about path dependency in labor market outcomes based on migration category:

Hypothesis H1: guest worker migrants experience a higher labor market participation than Migration with non-work-purpose
Hypothesis H2: guest worker migrants experience a higher labor market income than Migration with non-work-purpose
Hypothesis H3: the more long-term residence status of immigrants, the higher the labor market participation as well as income of immigrant

3.1 Data and Method
We test our hypotheses with a large dataset from the Swiss Houshold Panel (SHP) containing longitudinal data from 1999 to 2012 and including a series of questions on social-demographic and labor market related issues necessary for our investigation. Most data sources on labor market outcomes of immigrants includes questions on nationality and country of birth, but they do not allow to differentiate between different entry categories like work permit, family migration or asylum seeker. The SHP data allows under certain conditions to separate different entry categories by combining nationality with time of arrival. First we create a sample consisting only of immigrants from former Yugoslavia based on the question about the nationality of the respondents. This variable changes over time due to state transformation on the

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western Balkans between 1999 and 2012 and through naturalization. Furthermore the dataset reveals that respondents use the nationality question to answer their ethnicity instead of their citizenship.3 We solve these problem by including all individuals in the sample that at least at one period answered by a citizenship from Western Balkans.4 In order to separate the four different waves of FY immigration to Switzerland, we calculate a categorical variable by the time of their arrival in Switzerland. Migrants arriving before 1991 are considered guest workers, those arriving between 1991 and 1999 are considered humanitarian migrants, the individuals migrating after 2000 are considered family migrants. Last but not least, the variable includes a fourth category of migrants that are born in Switzerland.

The determination of these different groups is facilitated by different legal regimes and contexts during different time periods that make this way of measurement an accurate operationalization. By differentiating these three groups we solve at the same time another methodological problem that immigrants who entered the country at different periods cannot be compared directly because of changing migration policy or migration flows over time. In total the sample includes 605 individual FY immigrants with a total of 3154 observations. This is a sufficiently large N to conduct statistical analysis. Surveys asking people for their motivation to

A common observation is that people claim to be Kosovo citizens as well as Albanian citizenship. Such an arrangement does not occur often in reality. Furthermore we observe shifts over time from citizenship of Yugoslavia to citizenship of Albania. This case is also not very likely in reality. Hence we can assume that "Albanian" is referring to their ethnicity and not to their citizenship.

4. WESTERN BALKANS INCLUDES CROATIA, BOSNIA, SERBIA, MONENEGRO, SERBIA & MONTENEGRO, KOSOVO,

Albania and Yugoslavia. Albania is included because it refers most likely to their ethnicity and not their citizenship since there has not been a substantial immigration from Albania to Switzerland. Migrate are highly likely to not reflect the legal status at arrival due to the disconnect between immigration status and reasons for migration. Migrants may apply for certain types of permit just because this is for them the easiest way of entering the country. That's why we consider our measurement to be more adequate for the purpose of this investigation. While residence status is a dynamic variable, migration status at arrival is not and allows measuring the initial starting point of integration trajectory. Labour market integration of immigrants is the result of complex causalities determined by opportunity structures characterized by individual and contextual variables. Causal analysis to isolate single determinants can be facilitated by choosing subsets that enables us to keep contextual variables like institutional and policy setting stable.5 The dependent variable of labor market outcome we measure by employment status (active/not active) and gross annual work income measured on a metric scale. We confine the sample to people between the age of 16 to 64 and include age in number of years as a control variable. Further socio-structural controls include gender (dummy variable) and duration of residence in number of years. The human capital we measure by level of education (low, middle, high). The residence status we measure by four different categories from Swiss citizenship, long-term residence C, annual permit B and short-time residence. Swiss citizenship is chosen as a reference category.

The longitudinal data at hand requires specific modeling techniques to take into account the panel data structure. The most common one are fixed effects (FE) and random effects (RE) both

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with certain advantages and disadvantages. Fixed effect is no option for our investigation since our explaining factors of migrant categories doesn't change over time. Therefore we primarily calculate random effect models. But we also test different models like pooled OLS and "within estimators" to test how robust our findings are. The challenge is to test for potential confounders in the model, therefore we focus particularly on the variable age and duration of residence that might be strongly correlated with the migrant category. 5 By focusing on just one polity (Switzerland) we can assume that immigrants are influenced by common policy setting that just vary over time but avoid the necessity to control for different policy regimes on immigration, immigrant integration and labor market regulation between
different countries.

5. RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

The panel data models reveal a clear pattern of labor market integration of immigrants from former Yugoslavia in the Swiss labor market. Those arrived as humanitarian immigrants in the 1990's experience a significantly lower long-term labor market integration than guest worker migrants - both in terms of income and participation. Therefore, hypothesis H1 and H2 can be confirmed. Similarly, family migrants experience as well a significantly lower labour market participation, although these coefficients needs to be taken with a grain of salt since there are only a small number of family migrants in the sample and the ones included are observed over a shorter time period. The interaction-terms between the migrant category at entry and the age of respondents indicates that the effect of the migrant category is decreasing over time, but it remains strong and significant. The type of residence permit influences the labor market outcomes of immigrants in the expected manner. Immigrants with a Swiss passport enjoy a higher labor market participation as well as higher income compared to non-Swiss immigrants also when controlled for socio-structural variables. The most negative correlation with labor market outcomes we can find with short-time residence permit and annual and long-term permit in the middle. Although the residence permit does not proof statistical significance in every category and every model, there is nevertheless a clear pattern in all the models and coefficients: the more long-term the residence permit, the better the labor market integration. Therefore we consider hypothesis H3 as confirmed by the empirical analysis. Surprisingly the duration of residence does not proof to be an essential explanation factor, which is another hint that specific trajectories are relevant for the long term labor market integration and not the simple passing of time. With higher age and higher education level we find an expected higher labour market income. The income models have more explanation power than the job-models. The income models might be more accurate to track outcome trajectories due to higher variance in the dependent variable. In this paper we analyzed labor market trajectories of immigrants from former Yugoslavia in Switzerland between 1999 and 2012. This subgroup experiences significantly higher rates of unemployment in the Swiss labor market compared to the overall immigrant population and to the natives. Does the initial circumstances of migration has a long-term effect on the labor market outcomes of migrants? We find strong evidence that the migrant category at entry influence the labour market trajectories of immigrants in the host country. Nevertheless, this study faces some methodological shortcomings, that immigrant categories are not overlapping by time. Future research should develop empirical strategies to distinguish more precise between the entry categories of migrants to track their effects on the success on the labor market.

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	Dependent variable:					
	job (within) (1)	income (RE) (2)	job (RE) (3)	income (RE) (4)	job (OLS) (5)	income (OLS) (6)
Humanitarian migrants			-0.358^{**} (0.153)	$-21,844.290^{**}$ (9,603.766)	-0.327^{***} (0.103)	$-23,069.210^{***}$ (6,957.098)
Family migrants			-1.485^{***} (0.565)	$-34,335.230$ (37,183.510)	-0.844^{*} (0.483)	$-54,737.060$ (39,725.110)
duration of residence	0.077 (0.075)	339.618 (251.038)	-0.003 (0.005)	262.406 (374.015)	-0.003 (0.003)	282.437 (221.844)
Age	-0.005 (0.004)	942.262^{***} (125.324)	-0.007^{***} (0.002)	781.412^{***} (154.460)	-0.006^{***} (0.002)	548.801^{***} (121.758)
Woman		$-17,089.070^{***}$ (2,979.761)	-0.073 (0.050)	$-15,799.420^{***}$ (3,125.561)	-0.102^{***} (0.028)	$-15,967.590^{***}$ (1,802.406)
Middle Education	-0.025 (0.067)	$20,796.660^{***}$ (2,687.928)	0.107^{**} (0.047)	$19,521.600^{***}$ (2,832.491)	0.217^{***} (0.035)	$15,452.530^{***}$ (2,349.299)
High Education	0.208^{*} (0.114)	$27,490.300^{***}$ (3,689.396)	0.097 (0.062)	$27,977.430^{***}$ (3,846.236)	0.134^{***} (0.041)	$28,093.440^{***}$ (2,765.416)
residentual permit	-0.073^{*} (0.038)	$-1,494.625$ (1,732.684)	-0.057^{*} (0.031)		-0.007 (0.029)	$-1,479.529$ (1,901.449)
annual permit	-0.165^{**} (0.066)	$-4,712.267$ (3,082.146)	-0.078 (0.056)		-0.030 (0.058)	$-8,730.607^{**}$ (3,742.159)
short-time permit			-1.808^{***} (0.582)		-1.312^{**} (0.577)	
Humanitarian migrants:Age			0.008^{*} (0.004)	395.974 (253.983)	0.007^{**} (0.003)	439.204^{**} (183.077)
Family Migrants:Age			0.064^{***} (0.023)	1,730.067 (1,609.480)	0.038^{*} (0.022)	2,592.157 (1,789.012)
Constant		-895.277 (7,418.498)	1.111^{***} (0.179)	7,475.910 (12,262.680)	1.017^{***} (0.106)	$21,197.410^{***}$ (7,574.710)
Observations	1,018	759	896	679	896	649
R^2	0.017	0.277	0.103	0.286	0.081	0.394
Adjusted R^2	0.013	0.274	0.101	0.282	0.080	0.387
F Statistic	2.225^{**} (df = 6; 764)	40.764^{***} (df = 7; 751)	8.326^{***} (df = 12; 883)	29.564^{***} (df = 9; 669)	6.520^{***} (df = 12; 883)	37.681^{***} (df = 11; 637)

Note: *p< 0.1; **p< 0.05; ***p< 0.01

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THE TRADE-OFF BETWEEN PRECARIOUS JOBS AND LABOUR MARKET SEGMENTATION IN ALBANIA

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ABSTRACT

Labor markets in developing countries are in general featured by employment insecurity and labour segmentation. Most labour market research analyst address the unemployment figures as the main social and economic concern, and fail to capture and analyze the precarious, insecure, uncertain jobs. This paper deals with the trade-off between precarious employment and labor market segmentation in Albania. We define the precarious employment as holding jobs that involve involuntary part-time work, or do not cover social security contributions. Using data from the Albanian LSMS 2012, we estimate multilevel mixed-effects logistic regressions to investigate the fixed and random effects on the worker insecurity of the working poor and working non-poor, migratory experienced workers and non-migratory experienced workers. Our findings reveal that the precarious work and labor market segmentation are positively linked to the migratory experiences.

Keywords: *Precarious employment, labor market segmentation, working poor, insecure jobs*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Labor market in Albania is featured by a relatively high unemployment rate which has remained at two digit level during the whole transition period. Unemployment figures alone are a cause for concern, but even these fall short to capture the larger majority of people who work, but who are engaged in the precarious, insecure, uncertain jobs. Labor markets in developing countries are often characterised by dualism (Lewis (1954). Albanian labor market exhibits problems of segmentation. As in other countries that face the problem of segmented labor markets, the main in-between line for labour market segmentation in Albania is not easy to be identified as different forms of standard and non-standard employment exhibit some features of instability, limited professional perspectives, low pay or other elements of 'precariousness'.

The segmentation of labor market is not explicitly of the contractual context, but in the case of Albania it refers mostly to the quality of jobs as well as the informal employment. According to Labor Force Survey (INSTAT 2014), about one third of employed in Albania are classified as contributing family workers, in other words informal employment is greater when added the employees that are not entitled their rights at least for the social contributions. Moreover, segmentation implies limited transitions to better jobs. Defining the precarious work in Albania as low quality jobs which include contributing family workers, wage employees who are not entitled to social security scheme, home workers; and workers performing a casual job, it is obvious that labor market segmentation and precariousness are strongly interconnected.

The reminder of this study is organized as following. Section 2 describes a short literature review. Section 3 presents the data and the methodology used to define precarious work. In section 4 are presented the empirical results, while section 5 concludes.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Buddelmeyer et al. (2004) analyzed the contribution of business cycles and structural factors to the development of employment part - time in the EU-15 countries through combined the cross-sectional and time-series variations during the past two decades. Their analysis is used to indicate whether the part-time jobs are used likewise the flexible working agreement by firms in the EU-15 during this period. Their empirical results demonstrated the negative effect of business cycles on the progress of part-time employment. Also they found that the classification by age and gender had the significant effect related to the impact of business cycles on the rate of part - time-work for young and male prime-age workers, while the effect was very poor women and insignificant for older workers. Empirical results of them emphasized the importance of institutional and structural factors likewise the determinants of the part-time employment rate. Meanwhile the authors highlighted the effective significance and positive impact of changes in the legislation related to the part-time employment developments.

Jackson (2004) showed that trade unions have the positive impact on women's wages and the wage gap between genders and the increasing of union coverage has potentially raised the wages and employment outcomes of women in precarious jobs. Also they had an impact on increasing the wage equality between women and men in the public sector, while they were neutral in private sector as a whole. The author emphasized that the

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challenge of trade unions is increasing the organizing efforts of women, particularly the women in the private services and highlighting the issues of equality in collective agreements through changes in public policy.

Modena and Sabatini (2010) investigated the instability of the women's work status likewise the significant and unpersuasive determinant related to the decision to have children, particularly for young couples with low and middle incomes. Otherwise the unemployed and precariously employed women, far from being encouraged to have children due to the lower opportunity costs of leaving the labor market, were surely less likely planning to have the children. Authors emphasized the other appropriate explanatory variables like the women's age, men's work status and education, women's citizenship, marital status.

Herman (2014) highlighted the main reasons and mechanism of working poverty in the EU countries during 2007-2012 including the recent economic crisis in order to identify the possible measures to be taken in the reducing of poverty-works. The author emphasized that the comparative analysis demonstrated the increasing of working poverty phenomenon in the EU countries with the significant prevalence between them. The correlation and regressive analysis results recommended that the gap amongst the national human capital and economic development could be explained by the disparity in the rate of working poverty. The author indicated that vulnerable and precarious employment represented the considerable determinant after the high level of poverty working in the EU countries during the period under analysis. He underlined through taking into consideration the cumulative influence of multiple socio-economic development along 2007 - 2012, that results of analysis according to the foremost components and cluster analysis point out the common features and differences between EU Member States regarding working poverty, employment performances, the efficiency of welfare state system and the level of human and economic development.

Dias da Silva and Turrini (2015) analyzed the wage differences between the permanent contracts and fixed terms to EU countries using data by European Structure of Earnings Survey. They found out that the employees with permanent contracts earn on average approximately15% more than the employees by fixed term contracts. The wage premium of permanent contracts was higher according to men, employees at middle age and with middle education and elementary professions. Also they found out that the permanent employees had the higher education and the wage premium for age. Authors investigated the differences of wage premium related to the permanent employees amongst countries and linked them with indicators of the labor market institutions. Empirical results indicated that the premium of higher wages according to permanent employees was linking to the high level of employment protection by the permanent contracts, to the high share of temporal employment in the economy, to the extended periods of the unemployment benefit and the low minimum wages.

Adams and Deakin (2014) emphasized that the coordination and risk management functions related to the standard employment relationship (SER) continues to be relevant in market economies and adapted into the new conditions. The authors showed that the SER had the complex and evolving relation related to the gender and social stratification. In the European context where SER achieved to articulate obviously, the institutional solutions linking to the precariousness and inequality were developing extremely innovative in order to avoid the simple deregulation in additional to the integrated policy

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responses, furthermore including the several additional regulatory mechanisms . However, the links between non - standard and precarious working have completed SER through transitions in the labor market and did not show it likewise the crucial aim according to the labour market regulation.

Deakin (2013) emphasized that the market segmentation was challenging due to its links with the poor job quality, inequality and discrimination, and on the other hand related to the efficiency toward the resource allocation. He related the segmentation to the result of contractual implementation which it was efficient in terms of individuals but according to the socially view was sub - optimal. Author found that the growth of atypical employment into several contexts and the informal employment in other contexts were the emergency responding to the SER likewise the legal model and normative benchmarking according to the precaution's aspects of labour law, particularly the employment protection legislation.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Using the Albanian LSMS 2012 data we estimate multilevel mixed-effects logistic regressions to investigate the differential effects of the worker insecurity of the working poor and working non-poor and migratory vs. non migratory experienced workers.

Albeit the term precarious work is being increasingly used at the European and international level, there is not a universally accepted definition for this term and concept. In the EU, precarious work has been defined as a combination of a low level of certainty over job continuity, poor individual control over work (notably working hours), a low level of protection (against unemployment or discrimination), and little opportunity for training and career progression. This has also been referred to as employment with "low quality". Low quality jobs include, for example, "dead-end jobs" and "low pay/low productivity jobs". It includes temporary, seasonal, part-time, on-call, day hire, casual or short term contracts; as well as self-employment, home working and multiple jobs (Siebern-Thomas, 2005).

Based on the LSMS questionnaire, we define the precarious work in Albania as low quality jobs which include the following: (1) contributing family workers; (2) wage employees who are not entitled to social security scheme; (3) home workers; and (4) workers performing a casual job.

We consider the two-level model where, for a series of M independent clusters, and conditional on a set of random effects u_j:

$$\Pr(y_{ij} = 1 | u_j) = H(x_{ij}\beta + z_{ij}u_j),$$

for j = 1,…,M clusters, with cluster j consisting of i = 1,…,n_j observations. The responses are the binary-valued y_{ij}, treating $y_{ij} = 1$ if the dependant variable ij $\neq 0$, and $y_{ij} = 0$ otherwise. The outcome of our estimated regressions is the precarious work which is a dummy variable taking the value 1 if the respondent is categorized in at least one of the forms of precarious work, and zero otherwise. The regressors used in our model include: age in years; education; international migratory status; poverty status; part time vs.   full time employment; and sex. Mixed-effects logistic regression is logistic regression containing both fixed effects and random effects.

4. MODEL RESULTS

In tables 1and 2 (in Annex1) are presented the results of the estimated mixed-effects logistic regressions for the determinants of being engaged in precarious jobs as a function of the selected variables. The first regression is estimated to control if participation in precarious work in Albania is gendered, while the second model allows comparing the likelihood of holding a precarious job between the migratory and migratory experienced workers.

Age is statistically significant in explaining the involvement in the precarious job for men, while for women the model results show that the effect of age is not statistically significant. As migration theory states, international migration in the case of Albania is gendered. Our model results show that the effect of migration is stronger for men who have ever experienced international migration and are holding precarious jobs compared to women.

The higher is the level of education, the lower the odds of being employed in precarious work for both men and women. Having a upper-secondary vocational education or a university degree when compared with the base category of lower primary education decreases the odds of being trapped in a situation of precariousness in the labour market. The results reveal that education is statistically significant despite the international migratory experiences of workers. Those who hold a part time job have a higher likelihood to find themselves in precarious work compared to those evolved in regular working-hours jobs regardless of the migratory experiences or sex. While the effect of poverty status (being working-poor or not) surprisingly is not statistically significant.

Table 1 Parameter estimates and standard errors from fixed-effects regression model for the precarious work by sex

	Male			Female		
	Coef.	*Std. Err*	*P > z*	*Coef.*	*Std. Err*	*P > z*
Age	-0.025	0.003	0.000	-0.006	0.006	0.2820
International migration experience	0.315	0.106	0.003	0.500	0.392	0.2030
Poverty status (working poor =1)	0.167	0.130	0.198	-0.125	0.224	0.5770
Part time work	0.898	0.097	0.000	1.028	0.157	0.0000
Education						
Lower secondary	-0.602	0.198	0.002	0.365	0.396	0.3560
Upper secondary general	-1.120	0.202	0.000	-0.280	0.405	0.4890
Upper secondary vocational	-1.401	0.230	0.000	-1.233	0.445	0.0060

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	-2.800	0.232	0.000	-2.693	0.426	0.0000
Tertiary	-2.800	0.232	0.000	-2.693	0.426	0.0000
Constant	1.589	0.331	0.000	0.251	0.688	0.7150
	No. obs = 4.057			No. obs = 2.009		
	Wald chi2(8) = 447.54			Wald chi2(8) = 295.75		
	Log likelihood = -2322.47			Log likelihood = -880.29		
	Chi2 = 0.0000			Chi2 = 0.0000		

Base category: Lower primary education, Full time work (>= 40 hours/week)

Table 2 Parameter estimates and standard errors from mixed-effects regression model for the precarious work by migratory experienced v.s. non migratory experienced workers

	Migratory experienced workers			Non-migratory experienced workers		
	Coef.	*Std. Err*	*P > z*	*Coef.*	*Std. Err*	*P > z*
AGE	-0.021	0.009	0.023	-0.021	0.003	0.0000
Sex (male = 1)	0.210	0.365	0.565	0.223	0.069	0.0010
Poverty status (working poor =1)	0.532	0.384	0.166	0.030	0.117	0.8000
Part time work	0.773	0.256	0.003	0.986	0.086	0.0000
Education						
Lower secondary	-2.307	1.046	0.027	-0.269	0.182	0.1400
Upper secondary general	-2.767	1.051	0.008	-0.834	0.187	0.0000
Upper secondary vocational	-3.494	1.095	0.001	-1.266	0.211	0.0000
Tertiary	-4.254	1.106	0.000	-2.891	0.209	0.0000
Constant	3.213	1.195	0.007	0.917	0.392	0.0190
	No. obs = 538			No. obs = 5.528		
	Wald chi2(8) = 54.3			Wald chi2(8) = 668.36		
	Log likelihood = -320.65			Log likelihood = -2910.77		
	Chi2 = 0.0000			Chi2 = 0.0000		

Base categories: Lower primary education; Full time work (>= 40 hours/week)

In table 3 are shown the estimated variance components. There are random effects at the settlement area level (living in urban or rural area).

Table 3 *Estimated variance components for the random effects at the urban/rural level*

Random effects parameters	Estimate	Standard error	LR test vs. logistic regression	
			Chibar2(01)	Prob>=chibar2
Male	0.1037	0.1065	65.53	0.0000
Female	0.4757	0.4835	114.56	0.0000
Migratory experienced workers	0.1147	0.1344	7.87	0.0025
Non-migratory experienced workers	0.1911	0.1934	156.42	0.0000

5. CONCLUSION

This study contributes to the wake of the theoretical debate on precariousness of jobs and its relation with the labour market segmentation, by examining the most common forms of the non standard jobs. Our findings indicate that the likelihood of having a job that is precarious decreases as age increases. The estimated model results show that the effect of migration is stronger for men who have ever experienced international migration and are holding precarious jobs compared to women. The higher is the level of education, the lower the odds of being employed in precarious work for both men and women. Having an upper-secondary vocational education or a university degree when compared with the base category of lower primary education decreases the odds of being trapped in a situation of precariousness in the labour market. The results reveal that education is statistically significant despite the international migratory experiences of workers. More in depth analysis is needed to better understand the trade-off between precarious work and labour market segmentation, because these two persistent phenomena consequently bring out further distortions in the labour market and should be placed in the policy making agenda.

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BETWEEN THE TWO WORLDS– MOBILIZING DIASPORA AND TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

The article focuses on the way that diaspora and transnational relations have been mobilized in the life of a rural community of North Albania, Dajc Commune. This commune is characterized by a strong sense of community which has initialized chain migration leading to the creation of its diaspora mainly in Italy and USA. Migrants have taken advantage of their friends and relatives during their integration in the host country and this is happening also in the way back home. There are some returnees which are trying to use their transnational relations in order to get embedded in the place of return.

Even though a high percentage of the population has out migrated most of the emigrants still move between the host and home country because of family celebrations and obligations, holidays or business and trade. They have been engaged in the home community life through financial and social remittances. Since 2006 a number of returnees have opened their own activities in agriculture taking advantage from the financial and social capital they have acquired during migration.

Through in-depth interviews and focus meetings this article analyzes the way that the flow of money and ideas coming from diaspora has affected the life of the community in origin. It also explores how the activities of transnational migrants lay not only on an individual or familiar level, but also a community one. The article defines that transnational activities have played an undisputable role in the life of the community. They have affected the way of living involving not only diaspora and transnational migrants but also the non migrants community.

1. INTRODUCTION

The role of diaspora is not a new concept in the Albanian Studies, but it is known mainly from a historical approach referring to its political impact during periods of wars and upheavals. So it has been settled mostly in a patriotic frame. While transnational relations are quite a new concept since transnationalism is a relatively new approach. These two concepts are regarded as two important issues in both political and policy debates and academic research, according to Faist (2010, 10), "diaspora even more so than transnationalism". They are two overlapping terms leading to many studies which try to divide them, but this is not the aim of this article. Its scope lies beyond the discussion of the blurred boundary between diaspora and transnational community. It analyzes the role of these two phenomenon in a rural community in Shkodra Region, the Commune of Dajc and it argues that these two actors acting as a whole have engaged all of this rural community.

As in overall Albania the commune has experiences a high massive out migration since 1990. Approximately up to 6000 inhabitants, 3030 males, 2970 females and 1400 families, have out migrated since 1990. International migration has been oriented toward the western countries whereas internal migration toward Tirana, the capital city and to Shkodra as the the main city of North Albania. Nearly 36 per cent of rural households have at least one family member who is actually in a permanent or seasonal migration (Commune of Dajc, 2015).

The article raises some research questions regarding the impact of diaspora and transnational migrants: Why migrants have been sending financial remittances, not only on a family level purpose? How it is reflected the role of social remittances in the lifestyle of origin country community? How is this diaspora organized? Which are the mechanisms operating in the community level that reflect transnational migration?

The methodology used is based on in-depth interviews and focus meetings. The interviews were conducted with the help of two key informants which have been the main architects of the diaspora organizing. In the same time there were organized two focus meetings with returnees in the Commune and migrants leading a transnational activity.

The paper concludes that diaspora and transnational relations have affected the way of living in the origin village. They have contributed not only financially but on a social and cultural level also. Being an active part of the decision making process not only on a family level, but on a community one also, migrants have had a positive impact on the commune development.

2. THEORETICAL APPROACH

There is a not well defined boundary between diaspora and transnationalism. Semantically these two concepts refer to two different social phenomena which overlap with each other. *Diaspora* is a term of flexible meaning and it has an undefined relationship with the concept of *transnational community*. Both of them deal with the homeland ties and the incorporation of the migrant in the destination country and in the same time emphasize intense connections to national or local territories (Faist 2010: 14-20).

There is a rich contemporary literature trying to distinguish analytically each of them. Their duration is one of the key elements that can somehow distinguish one from the other. According to Bruneau (2010, 47) 'It is a long-term sedimentation that makes a diaspora' while King and Christou (2010, 3) state that diasporic condition can be defined by referring 'their historic

continuity between at least two generations, the sense of the possible permanence of exile and the broad spread and stability of the distributions of population within diaspora'.

Diaspora and transnationalism are two concepts that can be applied in this rural society in order to understand the different spatial and temporal processes that have implicated all of the community, migrants and non-migrants. Exploring the consequences of migration in this community provides also an understanding of how diaspora forges a bond between different groups which may be settling in different places by maintaining many kinds of relations and invoking a common identity. This bond can be reflected in different forms: family, community, religious, socio-political and economic ties (Bruneau 2010: 35). While transnationalism provides a lens on when and how immigrants have managed to remain connected to the place of origin while simultaneously getting embedded in the host country (King, Christou 2010; Kivisto, Faist 2010; Schiller, Basch 1995).

This paper refers to these two phenomenon created mainly after 1990 so this rural community diaspora is not a consolidated one but mostly a diaspora in the making. This fact makes even more complicated the challenge to divide each of the concepts. Nevertheless, as we will see further, both of them have impacted simultaneously the life of the community acting as a whole. As Faist states:

The two concepts cannot be separated in any meaningful way. To do so would be to neglect the rich panoply of definitions and meanings that constantly overlaps (Faist 2010: 12)

3. CHAIN MIGRATION AND THE DIASPORA IN THEMAKING

Academics and policy makers have been studying from year's now international migration in Albania and most of them focus on population movement since 1990. This is obvious since international migration in Albania before this year was *virtually zero.* Since the first wave of migration the *embassy migrants, boat people* and *mountain trekkers* have created their own families, most of them have their children and some are even grandparents. So *time has passed* (Cohen cit. King, Christou) and there is a diaspora in the making. During the first decade of transition migrants settled and got embedded in the destination countries, mainly Italy and Greece. Although Western European countries on one side and Albania on the other tightened control measures to illegal migration, the first migrants served as a pull factor for the chain migration.

International migration from Dajc does not begin in 1990. The first emigrant from the Commune escaped from Albania to Corfu, Greece and then USA in 1965 while he was doing his military service in South Albania (Key informant). The history of massive out migration displays the first sparkles in 1989-1990 when through Buna people got to Montenegro with the targeted destination towards USA. The first migrants went in USA and Canada, later on in Italy and other countries.

International migration from Dajc is a typical form of family reunion and kinship/community-based chain migration. The first to leave the country from Dajc Commune toward Italy in 1992 was a young man, following his dream to become a priest who settled in Pistoia, Italy[6]. He was sheltered in a parish and was helped by a vicar. The young boy that today has the title "Dom",

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[6] This is the background of migration after 1990, because inhabitants from Dajc who managed to escape the communist regime, had left since 1965 and were settled in USA and less in Canada.

and the vicar that helped him, were the first people setting the bases of chain migration of Dajci community in Pistoia.[7] In the following years after 1992 young men from Dajc started migrating toward Italy, mostly to Tuscany: Pistoia, Modena, Firenze, Lucca etc. As they settled in Tuscany, they became the initial base for the chain migration that would follow the years to come. Only in the commune of Pistoia today are registered 4133 Albanians, most of them from Dajc. Some years later, during 1996-1997 and 2011-2015 other migrants left toward USA and Canada. In a focus group discussion, Gjovalin, was explaining his own migration experience and when I asked: Where did you settle, all of them laughed and with one voice answered together: *In Pistoia, of course…*

Luciano (32) (laughing) If you ever meet an Albanian in Pistoia, he is for sure from Dajc…

> Main part of Dajc population is catholic. That is one of the reasons why Catholic Church has been so important for them in providing help and support.

> Valentin (30, M) …we have to stress out the fact that being Catholics and the help of the priest were very important in the first years when we (Albanians) had a negative image in Italy, image that was reinforced even by the media…

The role of the households and community in the decision making with the aim not only to maximize incomes, but also to spread risk is evident in the mechanisms migrants have used while migrating, integrating or returning. This chimes with the behavior of diaspora in formation especially in circumstances of stress (Van Hear 2014). Chain migration was helped from the social networks which were community based ones. 'For migrants, social networks are crucial for finding jobs and accommodation, circulating goods and services as well as psychological support and continuous social and economic information' (Vertovec 2002, 3). Almost all the interviewees followed the same mean (by boat) and pathway of migrating (Dajc/Albania-Pistoia/Italy) toward a family or community member already abroad. The continuing of community and kinship support was manifested when a sibling would come from Dajc and would require shelter in the same way they had done years ago. This form of chain migration was diminished when Italy was hit by the financial crisis and some of the migrants came back.

> Gjovalin (50, M) …I left in 1994…by boat (*shivers*) and went to my first cousin, my uncle's son…after 4 years I got married and my wife came there…

While living in Italy they used to gather in cases of celebrations, birthdays, baptisms etc. and in the same time they were connected to the village community by sending different kind of remittances, offering help to new comers from the origin country or, those who had managed to get the permits of staying, would come twice the year to visit the village. This panorama changed especially after 2005, when most of the migrants were integrated, they had managed to take their families through family re-union and had accumulated some capital which some of them thought could be invested in the place of origin.

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[7] In Pistoia Province there are 11.077 Albanians concerning 40,3% of the foreigners in this province. The number of Albanians in Italy is 490. 483 (http://www.tuttitalia.it/toscana/provincia-di-pistoia/statistiche/cittadini-stranieri/albania/)

4. MOBILIZING DIASPORA IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

According to the data collected by the commune there are 1050 inhabitants from Dajc settled in Italy, 245 in USA, 45 in Canada and the rest in a limited number we find in Australia (32), Germany (20), Greece (18), Montenegro (16), Macedonia (14) and Belgium (10). With their scattering and integration came the establishment of transnational relations and networks among the dispersed groups, and it is through these networks and relationships that diasporas can exert influence on their countries of origin (Van Hear 2014).

The young boy who had settled the first in Pistoia came back as a priest. While living in Italy, he had created "Albania migrantes Association". In the same time USA migrants created "Mother Teresa Association". Both of them co-financed different projects in the commune. He continued to be for a long time the main pillar of the association travelling between Albania and Italy. To the question why you decided to organize migrants in an association, he answers:

> I wanted to find something that could help the commune to get out from the poverty, to push somehow its development…Migrants were investing in big luxury houses…while the roads and the services of the commune were in very bad conditions. It was necessary to not let them operate as individuals and remain as anonymous, but to gather all the actors: the parish, the non-migrants community, the local governance.. This could be done only by the church.So the village benefited a lot from the collective remittances sent through the association. King, Frykman and Vullnetari (2013, 129) state that: 'Whatever the scale of remittances, villages and towns of migrants' origin can benefit from the multiplier effects of such transfers; even more so if these are meso scale 'collective remittances', sent as part of migrant hometown associations to improve community facilities such as schools, roads, clinics etc. social remittances –skills, ideas, attitudes, behaviors etc. – are also potentially part of this 'development through migration' process'.

Because of the very low incomes of the commune most of the investments from the diaspora associations have been made on the roads (the key informants numbers 18 roads paved from the financial engagement of diaspora), church, old cultural monuments rehabilitation, a scientific conference in Italy named: *Albania near and far*, the financial help given during the floods, etc. Many of the non-migrants living in the village were employed and involved during the implementation of these projects (Figures 1 and 2).

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Figure 1. Inhabitants of Dajc employed in the pavement of a road Figure 2. The school built with the Association finances

When asked about the number of members that are part of the association, the key informant answers:

> Only a few were registered members in the association, but they all felt   members of it, even though they were not registered…

This diaspora in the making was not only involved as a financial partner, but also in the decision making process. Through the organization in an association and by well knowing the economic and social problems of the commune, it has operated as a whole body maintaining not only economic but also sentimental ties with the home country. They have been active in the decision making process of where to invest the money and also in demanding explanations on the money spent. The collective identity has played an important role in the decision making process regarding the investments Alba Migrantes wanted to make. According to the interviews, the readiness to act was not only for economic purposes, it was considered also as an investment in a long term view:

> Gjovalin (40)…the village was in a poor situation, it seemed to me like a lost village, as if it was far away from the city…the difference between where I used to live (Italy) and the village was so sharp…I intend to return some day, after my children will create their own life, so I want to have something for my future, a better place to live..

Diaspora may play an important role not only through financial remittances, but also by transferring knowledge and technology and acting as trade intermediaries (Oruc et al 2013, 25). Beside the money given for common investments in the commune, migrants sent also financial remittances in order to set up enterprises that were managed mainly by the members of the family still living in the village. So, with the beginning of the financial crisis in Italy, many migrants began to reconsider the way of living and got more involved in the transnational activities.

5. TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS AND RETURN

The commune of Dajc has been involved in a massive out migration, internal toward Tirana and international toward mainly Italy and recently return migration displayed mainly after 2008. In the situation when staying in Italy gets difficult because of the financial crisis and in the same time re-adaptation in Albania is difficult because of the still unstable economic situation, then

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migrants tend to get oriented toward that phenomena which in these 20 last years is being termed *transnationalism* (King et. Al 2013).

Diaspora and transnational relations in this paper are studied in the transnational social spaces created from a rural community. According to Faist (2000, 202-210) the creation of enduring transnational social spaces require the sustainability of different types of transnational social spaces: kinship groups, transnational circuits and transnational community. While the kinship groups are more evident, and many enterprises operate on this base, there are some first traces of transnational circuits and community.

Migrants of Italy are those who have a higher transnational mobility embracing some kinds of movement, physical, symbolic and virtual contribution to the creation of a transnational social field which comprises both 'host land' and 'homeland' (Faist 2000). 'After out-migrating most migrants were engaged in to-and-fro mobilities with their homeland. These mobilities included both the 'corporeal' moves that migrants made and non-corporeal mobilities also' (King et. al 2013, 34) Emigrants from Dajc visited home country periodically, mainly in August and December when family members, siblings, relatives and friends had pre-planned their important celebrations (weddings, engagements, gatherings etc); built their big houses in Dajc taking actively part from the project of the house to the investment and building process; sent on a regular basis remittances which were bigger when a member of the family had an important event (wedding, funeral, education, health problems etc); participated in important decisions and kept continuously in touch via phone or internet. Emigrants had an important voice in decision making in the home land and vice-versa. The growing number of possibilities of movement, visa's liberalization, and efficient modes of communication allowed migrants to maintain transnationally their home-based relationships and interests. So it was created a transnational field facilitated by the geographical proximity and the possibility of cheap and frequent travel which gave rise to a greater range of intensity of transnational links, including those who didn't move but were involved in transnational relations (King, Frykman, Vullnetari 2013,126).

Transnational relations in the commune have involved also the non-migrant community. Since the rate of out-migration has been high, every family has or has had an emigrant member. Different kind of transnationalisms are displayed, mostly economic but social one also – financial and in-kind remittances; big houses build with the money from migration experience that are a reflection of *the myth of return*, but that are mostly empty; the set-up of an activity with the capital accumulated from the son/brother in migration; frequent visits; different kinds of communication (internet, phone etc) religious and traditional celebrations etc.

Migration in Dajc Commune, as in overall Albania, has entered a new pathway: return migration. There are 776 returnees in this administrative area, which now is part of Shkodra Municipality. They came back mainly from Italy and only a few of them from Greece. They admit they did return because of the fact that incomes were decreasing as a result of the financial crisis in these two destinations country, but not only. Some of them did return before the crisis began. Migration for some years to get a job, earn some money and then go back in Albania and invest them has been a living strategy for many Albanians after 1990. Some migrants opened a business activity in the village while still living in Italy. There are some examples, even if limited, of transnational activities or stable links. 'Post-return transnationalism can be important for livelihoods, for instance when returnees make a living through trade or tourism based on ties to their former country of residence' (Carling, Erdal 2014, 4). The idea of some activities was imported from Italy as the cultivation of decorative plants; the trade of construction materials

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and wood products; the opening catering services, small markets, car services, sun houses and metal construction, live breeding, food industry (meat and dairy) etc. Despite the economic activities that returnees have opened and control by themselves, there exist also other activities where migrants have invested such as restaurants and hotels in the city of Shkoder or in Dajc, but mainly in seaside area in the neighbor commune of Velipoja. Almost all these economic activities returnees manage by themselves, or through their family (brother, father). The staff employed in them is mainly from Dajc.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Migrants managed to get successfully organized mostly because of the church. Trust is essential in this kind of organizations and they believed in the priest, since he had helped them from the beginning of the out migration experience. A local authority would state: 'When I asked for financial help, they didn't respond… when the priest did, they answered positively '. Even though there is a blurred boundary between the concepts of diaspora and transnational practices, both of them have been important in the life of the community since the main actors, migrants have been active and not completely detached from the village origin. They have been involved in transnational practices such as sending remittances to support family members, making business investments in the homeland, returning and developing an enterprise or contributing new ideas and behavioral norms showing that they have the potential to stimulate the development of their home community (King, Frykman, Vullnetari 2013, 128). The diaspora analyzed in this paper is relatively a new one, it is still vulnerable and it is kept alive through transnational practices of individuals or groups. So the *blurred limit* between diaspora and transnational activities is almost imperceptible. These two dimensions are in the process of creating economic, social, sentimental or cultural ties which may not necessarily lead to a sustainable migration-development nexus. Still they are important complementary elements to each other, they both consist a resource and are beneficial for the commune. Transnational linkages taken into consideration are limited, but on the other hand since it operates mainly in short distances between the host and home country, it is a short distance transnationalism, where the cost of moving is low and might get lower in the future. So we may say, taking in consideration the advances in technology and transport, that the transnational field might get stronger if it turns in an economic profitable field and it is helped by the right policies. The role of diaspora should have more attention from the local and central government. Recently there has been a growing interest on the diaspora-development nexus in the European comprehensive policy. As put by (Weinar 2010, 82) "A mantra of EU-level documents for several years now has been to create a triple-win situation: the host country gains through labour, the home country gains through co-development and the migrant gains through individual initiatives". From the in-depth interviews it is understood that the interest of migrants, members of diaspora, to invest in the home origin is reducing. As times goes by and second-generation is not not so willing to go back at their roots, the engagement in the diaspora is not seen as profitable any more. On one side the mobility of transnational migrants leads to a mainly economic interest, but on the other side diaspora very often does not find profitable in any domain the investment. If its mobilizing is merely for the parents living there or for the sake of old times, then its continuity is quite vulnerable. So its mobilizing in the future seems not sustainable without the proper policy implications.

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