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INTERNAL MIGRATION AND REPRODUCTION IN ALBANIAN REGIONS

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Internal migration and reproduction in Albanian regions

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Abstract

If fertility decline between 1989 and 2001 concerned whole Albania, regional differences still persist. Women in peripheral areas have in average 3 children compared to under replacement levels in Tirana and other central urban places in 2001. This paper investigates the role of internal migration on the geography of reproduction in the country. Fertility differentials according to the migration status at the time of the last census are estimated and the underlying causes are investigated in a multivariate and longitudinal perspective using retrospective survey data for the intercensal period. Since internal movements concern primarily young women from high fertility regions heading towards urban centres, their impact on regional fertility levels is potentially important. Migration is indeed closely linked to marriage and selects women who marry early. They do not adapt their family behaviours at destination but continue to have a high number of children (about one child more than non migrants). It is argued that the internal migration has not only contributed in a direct but also in an indirect manner to the recent urbanisation in transitional Albania. In preventing the TFR to fall too low under the replacement level in destination regions, the inflow may postpone future population ageing.

Résumé

Bien que la fécondité ait diminué dans l'ensemble de l'Albanie entre 1989 et 2001, les différentiels régionaux persistent. On compte jusqu'à 3 enfants par femmes dans les régions périphériques et rurales alors que l'indice synthétique se situe en dessous du niveau de remplacement dans les villes en 2001. Nous analysons dans cette contribution le rôle de la migration interne sur la géographie de la reproduction dans le pays. Les différentiels de fécondité selon le statut migratoire au dernier recensement sont estimés et les dynamiques sous-jacentes analysées dans une perspective multivariée et longitudinale, en recourant notamment à des données rétrospectives d'enquêtes pour la période intercensitaire. Les mouvements internes concernent principalement des jeunes femmes des régions caractérisées par un niveau de fécondité élevé et s'orientent vers les centres urbains. L'impact de la migration sur les niveaux de fécondité régionaux est donc potentiellement important. En effet, la migration est étroitement liée au mariage et sélectionne les femmes qui se marient tôt. Elles ne semblent pas adapter leur comportements familiaux aux normes prévalent au lieu d'arrivé et ont ainsi environ un enfant de plus que les non migrantes. Nos résultats confirment l'impact démographique indirect de la migration sur l'urbanisation récente en Albanie. L'augmentation résultante de l'indice synthétique de fécondité dans les principales régions de destination pourrait ainsi retarder le vieillissement futur de leur population.

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Introduction

Similar to other Eastern European countries, Albania experienced a continuing fertility decline during its economic and political transition. The mean number of children per women declined by half since 1989 and reached 1.3 in urban and 1.8 in rural areas in 2006-9 (INSTAT et al. 2010). Whereas in peripheral regions of the country this decreasing fertility has alleviated demographic pressure on the socio-economy, the continuing downward trend may become a future issue in more urbanized contexts: they will experience a rapid population ageing as well from the bottom as from the top of the age pyramid. Internal migration, however, is susceptible to redistribute demographic reproduction and thus to postpone the event. Besides the emigration of more than a fifth of Albanians since the economic and political transition, the country has also experienced large internal migration towards urban areas that has kept on in the more recent years.

This paper investigates how and to what extent interregional movements had an influence on the geography of reproduction during the intercensal period 1989-2001. Internal migration is potentially important for regional fertility differentials because a majority of migrants originate from high fertility settings and settle in or near of urban areas, where fertility is traditionally lower. However, the influence of mobility depends not only on its demographic and socioeconomic selectivity at origin, but also on the adaption of the movers' childbearing behaviour at destination.

The next section shortly introduces the Albanian context regarding fertility and internal mobility. After the presentation of fertility differentials in 2000-1 according to the intercensal migration status, we will investigate the underlying causes in a multivariate and longitudinal perspective using a sample of family formation histories during the 1990s. The paper concludes with a discussion on the migration–fertility interrelationships in Albania and their impact on regional fertility levels.

Fertility and internal migration in Albania

While Albania was characterized by the highest fertility rate on the European continent until 2001, the average number of births per women has sharply declined in the last 50 years. Despite indirect measures favouring childbearing during communism, total fertility dropped from more than 6 to 3.5 children between 1960 and 1980 and declined further to 1.6 children in 2006-9. Compared to other South-Eastern European countries, the decline started some 15 years later (Sardon 2000). It has been motivated, among others, by increasing female education along with the double burden imposed to women – high labour force participation and the responsibility of childrearing in the household (Falkingham and Gjonca 2001). This evolution was brought about by a fertility decline at higher ages and parities leading to a contraction of fertility within a limited age range. With increasing hardship during economic and political transition, this pattern has been generalized among couples in the 1990s. Contrary to most other Eastern European countries, however, marriage remains early (in average at age 23), universal and is immediately followed by the first birth (Gjonca et al. 2008). If the postponement of family formation is often associated to new economic opportunities as well as a diffusion of Western family and individualistic values, several authors argue that this pattern mainly concerned Eastern European countries that underwent a rapid and successful transition as Hungary, Slovakia, Tchekia, etc. Balkan and Central Asian countries, however, experienced sharp economic and political crisis. The fertility decline arised mainly from a stopping behaviour at higher parities motivated by material constraints (Sobotka 2003; Billingsley 2009). Indeed, the delayed transition to motherhood in Albania seems to have started later – at the beginning of the 21st Century – in parallel to economic and political consolidation (Lerch et al. forthcoming).

If fertility decline is observed throughout the country, the evolutions since 1989 differ according to the region. The sharp drop in North-Eastern Albania – from more than 4 to 3 children per women in 2000-1 – contrasts with the slow downward trend in low-fertility and economically central districts located at the Coast, particularly in Tirana but also in Durres, Kruje and Korce. Whereas a clear North-East to South-West gradient existed before the transition, regional fertility differentials appear more limited at the beginning of the 21th Century. In this paper we estimate the role of internal migration in this relative homogenisation of reproduction levels in Albania.

Albania is an interesting laboratory for the analysis of interrelationships between migratory and fertility behaviours; geographic mobility has been retained over 40 years during communism and then concerned an important part of the population during transition. Even more important for our purpose is the female dominance of internal flows, representing almost 60% of migrants at the last census in 2001. Since Albanian fertility is increasingly compressed in a short age interval (between the ages 20-29), the mobility of predominantly young people has a high potential impact on regional fertility levels.

Before the fall of communism, internal migration was limited by the government through the interregional allocation of the labour force, rural retention and a zero urban growth policy. Although domestic passports and

residence permits restricted the mobility of Albanians, unregulated migration existed and significantly contributed to the growth of the urban population, especially during the 1980s. However, because of higher natural growth in rural areas, the urbanisation rate remained stable since 1960 (between 30 and 36% until 1990). Given the housing shortage and restricted access to ration books for illegal immigrants in the cities, some rural – urban migration was also diverted to surrounding rural areas (Sjöberg 1994; Sörberg 1992).

During the transition years, internal population mobility increased as it became a major reaction of Albanians to the new freedom in an insecure political and economic context: a quarter of the population aged 15 years and more lived in a different commune in 2001 than 12 years before and more than half of them had crossed district borders. Internal migration peaked in periods of political turmoil and economic crisis, as during the first democratic elections in 1991-2 and the 1997 financial crisis (World Bank 2007). Young people left rural and mountainous regions and increased the working age population in cities and immediate rural territories – mainly in the capital and on the Western Coast. According to last LSMS estimates, half of the Albanian population lives in urban areas in 2008.

If internal population flows during transition were much more important than in the communist past, they share several common features. The dominant movements originated in the north-eastern and south-eastern highland and headed towards Tirana and the Coastal lowland. Rurbanisation in the immediate cities' vicinities strongly intensified, as the population of the major urban agglomeration Tirana almost doubled between 1989 and 2001 (Agorastakis and Sidiropoulos 2007; World Bank 2007; Zezza et al. 2005). Whereas international migration was dominated by males, female dominance among internal movers represents another similarity with past trends. In the 1980s, the overrepresentation of women in cities has been attributed to the regional allocation of female work force and marriage migration – traditionally undertaken by the bride rejoining her husband's family. This tradition has also been instrumentalized to circumvent governmental restrictions on internal movements during communism (Sjöberg 1994; Vullnerati 2007).

Higher migrant fertility and the role of marriage

Regional fertility levels in 2000-1 are estimated here indirectly from the 2001 Census using the own children method (see Cho et al. 1986)[2]. We compare fertility of women who lived in the same region in 1989 as at enumeration with fertility of women who either left or immigrated during the decade. Regions are defined according to the domains of survey estimations: the predominantly rural and mountainous North-East is distinguished from the more urbanized coastal region, urban Tirana and the remaining central regions (see Appendix)[3].

According to these estimates, interregional migrants have a higher number of children than non migrants in all regions, whatever the place of residence (Table 1). In fact, migrant fertility is not much lower than the 1989 level in their origin region, whereas non migrants experienced a sharp decrease during the decade. In high-fertility regions of North-Eastern Albania – where emigrants represent a third of the surviving women in reproductive age at the Census – the differences are small. Non migrants and women who leaved for another region have on average 2.9 children alike, with a constant urban-rural differential of approximately one child. This apparent similarity is explained by two effects that equalize each other, as illustrated by Figure 1, left hand side. The plotted fertility differential ratio measures age-specific differences in total and marital fertility between migrants and non migrants. A ratio superior to unity means higher migrant compared to non migrant fertility. Young north-eastern emigrants have higher childbearing rates than the stayers because they married earlier than non migrants: both groups indeed have a similar number of children within marriage. When the majority of females got married at higher ages, however, marital fertility is slightly lower among the emigrated compared to the non migrant women.

In Central regions, the situation is similar, but the average number of children per women is slightly higher among emigrants compared to non migrants (2.7 vs 2.2; Table 1). The differentials are more marked in urban than rural areas: emigrated women from cities have in average 2.5 compared to 2 children among those who stayed. Migrants' excess fertility under 30 years of age also arises from earlier marriage, as their number of children within marriage is equal to those prevalent among non migrants (Figure 1, left hand side). Contrary to the North-Eastern region, the positive impact of early marriage on period fertility is sustained at higher ages by

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[2] Births and females in the reference period (from 1 april 2000 to the march 2001) have been estimated on the basis of the national reverse survival ratios based on the WHO life table in 2000. As a consequence, regional and intergroup fertility differentials can be underestimated.

[3] This spatial division roughly represents the geography of fertility and internal migration, although the Centre is a somewhat heterogeneous region. Urban status in 2001 has been imputed to the former place of residence in 1989.

superior childbearing rates within unions. The differential is small, but increases with age to attain less than 50% at 40-44.

Table 1: Fertility of interregional migrants and non-migrants according to the region, 2000-1.

| Region | TFR 1989* | TFR 2000-1 | | | | % of Emigrants (among non- and emigrants) | % of Immigrants (among non- and immigrants) |
		Total (non- and immigrants)	Non-migrants	Emigrants	Immigrants		
Coast	**2.9**	**2.2**	**2.0**	3.1	**2.9**	7	15
rural	3.2	2.3	2.2	3.6	3.0	4	13
urban	2.4	2.0	1.9	2.7	2.5	8	15
Centre	**3.1**	**2.3**	**2.2**	**2.7**	3.3	13	8
rural	3.4	2.5	2.5	2.9	3.1	11	8
urban	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	3.1	13	4
North-East	**4.1**	**3.0**	**2.9**	**2.9**	4.2	32	3
rural	4.4	3.1	3.1	3.0	4.4	28	2
urban	3.1	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.4	40	5
Tirana urban	**2.0**	**1.8**	**1.4**	3.5	**2.3**	4	40

Source: Census 2001, own children. Note: * National TFR 1989 has been distributed by regions in prorata of the child/female ratio at the Census 1989; see also footnote 3.

Figure 1: Interregional migrant fertility differentials by age, compared to non-migrants in origin and destination areas, marital and total fertility, Albania 2000-1.
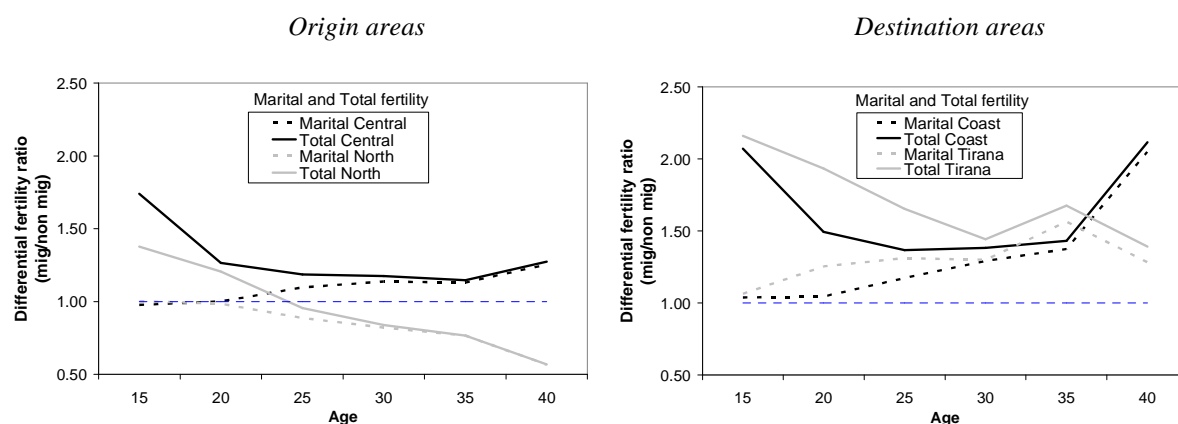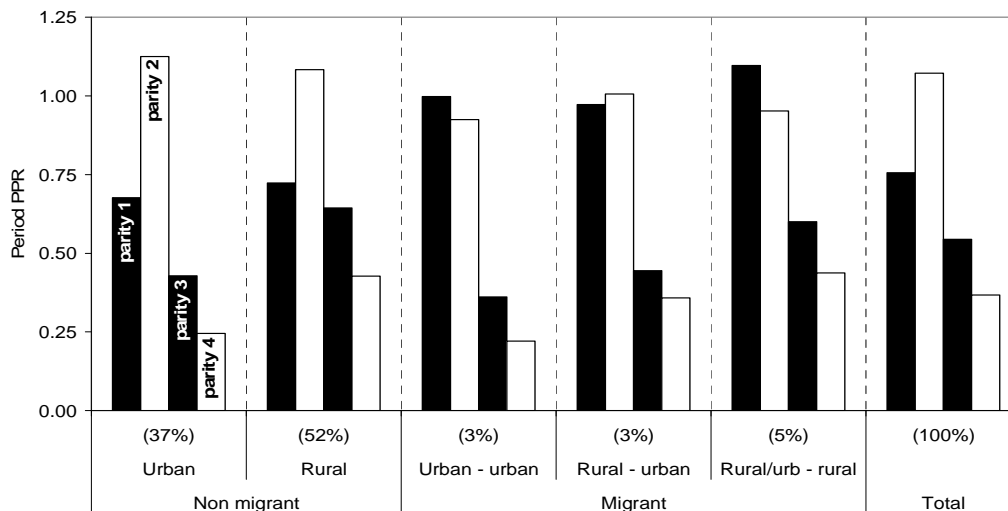

Source: Census 2001, own children. Note: The dashed blue line indicates the hypothetical situation of identical fertility between migrants and non-migrants (ratio equal to unity).

Compared to the situation in the origin regions, the destination regions face a different phenomenon as exemplified by the capital: immigrants to Tirana represent a high share of females in reproductive age (40%), and significantly contribute to elevate the TFR closer to the replacement level in 2000-1 (to 1.8 children per women; Table 1). Indeed, migrants have in average almost one child more than non-migrants (2.3 and 1.4, respectively). In the major receiving regions, fertility under the age of 25 is twice as high for immigrants compared to non migrants (Figure 1, right hand side). This difference can be explained by both, earlier marriage and higher childbearing rates within unions among the former. The superior number of children within marriage increases with age to attain more than 50% of the non migrants' fertility. These patterns are evident on the rural and urban coast alike (immigrants have 2.9 compared to 2 children among non migrants).

A look at period parity progression ratios (PPPR) confirms the nature of the migrants' positive impact on fertility levels in receiving regions (Figure 2). Non migrants are characterized by a low transition to the first birth (inferior to 75%) but a very high probability to enlarge families with a second one in rural and urban areas alike.

This exemplifies the distorting effect of delayed entry into motherhood during the observation period. A certain number of women started to postpone marriage, leading to a depressed first birth rates as well as an inflated transition to the second birth. Fertility differences between rural and urban areas come mainly from higher order births: 43% and 25% of non migrant women with respectively two and three children in cities will have an additional one against 64% and 43% in rural areas. Whereas the onset of first births postponement concerns the whole country, the two-child family model is a predominantly urban phenomenon until 2001.

Figure 2: Period parity progression ratios by interregional migration type, Albania 2000-1.

Source: Census 2001, own children method of fertility estimation. Note: unknown migration type excluded (1.5% of females).

However, because of earlier marriage, migrant women do not seem to adopt these innovative behaviours, whatever the direction of the move. Mobility clearly anticipates the arrival of the first child, particularly among movers between rural areas (PPPR superior to unity). After the first child, migrants have similar second and third birth transition rates to non migrants, but are characterised by a higher transition rate to the fourth birth, particularly among rural migrants who settled in urban areas (36%).

To sum up, fertility differentials between migrant and non migrant women in 2000-1 arise primarily from earlier marriages among young migrants as well as from a higher number of children within unions. Interestingly, migrants marry not only earlier than non migrants in receiving regions but also earlier than those in the origin regions. This pattern is observed in urban and rural areas alike. Whereas migration is neutral or slightly decreases the fertility level of the remaining population, the impact concerns primarily receiving regions and depends on the relative importance of the net migration balance. The differentials observed according to the migration status at the beginning of the 21th century may be in part a period effect due to the recent postponement of marriage and the first birth among non migrants.

Migration and family formation in a life-course perspective

The timing of demographic events is central to understand the causes of the observed differences in family formation patterns. Indeed, Courgeau (1985) stressed the importance of a life-course approach in showing how differential migration rates by age are explained by the individual's stage in the family formation process. Different hypotheses about possible interactions of migration and fertility behaviours have been discussed in the literature (see Kulu 2003). Women may be selected in origin regions according to observable characteristics that influence simultaneously mobility *and* family formation (for example the level of education) as well as unobserved characteristics such as intended fertility (White et al. 1995). The scarce empirical evidence for this hypothesis mostly points to a selection of less fertile women, exemplifying similar patterns to those encountered in the destination area. Migration and fertility decisions may also be closely associated, the former being the motive of the latter: women migrate in order to marry and form a family. The resulting period effect, due to an increase in fertility shortly after the move, has been observed in different contexts including Guatemala (Lindstrom 2003) and Malaysia (Smith and Thomas 1998), in communist Czechoslovakia (Boguszak et al. 1989) as well as in post-communist Kyrgyzstan (Nedoluzhko and Andersson 2007). The underlying causes of moving can be specific marriage traditions and include economic considerations for the future family. With the economic

changes in China during the 1980s, per example, the dominant marriage migrations not only increased but also followed labour migration streams what enlarged the spatial mobility field for marriage (Davin 2008). If corresponding first birth intensities are often high, the following integration process at destination can influence family enlargement rates.

With increasing length of stay in the destination areas, migrants' behaviours tend to converge to those prevalent among the local population. This adaptation to often lower fertility levels is linked to the structural and cultural integration of migrants. Higher costs of living and lower interfamily support in urban areas can have a negative effect on childbearing. Adaptation to the new economic and social context is yet difficult to disentangle empirically from disruption effects in the short run: spouses may be separated and economic constraints may appear immediately after the move – such as difficulties in finding a (well payed) job or bad housing and sanitary conditions. Emotional stress is susceptible to lower temporarily the fecundability or to postpone fertility among migrant women. In a longer term perspective, they are exposed to and may adapt new childbearing norms and values prevalent at destination who in turn lead to lower fertility. However, women may be less influenced by the current living context than by norms and values integrated during childhood that favour large families independently from where they reside later on. The convergence of family behaviours towards those encountered at destination may therefore only concern the immigrants' descendants. Since internal migration in Albania often involved whole families (particularly when originating in the North; INSTAT 2004), a significant share of migrant women have been socialized during childhood in the destination areas and may be characterized by lower fertility compared to adult migrants, as observed in Ghana (White et al. 2005).

Data, definitions and method

Albanian Census data do not provide the exact timing of migration. They consequently neither allow a proper longitudinal analysis of migration–fertility interactions, nor the identification of second generation immigrants. We therefore rely on individual fertility and migration histories from the Reproductive and Health Survey 2002 in order to test the aforementioned hypothesis in a life-course perspective. Half of the sample, composed of 5688 females aged 15 to 44, ever changed the usual place of residence[4]: half of them did so between rural areas, a quarter moved from rural to urban and less than a fifth between urban areas. Unfortunately, RHS data do not allow the identification of interregional migration.

Migration selection is tested in a discrete time survival model (using logistic regression) on person-months of exposure from 1990 or the entry into fertile life (age 15) up to the truncation in December 2001. The logged odds of the last internal move since 1990 is predicted as a function of the place of residence (urban/rural) before migration, educational level (primary or less vs higher education) as well as the time varying age, marital status and number of born children. Results are presented in the form of odds ratios (i.e. exponentials of the logged odds). An odds ratio (O.R.) superior to unity means a higher risk of moving out of the place of residence compared to the reference group (indexed by unity), after controlling for differences due to other characteristics.

Additionally to this outmigration model, we also investigate the effect of migration on family formation using the same methodology. The time-varying migration status and place of residence is treated as an independent variable to predict respectively the transition rate to marriage, from marriage to the first and respectively to the second and (pooled) higher order births during the decade. We distinguish non migrants from adult migrants (who moved at age 15 and more since 1990) and the second generation (who migrated at age 6 to 14 before or after 1990). Adult migrants who moved in the 1970s or 1980s are excluded from the sample. Following Lindstrom (2003), we test the different hypotheses in one model in decomposing person-months of exposure according to both, the migrant status and the place of residence. Thus, we investigate differential fertility of migrants, compared to non migrants, before and after different types of moves: urban to urban, rural to urban and movements between rural areas. The analyses of fertility histories during the 1990s also provide the opportunity to situate the Census estimation period 2000-1 (analysed above) in the decennial fertility trend. Although we will test period effects in the model, their interpretation needs some caution, as the international outflow may have selected the sample according to childbearing patterns. Moreover, event history models are difficult to interpret in terms of intensity of events when the event calendar is changing during the observation period.

Migrant selection

Table 2 in the Appendix shows the risk profile for female migration. Migration rates increase with age and are higher for women originating from rural areas. Selection according to skills depends on the place of residence. In rural areas, migration propensity tends to be higher among women with post-obligatory education whereas in

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[4] The data provide only information on the last move (as well as the previous place of residence). Our investigation of the 2005 LSMS round, who registers up to three past moves, shows that multiple moves only concern 1% of females in reproductive ages.

urban places the movers are negatively selected, with higher mobility among the less educated population. The strong connection between internal mobility and family formation dynamics in Albania is confirmed after control of these socioeconomic characteristics. Married women and, to a lower extend, women with children are more likely to move compared to singles. Indeed, more than half of migrated women interviewed during the Living Standard Measurement Survey 2002 said to move in order "to join family or marry", whereas only a quarter mentioned "to look for a better paid job". Among the former, more than half changed their residence with their husband during the same year[5].

Impact of migration on family formation

The results of the family formation models are shown in Table 3 in the Appendix. Age and time since the last family event have the expected effects. Congruent with our expectations, women holding a post-compulsory level are characterized by significantly lower transition rates to marriage and higher order births, illustrating their pioneering role in the fertility decline. The central focus of our analysis is however on time trends as well as on the effect of migration.

The declining marriage rates between 1990 and 2001 confirm the recent shift to delayed entry into motherhood – observed from the parity progression ratios presented above. However, the risk of a first and second birth slightly increased during the initial period of uncertainty – a similar pattern observed in Russia and other South-East European countries (Sobotka 2003) – and then decreased again during Albania's political and economic consolidation after 1998. Transition rates to higher parities not significantly differed until 1998 but then interestingly increased[6]. Hence, fertility seems to become more polarised on the eave of the 21st Century: childless women increasingly postpone the entry into motherhood and favour the one or two children models, whereas women with a higher number of children are characterized by even higher family enlargement rates than before. With the economic and political stabilisation, fertility might have increased in traditional context, while new reproductive behaviours are diffused in urban places among the youth.

Migration's effect on family formation

If educational profiles are controlled for, non migrant have a higher risk of first marriage[7] in cities than in rural areas defined as the reference group. Urban dwellers are however associated to an inferior risk of additional births after parity one.

After controlling for other individual characteristics, internal migration strongly selects females and influences their marriage and childbearing behaviour. Compared to the stayers, adult migrants are characterized by a considerably higher marriage rate before and, to a lesser extend, after migration – wherever they come from. The differentials are even more pronounced when the migrants' higher educational level is controlled for. The first birth seems to be an undifferentiated transition in Albania, except for the second generation discussed below and adult migrants between rural areas. Compared to the non migrants, the latter are characterized by longer first birth intervals at destination. In the Albanian context characterized by a very short interval, this pattern may point to a disruption effect. Moreover, those who moved after the first birth postponed the arrival of the next child. This may be in prevision of the future move, as neither rural–urban nor rural–rural migrants have significantly lower transition rates to second or higher order births at destination compared to rural standards.

Moreover, the second generation behaves similarly to their parents: after having moved from rural to urban areas during childhood, they are not only characterized by high marriage rates but also by the shortest first birth interval and significantly increased fertility at higher parities compared to non migrants in rural areas. Despite the exposure to a new urban environment during childhood, parental socialization in the origin region seems more important for their childbearing patterns.

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[5] Census data also reveal a strong homogamy in terms of origin among interregional migrant couples.
[6] This result is confirmed on the sample of life-trajectories truncated at age 34 to relieve the selection effects due to the eligible age for interview. The increasing trend may also be attributed to a demographic selection of the respondents sample to the survey.
[7] First marriage is approximated here by the first cohabitation. In Albania, as premarital cohabitation is very rare, both transitions are closely linked. If unmarried cohabitation is traditionally tolerated for poor widowed women, it also concerns some young students living far from the parental home. In the context of the development of prostitution and human trafficking during transition, women seem also to become suspicious toward this new living arrangement (Murzaku and Dervishi 2003).

Discussion and conclusion

This paper aimed to provide evidence on the indirect impact of internal migration on regional fertility dynamics in Albania. Since the 1970s, policy makers and scientist in the developing world are concerned with the part of the fast urbanisation attributable to internal population movements or rural exodus. The inflow of adults in reproductive ages – representing one in six urban dwellers in Latin America and one in three in sub-Saharan Africa (Montgomery et al. 2003: 122) – filled the working age cohorts and inflated urban birth rates. But mobility often disrupted demographic behaviours in the short run. Movers were also selected among low fertility populations at origin and adapted their fertility downward with increasing years of residence in the new urban context. They sustained in this way the fertility transition at the national level (Brockerhoff 1998; Goldstein and Alice 1981; White et al. 1995).

The inverse happened in Albania. Our results indicate the existence of an atypical example of the migration–fertility interaction also found in other (former socialist) countries. Migration strongly selects Albanian women who marry early – probably in anticipation of the move – or leads to early marriage at destination. If they moved from high to low fertility regions, they did not adapt their childbearing behaviour but rather perpetuated family norms and values prevalent in the origin population, fostering a higher number of children compared to the receiving one. The Albanian pattern resembles the one found in the context of the South-North migration in neighbouring Italy, characterized by lowest-low fertility levels in the 1990s (Gabrielli et al. 2007). Migrants' excess fertility in Albania seems however to arise from a demographic selection – rather than a socioeconomic one – as well as from an important origin socialisation effect.

If the strong connection between marriage and migration challenges traditional economic explanations of mobility, it fits well in the context of retained urbanisation until 1990 and patrilocal marriage traditions involving the geographic mobility of the bride. With the end of administrative restrictions on internal movements, urbanisation strongly increased during the transition years. Future brides and newly married couples decided to leave peripheral regions with limited economic future and settled in or around economically central urban places. Given the young age at migration, as well as its family component, more diversified labour markets and urban amenities probably motivated these moves, particularly in the context of a professional depletion in the country side.

Moreover, the family became the central social safety net during the collapse of the state in the 1990s. Because of the limited access to the emerging housing market, children also cohabitated longer with their parents (INSTAT 2005), what may have strengthened family structures and control. Several observers noted a re-ermegence of traditional norms regarding the family, subordinating women after the economic and political equality under communism. An often cited example is the revival of the Kanun in the North-East (Fisher 1999). Early marriage may therefore be a socially accepted way to leave a place, where women are prevented from moving alone. It may also represent a strategy to reduce uncertainty about the future (Friedman et al. 1994). Besides economic vulnerability, new life courses and styles appeared in Albania that were known neither by the young nor by their parents' generation. Union formation before migration, as well as children, may represent a psychological and emotional support to apprehend the new urban life with more confidence.

If female migrants continue to have a higher number of children at destination, some limited disruptions in fertility after moves between rural areas are observed. This may be related to the difficult living conditions of recent immigrants, as they fare worse in terms of well-being (but not in income) in periurban Tirana compared to those who stayed at origin (Hagen-Zanker and Azzarri 2008). Interestingly, the second generation, born in rural places but enrolled in urban schools, are characterized by an even higher fertility than their parents. Rather than a generational convergence process towards a lower number of children, a socialization effect seems to occur in Albania, this time over generations. Montgomery et al. (2003) stress the importance of neighbourhood effects on family behaviours. The spatial clustering of immigrants in certain neighbourhoods within and around the cities, as observed in Tirana (see Agorastakis and Sidiropoulos 2007), may provide a favourable context to the formation of an urban subculture. Rural origin socialization may be reproduced across generations, particularly in the context of rural-urban linkages intensified through geographic mobility. Another explanation could also favour supposedly better living conditions of the second generation, as they are already integrated in the new social and economic environment. This may help to explain the absence of disruption in the second generation's first birth transition, compared to adult migrants.

As a consequence of these selection and socialization effects, internal migration was either neutral or only slightly alleviated demographic dependency in sending areas. Given the magnitude of the outflows, demographic pressure has been relieved. In the recipient cities and adjacent rural places, however, migrants replaced those who left for abroad and contributed to an increase of the population in working and childbearing ages. Since migrants also had on average one child more than non migrants in 2000-1, they inflated regional birth rates.

Hence, internal population redistribution contributed directly and indirectly to the recent urbanisation in transitional Albania.

The main consequences manifested themselves in strengths on the urban infrastructure and public services, as it is exemplified by overcrowded schools. In the long run, however, internal migration can represent a gain, since migrant fertility may limit future demographic dependency. The population originating in Tirana and still living there in 2001 had a mean number of children close to many European countries (1.4 children). When the cohorts born in the 1960s will reach retirement age, ageing will become an issue. In preventing the regional TFR to fall too low under the replacement level until 2001, the phenomenon could bee postponed. But the observed interactions between internal mobility and fertility may just be a passing phase as currently low fertility levels (1.0 child per women in Tirana; INSTAT et al. 2010) could indicate. Innovative childbearing behaviours indeed appeared among the non migrant population. Albanians not only have less children, but have also started to postpone their entry into motherhood. Until recently, internal migrants adopted these changes to a lower extent. Regional fertility levels may therefore be inflated as long as internal population movements continue and migrants have higher fertility. While evidence confirms the first issue, we intend to study the latter with more recent survey data.

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Appendix

Domains of estimations (LSMS, DHS):

1. Districts in the Coastal areas: Lezhë, Kurbin, Kavajë, Mallakaster, Lushnje, Delvine, Sarande, Durres, Fier, Vlore.

2. Districts in the Central areas: Devoll, Kolonjë, Pogradec, Mirdite, Puke, Malesi e Madhe, Mat, Kuçove, Skrapar, Krujë, Peqin, Gjirokastër, Permet, Tepelenë, Shkoder, Elbasan, Berat, Korçë, Tirana (rural).

3. *Districts in the North-eastern mountain areas*: Kukes, Has, Tropoje, Bulqize, Diber

4. *Tirana urban*

Table 2: Factors determining out-migration, females 15-44, Albania 1990-2001.

	Model 1		Model 2	
Var	OR	Sign	OR	Sign
Age (years)	1.12	**	1.16	**
Age squarred	1.00	**	1.00	**
Family status				
Single (ref)	1		1.00	
Married	51.02	**	52.26	**
Parity 1	2.13	**	2.08	**
Parity 2	1.78	**	1.82	**
Partiy 3+	2.07	**	1.61	**
Place of residence				
Rural origin (ref)			1	
Urban origin			0.28	**
Educational level				
Obl education (ref)			1	
Post-obl education			1.17	**
Interaction: Post-obl*urban			0.79	*
-2LLik	21940		21120	
N censored	359606		359606	
N event	2127		2127	

Source: RHS 2002.

Table 3: Impact of internal migration and urban status on family events, Females 15-44, Albania 1990-2001.

	Mariage model				First birth model				Second birth model				Higher order births model			
	OR	Sign	OR	Sign	OR	Sign	OR	Sign	OR	Sign	OR	Sign	OR	Sign	OR	Sign
Age (Parity in Thrid+Model)	1.11	**	1.12	**	1.83	**	1.81	**	1.81	**	1.83	**	1.18	**	1.30	**
Age squarred					0.99	**	0.99	**	0.99	**	0.99	**				
Mths since previous event					1.01	**	1.01	**	1.02	**	1.02	**	1.08	**	1.09	**
Mths since previous event squared													0.999	**	0.999	**
1990-2 (ref)	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
1993-5	0.85	**	0.84	**	1.16	**	1.16	**	1.25	*	1.25	*	1.07	ns	0.86	ns
1996-8	0.83	**	0.81	**	1.15	**	1.15	**	1.30	**	1.31	**	1.23	ns	1.11	ns
1999-01	0.68	**	0.66	**	1.05	ns	1.05	ns	0.96	ns	0.96	ns	1.58	**	1.45	ns
Non-mig urban	1.08	ns	1.27	**	1.08	ns	1.04	ns	0.61	**	0.63	**	0.84	ns	1.04	ns
Non-mig rural (ref)	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
Before mig: in urb	2.45	**	2.88	**	1.07	ns	1.04	ns	0.56	**	0.58	**	0.86	ns	0.97	ns
Before mig: in rur	4.23	**	4.37	**	1.02	ns	1.02	ns	0.82	*	0.82	*	1.05	ns	1.15	ns
After mig: urb-urb	1.60	**	1.87	**	0.83	ns	0.80	ns	0.55	**	0.57	**	0.72	ns	0.72	ns
After mig: rur-urb	2.37	**	2.53	**	0.86	ns	0.85	ns	0.85	ns	0.85	ns	1.03	ns	1.10	ns
After mig: to rur	2.87	**	2.81	**	0.64	**	0.64	**	1.30	ns	1.28	ns	1.34	ns	0.97	ns
Infant mig: urb-urb	1.24	ns	1.41	ns	1.17	ns	1.12	ns	0.54	*	0.56	ns				
Infant mig: rur-urb	1.79	**	1.85	**	1.53	*	1.53	*	0.90	ns	0.92	ns	4.78	**	5.63	*
Infant mig: to rur	1.99	**	2.12	**	0.74	ns	0.73	ns	0.11	**	0.11	**				
Obligatory education (ref)			1				1				1				1	
Post-obl. education			0.73	**			1.08	ns			0.92	ns			0.83	*
-2LL	24466		24427		15859		15857		14410		14408		6459		6455	

Source: RHS 2002. Note: migrants less than 15 years of age who moved before 1990 are excluded.