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**Migration Management in Albania:
Mapping and Evaluating Outside Intervention¹**

by
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Abstract:

Albania has come to be seen as a place from which unwanted immigrants come. The country's emigration is perceived by its neighbours as a 'problem', and this in turn serves as a justification for external interventions aimed at regulating migration 'from within'. Over the last years the exertions of a number of inter-governmental and (international) non-governmental organizations have led to a situation of deadlock. Overriding vested interests at the international level seem to have generated conditions that block 'national ownership', hence the Albanian government has not yet become empowered to assume full control over its migration policy. Up to now the international community remains in anxiety for new emigration waves from Albania. What continues to persist is also a general mistrust in Albanian government institutions to regulate migration in an effective manner.

Key words:

Albania – Migration – European Union – Organisations

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Introduction

It is estimated that currently up to 1.1 million Albanians (one third of Albania's total population) live abroad.² This *diaspora* is primarily the result of a series of pronounced migratory waves that took place during the early and late 1990s following the collapse of the country's communist regime and intense economic and political polarization (Doka, 2003: 47-49; Gjonça, 2002:18; King/Vullnetari 2003: 6-10; Pastore, 1998: 2-4). In 2003 Albania ranked 9th in absolute terms as a source of newly-arriving migrants in the EU-15-states (Gédap/BIVS, 2003a: 31). Albanians were also the largest group of illegal aliens³ apprehended. They also comprised the largest group among deportees from the EU-15 countries (Gédap/BIVS, 2003b; 2003c).⁴ Albania has furthermore for years been depicted as a major Southeastern European source country (and transit country) for human trafficking (US Department of State, 2006: 56; IOM, 2005b: 12).⁵

Inter-governmental organisations (IGOs) such as the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other UN agencies (for example, the United Nations Development Programme UNDP) have become locally involved in a variety of activities aimed at regulating emigration from Albania. Besides these IGOs a multitude of international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and development agencies exert great influence on Albania's socio-economic development. Both sets of external actors cooperate with local NGOs. At present most of the financial support covering migration is provided via the CARDS⁶ and the AENEAS⁷ programme of the European Commission, by individual member states of the European Union (EU) and by the USA.

² Interview, National Statistical Institute (INSTAT) of Albania, Tirana, Expert for migration data. The main destination countries are Greece (440,000-550,000; Baldwin-Edwards, 2006: 7) and Italy (350,000; Istat, 2006). The Albanian mass exodus of the 1990s made a significant contribution to the emergence of Greece and Italy as immigration countries, transforming a traditionally negative into a positive migratory balance (Kaser, K. *et al.*, 2002: 8).

³ 38,968 Albanians apprehended. None of the three figures include the Greek statistics. The numerical significance of the Albanian group is thus even higher.

⁴ 39,654 Albanians removed. See remark on Greek data in the previous footnote!

⁵ There is an ongoing, highly controversial debate about how trafficking should be conceptualized, the 'phenomenology' of trafficking, the 'victimization' of persons being trafficked, the practices employed in dealing with this problem (Agustín, 2003; Andrijašević, 2007; Kelly, 2005). The number of victims receiving assistance is in general low (<1000). Since 2002/03 numbers have been decreasing, probably because of increased awareness and intensified national and international efforts, or because traffickers have adopted new methods to circumvent control and investigation (IOM, 2004: 5; 16-20).

⁶ Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilisation

⁷ The EU programme to provide financial and technical assistance to third countries in the area of migration and asylum.

I: Albania and the EU

In 1997 Albania was included in the EU's 'Regional Approach' programme, predecessor to today's 'Stabilisation and Association Process' (SAP) (European Council, 1997; 1999a).⁸ Under the terms of the SAP, the EU offers Albania the possibility of future EU membership (European Council, 2000: Art. 69).

In its approach to Albania the EU places particular emphasis on projects for regulating migration: In 2001 Albania was asked *"to set up a framework for co-operation, including at a regional level, in the fields of asylum (legislation, issues of procedure, migration [legal/illegal], control of external borders and visas"* (European Commission, 2001: 30). To this day the SAP perceives this co-operation and the tasks entailed by it as *"strategic priorities"* (Salzmann, 2005). The perception of Albania and its neighbouring states as *"one of the gateways to the European Union for criminal activities, illegal immigration and other threats"* (European Commission, 2003a: 1.1) motivated the EU to demand that all SAP countries ratify a bilateral readmission agreement. Albania signed this agreement in 2003⁹ and only afterwards was enabled to sign an agreement for more extensive association with the (SAA¹⁰). Albania is still one of the poorest countries in Europe.¹¹ In its relations with the outside world, the country has been recategorized as a 'weak' state/democracy (Schmidt, 2004; European Commission, 2006: 2.1). Albanian sources¹² (Kajsiu *et al.*, 2002; AIIS, 2005) confirm this picture. With sustainable socio-economic progress not yet in sight, the EU's main focus is on readmission and the new SAA agreement: *"Any deficit/delay in implementing [...] will prolong Albania's way towards the EU [...] There can and there will be no doubt: EU priorities and conditionality will serve as the guideline."*¹³

With regard to migration, the biggest internal problem remains the massive outflow of high- and semi-skilled migrants (Doka, 2000: 37; IBRD/Worldbank, 2006). The main positive factor is the remittances that

amount to more than 15% of the country's GDP (IBRD/World Bank, 2007: 58). In its 2006 report the European Commission however focuses neither on the 'brain drain' nor on the high dependency on remittances. The report instead emphasises the following issues: *"Emigration remains a problem" (for the EU!), "illegal migration to Greece still remains a concern", and*

⁸ The states included in the SAP in 2007 are Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia (including the UN-administered I of Kosovo).

⁹ It came into force on 1st May 2006. From 2008 onwards, Albania is obliged to readmit all illegal third country nationals transiting Albania before being apprehended in the EU.

¹⁰ Stabilisation and Association Agreement (preparing Albania's next steps towards EU membership).

¹¹ GDP/capita (2004): 1892€ (Commission, 2006: Annex).

¹² Interview, Albanian Institute for International Studies (AIIS), Tirana, Director.

¹³ Interview, European Community Delegation in Albania (Tirana): Justice and Home Affairs Section.

“trafficking through Albania’s borders with its Western Balkan neighbours remains problematic” (European Commission, 2006: 4.3.1).

If one looks at one of the first reports of the SAP, the impression that is conveyed is that there has been hardly any change: *“Albania is both a source and a transit centre for trafficking in human beings. Greater determination is needed to tackle this problem if Albania is to demonstrate that it shares the political and human values of the EU and is able to manage its borders effectively. Illegal migration and trade in arms are also areas of concern to the EU which require greater attention” (European Commission, 2001: 7).*

Each of the EU annual reports goes deep into the technical details of inadequate legislation and procedures not yet conforming to EU norms. What is however lacking is empirical data on the evolution of migratory movements. One feature common to all reports is a blatant EU-centrism, completely neglecting the side-effects of migratory movements on the EU’s partner country Albania. ‘Progress’ is defined more or less in terms of the permeability of Albania’s borders and corresponding EU-style legislation, essentially disregarding the context of its implementation. Often there is a resort to vague statements leading to similarly vague suggestions: *“Albania appears to have made progress regarding the control of illegal migration/trafficking towards the EU [...], but events [...] in early January demonstrate that further efforts are needed [...] However, border management continues to require substantial improvement” (European Commission, 2005: 35).*

II: Mapping external intervention ‘from within’

Controlling and strengthening borders

The above quotations from EU reports clearly expose an ongoing process of recategorizing Albania as a source of illegal immigration. Particular attention is paid to human trafficking. Improved control and surveillance of borders in compliance with EU regulations appears to be seen as a panacea to block or regulate unwanted immigration. Astonishingly, hardly any attention is paid to the ‘root causes’ of migration. No reference is made to measures that might be taken to minimize the country’s overdependence on migratory movements.

Against the background of these EU reports and judging from talks with Albanian and foreign experts and official representatives, there is evidently still a widespread feeling of anxiety about the potential for a sudden new exodus. Several interview partners¹⁴ referred unprompted to the

¹⁴ Interviews, IOM in Albania, Tirana; OSCE, Tirana; European Community Delegation in Albania, Tirana: Section for Justice and Home Affairs; PAMECA (Police Assistance Mission of the European Community to Albania), Tirana: Border element.

period of 1993-1996, when a general stabilisation let many to believe that the problem of emigration had finally successfully tackled, a notion abruptly dispelled by the 1997 exodus.¹⁵ Many perceive similarities with the current situation. There is a widespread impression that democratisation, EU-orientation and poverty-reduction have all lost momentum.¹⁶ One expert in the EC delegation said explicitly, expressing a personal view, that a new emigration wave could be triggered by too-careless implementation (by Albania) of the new trade arrangements with the EU if higher unemployment emerged as a result of it.¹⁷ To this day boats of the Italian coastguard symbolically manned with Albanian officers continue to operate in Albania's territorial waters to counter illegal migration. The Albanian border directorate admits that these boats, although foreign, are at present *"the only real safeguard against illegal emigration across the Adriatic [...] because Albania has no equipment for this"*¹⁸. In the opinion of some interview partners suspension of this blockade could automatically lead to new illegal movements.¹⁹ This feeling of anxiety about further (sudden) emigration, is reflected in the emphasis the EU places on border management and, in general, Justice and Home Affairs: Between 2002 and 2004 the Regional CARDS programme allocated €105 million for the border systems of all SAP-target countries. €76 million were spent via the national CARDS for Albania on Justice and Home Affairs-related activities, again including border management (European Commission, 2002-2004).²⁰

In spite of the considerable sums of money that have been spent, the perception persists that many aspects of Albania's performance need to be improved.²¹ Though the (Italian) surveillance of the blue border is highly successful in limiting movements, the situation in the mountainous border regions is a point of concern, as is the lack of staff and shortage of Albanian funding. (European Commission, 2006: 4.3.1; IOM, 2005).

Preventing secondary movements and trafficking

Until 2006 the IOM and UNHCR were responsible for the pre-screening of aliens apprehended at Albania's borders. Mobile teams, assisted by the OSCE, conducted interviews, and the

¹⁵ This exodus triggered deployment of an Italian-led multinational military and police force ('Operation Alba') and was the starting point for large-scale interventions conducted by international organisations and foreign development agencies (Debié, 2001: 186-187; Perlmutter 1998).

¹⁶ Interviews, AIIS, Tirana; UNDP, Tirana.

¹⁷ Interview, European Community Delegation in Albania, Tirana: Section for Justice and Home Affairs.

¹⁸ Interview, Government of Albania, Ministry of Interior, Directorate of Border Police, Tirana.

¹⁹ Interviews, PAMECA: Border element, Tirana; OSCE, Tirana.

²⁰ In the same period, however, 'only' € 42.4 million from the national CARDS was earmarked 'Economic and Social Development', with €4.5 million assigned to 'Democratic Stabilisation' – € 500,000 less than the annual allocation in 2002 for Albania's border management (European Commission, 2002-2004)!

²¹ Interview, European Community Delegation in Albania, Tirana: Section for Justice and Home Affairs; PAMECA, Tirana: Border element.

detained foreigners were then categorised as ‘victims of trafficking’, ‘asylum seekers’ or ‘irregular migrants.’ Between 2001 and 2006 the number of asylum seekers was quite low (214 in all). Most of those apprehended were ‘filtered out’ as ‘irregular migrants’ (468), with 150 aliens categorised as ‘victims of trafficking.’²² Since 2006 pre-screening has been the responsibility of the border and migration police and the two government directorates for Refugees and Migration. To this day Albania largely lacks the funding necessary for the pre-screening, (temporary) accommodation and (forced) return of aliens. Although Albanian government institutions have taken over the operational tasks, Albanian government representatives have announced in a common statement their view that EU funding will still be necessary. One interesting justification provided was that it would be in the direct interest of the EU²³ for secondary movements towards the EU and the return of rejected asylum seekers and stranded illegal migrants to be prevented. The logical corollary of this is that the EU should pay. Although there is a general commitment to the relevant legislation and although the related agreements (including the Geneva Convention) have been ratified, continuation of funding by the programmes of the European Commission, individual EU member states and other international donors (along with ancillary external monitoring) remains the *sine qua non* for corresponding implementation in practice.

Though the dimensions of asylum seeking are still negligible, the position of the UNHCR and the EC delegation are that Albania should have a proper asylum system (European Commission, 2006: 4.3.1).²⁴ It is an open secret that a working asylum system and appropriate pre-screening are intended to supplement the recently-signed readmission agreement, which in turn could mean an increased case load for Albania if readmitted third country nationals decide to submit asylum applications in Albania, or if migrants realise that their route towards the EU is effectively being blocked. So far, however, only a small number of NGOs and lawyers have become familiar with asylum procedures and have taken it upon themselves to defend the rights of asylum seekers.²⁵ Some rights groups lack funding and have not undergone the requisite specialised training. Another point of concern is that no effective approaches exist to integrate refugees into Albanian society. Currently the government is not particularly interested in this issue.²⁶

²² Interview, Government of Albania, Ministry of Interior, Directorate for Refugees and Naturalization, Tirana.

²³ Interview, Government of Albania, Ministry of Interior, Directorate for Refugees and Naturalization, Tirana; Government of Albania, Ministry of Interior, Directorate of Border Police, Tirana; Government of Albania, Ministry of Social Affairs, Labour and Equal Opportunities, Tirana: Migration Experts.

²⁴ Interview, UNHCR in Albania, Tirana.

²⁵ Interviews, Albanian Human Rights Group, Tirana; Albanian Helsinki Committee, Tirana; Government of Albania, Ministry of Interior, Directorate for Refugees and Naturalization, Tirana; UNHCR in Albania, Tirana.

²⁶ Interview, UNHCR in Albania, Tirana. This could quickly change if there are new outbreaks of violence in the UN-administered province of Kosovo (Serbia) creating a new outflow of refugees from Kosovo to Albania (as happened in 1999).

The prevention of trafficking, along with accommodation, support and re-integration of victims is currently where most international involvement (and financial commitment) is focused. Over the last 17 years several large campaigns have been implemented in collaboration with local Albanian NGOs and organised and financed by the IOM or the US Agency for International Development (USAID), not to mention innumerable smaller prevention-oriented projects initiated by international NGOs such as Save the Children, Terre des Hommes or World Vision.²⁷ USAID recently embarked upon a three-year project with a \$4.5 million budget including provision for \$2 million in NGO grants.²⁸ The IOM wants to invest €1 million in new anti-trafficking activities (IOM, 2006a: 68). Prevention, accommodation, counselling and re-integration are undoubtedly 'big business'. Competition among NGOs is fierce. While some are included year in year out in foreign-sponsored networks, others suddenly roll over and die.²⁹ Currently some NGO shelters – for economic reasons – host other vulnerable groups so as to be able to survive in a situation where the numbers of trafficking victims is declining. One additional interesting fact is that most victims receiving assistance have actually been once (or several times) re-trafficked, re-transferred and re-accommodated.³⁰ The Vatra Shelter, currently the biggest NGO shelter (founded by Save the Children, and supported exclusively by foreign donors) reported in 2005 that out of 238 girls and women assisted during that year an astonishing 135 had already been trafficked before. These figures suggest that a considerable number of 'victims' actually ought not to be perceived as being 'naïve/uninformed', 'misled' and/or 'innocent'.³¹ Only a very small number of victims receiving assistance have been foreigners. It is assumed that the trafficking route through Albania must have become less attractive (primarily because of the blue border being better protected) (Vatra, 2005: 19 and 23).

Return, Readmission and Re-Integration

Because of its high levels of emigration Albania became the target of activities aimed at repatriating Albanian illegal emigrant nationals apprehended abroad. While many states continue policies of deportation (forcible return), the IOM offers the solution of 'voluntary'³²

²⁷ Interviews, USAID in Albania, Tirana: Anti-Trafficking Coordinator; Save the Children in Albania, Tirana; World Vision in Albania, Tirana; IOM in Albania, Tirana.

²⁸ Interview, USAID in Albania, Tirana: Anti-Trafficking Coordinator.

²⁹ Interview, Vatra, Vlora; Albanian Coalition against Trafficking in Children and Women, Tirana; Gender Alliance for Development, Tirana; Children's Rights Centre of Albania; Kvinna till Kvinna in Albania, Tirana; SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation) in Albania, Tirana.

³⁰ Interview, Vatra, Vlora; Albanian Coalition against Trafficking in Children and Women, Tirana; Gender Alliance for Development, Tirana; Kvinna till Kvinna in Albania, Tirana.

³¹ Similar observations are made in King/Vullnetari, 2003: 31.

³² It should be noted that although this repatriation is described as 'voluntary' the voluntary element in the return consists only in the fact that after being returned migrants are provided with opportunities for reintegration.. The

repatriation: Illegal migrants, unsuccessful asylum seekers and victims of trafficking can submit applications at IOM missions. Over the last five years the IOM's 'Voluntary Assisted Return and Reintegration'-Programme (VARPP), currently the most important programme, has provided assistance for 400 Albanians to return from Great Britain (IOM, 2006b: 3). Upon arrival, the returnees included in the VARPP (or similar programmes) are referred to an NGO participating in an Albanian-wide network sponsored by the IOM with the support of funding from the departing (or rather 'returning') states. NGOs such as 'Hope for the Future' and 'Different and Equal' provide returnees with social assistance/counselling, job training and support in finding employment. The general consensus is that the reintegration is achieving the wished-for results. But at least 20-30% of the returnees at some point or other 'get lost', some perhaps with a view not to reintegrating but to emigrating again.³³ As far as the future is concerned, it is expected that there will be an expansion of these repatriating activities. Only recently, the IOM established a new NGO ('Different and Equal') to deal with repatriation issues.

"The IOM will support the government in return migration management through the successful implementation of the readmission agreement between Albania and the European Union [...] The IOM will continue to assist the voluntary return programme of irregular [Third country nationals] stranded in Albania as the country lacks the necessary financial resources or reception centre to facilitate such return" (IOM, 2006b: 68).

The IOM is certainly vitally interested in this subject because the EU is now obliging Albania to implement its readmission agreement. The IOM now also clearly perceives itself as being a (the?) key actor in facilitation of the readmission process, and even as an actor 'guaranteeing' the readmission 'on behalf' of a cash-strapped Albanian government. For 2006 the IOM asked donors to grant €1.2 million for development of a *"return and reintegration strategy for Albanian nationals"* (IOM, 2006: 68). There is no doubt that the IOM is to a certain extent taking advantage of Albania's disadvantaged situation so as to push for implementation of the readmission agreement.

III: The Local Interest Coalition and the Project of National Ownership

In 2004 the Government of Albania adopted a 'National Strategy on Migration' (Government of Albania 2005a), promoting *"migration management: a pro-active attitude of the Government in order to give answers to the questions related to migration."* As *"the path to migration*

return *per se* is not voluntary, as migrants have no choice other than to leave the country of destination. If they do not leave voluntarily they are deported.

³³ Interviews, IOM, Tirana; Hope for the Future, Tirana; Different and Equal, Tirana.

management” the strategy is expected to accomplish four goals (Government of Albania 2005b): (1) Mobility (*“enhancing legal channels [...] and possibilities for return”*), (2) Development (proper regulation of migration as *“a tool for the development of Albania”*), (3) Protection (to protect Albanians *“from abuse and illegality”*), and (4) Integration (to *“bring Albania closer to membership of the European Union”*).

The strategy evidently testifies to Albania’s wish to leave its past as a stigmatised source-country of migrants. For some influential Albanians the time has now come to disengage oneself from an approach that is exclusively focused on ‘control’ and to move towards the goals of development³⁴ and integration into the EU. Given the realities, as reflected in statistics and reports, and the lingering anxieties (see chapters I & II, the following assertion appears to belong in the realm of wishful thinking; I *“Albania is not the ‘land of the irregular migrants and motorboats’ anymore [...] Albania is a country where people have turned to work, people who trust their country and their government”* (Bejtaj, 2005:15).

One crucial task will be to find a way to ‘normalise’ the migration situation, not only by restricting movement but also by promoting a discursive reconstruction of Albania. Though a readmission agreement has been signed and some progress is observable in the sector of Justice and Home Affairs, a relaxation of visa requirements for the general population is not yet on the cards. What seems most necessary overall is firmer national control of the process (facilitating a strengthening of bargaining power).

External actors have assumed long-term trusteeship obligations in relation to Albania. Certainly, given the huge amounts of money being invested, it is a safe assumption that all these external actors are motivated by their own economic and politico-strategic interests. The sums of money being spent on prevention of trafficking are larger than the amounts most foreign development agencies and NGOs are able to invest in development-oriented (self-help) projects.

If one might venture an analysis of the constellation of internal and external actors at present involved in the local game of managing migration movements, it could go as follows: while trying to encourage Albania’s government, the EU, seeing them as more effective and/or trustworthy, entrusts most of the grants and the implementation tasks to IGOs and INGOs. Some of these external actors copy this approach and proceed to apply it themselves: they would rather establish ‘their own’ quasi-local NGOs than try to emancipate Albanian NGOs. The cash flows

³⁴ Interview, Government of Albania, Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Tirana; IOM, Tirana.

underpinning this activity arouse the suspicion of the government so that it begins to feel that, owing to the actions of external actors and local NGOs, it is being circumvented and its sovereignty undermined. Facts are created without government involvement and/or oversight. The same applies on the NGO side. A certain anxiety surrounds meetings between their employees and government officials. Government functionaries are seen as the embodiment of a weak, corrupt and overstaffed bureaucracy: people whose only thought is how they can get their hands on the foreign grants. Local NGOs and external actors, for their part, continue to complain that the government is not interested in investing its own resources, that it is often obstructive towards NGO initiatives and that it shows no real commitment.³⁵

Although Albania now has a 'National Strategy', given the situation of deadlock described above, achievement of national ownership seems, to say the least, unlikely. In the current context one of the key actors is inevitably the IOM, as becomes increasingly evident when one examines the 'National Strategy' itself and its history. One comes away with the impression that the Strategy is not a 'real' government document. ' Funded by the EU's CARDS 2003 programme, the Strategy was formulated with the assistance first and foremost of the IOM, which (together with and on behalf of Albania's government) lodged the funding application and went on to become "*the technical support unit of the Albanian government [...] responsible for the elaboration of the National Strategy on migration*" (Schatzer, 2005: 19)! The conclusion is evidently that Albania is trying to play the role not only of a quasi-local 'external' actor but also of a 'quasi-governmental institution'. The IOM's readiness to support and 'guarantee' Albania's readmission process only serves further to confirm this impression (see chapter II).

Albania and the Bigger European Picture

The solution for Albania cannot lie in the direction of opening all borders, removing external actors and joining the EU. It does seem nevertheless necessary that there should be redesignation of at least part of the funding for border enforcement and Justice and Home Affairs. To imagine that it is possible to block unwanted movements completely is unrealistic. More should be done to support the development of Albania. In recent years most development agencies have cut back on their activities in Albania. Local NGOs and communities have lost their donors. Tackling problems at the root consequently means investing more money. Border controls can only be effective in a context of sound economic achievement within the country itself.

³⁵ These are the author's own conclusions, derived from personal interviews with representatives of more than 20 stakeholders.

Stronger national ownership as a component of the EU integration process and proper regulation of migration are two central priorities, with the European Commission and the EU member states, the main donors, playing the key roles. Only through a firm emphasis on national ownership can a real turning point become possible. The present preference is for quick fixes and indulgence of circumventions of national sovereignty. Though huge sums have been spent, Albania astonishingly still lacks its own coastguard. No proper reception centre exists although the country has for years been part of a pan-European migration regime. A 'local interest' coalition of external actors, against a background of fierce competition and mistrust between local non-governmental and governmental actors, is effectively undermining the national ownership project and the endeavour to normalize outside perceptions of Albania.

The EU in general and the European Commission in particular could exert a decisive influence on all relevant external and local actors. The EU should in its own interest focus its attention on Albania's government and Albanian society. At present most of the external actors do not develop exit strategies. To a certain extent this is merely a by-product of a local 'political economy' that has been created over a period of years, securing huge sums of international money. The EU is the only actor with the capacity to break this deadlock situation. There can be no doubt about that.

But the EU is the victim of incompatible and conflicting priorities. While the EU's intention is to bring Albania closer to membership in the Union, the re-construction of an 'Area of Freedom, Security and Justice' (European Council, 2004) and the multitude of EU policies to counter illegal migration effectively undermine this prospect. The top priority projects are predicated on a revised image of Albania (and other third countries) as unstable, insecure places which are moreover staging posts for unwanted migration. EU migration 'philosophy' is informed by the notion of deterrence (also see Barjaba, 2004: 4). The way to achieve 'effective solidarity' in the fields of migration and EU accession would be to intensify developmental support. On one hand provisions to block migration must be supplemented by more support for local development, including micro-crediting for returning/returned migrants (Nicholson, [no date]: 94).³⁶ On the other more opportunities must be provided for legal migration and freer movement for labour.³⁷ Ways have to be found of channelling funds from remittances into economic development. The EU and the other external stakeholders 'locally embedded' in Albania should moreover avoid

³⁶ Improved economic conditions inside Albania could however also lead to renewed emigration I (a new 'migration hump') from Albania (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004: 10).

³⁷ Barjaba draws attention to a frequently observed gap between existent increased demand for Albanian workers abroad and inadequate or non-existent policies of destination countries for dealing with it, allowing legal migration (Barjaba, 2005: 38).

further stigmatisation of Albania and/or Albanians and refrain from instrumentalizing Albania's past. Albanian migrants have up until now had no voice and no share in political decision-making concerning themselves. (King/Vullnetari 2003: 4). The new migration strategy stresses the importance of remittances and investments by Albanian migrants. To promote such innovatory policies increased dialogue between migrants and Albanian political decision-makers should move beyond lip-service to the realm of practical implementation.

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