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Kosovo Albanian diaspora between identity conservation and social integration in Lyon

La diaspora albanaise du Kosovo entre conservation de l'identité et intégration sociale à Lyon

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Abbreviation List

Acse – l’agence pour la cohesion sociale et l’egalite des chances
CMU – Couverture Maladie Universelle (Universal Health Cover)
DAIC – Direction de l’accueil, de l’integration, et de la citoyennete
EFTA – European Free Trade Association
EU – European Union
FR – Federal Republic
IMF – International Monetary Fund
IOM – International Organization for Migration
IVS – Iniciativa për Veprime Sociale (Initiative for Social Actions)
KLA – Kosovo Liberation Army
NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFPRA – L’Office Française de Protection des Réfugiés et Apatrides
RKS – Republic of Kosovo
SFRY – Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
UN – United Nations
UNDP – United Nations Development Program
UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNMIK – United Nations Mission in Kosovo
USA – United States of America

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Preface

This paper does not fill the gap on Kosovo Albanian people and their culture, however it does offer to the reader a piece of basic and factual information on the situation and some ideas about the culture of the Albanian people. We will start this research with the question: What is immigration for Kosovo Albanians? Is it simply an act of displacement and adventure or a sacrifice and necessity which is directly linked to their survival and the survival of their homeland?

Any research dealing with this subject will find it difficult to get the data which are related to the Kosovo Albanian diaspora separately given that most data refer to them as Yugoslav diaspora at the time when Kosovo was a province of Yugoslavia and after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, of Serbia and Montenegro. The problem is not only about the displaced people of Kosovo of that time in host countries, but also about the people living in Kosovo, their way of living and the patterns of their immigration.

Abstract

Kosovo is ranked in the group of countries with largest Diaspora in the world. The Kosovo Albanian Diaspora has a long history and has played a very important role throughout the decades keeping the political, social and cultural life in Kosovo alive¹. Diasporas have been widely studied since the late 1980s, and special focus has been given on identity, reception and integration in host societies. Nevertheless, there is a lack of research regarding the Kosovo Albanian people in France. This paper seeks to fill this gap through collection of any kind of data and interviews with Albanian people in Lyon, France. The Albanian people, history and geography of the Albanians will be reviewed to allow for an understanding of their migration patterns and reasons. The goal of this research is to treat the subject of Kosovo Albanian Diaspora in Lyon starting from 1960s and the main focus will be divided into two periods. These two periods that are distinguished in the evolution of the Albanian community in Lyon will include: First phase is from 1960s to 1999 during the time when Kosovo was part of Yugoslavia; and the second from 1999 after the war when Kosovo became free until 2019. Each is very unique and stands out clearly from the other by the social and economic composition of the Albanian community, but also symbols, politicization, attitudes, goals, and governance system. The research will include detailed analysis of the beginning of Albanian migration in Lyon, the organization of Kosovo Albanians into Associations, the role of Diaspora and the role of Associations in support to the homeland. Preservation of language, identity and culture as well as activation and integration of Albanians in the French life and society, challenges and hardship will also be analyzed deeply.

Keywords: Kosovo, Immigration, diaspora, integration, language, identity

¹ Institute for management and development (IMD), “Diaspora for a better representation in decision-making” 2011, pp. 6. Prishtina, pdf.

Introduction

It is hard to trace back the history of migration of humankind because some sort of migration and settlement has always existed in different forms all over the world. The history of humankind has always also been a story of migration and settlement. It does therefore not make sense to regard the recent flow of immigrants as a unique event, as history shows migration as a structural phenomenon inherent in our human nature².

For Kosovo Albanians that is even more difficult due to the hostile environment and constant wars in the region for a long time of the Albanian history and the appetites of others' over the Albanian territories. Current immigration of Kosovo Albanians is a mere inheritance of the previous immigration although of different pattern. The difference now as contrary to the prewar Kosovo is that before the war we dealt mainly with a forced migration due to persecution, miserable and hard living conditions as well as war. In post war Kosovo, from 1999, we have a completely different situation with the Kosovo Albanian people leaving mainly for economic conditions.

Although migration is a negative phenomenon in the aspect of the loss of potential for the development of the country, it is important to emphasize that it has been historically “the fundamental safety valve allowing individuals and households to survive and develop by circumventing poverty, corruption, conflict

² Lyon Colloquy, “Challenges of Immigration”, *European Association of former members of parliament of the member states of the Council of Europe*, Lyon 2016.

Online: <https://www.parlament.ch/centers/documents/en/fp-ap-declaration-lyon-2016-10-11-e.pdf>, retrieved on 15.05.2018.

and largely inefficient political systems”³. Kosovo Albanian diaspora carry a part of the history with them and are the bearers of the most important social, political, democratization processes in the form of organization and the preservation of language and existence of the people in their homeland.

The immigration of Kosovo Albanian people has been understudied by scholars of the field. There is a surprising dearth of scholarship on the topic, because of its complexity. To gain a full comprehension of Albanian migration which could address several dimensions of the phenomenon, would entail a challenging agenda. The Albanian migration phenomenon is one that is unique and distinct from other countries, due to its indignant history⁴. Indeed, for what and how a population historically attached to its territory and identity may come to emigrate in a foreign country and to integrate into the host society? What should these factors be and what strength they had to have created such a movement? On the other hand, what could it be that the Kosovo Albanian immigrants retain their language and identity without denying a step in the integration of host society? What is the interest of saving the language of origin? What is the motivation? How much are they determined to construct a new identity and give up a born identity, and so on?

No matter that it is complex, it is especially its complexity which instills me to further investigate and give some impetus to determine some issues regarding

³ Judy Batt, Misha Glenny, Denisa Kostovicova, Nicola Mai, NadègeRagaru, Fabian Schmidt and Miranda Vickers, “Is there an Albanian question?”, *Albanian migrations: Demographic and other Transformations, Chaillot paper, No. 107*, 2018, pp.72. Institute for Security Studies, European Union, Paris, pdf.

⁴ Valbona Sulemani, “The Albanian diaspora: immigration and settlement experiences”, *Thesis and dissertations, Paper 624*. Ryerson University, Digital Commons@Ryerson, pp.2, pdf.

Kosovo Albanian immigration. Many scholars and researchers have tried to build the grounds of this universal subject by treating the most important elements of their emigrants. What has really encouraged me to do so is for the fact that Albanian migration has never been treated before in details. If treated, it has just been treated superficially and this has mainly included the very elements of determining the main factors of immigration. I am sure that for some this might seem very necessary to determine for what I have no doubts, but what is very interesting for me as well, is the very element that has not been treated before, the language as the strongest element of identity and the symbols as the way of preservation on one side of identity while integrating into another society and the other, while constructing another identity.

Regarding the factors of Kosovo Albanian emigration, the same factors apply as for almost all the countries that are the origin places of emigrants. Related to Kosovo, when talking about the first phase which involves the time of the first emigrants in Lyon until 1999 with the end of the war in Kosovo, it is necessary to give a brief description although it does involve a treatment and direction which might seem more political. This will involve key factors which are relevant and necessary to identify for our research, but also a great attention will be given to the linguistic element and the usage of Albanian language by the Kosovo Albanian diaspora in Lyon.

Although in a number of researches and citation, the post-world war II period is divided into four periods of Immigration for Kosovo Albanians, I have intentionally divided this research in only two periods, the pre-war period from late

1960s to the end of the war in Kosovo in 1999 and post-war Kosovo from 1999 and on considering some as sub-periods given that they do not include within themselves long distances in terms of time and years, but happen as a consequence of previous periods. They will be talked and discussed about, but not separately. Thus, we refer to Kosovo Albanian immigration in general terms from the 1960s and it is just later after 1980s that immigrants from Kosovo are to be found as a distinctive community in Lyon. For comparison purposes, Chapter 6 of this research will have a brief description of Kosovo Albanian diaspora in Switzerland.

I will try to summarize the common factors which link the past with the present and the future. It is true that each period has its own characteristics and each deserves to be treated separately, however, it is necessary and very important to dig deeper into the elements that touch each period and make a parallel of the two and which of the periods is considered more important and what factors and circumstances are involved in each of them.

Unfortunately, the Albanian migrants have suffered a lot from something which is quite paradoxical: in one side, they are under-researched in terms of their values and culture, when searching for Kosovo Albanian diaspora and immigrants, one always finds almost the same information used by different authors but on the other they are over-represented in the media almost in all the countries of Europe, including France, with a negative and often criminalizing discourse. Therefore, it is necessary to have more objective research evidence available as the only and the most efficient means of having fewer and less stigmatizing stereotypes.

The term diaspora is not centered on a specific group or country. Earlier this term was less used and identified only some of the people who moved from specific groups such as Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Africans. However, this term has recently marked a far larger use and includes almost all the groups that have changed their settlements or arrived from other settlements and in academic works, as well as journalistic, nearly every migrant group is referred to as a diaspora⁵

All these issues (including many others that will seem relevant for the project and related to the issue) will be further explained and discussed in detail during this research. I believe that my previous experiences and my high motivation to address the issue in the most serious manner will be the grounds that will guarantee a fair and clear research and the treatment of the issue of the life of people who leave everything back to come and live in a place they know nothing about. In the contemporary world, group identities are no longer spatially or territorially bounded. People support, produce or cling to territorially based identities even though they do not actually live in the territory⁶.

As regards the methodology of this research, the basic source will be based on the literature review and direct contact with Kosovo Albanian diaspora. Although it is very difficult to find reliable sources which deal with the Kosovo Albanian people in France, those that exist will be analyzed thoroughly and in detail. The main information on their settlement, challenges and social integration was taken

⁵ Bahar Baser and Ashok Swain, "Stateless Diaspora Groups and their Repertoires of Nationalist Activism in Host Countries", *Journal of international relations*, 2010, 8, 1, pp. 37-60, pdf.

⁶ Jolle Demmers, "Diaspora and conflict: Locality, long-distance nationalism, and delocalization of conflict dynamics", *Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture*, 2002, Vol. 9, pp. 85 – 96, Centre for Conflict Studies, Utrecht University. Published online: 07 Nov 2014.

through interviews during the whole duration of the research associated with the other forms of any kind of evidence they have about their applications for legal status, social schemes, application files, receipts, etc.

In order to have a better understanding about their opinions and expectations, there has been a questionnaire of 20 questions with 30 people of which many findings have been drawn exactly from this questionnaire. The number of 30 people consisted of 22 male and 8 female and they were chosen based on the interaction and willingness to answer to the questionnaire. Gender disproportion can be explained in terms of male gender domination in the composition of the Kosovo Albanian diaspora in Lyon. There were home visits (at least 10) in order to have a better view regarding symbols, language, family education and traditions and interactions with people who work at different sectors, students, different generations who belong to several social groups who are not structured over a single way of living pattern.

For purposes of having a more realistic approach and realistic presentation of facts, this group of people comprises of gender, the origin of the migrants, arrival (whether they have used legal or illegal routes to immigrate), residence status (asylum seekers, guest workers, or undeclared) and working situation. Concerning their administrative demands in presenting their files and first steps of settlement into collective centers or as they are called “Foyer”, there were visits in the prefecture where they make their demands.

CHAPTER I
THE FIRST PHASE OF IMMIGRANTS UNDER THE YUGOSLAV
FEDERATION FROM 1960s – 1999

1.1. Migration from Ex-Yugoslavia

Different phenomena of the world deserve and need being treated and analyzed in details. Most things that seem very easy for us as concepts or as ideas dominate inside us as something that we know everything about, in one hand keep their secret inside them and never allow the human to know every detail the way human aspires to have. Immigration – this very wide phenomenon or better say reality remains some sort of disease which doesn't have a cure.

The diversity of movements of recent migration flows, including phase of the immigration process, life cycle, gender and ethnicity, makes it compelling the need and search for any kind of relevant sources and data regarding migration. Movement and the flows of people in and out which can change very quickly from one part to another is only one side of the coin and indeed is related to the physical activity of the people who decide to undertake this step due to different factors such as economic circumstances, changes in policy or broader structural changes.

Given that this research starts from the early 1960s when Kosovo was part of Yugoslavia, the first part of this research will focus on the immigration from Yugoslavia as it is very hard to get the information and statistics only about Kosovo Albanians. The immigrants from Kosovo initially were not distinguished from other workers from Yugoslavia and they were not identified as Kosovo Albanians but as "Yugoslavs". This remained the same even after Kosovo got the autonomy in 1974 and would change only after the implosion of Yugoslavia when immigrants from Kosovo were recognized as a distinct group.



Picture 1. Map of Former Yugoslavia⁷

Just after World War II, Europe was characterized by stable economy, liberal democracy and favorable welfare policies. The opportunities it could offer, made Europe become a main destination for large numbers of immigrants who were pushed by political, economic and social hardship from many countries of the world, including Yugoslavia. The expansion of industry in Europe resulted in shortages of workers and the demand for new labor power. The main shortages included secondary sector jobs; mainly hard work with high risk which were not

⁷Geographic guide, Map of Former Yugoslavia, https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C1SQJL_en_823_823&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=bD1mXbjYA5KUsAfZnlioCw&q=map+of+yugoslavia&oq=Map+of+Yu&gs_l=img.3.0.0l10.1063133.1065703..1068037...0.0..0.99.796.9.....0....1..gws-wiz-img.....0i67.0t4aWK-svSo#imgrc=X_hlOeO633cHDM: Retrieved on 15.05.2019

attractive for nationals searching better paid jobs. In order to alleviate these worker shortages, foreign guest workers were allowed into Western European democracies on a temporary basis⁸. The recruitment of so-called “foreign workers” or guest-workers in the mid-1960s occurred relatively late compared to other European countries, the vast majority of guest-workers originated from former Yugoslavia⁹.

Before 1960s, the Yugoslav population could immigrate only illegally due to the restrictions set by Yugoslav authorities as Yugoslavia like the other socialist countries in the Balkans, had been a closed country. Marking a sharp increase in unemployment caused by a sudden introduction of the free market and observing large numbers of citizens who went abroad to work illegally in the 1950s, country’s leadership officially accepted the necessity of employment of Yugoslav citizens abroad¹⁰. The authorities worked in halting the immigration with the methods of closing the borders or prison sentences, but also with the attempts of ensuring better living conditions especially in the poorest regions. Given that these measures did not match the expectations, the authorities opened the borders for its citizens and this period marks the beginning of the economic immigration from Yugoslavia.

⁸ Steven Mihajlovic, “Yugoslav Gastarbeiter: The Guest Who Stayed for Dinner”. *Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business*, 1987, 8, pp. 181-196.

Online: <https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/njilb/vol8/iss1/11>

⁹ Teresa Peintinger, “Demographics of Immigration”: *SOM Working Paper Number 2011-04*, University of Vienna, Austria (2012), pp.4, Available at: SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1990224>

¹⁰ Irena Kogan, “Labour Market Inclusion of Immigrants in Austria and Sweden: The Significance of the Period of Migration and the Effect of Citizenship Acquisition”, *Working Papers Nr. 44*, 2002, pp.2. Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung, Mannheim.

*1.2. The Guest – Workers Agreements with the Western Countries
(Labor Migration)*

Although Yugoslavia had managed to create a structured industrial sector, the demand for work was much higher than it could supply. As a result many people were desperately searching for opportunities which could help them maintain their families. One of the windows that opened and most people considered, was signing of the agreement by Yugoslavia and some of the countries of Western Europe which allowed people from Yugoslavia to get temporary work permits.

The main Yugoslav migration flows to Western Europe of the 1960s were driven by the area's unprecedented growth. Signing the first guest-workers agreements allowed immigrants to come to Western Europe for a short period to help western economies deal with labor shortages where many positions included construction and agriculture. This meant that the workers would return to their home countries with new skills to enhance the countries' industrialization processes once their permit terminated.

From the strategic point of view, by means of labor migration, the Yugoslav authorities intended to neutralize the growing unemployment and underdevelopment in the rural areas and saw it as good opportunity for investment in the domestic economy upon the return home of the capital earned abroad. Although these waves of migration were supposed to be temporary and host

countries tried to put a stop to immigration during the mid-1970s downturn, most guest workers settled in Western Europe¹¹.

It was in the mid-1960s when the Yugoslav regime surprised the world by opening its borders to unemployed citizens and legalized migration to western industrial capitalist countries¹². This change happened as a result of the incapability of the Yugoslav authorities to enforce the existing restriction of illicit departure of its citizens. They presumed there would be benefits from this, on one side the earned capital would be invested back in the country and the exported labor would diminish and ease the pressures on the country's job market.

The Yugoslav Constitution was the first one in the communist block to recognize the right of citizens to emigrate, in 1963. Like other Southern European countries, the former Yugoslavia became a major source of labor for industrialized countries in Europe¹³. The development of this parallel process of international labor migration took the form of transfer of labor from Yugoslav agriculture towards the industrial centers of central and Western Europe.

The Yugoslav migrant workers belonged to many different population groups – Croats, Serbs, Macedonians, Albanians, Slovenians and others. Although the migration from Yugoslavia appears relatively late compared to other countries of Europe, following the government's legislation of labor migration abroad in

¹¹OECD, "Equal Opportunities? - The Labour Market Integration of the Children of immigrants", 2010, (OECD Publishing), pp.58.

¹² Karolina Novinščak, "The Recruiting and Sending of Yugoslav Gastarbeiter to Germany: Between Socialist Demands and Economic Needs", *Brunnbauer, Ulf (ed.): Transnational Societies, Transterritorial Politics*, Munich: Oldenbourg 2009, pp. 121-143.

¹³ United Nations, "International Migration from Countries with Economies in Transition: 1980-1999", *Population Division Department of Economic and Social Affairs United Nations Secretariat*, New York, USA, 2002, pp. 106, pdf.

1964, it acquired the second highest out-migration rate in Europe, after Portugal. This had some negative effects for Yugoslavia in terms of labor and skilled workers where around 10 per cent of Yugoslavia's population of 20 to 30 year olds and as much as 34 per cent of Yugoslavia's skilled and highly skilled metal workers were employed in Europe and Canada, the US, New Zealand, and Australia¹⁴.

Yugoslavia made bilateral recruitment treaties with some countries as precautionary measure to have some control over immigration, the first one of which was to be concluded with France in 1965. However, France would not become the major destination for the upcoming labor workers. The basic principle on which these treaties were made was the principle of rotation, which meant that workers would sign a labor contract for few years, return and be replaced by new workers¹⁵. This meant that Yugoslav citizens could travel for a specific period of time and was characterized by frequent returns to the country of origin once the period of employment ended¹⁶.

The German government signed its last recruitment agreement with Yugoslavia on 12 October 1968, ensuring that cheap labor from a socialist country would enter the FR Germany in huge numbers with legal status, social insurance and a temporary, non-immigrant status¹⁷. Therefore, the West Germany was the main destination with more than 50% of the Yugoslav Job-seekers of this period

¹⁴Ahmet Akgündüz, "Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe, 1960-1974: A multidisciplinary Analysis", *Capital & Class*, No. 51, 1993, pp. 153 – 194. University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations Series, AHGATE, England.

¹⁵ Ulf Brunnbauer, "Migration and Economic Development in Socialist Yugoslavia", 2016, Article based on a talk at the Polanyi Center, Corvinus University. Budapest, Hungary.
Retrieved from: <https://ostblog.hypotheses.org/728> on 02.09.2017

¹⁶ Philippe Wanner, "Migration trends in Europe", *European Population Papers Series No. 7*, Council of Europe, European Population Committee, Strasbourg, 2002, pp.4.

¹⁷ Philippe Wanner, "Migration trends in Europe", 2002.

which by 1971 had received 400,000 with around 240,000 new Yugoslav immigrants leaving Yugoslavia annually¹⁸. These data refer only to the official data, however this number does not include those who have migrated illegally and have not been registered.

Following the examples of Germany, France and Switzerland which had already signed bilateral agreements regarding labor migration designed to recruit temporary workers. Austria began to forge bilateral agreements with southern and southeastern European states in the 1960s. This came as result of the economy's boom and developed industrialization which increased the demand for labor. The agreement with Yugoslavia was signed in 1966 which followed with the establishment of recruitment office which over time led to the settlement of significant numbers of these workers and their families which in 1973 became 178,000¹⁹ only in Austria.

The organized immigration continued also in the first years of the 1970s when in 1973, there was 1.1 million Yugoslavs living abroad, with 900,000 of them in Western Europe²⁰ which means that one in ten migrant workers in Western Europe having been of Yugoslav origin of whom 860,000 were economically active and 250,000 dependent family members most of whom were in the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria²¹. After a decrease between 1984 and 1991 it

¹⁸ Ivo Baucic, "Radnici u inozemstvu prema popisu stanovništva Jugoslavije 1971" (Yugoslav workers abroad according to the 1971 Yugoslav census), 1973. Institut za geografiju Sveucilista u Zagrebu, Zagreb, Croatia

¹⁹ Michael Jandl and Albert Kraler, "Austria: A Country of Immigration?", March 1, 2003. Available online: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/austria-country-immigration>.

²⁰ Dominique M. Gross, "Immigration to Switzerland, The Case of the Former Republic of Yugoslavia", *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3880*, 2006, pp.10. Simon Fraser University.

²¹ Silva Mežnarić, "Sociology of Migration in Yugoslavia", Silva Meznaric. "Jugoslavenska sociologija (vanskih) migracija – pokušaj sistematizacije, 1985," *Migracijske teme* 1, no. 1, pp.1.

reached similar levels in the early 1990s after the strict immigration reforms. Guest-worker immigration from former Yugoslavia and Turkey was revived due to the booming Austrian economy at the end of the 1980s. This new wave of immigration was only halted by subsequent restrictions imposed by the Alien Act and the Residence Act in 1993²².

The temporal nature of their stay was determined mainly due to the easy procedures of travel and because most people who once had the opportunity to do some job abroad considered a second opportunity in the future. This was a great opportunity for many citizens who had little prospect of employment in their country, especially from rural areas, who rushed to get a chance to leave regardless of the nature of the job they were going to do. Even more, the living conditions were really bad as the hiring companies only offered substandard accommodation²³ and the migrants usually lived in very small spaces, three to four men inside a single room which meant enough for them in terms of offering a place where they could sleep and reducing the expenses to maximum in order to send as much money as possible back home.

1.3. Kosovo Albanian Immigrants during Ex-Yugoslavia

Discussion over the Kosovo Albanian diaspora is hampered due to the lack of exact points of reference and the lack of previous studies. The Kosovo Albanian diaspora has a lot in common with most of the Diasporas around the world which

²² Silva Mežnarić, "Sociology of Migration in Yugoslavia", 1985.

²³ Karl Kaser, "Household and Family in the Balkans: Two Decades of Historical Family research at University of Graz", *Studies on South East Europe*, 2012, Vol. 13, pp.575. LIT Verlag, Austria

develop as “others”²⁴ in a different space rather than the place of origin. The only true thing that the individuals have in common is the matter of existentiality which uses different forms, concepts and means to retain the matter while there are the circumstances of the host country which determine or dictate the pace or degree of his transformation and development in another setting for another setting.



Picture 2. Map of Kosovo²⁵

²⁴ I have used “others” for the fact of the changes that they have to make voluntarily or not due to the geographical or cultural factors.

²⁵ Lais Jigsaw Physical Map Kosovo 100 Pieces,

https://www.google.com/search?q=the+map+of+kosovo&rlz=1C1SQJL_en_823_823&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=d3eGh3j5FNicOM%253A%252CTeXnZnKtB5C2gM%252C_&vet=1&usg=AI4_-kRISnRB_wk3lqI_y6KvdAQbVoAHPg&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjZvr_OIKXkAhVELFAKHStWDBQQ9QEwAHoECAUQBA#imgrc=o2hv5alhSb4tUM:&vet=1. Retrieved on 05.06.2019.

There are plenty of detailed and rich sources for general migration data; however, the Western Balkan countries themselves provide very limited migration information, especially when referring to Kosovo Albanians as a distinct group. This is probably because at the time when the labor migration agreements made between the Western countries and Western Balkan countries were made when those countries were part of Yugoslavia. That is why specific labor migration data are scarce and the analysis of labor migration in the Western Balkans has to rely predominantly on migration data from the main countries of destination taking into account both limited data on labor migration as well as available data on overall migration²⁶.

Almost all statistics referring to the immigrants coming from Yugoslavia as long as Yugoslavia existed have Yugoslavia as their country of birth which makes it difficult to estimate the numbers of different ethnic groups, whether they are Serbs, Albanians, Croats or any other country of Yugoslavia. However, according to a report by UNHCR (2000) only during the years 1989-1998, 350.000 Kosovo Albanians left the province as refugees seeking asylum in Western Europe. Indeed 1990s were catastrophic for the Balkans which resulted in many deaths, ethnic cleansing and torture causing the largest refugee catastrophe in Europe since the Second World War²⁷.

²⁶ Marek Kupiszewski, Anna Kicinger, Dorota Kupiszewska, and Frederik H. Flinterman, "Labour Migration Patterns, Policies and Migration Propensity in the Western Balkans", *The central European Forum for Migration and Population Research (CEFMR)*, 2009, pp. 49. International Organization for Migration (IOM), Regional mission for Central and South-Eastern Europe, Budapest, Hungary.

²⁷ UNCHR, "The State of the World's Refugees - Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action", 2000, pp. 233 – 235. New York, Oxford University Press.

From the reviews of different literature in search of the necessary information for the purposes of this research, it becomes evident that Albanian issue is insufficiently explained or the Kosovo Albanian diaspora is almost unexplored. This research has helped me to understand the constant struggle of the generations, their interactions between the host country and the homeland. Although the central goal of this project is not to describe the political situation back in Kosovo, it is impossible to avoid political issues which are the main determinant in formation and shaping of the Kosovo Albanian diaspora.

Although Kosovo Albanians never had the position they wanted within Yugoslavia, their position changed compared to the previous decades when they experienced terror and oppression since 1912 when Kosovo fell in the hands of Serbia. However, there was some advancement and developments leading to a more favorable position for them in the second half of the twentieth century. The emergence of an Albanian Yugoslav identity among the Albanians took firmer shape during the '70s and '80s, represented by a younger urban generation who had reaped the benefits of being a Yugoslav citizen, a name which no longer triggered a threatening connotation among them, although the sentiment was not fully shared among the rural Albanian population in Kosovo²⁸. The Kosovo Albanian population belief that Yugoslavia could offer them space for equality and self-determination disappeared in time and they saw themselves suppressed in a

²⁸ Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, "Yugoslavia from a Historical Perspective", 2017. Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Belgrade, pp.287.

nationalist-ruled Serbia²⁹ and they soon realized that they are being excluded from every aspect of the public life.

Given that the situation in Kosovo was not the same as in the other Republics of Yugoslavia, whose status was not even a Republic but a sort of autonomy, the voice against Yugoslav authorities, the disagreement was bigger and many political figures had to leave Kosovo after persecution and even elimination. Most of them continued their activity for the awareness and organization of Kosovo Albanians in order to make pressure to the Yugoslav authorities to get the status of Republic. The status was not acceptable for the Yugoslav authorities, but instead they eliminated a number of Kosovo Albanians in order to halt the organization and any kind of changes within the borders of Yugoslavia.

The economic development of Kosovo continued to lag behind the Yugoslav average and that the disparity between Kosovo and the developed republics of Yugoslavia had become even greater. Kosovo was stagnating while other parts of Yugoslavia were booming³⁰. The high rate of population increase was to blame above all for that result. Between 1971 and 1981 the population of Kosovo increased by 27.4 per cent. As a consequence of this unbridled population growth, the number of unemployed in Kosovo remained very high³¹.

²⁹ Viktor Meier, "Yugoslavia, A history of its demise", 1999, pp.109. Routledge, London. Simultaneously published in New York and Canada by Routledge.

³⁰ Independent International Commission on Kosovo: "The Kosovo Report", 1.21.2015. Retrieved from: <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/F62789D9FCC56FB3C1256C1700303E3Bthekosovoreport.Htm> on 10.08.2017

³¹ Viktor Meier, "Yugoslavia, A history of its demise", 1999, pp.28. Routledge, London. Simultaneously published in New York and Canada by Routledge.

Kosovo Albanians left Kosovo either due to the economic hardship or under the pressure of the Serbian authorities that aimed at balancing the Albanian population growth³². Given that Kosovo was less developed than other parts of former Yugoslavia who were indeed constituent Republics of Yugoslavia and Kosovo did not have a specific status, it is assumed that access to a public or state job was very difficult. The key positions were normally reserved for Serbian population living in Kosovo who represented about 5-6% of the total population of Kosovo.

The Republics of Yugoslavia that were affected the most by the labor immigration in the decade from 1971 – 1981 were Croatia and Serbia, whereas the countries that were represented by the smallest number of the labor immigrants were Montenegro and Kosovo. So, this demonstrates that there was uneven distribution of emigration among the countries of Yugoslavia, those which were economically stronger had greater share over the others who were less developed.

From the Ottoman Empire onwards, male migration has been an economic survival strategy for Albanian families. In socialist Yugoslavia, this initially took the form of

migration to other parts of Yugoslavia or the Balkans, but from the 1960s onward, increasing numbers of Yugoslavs sought work in Western Europe³³. The fact that Kosovo Albanians first moved to other parts of Yugoslavia or later to Western Europe was for the fact that the federal government did not invest in the

³² Corina Metz, "The Way to Statehood: Can the Kosovo Approach be a Role Model for Palestine?", 2014, pp 86. Wiener Verlag, Austria.

³³ Howard Clark, "Civil Resistance in Kosovo", 2000, pp 36. Pluto Press 345 Archway Road, London,

industrialization of Kosovo which had the fastest growing potential labor force, in fact what it did was the exploitation of industries which supplied “raw materials or energy for use elsewhere in Yugoslavia”³⁴.

Although the Kosovo Albanians living in Kosovo as part of Yugoslavia had some rights, in reality they were never equal to the other Republics of Yugoslavia, not only in terms of the political status and position, but also in terms of rights and opportunities which Kosovo offered in that time. Living under such conditions, it was normal for them to feel underprivileged and estranged with the demand of having the same rights, status and opportunities as other parts of Yugoslavia had.

In this respect, the social discontent among the Albanians was higher and the “social distance between the different ethnic groups in Yugoslavia was the highest between Albanians and all other ethnic groups in the country, with Albanians increasingly perceived by others and themselves as alien in Yugoslavia”³⁵. Indeed the term itself “Yugoslavia”, which translated means “the Slavs of the South”, somehow did not correspond with the Kosovo Albanian population in Kosovo who did not belong to a Slavic group as distinct from the rest of the countries and their respective populations in Yugoslavia.

1.4. Efforts of Yugoslav authorities in preserving Yugoslav identity among immigrants

The Yugoslav authorities tried to maintain some sort of ties of the guest workers with their homeland putting strong emphasis on the temporary nature of this form

³⁴ Howard Clark, “Civil Resistance in Kosovo”, 2000

³⁵ Lazar Nikolic, “Ethnic Prejudices and Discrimination: The Case of Kosovo”, in *Florian Bieber and Zidas Daskalovski (ed.), Understanding the War in Kosovo*, 2003, pp. 55. London, Routledge.

of migration and tried to encourage them to return home rather than remaining in the host country. To help preserve these ties, Yugoslavia took several measures with the main goal of preserving the strong national identity and social homogeneity. They relied on the worker's self-organized Yugoslav clubs and tried supplying them with selected informational and cultural material with the purpose of maintaining their links to the homeland³⁶.

The agreements Yugoslavia had with the Western countries on migrant workers allowed Yugoslavia to send newspapers, books, films, textbooks, and radio and television programs to Yugoslav clubs and organizations. Starting from 1972, Yugoslav authorities founded Informational Centers under the wing of the diplomatic consulates in the biggest West German cities for the matters of propaganda work³⁷. However, these measures did not prove to have the desired success. Despite for their nationalistic sentiment, the majority of those that immigrated into another country, were becoming less and less attached to the nationalistic feelings, putting in the first hand their wellbeing and unification with the members of their families they had left behind.

An important element to which the Yugoslav foreign policy paid a lot of attention is the distinction between the political and economic immigration. In this part we have to emphasize that the authorities tried to fight the opposing elements whose political, ideological or ethnic background did not match with the

³⁶ Nikola Baković, "Socialist "Oasis" in a capitalist "Desert", Yugoslav state propaganda for economic emigrants in FR Germany (1966-1975)", 2012, p.p.3, Budapest, Hungary, pdf

³⁷ Vladimir Ivanović, "Jugoslovenska koncepcija organizacije kulturno-zabavnog zivota jugoslovenskih radnika u Austriji i SRN" (Concept of the free time of the Yugoslav guest workers in Austria and Federal Republic of Germany), Istorija 20. Veka 3, 2010, pp.130, Beograd (Belgrade).

communist regime and who could get the asylum status in Germany. The authorities considered anyone who did not agree with the state as extremists and employed different forms of neutralizing their activity either through propaganda as anti-Yugoslav citizens and warning the other workers of associating with them, either through the eliminations of the main actors who were considered to represent threat and were not in line with the state attitude, especially Kosovo Albanians who were later considered as irredentists due to their political activity and objection of the Yugoslav policies in Kosovo.

1.5. Return and Repatriation of the guest workers to the country of origin - Yugoslavia

The organized recruitment of workers from Yugoslavia would mark its end in 1973. Yugoslav authorities, observing the shift from labor workers into diaspora of its citizens, made a lot of efforts to maintain its influence trying to keep alive some sort of belongingness exercising power and sovereignty in the territories other than Yugoslavia where its citizens were residing. In terms of descriptive characteristics of diaspora, the temporariness and non-permanent settlement, at the beginning distinguished this group of people for a long period. Although this group was primarily not included in the diaspora category, it is impossible to deny the features which are characteristic of diaspora in terms that they settled and more and more thought less about coming back home due to the advantageous opportunities, easier way of life, and social security systems which did not exist in Yugoslavia at that time.

There was not any agreement or any other binding form which would make them return home upon the completion of their working period. So, those who wanted to stay, were not repatriated but managed to find clues to remain through longer work permits. So, the idea was to keep these people apart from the other diasporic community who had left Yugoslavia earlier by referring to them not only as diaspora, but rather as “temporary Yugoslav workers” trying to keep some sort of possession over them. This transnational engagement of the Yugoslav state aimed to “protect and develop the national and cultural identity of Yugoslav citizens abroad in order to prevent them from total assimilation, to keep labor migrants away from the political influence of political exiles and to foster their willingness for repatriation and prepare their reintegration into the Yugoslav society”³⁸.

The Yugoslav authorities were aware about the risk of the final outcome of the longer term stay of their immigrants and what the final stay of this group meant for the country of Yugoslavia. The state propaganda aiming the final return of its citizens was of high ideological importance. Informational and institutional activities exercised by the Yugoslav authorities represent some sort of trans territoriality which aimed at keeping the distinctive features of Yugoslav social, political and economic system on emigrants in the same way as it did within its territory with its own citizens until their voluntary repatriation.

³⁸ Karolina Novinščak, “Migration from Yugoslavia via Germany back to Croatia? The Connection of Transnationalism and Return-Migration in Macro and Micro-Perspective”. This paper was first presented at the workshop *Labour Migration and Transnationalism in Europe –Contemporary and Historical Perspectives* at the Südost-Institut, Regensburg, 10–11 December 2010, 2012, pp.3, Berlin. Available online: <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/diganth/KNovinscak1.pdf>

Starting from the 1970s, Yugoslavian federal policy-making bodies were induced to formulate a complex policy for organized return migration. They endeavored to cooperate with the international agencies, such as OECD and others, in order to make planned return and reintegration of migrant workers an element in a “true partnership’ between receiving and sending countries³⁹. So, the intention was to bring back the now skilled and trained factor of development and reintegrate them productively in Yugoslavia.

The government, in order to stimulate the return of the migrant workers, made exemptions from duties for repatriated capital and tried to create the necessary conditions for return, however this was not entirely successful, given that only a part of the workers returned and their reintegration was difficult. The evidence of the time shows that the incorporation of the returnees was not very common as the demand for job was high and recruitment of new labor was not based on professional qualifications, but on the unfair practice of kinship, ethnicity and relationships which is a real disease in the Balkans area.

Yugoslav government went even further by easing the procedures for investment opportunities, including less taxes and fair and equal treatment of the returnees (rather than the hostile attitude of being competitors in jobs and resources) with non-migrants. The main barriers for the returnees were that they not only faced with the prolonged unemployment but also with greatly increased difficulties of rejoining a culture they had left behind⁴⁰. When analyzed, the decision of the largest

³⁹ Robin Cohen, “The Cambridge Survey of World Migration”, 1995, pp 287. Cambridge University Press , Online publication date: 2012.

⁴⁰ Steven Mihajlovic, “Yugoslav Gastarbeiter: The Guest Who Stayed for Dinner”. *Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business*, 1987, 8, pp. 181-196.

number of the guest workers to settle in the host countries was positive in some sense for the only reason that it avoided the double blow for Yugoslav economy which lacked the capacity to absorb extra flow of unemployed who would be unable either to regain the jobs they had had before or to find a new one.

One thing that the government tried to fight was the practice of money spent for consumption mainly (which was based on the notion of family welfare and the improvement of living conditions), it wanted the money to be invested in enterprises so that the orientation of the skilled workers would not be considering going abroad but would have the same opportunity at their home country. This would have been very positive if it had happened, however, in practice it proved to be much more difficult. Those who had already settled would not consider coming back for the only reason that their investment was not safe.

One thing from which Yugoslavia had large benefits was the initiation of return programs with receiving countries, such as Germany and the Netherlands, and in the mid-1980s of which it received millions of US-\$ from the Council of Europe and the European Community specifically for job creation for return migrants⁴¹. Another way of motivating the Yugoslav migrants to return home was cash payments as incentives to leave the country. This plan expired in 1984 was considered as the first phase in the implementation of a forced repatriation program, however due to the crisis which hit Europe and the change of attitude of the migrants who did not want to face with the conditions and life they had left behind

⁴¹ Ulf Brunnbauer, "Migration and Economic Development in Socialist Yugoslavia", 2016, Article based on a talk at the Polanyi Center, Corvinus University. Budapest, Hungary.
Retrieved from: <https://ostblog.hypotheses.org/728> on 02.09.2017

years ago, few workers were pressured to return home, and the vast majority of workers who did return home after 1973 left voluntarily⁴².

Although politicians in some countries preferred to define those immigrants who had not left voluntarily as temporary guest workers, the new circumstances and their transformation into settled communities does not comply with such definition and the policies to encourage their return to the country of their origin were abandoned in the 1980s⁴³. Wanted or not, these immigrants had to be accepted with all their rights and be considered as citizens of the host countries.

Seeing this trend, the Yugoslav government in order to discourage the migration of the skilled labor, introduced legislation to restrict migration from Yugoslavia of the highly trained people in 1972⁴⁴, and “Social Agreements” were passed to support the return of Yugoslav citizens⁴⁵ which had some effect in decreasing the number of the people leaving Yugoslavia, however it was not sufficient to halt the phenomenon entirely.

This was partly because the Yugoslav economy had not recovered yet and the difference in wages between Yugoslavia and other Western countries was very high. Indeed, the contact with more liberal and democratic societies was another element which encouraged more and more guest workers to adapt to the newly

⁴² Steven Mihajlovic, “Yugoslav Gastarbeiter: The Guest Who Stayed for Dinner”. *Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business*, 1987, 8, pp. 181-196.

⁴³ John Wrench, Andrea Rea, and Nouria Ouali Migrants, “Ethnic minorities and the labour market – Integration and Exclusion in Europe”, 1999, pp.1. Palgrave in association with Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

⁴⁴ Ahmet Akgündüz, “Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe, 1960-1974: A multidisciplinary Analysis”, *Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations Series*, 1993, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands AHGATE, England, pdf.

⁴⁵ Ulf Brunnbauer, “Migration and Economic Development in Socialist Yugoslavia”, 2016, Article based on a talk at the Polanyi Center, Corvinus University. Budapest, Hungary.
Retrieved from: <https://ostblog.hypotheses.org/728> on 02.09.2017

introduced society rather than come back and face with the authoritarian system. Hauling emigration for Yugoslav authorities was a big challenge and almost impossible, it depended almost entirely from the will of the other countries and their restrictive measures and the labor market they offered to the foreign citizens.

The oil crisis of the 1973 had a great impact on the economy of Europe which as a result pushed many countries to adopt more restrictive policies on labor immigration leading to the limitation of the number of admissions and decreased number of Yugoslav migrants. The economic downturn in Austria, Switzerland, Germany and France caused by the crisis in 1990s marks a sharp decline in the labor migration⁴⁶. The main effect of these policies was to replace a primary form of migration - labor migration - with a secondary, family-based form (family reunion and also migration for the purpose of marriage)⁴⁷. The greatest wave of returnees happened in 1974 when about 80,000 people returned to Yugoslavia. This number dropped in 1980s where 30,000 per year returned home. Poor living conditions and the decline of economy after 1982 produced a significant number of new economic migrants⁴⁸.

The fall of communism followed by the war in Yugoslavia which started in 1992 resulted in asylum related migration making the reasons for migration more diverse. This triggered massive migration and large number of refugees from the area of Yugoslavia. In 1992, 380,000 former Yugoslavs came to Germany and

⁴⁶ Philippe Wanner, "Migration trends in Europe", *European Population Papers Series No. 7*, 2002, pp.14, Council of Europe, European Population Committee, Strasbourg, pdf.

⁴⁷ Philippe Wanner, "Migration trends in Europe", 2002.

⁴⁸ Ondrej Daniel, "Gastarbajteri: Rethinking Yugoslav Economic Migrations towards the European North-West through Transnationalism and Popular Culture", *Contesting Identities through Migration* 2007, pp. 281, Charles University, Prague; University Paul-Valery, Montpellier 3.

280,000 the following year, in Switzerland and Austria about 40,000 admissions per annum over the same period with a total of 4 million people migrated as a result of the war in Yugoslavia⁴⁹.

During 1974 and 1975, it is considered that around 130,000 Yugoslav migrants returned to Yugoslavia due to the economic crisis in the West, however shortly after this interruption, the number of migrants towards the Western Europe increased again⁵⁰. What needs to be emphasized is the role of the female labor migration which according to the official estimates makes up about 31% of the total Yugoslav workers working abroad. This is not the case for the underdeveloped southern part of Yugoslavia, in this case Kosovo, whose labor migration was overwhelmingly male⁵¹ and where female migrant workers were represented with only about five percent of the total migrant workers from Kosovo. As regards the integration of the Yugoslav immigrants, this is a delayed process due to the unwillingness of the immigrants itself which primarily were pushed by the idea of being away from their homes only temporarily.

In the 1980s, numbers of workers who were already in Switzerland obtained relatively long term work permits. Yugoslav communities began to grow with an unprecedented conjunction of factors that included a strong economic recovery in Switzerland, specificities of the Swiss immigration legislation and (later on) the

⁴⁹ United Nations, "International Migration from Countries with Economies in Transition: 1980-1999", *Population Division Department of Economic and Social Affairs United Nations Secretariat*, New York, USA, 2002, pp. 30, pdf

⁵⁰ Karl Kaser, "Household and Family in the Balkans: Two Decades of Historical Family research at University of Graz", *Studies on South East Europe*, 2012, Vol. 13, pp.575. LIT Verlag, Austria

⁵¹ Karl Kaser, "Household and Family in the Balkans: Two Decades of Historical Family research at University of Graz, 2012.

political crises in the former Yugoslavia⁵² and the immigrants from Yugoslavia to Switzerland could be characterized as economic rather than political. Open emigration policy by the Yugoslav government, the possibility of conversion from guest-worker status to immigrant status, renewed economic growth in Switzerland, easier family reunion conditions, and, later, wars in Yugoslavia are the likely contributors to that extraordinary growth⁵³. Seasonal workers from Yugoslavia who had been seasonal workers for at least 10 years without interruption obtained conversion of their seasonal permits. By 1985, only in Germany there were about 300.000 Yugoslav workers with family members reaching the number of 312.800. The number of Yugoslav workers and their families would not face many changes in 1990s. In this period, due to the political crisis, the proportion of the returnees is very small or non-existent.

By the end of 1980s Yugoslavian economy entered the phase of the severe economic crisis. In this regards the motivation of the workers already abroad to return weakened considering that they may not have another opportunity, and settled into the respective country, whereas the desire of others who had already been but returned for some time increased as they had already managed to make some connections during their previous stay. This crisis brought urban job creation to an abrupt end; the repression of Milosevic reversed any progress that had been made. By the end of the 1980s, once again only emigration appeared to offer

⁵² Çağlar Özden and Maurice Schiff, "International Migration, Economic Development and Policy", *The International bank for reconstruction and Development/The world bank*, 2007, pp. 184, Publication: World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan, Washington DC.

⁵³ Dominique M. Gross, "Immigration to Switzerland, The Case of the Former Republic of Yugoslavia", *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3880*, 2006, pp.11, Simon Fraser University.

Kosovo Albanian families any hope of material advancement. Departures accelerated dramatically, with Germany and Switzerland the most favored destinations⁵⁴.

1.6. The Yugoslav disintegration

The political crisis in the disintegrating Yugoslavia after 1990 and the beginning of the war in 1992 again increased the number of Yugoslavs residing from its territory. While active labor recruitment was no longer possible, other forms of migration became more common. These included: family reunification, spontaneous labor migration and, clandestine migration and asylum. The main problems in the territory of Yugoslavia began when Serbia's Communist leadership fell into the hands of Slobodan Milosevic, who overwhelmed by nationalist sentiments, brought to prominence a nationalist elite whose main ambition was to stretch Serbian dominance in the federation. The main events which in a way warned about the growing hostilities and the increasing tensions was when Milosevic deprived Kosovo and Vojvodina off their constitutionally guaranteed autonomy.

In the beginning of the 1990s, political, economic and humanitarian collapse in the former Yugoslavia resulted in the exodus of a substantial number of persons and caused the most extensive refugee problem in Europe⁵⁵. Balkans would

⁵⁴ European Stability Initiative (ESI), "Cutting the lifeline - Migration, Families and the Future of Kosovo", *Research supported by the Swiss and Irish Foreign Ministries*, 2006, pp.3, Berlin-Istanbul, pdf. Available online: www.esiweb.org

⁵⁵ Irena Kogan, "Labour Market Inclusion of Immigrants in Austria and Sweden: The Significance of the Period of Migration and the Effect of Citizenship Acquisition", *Working Papers Nr. 44*, 2002, pp.2, Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung, Mannheim.

once again suffer the consequences of war where countries of Yugoslavia would fight with each other due to the dominant role of Serbia over other Republics of Yugoslavia. It first started with the war in Croatia in 1991, but would soon involve Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992 and finally Kosovo in 1998 after the war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina had ended in 1995. Slovenia and Macedonia were luckier in this disastrous decade for Yugoslavia, with Slovenia experiencing only a few days of war and Macedonia not being involved at all. These wars became the main causes and streams of refugees in Europe. By the mid-1990s, it was estimated that as many as half a million Kosovo Albanians – around 25% of the total population – were living abroad⁵⁶.

Since the collapse of the socialist Yugoslav state in the 1990s, the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and later Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo had become independent states⁵⁷. New migration or diaspora policies have been formulated addressing not any more “temporary Yugoslav workers” and their families but rather co-nationals, who since the 1990s have been commonly perceived as national Diasporas of the respective nation and nation-state.

According to the records of the 1991, from the total number of Yugoslav migrants 24,9% lived in Germany, 22,5% in Austria, 14,1% in Switzerland, 7,7%

⁵⁶ European Stability Initiative (ESI), “Cutting the lifeline - Migration, Families and the Future of Kosovo”, *Research supported by the Swiss and Irish Foreign Ministries*, 2006, pp.3, Berlin-Istanbul, pdf. Available online:

www.esiweb.org

⁵⁷ Karolina Novinščak, “Migration from Yugoslavia via Germany back to Croatia? The Connection of Transnationalism and Return-Migration in Macro and Micro-Perspective”. This paper was first presented at the workshop *Labour Migration and Transnationalism in Europe –Contemporary and Historical Perspectives* at the Südost-Institut, Regensburg, 10–11 December 2010, 2012, pp.1, Berlin.

Available online: <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/diganth/KNovinscak1.pdf>

in France and 3,5% in Sweden whereas in other remote places there were, in USA 6,3%, Canada 2,2% and Australia 1,9%⁵⁸. From these numbers according to the Serbian data, only about 719 people were Kosovo Albanians, whereas the others were Serbs, Slovenes, Croatians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians.

The main reason for leaving has shifted considerably over time. Over 80% of migrants who left in the 1960s and early 1970s left for employment reasons⁵⁹. The gradual decline of work-related emigrations to around 37% in the last decade (KAS, 2013) partly reflects reduced numbers of persons leaving for work, but partly also reflect increasing numbers of family-related emigrants. From 1997 to 1999 the work and family emigration has dropped, due to war-related emigrants⁶⁰.

During the 1990s and into early 2000, the step-by-step disintegration process of the former federal state of Yugoslavia was the main factor influencing migration waves⁶¹. The majority of emigrants (59%) left after 1989, during the second wave of emigration and after the autonomy of the province was abolished and massive displacements and the compulsory draft into the Serb army occurred⁶².

⁵⁸ Branko Pavlica, "Migracije iz Jugoslavije u Nemačku – Migranti, Emigranti, Izbeglice, Azilanti", *Vol. LVII, br. 1-2, Izvorni naučni rad*, Januar 2005, pp. 121-158, Beograd, pdf. Available online:

<http://www.doiserbia.nb.rs/img/doi/0025-8555/2005/0025-85550502121P.pdf>

⁵⁹ Hivzi Islami, "Migrimet e jashtme dhe migrimet ilegale kanë shpjegime dhe zgjidhje" (International migrations and illegal migrations have explanations and solutions), *Koha Ditore (Kosovo daily newspaper)*, 2015, available online: <http://koha.net/?id=27&l=41474>, retrieved on 20.03.2017.

⁶⁰ Mimoza Dushi, "Influence of migration in women emancipation: case study from Kosovan Albanian diaspora", *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences*, 58, 91-103, 2015. Available online:

<https://doi.org/10.18052/www.scipress.com/ILSHS.58.91>, pp.95

⁶¹ Marek Kupiszewski, Anna Kicing, Dorota Kupiszewska, and Frederik H. Flinterman, "Labour Migration Patterns, Policies and Migration Propensity in the Western Balkans", *The central European Forum for Migration and Population Research (CEFMR)*, 2009, pp.17. International Organization for Migration (IOM), Regional mission for Central and South-Eastern Europe, Budapest, Hungary.

⁶² Muhamet Mustafa, Mrika Kotorri, Petrit Gashi, Ardiana Gashi, and Venera Demukaj, "Diaspora and migration policies", *Forum 2015 by Riinvest Institute based on the research conducted in Kosovo, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, UK, Sweden, Austria and the USA*, 2007. Riinvest Institute, Prishtina.

Immigration was the only way which would offer them an escape from the hard political and ethnic tensions, better future for their children, better standard of living and opportunity to develop further in specific fields.

1.7. Gender Representation

Regarding the gender representation, the majority of the labor market were men, who due to their active role in labor market and earning money, were considered as active migrants. Even though they were not highly qualified, still their education was higher and there were more opportunities for men rather than women. Women were considered as passive migrants (Dhar, 2010), who only followed men with children. Their movements to overseas destinations were limited and associated with men's emigration. In most of the cases they have migrated solely for family reunification⁶³. This happened due to the traditional values and gender perceptions in which the female from rural areas mainly were considered to be less educated and more isolated and the patriarchal society and the right of men domination upon women. It is this process of migration which transformed their role and gave them more freedom, emancipation and independence and the opportunity to get active into labor market, involvement into public life and creation of a new identity.

⁶³ Mimoza Dushi, "Influence of migration in women emancipation: case study from Kosovan Albanian diaspora", *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences*, 58, 2015, pp. 91-103 Available online: <https://doi.org/10.18052/www.scipress.com/ILSHS.58.91>

CHAPTER TWO
MOBILIZATION OF THE KOSOVO ALBANIAN DIASPORA⁶⁴ FOR AN
INDEPENDENT STATE

⁶⁴ If we refer to the other sources on immigration and diaspora according to which the term “diaspora” mainly refers to those dispersed people who carry transnational activities in other countries, then this term can be easily adopted for the Kosovo Albanian people who even though immigrated before 1980s throughout Europe and even further, from 1980s and on, they engaged into different organizations and Associations to work for the issue of Kosovo.

2.1. *The definition of diaspora*

Diaspora is a very old and important concept in both political and policy debates and academic research⁶⁵. Recently the migration issues and diaspora have received a far greater attention among different researchers. Therefore it is necessary to have a clear definition of “diaspora”, and the main activities and characteristics that it deals with. There are different definitions regarding the diaspora. Of course that the thorough explanation of diaspora is multidisciplinary, it cannot be analyzed only in the context of the host country which has come as an outcome of a mere process of immigration. A great part of the attention must be given to the construction of diaspora as a consequence of the homeland context and diasporic flows.

The term *diaspora* is used in academic and policy circles to refer to people (and often their descendants) from a specific country who are living abroad. However, there is no single agreed-upon definition of the term. In fact, it has been suggested that the term *transnational communities* (which according to IOM is used interchangeably with diaspora) may better describe the reality of contemporary migration experiences, where migrants may establish and maintain connections with people in their home communities or migrants in other countries⁶⁶.

According to Baser et al. (2010), “Diaspora is not a natural result of mass migration and there is a difference between migrant communities and diaspora

⁶⁵ Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist, “Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods” , *The dynamics of migrants’ transnational formations: Between mobility and locality*, 2010, pp. 51-72. [IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press.](#)

⁶⁶ International Organization for Migration (IOM), “World Migration Report 2018”. IOM, 2018, pp.20, pdf. Available online: https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/country/docs/china/r5_world_migration_report_2018_en.pdf, retrieved on 15.01.2019.

groups. Diasporas are composed of certain members of immigrant communities who maintain ties to the homeland with a strong sense of belonging, no matter whether the homeland are an existing country, an imaginary one, or one that is to be saved. They show this sense of belonging by actively participating in their host land's political or social spheres. They try to become involved in homeland politics, try to affect decision making in both home and host countries"⁶⁷.

The term "*diaspora*" is not so recent indeed. We find it in a lot of references and we have quite different opinions regarding its definition. In the beginning of its use, "it was a concept referring almost exclusively to the experiences of Jews, invoking their traumatic exile from an historical homeland and dispersal throughout many lands. With this experience as reference, connotations of a 'diaspora' situation were usually rather negative as they were associated with forced displacement, victimization, alienation, loss"⁶⁸. However, in more recent studies, for many researchers diaspora is regarding every community living in some other country.

We may argue that for this research and the Kosovo Albanian community we are referring to, we may use a number of different definitions by different authors and researchers which may be applicable for the Kosovo Albanian diaspora. We can start with the definition given by Baser et al. (2010) according to whom "diaspora" involves only those "people who have kept their emotional attachment

⁶⁷ Bahar Baser and Ashok Swain, "Stateless Diaspora Groups and their Repertoires of Nationalist Activism in Host Countries", *Journal of International relations, Volume 8. Number 1*, 2010, pp.40, pdf

⁶⁸ Steven Vertovec, "Three Meanings of "Diaspora", Exemplified among South Asian Religions", *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 6 (3), 1997, pp. 277–99, pdf. Available online: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/e0e0/0eb9dc0cc522e8a35bfb649c5ab529144ab6.pdf>

to their homeland who regardless of the fact that they are marginal groups, they live in peace conditions” and do not give up on the issues related to their country of origin and they do not make any compromise until there has been some satisfactory solution for them. According to Koinova “diaspora is a monolithic body, a group related to the people in the home country by affinity ties; kin and common descent”⁶⁹.

Anteby-Yemini et al. (2005) on their publications quote William Safran who in his essays (1991 & 1999), suggests that in his view the term “*diaspora*” could be considered as a “*metaphoric designation*” and could apply to various populations (expatriates, political refugees...). He defines the Diasporas as follows: expatriate minority communities:

- *that are dispersed from an original “center” to at least two “peripheral” places;*
- *that maintain a “memory,” vision or myth about their original homeland;*
- *that “believe they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host country;”*
- *that see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return when the time is right;*
- *that are committed to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland, and;*
- *of which the group’s consciousness and solidarity are “importantly defined” by this continuing relationships with the homeland⁷⁰.*

Safran’s definition has many elements in common with definitions of other authors and researchers, however the description he makes and summarizes it, correspond entirely to the Kosovo Albanian diaspora.

⁶⁹ Maria Koinova, "Diaspora Involvement in Ethno-National Violence: Causal Mechanisms and the Cases of Kosovo, Chechnya and Nagorno-Karabakh", *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association*, Mar 22, 2006. Town & Country Resort and Convention Center, San Diego, California, USA.

⁷⁰ Lisa Anteby-Yemini and William Berthomière, “Diaspora: A look back on a concept”, *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français à Jérusalem*, 2005, pp. 262-270. Centre de recherche français de Jérusalem, Available online: <http://journals.openedition.org/bcrfj/257>.

Betts et al. (2015) argue about the success of diaspora upon their homelands and further regard them as transnational communities which are not static or permanent but inherently political entities which are born, live, die and even have afterlives. They further explain that their durability does not depend directly on themselves and their inherent qualities, but by the role of elite “animators” who make resources available to the diaspora. They recognize that Diasporas are dynamic rather than static, and that they are frequently mobilized by external actors for particular political ends⁷¹. In this case the animators are the political events happening back in Kosovo which serve unfavorable situations and impose a sort of reaction acted on accordingly.

Kosovo Albanian diaspora belong to the group of so called “*Stateless Diaspora*” or the Diasporas who fight for their independent state. According to Sheffer (2003), “*Stateless Diasporas*” are dispersed segments of nations that have been unable to establish their own independent states⁷². The Kosovo Albanians never had an independent state, besides for some sort of autonomy which was later suppressed. So, in order to have the independent state, people of different social groups of the same ethnic background mobilized for a certain collective goal leaving aside all the distinctive political views and beliefs centering over a unified issue.

⁷¹ Alexander Betts and William Jones, “The animators: how diasporas mobilise to contest authoritarian states”, *Diasporas Reimagined Spaces, Practices and Belonging*, Edited by: Nando Sigona, Alan Gamlen, Giulia Liberatore and Hélele Neveu Kringelbach, 2015, pp. 172. Oxford Diasporas Programme Oxford Department of International Development.

⁷² Gabriel Sheffer, “Diaspora Politics, At home abroad”, 2003, pp.73. New York, Cambridge University Press

In the first period of this research, the Kosovo Albanian immigrants were concerned largely with the homeland politics and all their activities were performed trying to influence the situation back at home. According to Swain et al. (2010), “*Stateless Diaspora*” focuses mainly in the activities back in their homeland rather than integration issues in the hostland⁷³. Political activity is much higher within the stateless diaspora communities as compared to other types of Diasporas, especially if they are united around an idea of secession or in the cases when there is an on-going conflict in the homeland or an unsettled situation such as was the case in Kosovo.

Furthermore, according to Baser et al. (2010), this form of organization which the Kosovo Albanians achieved cannot be achieved easily but “diaspora is an elite mobilized political project, and diaspora identity is constructed, rather than a natural result of mass migration”⁷⁴. Besides for the political involvement of the Kosovo Albanian diaspora, it is essential to add that a great number of the Kosovo Albanian diaspora were direct participants in the war leaving everything behind to go and get back what belongs to them, or die for it. Although it is very difficult to describe every aspect of diaspora, their activities and their organizational structure, aims and the degree of success in achieving their goals, we learn that diaspora groups exist mainly as a response to conflict situations and as Adamson et al. (2007) state that “Diasporas have emerged as relatively coherent transnational collective identities, with internal organizational structures that successfully mobilize their

⁷³ Bahar Baser and Ashok Swain, “Stateless Diaspora Groups and their Repertoires of Nationalist Activism in Host Countries”, *Journal of International relations, Volume 8. Number 1*, 2010, pp.38, pdf

⁷⁴ Bahar Baser and Ashok Swain, “Stateless Diaspora Groups and their Repertoires of Nationalist Activism in Host Countries”, 2010.

members and engage in sustained political activities vis-a-vis both their home and host states”⁷⁵.

The involvement of this group which we mentioned known as “stateless diaspora” does not necessarily mean their physical participation in any kind of violent conflict which might be happening in the country of their origin. Physical absence from the real conflict does not give them the comfort of being totally indifferent or passive in relation to the situation, and for a great number of them, there is a tendency of creating some sort of “emotional personal engagement” or even “obligation” towards their country in the sense of not agreeing with the current situation.

The Kosovo Albanian diaspora dissatisfaction and non-consent with the situation back in Kosovo was demonstrated through different protests throughout Europe, public demonstrations and any kind of sensibilization activities which they considered useful for the internationalization of their issue. There are other actions which any diaspora perform, such as “voting, demonstrating, lobbying, monetary contributions, and creating works of art besides fighting, killing and dying”⁷⁶. In the case of the Kosovo Albanian diaspora, they have been very active and their goal to activate the international factor and make it an active participant in the Kosovo issue has been achieved successfully.

⁷⁵ Fiona Adamson and Madeleine Demetriou, “Remapping the Boundaries of “State” and “National Identity”: Incorporating Diasporas into IR Theorizing”, *European Journal of International Relations* 13, (4), 2007, pp. 489-526.

⁷⁶ Nina Glick Schiller, “Long Distance Nationalism”, in *Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember and Ian Skoggard (eds), Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World*, 2005, pp. 70-80, New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers. Available online: [25e9006f-b73d-4c4e-a1df-10b1454f2160](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-2384-2_160)

According to Tsagarousianou (2002), perhaps of equal significance is the fact that diasporic identities are ‘the product of active engagement in “politics” or, in other words, cultural and political action that articulates elements from different cultures and different frames of action and experience in one, more or less coherent whole⁷⁷. It is true that a more nationalistic identity was constructed among the Kosovo Albanians especially before the war in Kosovo in 1998-1999 which was imposed mainly due to the political situation back in Kosovo. In this way by engaging into a cause and structured around a constructed nationalistic identity which dealt primarily with the activation over every aspect regarding their homeland helped them to somehow relieve themselves from the emotional burden that they had “abandoned” Kosovo and their sense of loss and detachment.

A very interesting and true opinion which is impossible to avoid quoting, is the definition used by Adamson and Demetriou (2007) according to whom:

A diaspora can be identified as a social collectivity that exists across state borders and has succeeded over time to: (1) sustain a collective national, cultural or religious identity through a sense of internal cohesion and sustained ties with a real or imagined homeland, and (2) display an ability to address the collective interests of members of the social collective through a developed internal organizational framework and transnational links⁷⁸.

⁷⁷ Roza Tsagarousianou, “Rethinking the concept of diaspora: mobility, connectivity and communication in a globalised world”, *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, Vol. 1(1), 2004, pp. 52-65. University of Westminster, London. ISSN 1744-6708 (Print); 1744-6716 (Online).

⁷⁸ Fiona Adamson and Madeleine Demetriou, “Remapping the Boundaries of “State” and “National Identity”:
Incorporating Diasporas into IR Theorizing”, *European Journal of International Relations* 13, (4), pp. 489-526, pdf.

Vertovec (1997) on his definition of migration as “physical movement, re-settlement and re-establishment of key social institutions”, implies that diaspora and transnationalism are always a result of migration. He makes an attempt to combine two fields together:

Diaspora is the term used today to describe practically any population which is considered “deterritorialized” or “transnational” — that is, which has originated in a land other than that in which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe⁷⁹.

Based on his approach, the term “*diaspora*” began being utilized by the intellectuals and activists from within these populations to describe themselves and it involves at least three different meanings which we might call “diaspora” as social form, “diaspora” as type of consciousness, and “diaspora” as mode of cultural production.

Clifford (1994), in his definition of diaspora, argues that diaspora is presented as different from the travel in the sense that it is not temporary but it rather involves dwelling, maintaining communities, having collective homes away from home. He further argues that “the term diaspora is a signifier, not simply of transnationality and movement, but of political struggles to define the local, as distinctive community, in historical contexts of displacement. He differentiates

⁷⁹ Steven Vertovec, “Three meanings of “diaspora”, exemplified among South Asian religions”, *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* [Volume 6, Number 3, Winter 1997](#), pp. 277–99. [University of Toronto Press](#), pdf. Available online: <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/444244/pdf>

diaspora from immigrant communities for the fact that the latter one is seen only as temporary”⁸⁰.

Tsagarousianou (2004) suggests that a displaced and dispersed population cannot automatically be identified as a diaspora unless they have met with the crucial element that makes the concept meaningful and legitimate to use which is their self-mobilization around their awareness of themselves as a diaspora. She further argues that it is their ability to imagine themselves as such, to imagine and construct the relevant transnational linkages and appropriate discourses. If after this self-awareness and self-imagination of diaspora they manage to survive over time, then it is required to construct diasporic institutions, which construct and sustain a diasporic space of communication and exchange where definitions of the diaspora are elaborated and reproduced⁸¹. This is the process which characterizes the Kosovo Albanian diaspora, especially for the fact that at the beginning of their immigration, we find them scattered with everybody focused on their families with very little interest on integration and nationalistic sentiment. It is just after the immigration of more educated people who had escaped from the Yugoslav persecution due to their political involvement and activities which were regarded as anti-Yugoslav that this changed and people started adopting a more nationalistic discourse, creating their own institutions until their self-awareness until they gained the elements to be

⁸⁰James Clifford, “Diasporas” in *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 9, No. 3, *Further Inflections: Toward Ethnographies of the Future*, 1994, pp. 302-338. Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the American Anthropological Association, Available online: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/656365>

⁸¹ Roza Tsagarousianou, “Rethinking the concept of diaspora: mobility, connectivity and communication in a globalised world”, *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, Vol. 1(1), 2004, pp. 52-65. University of Westminster, London. ISSN 1744-6708 (Print); 1744-6716 (Online).

characterized as what most contemporary researchers and scholars regard to as diaspora.

The political developments in Kosovo in the 1990s resulted in a bounded ethnic solidarity of destiny which culminated in **transnational** activities and in mass mobilization of Albanian migrants in home town associations, collective or individual remittances, and humanitarian projects⁸². The study of Basch et al. (1994) on transnationalism demonstrate the role of transnationalism in the daily lives of different migrant communities and emphasize the possible effects that their activities may have both in the host country where they have settled, but also in the country of origin and that daily lives and experiences of those different migrant communities are not limited to a single territorial space (involving a large space which might be stretched across national boundaries), discourse or strategies which may vary from country to country⁸³. According to Schiller et al. (1995):

They are not sojourners because they settle and become incorporated in the economy and political institutions, localities, and patterns of daily life of the country in which they reside. However, at the very same time, they are engaged elsewhere in the sense that they maintain connections, build institutions, conduct transactions, and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated⁸⁴.

⁸² Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist, "Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods", *The dynamics of migrants' transnational formations: Between mobility and locality*, 2010, pp. 51-72. [IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press.](#)

⁸³ Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, "Nations Unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments and deterritorialized nation-states", 1994. Routledge Taylor & Francis group, London and New York.

⁸⁴ Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration", *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No.1, 1995, pp. 48-63, The George Washington University Institute for Ethnographic Research, pdf. Available online: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3317464>

Schiller (2003) identifies as “*transmigrants*” the group of particular type of migrants who maintain connection with their homeland: “persons who, having migrated from one nation-state to another, live their lives across borders, participating simultaneously in social relations that embed them in more than one nation state”⁸⁵. Something that we notice among the majority of the Kosovo Albanian community in Lyon is that they do not want to abandon their past. However, we can argue that for a great number of them this presents a big barrier to integrate for the fact that they stick into something which they are no longer an active participant of it, which even back where they come from has undergone drastic changes.

Cohen (1997) who emphasizes the transnational character of diaspora argues on ‘more positive’ aspects of diasporic communities by recognizing that diaspora communities not only form a collective identity in their place of settlement or with their homeland, but also share a common identity with members of the same ethnic communities in other countries⁸⁶. As regards the Kosovo Albanian community in Lyon, this is the most distinguishing element that characterizes them. Despite for the references they make to France as a democratic country which they consider their current home, there is always some feeling or sentiment associated in any kind of interactions between them.

So, in almost all definitions about diaspora we find different interpretations with almost the same elements. Although they differ in terminology and length, the

⁸⁵ Nina Glick Schiller, “The Centrality of Ethnography in the Study of Transnational Migration: Seeing the Wetlands instead of the Swamp” in *American Arrivals*, Ed. N. Foner, 2003, pp. 105, Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press

⁸⁶ Robert Cohen, “Global diasporas: An introduction”, 1997, pp. 7, Second edition, London: UCL Press, pdf

majority of them have something in common: that these communities represent the group of dispersed people who no longer share a geographic space they were born into with the majority of surrounding community who share the same language, culture and same customs, but maintain their ethnic tradition and a strong feeling of collectiveness in a new surrounding with a community they know nothing about with whom they have to share the space and by chance become acquainted to. For Kosovo Albanian people in Kosovo, the term “diaspora” is used to address to any person living abroad or outside the state borders of Kosovo.

Nowadays, the term “diaspora” is a quite politicized notion which characterizes and refers to almost every group of people who are dispersed. According to Sheffer the word “*Diaspora*” defines “ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin-their homelands”⁸⁷ which associates very well with the Kosovo Albanian diaspora and the major characteristics that identifies them.

2.2. *Introduction of the Albanian geographical context*

The Kosovo Albanians are the holder, consciously or unconsciously of a past that certainly weighs on the present. All temporal powers, each in its time, have influenced by their normative and symbolic productions, but also material the Albanian ethnicity. However, miraculously a substance of this ethnicity and language remain unquestionably throughout history and to this day purely Albanian, differing from others and keeping its specific traits and characteristics of its own.

⁸⁷ Gabriel Sheffer, “Modern Diasporas in International Politics”, 1986, pp.3. London: Croom Helm.

The term “Albanian” encompasses a large number of people of the same community united by a national language, history and traditions whose geography stretches not only within the legal boundaries of Albania, but in Kosovo, Macedonia, some part of Serbia or Eastern Kosovo as considered by the Albanians and some parts of Montenegro. This term encompasses all those who speak Albanian and not just people from the Republic of Albania. The Albanian people have never developed the Albanian state as the Albanian nation. In this conception of thought, which perfectly matches the reality on the ground, the Albanian state is a piece of territory of the Albanian nation which could gain independence and makes no Albanian nation (meaning all territories inhabited by an Albanian majority in all the contours of the current Albanian state).

Although these Albanian settings share important demographic and socio-economic dynamics and are inhabited predominantly or significantly by Albanian populations, the way in which migration emerged and developed into the main strategy of survival within their separate post-communist trajectories cannot be understood as a pan-Albanian phenomenon, but needs to be contextualized within their different and related national histories⁸⁸. However, there are a lot of common aspects which concern the three settings with different dynamics and different causes. In order to make it easier to understand and due to the different factors that cause the emigration of the Albanians from the above mentioned countries, this

⁸⁸ Judy Batt, Misha Glenny, Denisa Kostovicova, Nicola Mai, NadègeRagaru, Fabian Schmidt and Miranda Vickers, “Is there an Albanian question?”, *Albanian migrations: Demographic and other Transformations, Chaillot paper, No. 107*, 2018, pp.61. Institute for Security Studies, European Union, Paris, pdf.

research will focus mainly in the emigrants from Kosovo referred to as Kosovo Albanians⁸⁹.

The delayed introduction of the Kosovo Albanian issue and the fact that it remained always open has not helped matters and many points in history or in other disciplines related to the Albanian culture and civilization, remain entirely unknown. In this sense, the Kosovo Albanian world remains to the present day, despite its exceptional richness, heavily unknown. By this we can understand that the Albanian ethnicity is an endless pit of wealth which the social sciences could dig infinitely. However, we know that the learned knowledge is constructed by studying the particular facts in order to get to the general laws.

2.3. The support of Diaspora to the homeland - remittances

Diaspora has long played and continues to play a significant and multidimensional role in the economic, political and social development of Kosovo. Albanians in the diaspora help in any way they can, they were the greatest supporter during the period when Kosovo's institutions collapsed where people allowed their houses to be used as temporary schools where besides for local Kosovo Albanians that contributed in any way possible, the Kosovo Albanian diaspora communities in Europe, America and everywhere where there was some form of mobilization, paid money to finance the parallel system. Great help and support was seen during

⁸⁹ In this research, the key reference is Albanians from Kosovo. Although nowadays, they are referred to as Kosovans, Kosovars, I will mainly use the Kosovo Albanians for the fact that the other terms haven't found as much use so far. Kosovo Albanian people refer to Kosovo with "Kosova", therefore a number of references, especially of Kosovo Albanian authors, may appear with the terminology "Kosova". The reason why we have decided to talk about Kosovo Albanians is for the fact that their immigration started within the context of Ex-Yugoslavia and other parts where Albanians live, such as Albania, Macedonia, Albanians of Montenegro, Albanians from Presheva Valley in the Southern part of Serbia, do not share the same characteristics of immigration but all of them have distinctive reasons and features for that.

the conflict in Kosovo and after the conflict. Diaspora was and continues to be the largest donor after the war and the majority of destroyed homes were rebuilt with private money saved abroad. As an outcome this has created a dependence on remittances which have been a major factor in the financial survival of the country making it a long term situation.

2.4. *Parallel system of the Kosovo Institutions – Diaspora role*

The reason why it is necessary to talk about this is for the fact that this system that was created was thoroughly a merit and contribution of the Kosovo Albanian diaspora. The creation of this parallel system was entirely peaceful and did not involve at any circumstances any violent act. It was merely a form of peaceful opposition to the now complete anti – Albanian policies performed by the regime of Slobodan Milosevic⁹⁰. This process involved non-cooperation with the Serbian institutions and the denial of violent authority they now exercised over the Albanian people of Kosovo. Although, the Albanians tried to build all the necessary institutions that a state has, this was not possible, however from those that were built and which is considered to be the most important is the education system which arose in response to efforts to impose Serbian curriculum sanitized of anything deemed to foster Albanian nationalism⁹¹.

⁹⁰ Slobodan Milosevic (former Yugoslav president, and later of Serbia and Montenegro after the dissolution of Yugoslavia) was a Serbian nationalist who is considered to have caused the wars in the area of Yugoslavia resulting in hundreds of thousands of deaths for what he would be trialed in The Hague Crime Tribunal where he died before the verdict against him was taken.

⁹¹ Michael Salla “Kosovo, Non-violence and the Break-up of Yugoslavia”, *Security Dialogue*, Vol.26 (4), 1995, pp. 427-438. SAGE Publications, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

Being aware that Serbian reaction would be harsh and having learnt from the experiences of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo Albanians decided to resist peacefully rather than risking to be ethnically cleansed. They were aware that any kind of armed conflict would not favor them due to the high presence of Serbian police and military forces within the province. Although this strategy to remain still for almost one decade seemed to have little or no result at all, its role and effect was quite massive because it gave the Albanians the possibility to survive within the Serbian rule and provided a mechanism which avoided for a long time the systematic aggression and a war with similar consequences like in Croatia and Bosnia. Boycott of the Serbian government and its policies over Kosovo were an important element of this time.

This parallel education system which was launched in 20 January 1992 emerged as an embodiment of the Albanians' peaceful resistance, and an argument used to prove the existence of the Albanian independent state in Kosovo⁹². The effect of this parallel system of education was not only educating, but it was symbolic in the sense that it served to convince the Albanians themselves on the functioning of one of the most important layers of Institutionalization and condemned and resisted to the Serbian efforts of absolute deinstitutionalization. It was a pillar which besides for fostering education gave rise to the steps for better organization not only at local level, but at institutional level, self-being and self-determination.

⁹² Denisa Kostovicova, "Kosovo, The Politics of Identity and Space", 2006, pp.97. Routledge, Taylor & Francis e-Library, pdf



Picture 3. Learning in resistance: Parallel education system in the 90s⁹³.

By collecting a special tax, among the Kosovo Albanians in Diaspora, the Kosovo Albanian government in exile in Bonn financed the parallel system of education and health in Kosovo⁹⁴. This form of organization of the Kosovo Albanians into parallel financial, cultural, health and education systems was a clear attempt to solve final political status in a non-violent manner given that the then leaders of the Democratic League of Kosovo as the major political party in Kosovo, with its peaceful leader Ibrahim Rugova, tried to avoid the repetition of violence already witnessed in the eyes of the world caused by the Serbs in two former Republics of Yugoslavia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁹³Kallxo.com (14.10.2016), Mësime në Rezistencë: Sistemi Paralel i Arsimit në Kosovë në Vitet '90, <https://kallxo.com/rrefim/mesime-ne-rezistence-sistemi-paralel-arsimit-ne-kosove-ne-vitet-90/>; Retrieved on 06.11.2018.

⁹⁴ Corina Metz, "The Way to Statehood: Can the Kosovo Approach be a Role Model for Palestine?", 2014, pp 87. Wiener Verlag, Austria.

Although the Serb authorities tried to repress this parallel institutional system in many different ways, on the other hand it did match very well with their strategy to marginalize the Albanian population from the political, economic and cultural life in the full sense of the word as long as this form of organization did not mean that the repressive institutional mechanism would be weaker than it was. In fact, the refusal of the Albanians to cooperate with the system under repressive measures and their exclusion and dismissal from the public institutions meant fuller authority of the Serbian regime over the province. By this, the free places in the institutions were now filled with the Serbs and very few Albanians who were identified as “collaborators” or “loyalists”.

The administration and other state segments like security forces and industrial employment were now dominated by Serbs and Montenegrins. There was discrimination in the distribution of sources which contributed even more to the tensions and demonstrations which were crushed brutally by an almost entirely ethnic Serbian police in Kosovo supported by military units and territorial defense units which were created in response to the unsettled political situation in Kosovo. These included discriminatory language policies, the closure of Albanian language newspapers, radio, and television and the change of street names from Albanian to Serbian. While the previous leadership groups had always been ethnically mixed, new so-called “temporary measures” or “emergency measures leaderships” were appointed, composed only of Serbs⁹⁵.

⁹⁵ Shkelzen Maliqi, “Demand for a New Status: The Albanian Movement in Kosova”, in *Thanos Veremis and Evangelos Kofos (ed.), Kosovo: Avoiding Another Balkan War (Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy)*, 1998, pp. 230. Athens.

Serbian authorities did not stop their efforts in order to change the population composition in Kosovo. They tried to encourage the Serbian refugees offering them those jobs from which the Albanians had been dismissed and offering them different privileges such as subsidized housing and even properties. This was an official project for the settlement of 100,000 Serbs and Montenegrins who had allegedly been forced to leave during the Communist era as a result of discrimination by Albanians and federal authorities⁹⁶.

Confronting with such a situation, Kosovo Albanian immigrants played an even more spectacular role in the Kosovo self-determination movement. By the end of 1998, an estimated 600,000 ethnic Albanians in Europe and 300,000 in Canada and United States contributed to establishing independent education, social services and public administration in Kosovo⁹⁷. The exigencies of the parallel system in Kosovo turned the Albanian society in Kosovo into a community of solidarity, while simultaneously committing the Kosovo Albanian diaspora in Western Europe and in the United States to the national cause in the homeland⁹⁸.

This parallel system established by the Kosovo Albanians can be viewed in two dimensions: While for Kosovo Albanians, this organization meant some sort of self-independence, although under the Serbian oppression, for Serbs this organization at the beginning was almost inexistent and although they tried to put barriers in different forms, they did not consider its real impact. For them,

⁹⁶ Michael Salla "Kosovo, Non-violence and the Break-up of Yugoslavia", *Security Dialogue*, Vol.26 (4), 1995, pp. 427-438. SAGE Publications, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia

⁹⁷ Rey Koslowski, "International Migration and the Globalization of Domestic Politics", 2004, pp. 21. Routledge, London.

⁹⁸ Denisa Kostovicova, "Kosovo, the Politics of Identity and Space", 2006, pp.126. Routledge, Taylor & Francis e-Library.

development of these institutions by the Albanians was irrelevant given that as they considered that “real” power, which meant repressive institutional capabilities continued to be held by Belgrade”⁹⁹.

In this situation, there were two different confronting tides at the same time: the Serbian who on one side governed the place institutionally and Albanian on the other side that ignored every segment of this governance. When we consider that the Serbian population in Kosovo at the time was around 5%, then we realize that this Serbian order and institutionalization existed only for this 5%. These Serbian efforts to serbianize the then what they called “Serbian province” or as they often referred to as the “Serbian Cradle” were only achieved in appearance in terms that their influence among Albanians to embrace the new existing authority was rejected by the majority of Kosovo Albanians and its power and influence was limited mainly at bureaucracy level in different institutions.

While this political structure was declared illegal by the Serb authorities, it was as such subject to state repression through various mechanisms and anyone who contributed to its functioning in any kind of form, was exposed to risk, of which the most common was arrest or detention. This system received no official international recognition (except Albania), and operated in exile for much of the period, its existence offered significant political legitimacy for the officials in the parallel system¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ Michael Salla “Kosovo, Non-violence and the Break-up of Yugoslavia”, *Security Dialogue*, Vol.26 (4), 1995, pp. 427-438. SAGE Publications, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

¹⁰⁰ Marc Sommers and Peter Buckland, “Parallel Worlds: Rebuilding the Education System in Kosovo”, 2004, pp. 43, International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO, Paris. Available online: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000136152>, retrieved on 8.06.2015

The Serbian authorities used a strategy of silent repression and marginalization in order to avoid the internationalization of the issue. However, these issues had already become evident, and even more it became regarded by international sources as a non-violent campaign “combined with the recognition from the Albanian side that their struggle was “just” and served to strengthen their moral position in dealing with Serbs and was a source of renewed determination to continue the non-violent campaign”¹⁰¹.

In 1989 Serbia suppressed the autonomy which Kosovo had resulting in the loss of all the rights in all spheres of life Albanians had from the autonomy that was given in 1974. There were almost no Kosovo institutions which had any Kosovo Albanian working in them, besides for those who had accepted working as collaborators of the Serbian authorities. All sectors of life like economy, education, sport, healthcare, security and media as well were now on the hands of Serbs resulting in a mass unemployment and the loss of representation and self-governance of the Kosovo Albanians. While a part of our focus in this research is language as well, for a decade Serbia did everything to impose its language in different ways, televisions and radios were totally Serbian which had a big influence among the people of Kosovo. Some of the words in Serbian are still present among the Kosovo Albanian population.

In fact in this period, Serbia had plans to settle a large number of Serbian refugees mainly from the war areas in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. They even established specific settlements for them, large numbers of houses such as in

¹⁰¹ Michael Salla “Kosovo, Non-violence and the Break-up of Yugoslavia”, *Security Dialogue*, Vol.26 (4), 1995, pp. 427-438. SAGE Publications, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

the village of Baballoq and Junik in the Municipality of Deçan in the western part of Kosovo. This form of colonization was done by large promises for the refugees who accepted to come in Kosovo by subsidizing housing, favorable loans and guaranteed employment given that almost all the institutional positions were now free from Albanians. They even armed the Kosovo Serbs and brought large number of military forces. The purpose of the Serbian authorities was to show its strength and prevent any kind of Albanian idea that they can retain their autonomy and even less to end the dominance of the Serbian rule in the province.

As mentioned before, the situation in Kosovo although for many years remained isolated and received very little attention from the international institutions partly due to the hostile circumstances in other parts of Yugoslavia, it became noticed as soon as the wars ended in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Especially, a specific attention was paid to the parallel system and non-violence campaign. According to Salla, (1995) “Kosovo’s parallel institutions represent a non-violent approach to resolving the conflict in Kosovo which in terms of discipline, strategies and scale, represent the largest campaign of non-violence since Martin Luther King’s civil rights movement, and arguably Gandhi’s satyagraha campaign”¹⁰².

Although this parallel system can be described as symbol of peaceful resistance which was such in nature, we may also agree that it played a crucial political role, it represented a state within a state and although we may question the quality of education of this system, we cannot deny its role in preventing mass

¹⁰² Michael Salla “Kosovo, Non-violence and the Break-up of Yugoslavia”, *Security Dialogue*, Vol.26 (4), 1995, pp. 427-438. SAGE Publications, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

immigration and its representation of the Kosovo Albanians as peaceful demanding only what is essential for their existence: education. Without diminishing its effect and existence for almost one decade, it is not clear whether this strategy would have brought some specific result without the escalation of the situation and the conflict in Kosovo which finally brought about the final defeat of Serbia and its one century regime, repression and dominance in Kosovo.

Although the rejection of Serbian terms in which the Albanians would learn according to the Serb curricula as the main precondition for Albanians to enter school facilities, they still preferred working on their own terms despite daily difficulties and obstacles they had every moment of their activity. The objection of the Serbian system was now the main cause for the Albanians which “galvanized the entire Albanian community in Kosovo into action, while triggering its unprecedented homogenization and uniformity into a national cause”¹⁰³. The majority of Kosovo Albanians who supported these parallel institutions considered it a mission which was directly linked to the sense of identity who unable to confront Serbia with war, decided to respond to this mass exclusion and discrimination from their institutions and organized life through a strategy of avoiding the provocation of violence and internationalization of their issue in moderate terms.

During this process of institution building (although not recognized almost by anybody), the national objective of the Kosovo Albanians was modified, from the preservation of the autonomy stipulated by the 1974 constitution by Tito, into

¹⁰³ Denisa Kostovicova, “Kosovo, the Politics of Identity and Space”, 2006, pp.97. Routledge, Taylor & Francis e-Library.

an Albanian Republic within Yugoslavia as did five other constituent countries which were part of Yugoslavia have. The new circumstances under the regime of Milosevic who suspended the Kosovo autonomy created a situation in which it was impossible to achieve a satisfaction only with an autonomy, in the context that a hostile atmosphere was established in the region. However, the break-up of Yugoslavia caused another formulation of the national goal, which eventually emerged as a self-declared 'sovereign and independent Kosovo'¹⁰⁴. The idea of reintegration of Kosovo into Serbia was categorically rejected by the Kosovo Albanians as was any kind of participation into the political life of Serbia. The Serbian authorities were "generous" to invite the Kosovo Albanians into the elections for Serb representatives in Kosovo which were held in Serbia and in the territory of Kosovo as if it were a single country; however, these elections were boycotted completely and were seen by the Albanians without any interest as if they were happening in another country.

This diplomatic and cunning effort by the Serbian authorities to involve the Kosovo Albanians into the election process, choose their representatives for the Serbian parliament, was done allegedly to defend their rights and to "achieve their goals" as was stated by them. However, the Albanians did not accept this without a return to the status quo ante in Kosovo. The participation of Albanian parties in the Serbian elections would have meant the legitimization of violence, and the recognition of a Constitution and system which had been established without their consent and completely against their will. Accepting loyalty to the state of Serbia

¹⁰⁴ Miranda Vickers, "Between Serb and Albanian: A History of Kosovo", 1998, pp. 261. Columbia Univ Press; 1st edition.

would have meant recognizing the Serbs' right to treat Kosovo as their possession¹⁰⁵.

The Kosovo Albanian parallel system later received a quite high interest of the others and was analyzed largely by a number of foreign and well known scholars and analysts. The situation in Kosovo attracted the attention of different international organizations who deal with human rights and who kept repeating that there is a violation of human rights and oppression by the Serbian authorities. According to Clark (2000), movement of parallel structures had four aims: the survival of the Albanian society in Kosovo, contesting the legitimacy of Serbian state institutions and counter imposing the legitimacy of Kosovo Albanian institutions, commitment to civil resistance by refusing to be provoked to acts of violence and, finally, mobilization of international support¹⁰⁶. As Clark noted, "the struggle for education became a central symbol for the Kosovo Albanians and the proudest achievement of the parallel system" developed in response to repressive Serbian government measures¹⁰⁷. The creation of parallel education for and by Kosovo Albanians was a powerful demonstration of their resistance to the Serbian state and its policies¹⁰⁸.

While feeling that Serbia was getting to what they had aspired, people with strong nationalistic feelings got to the idea that the only way of combatting this

¹⁰⁵ Shkelzen Maliqi, "Demand for a New Status: The Albanian Movement in Kosova", in *Thanos Veremis and Evangelos Kofos (ed.), Kosovo: Avoiding Another Balkan War (Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy)*, 1998, pp. 232-233, Athens

¹⁰⁶ Howard Clark, "Civil Resistance in Kosovo", 2000, pp 70-71. Pluto Press 345 Archway Road, London.

¹⁰⁷ Howard Clark, "Civil Resistance in Kosovo", 2000

¹⁰⁸ Denisa Kostovicova, "Kosovo, the Politics of Identity and Space", 2006, pp. 97-98. Routledge, Taylor & Francis e-Library.

form of assimilation by Serbia was by creating a parallel system and parallel institutions which would act as state institutions at all levels. The creation of this parallel system was achieved through the cooperation of the local people with the Diaspora which had created the so called “exile government” and which was financed by the diaspora itself paying 3% of their incomes for the parallel institutions back in Kosovo. This shadow state if we may call it like that in Serb-ruled Kosovo was primarily a diaspora project, though its creators and direct bearers were in Kosovo and implemented in full cooperation between the diaspora and the local people of Kosovo.

The creation of the parallel system by the Kosovo Albanians was a form of continuous combat to retain some sense of nationalism and the avoidance of total collapse of the Albanians into a coma when people would accept this form of “imposed reality” and the serbianization of the province. It clearly demonstrated the willingness and persistence to confront with the Serbian appetites that practiced human rights abuses and discriminatory policies with the primary goal to suppress any sense and belongingness of Albanian sentiment among the Kosovo Albanian population in the province either through the abolition of the educational system or other forms of systematic pressure and violence.

The involvement of the diaspora in the processes back in Kosovo and especially the creation of the parallel system, presents some sort of autonomy they have in the form how this process is driven by them regardless of the barriers they had by the Serbian oppression mechanisms. This form of autonomy of the diaspora is best expressed in the definition of Koinova (2012) who says:

Regardless of how strongly original homelands aspire to govern their populations abroad, powerful diaspora individuals, institutions, and networks enjoy a relative autonomy vis-a`-vis their homeland. Their autonomy is a matter of degree, depending on their abilities to extract resources independently of the home-state or networks linked to it and to maintain legal status in another state that precludes their unwanted return or institutional closure¹⁰⁹.

We have to say that the majority of the houses which served as schools during the whole period of absence from public schools were destroyed during the war because of their role and as sign of revenge by the Serbs. However, these buildings nowadays are considered as the symbols of the peaceful resistance and some of them have been turned into museums.



¹⁰⁹ Maria Koinova, "Autonomy and Positionality in diaspora politics", *International Political Sociology*, 2012, pp. 99, Volume 6 (Number 1). University of Warwick, pdf.

Picture 4. A burned classroom of school houses¹¹⁰



Picture 5. School houses, symbol of the Kosovo Albanian resistance¹¹¹.

¹¹⁰ Telegrafi (26.03.2016), Historia e shtëpive-shkolla, në Kosovën e kohës së Millosheviqit (Video), <https://telegrafi.com/historia-e-shtepive-shkolla-ne-kosoven-e-kohes-se-millosheviqit-video/>. Retrieved on 06.11.2018.

¹¹¹ KOHA.net (26.03.2016), Historia e shtëpive-shkolla në Kosovën e kohës së Millosheviqit, <https://archive.koha.net/?id=27&l=105231>. Retrieved on 06.11.2018

CHAPTER III
HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE KOSOVO ALBANIAN IMMIGRANTS

3.1. *Early Kosovo Albanian immigrants*

It is a necessity to address Kosovo Albanian issue and a part of its migratory history as an ignored immigrant group with whose process of settlement nobody has dealt so far. It is necessary to distinguish the immigration pattern and make a clear difference among the immigrant groups whose displacement is experienced only temporary without the intention to quit their ties to their own roots and their bounded nature to show active involvement in the home-host interactions and the other immigrant group who according to the contemporary definition left their place in order to settle to another country.

It's hard to really talk about a beginning in terms of Albanian immigration in the world. An Albanian immigration seems to have always existed at various levels of importance although it is very difficult to document early migration of the Kosovo Albanian people in terms of exact times and numbers. By using Albanian, we are not referring only to the Albanians living in Albania at that time, but all the Albanian speaking people living in the areas inhabited by Albanians.

Emigration has been part of Kosovo's history since early times. The settlement of the Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Western Europe dates from 1940s, however more significant movements occurred since the 1960s. The first wave of migrants left Kosovo in the 1960s to work as 'temporary' guest workers in the West, a pattern that diminished during the 1970s¹¹². In some researches and

¹¹² Zana Vathi and Richard Black, "Migration and poverty reduction in Kosovo", 2007, pp.8, *Working paper C12, Issued by the Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty*, University of Sussex, UK, pdf.

books, diaspora is sometimes divided according to the time of emigration and this makes a distinction between old emigration covering the periods from the 1960s through 1980s which accounts for 14% of the total emigration; and new emigration which involves the phase of emigration during the oppressions of the 1990s which account for 59%, and the remaining 27% of the Diaspora have left Kosovo since the War. About 5% of the Diaspora was born outside of Kosova¹¹³. Although this phenomenon was intended or considered to be labor migration of Yugoslav citizens to western countries, it included and affected a lot Kosovo Albanians who were pushed from the economic hardship but also due to “the pressure of Serbian Authorities that aimed at balancing the Albanian population growth”¹¹⁴ which had birth rate higher than other countries of Yugoslavia.

The political and economic instability, especially from 1980s and on, have been among the main factors in the Balkans that have caused large numbers of people to abandon their homes and countries to immigrate into different countries of the world. The evidence shows that the communities that have been most affected by this phenomenon, are the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo. We may argue that the Kosovo Albanian people have always seen migration as the only way of escaping poverty and persecution. Indeed, the first phase of Kosovo Albanian immigration can be subdivided into two other phases which include immigrants for

¹¹³ Muhamet Mustafa, Mrika Kotorri, Petrit Gashi, Ardiana Gashi, and Venera Demukaj, “Diaspora and migration policies”, *Forum 2015 by Riinvest Institute based on the research conducted in Kosovo, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, UK, Sweden, Austria and the USA*, 2007, pp.7. Riinvest Institute, Prishtina, pdf.

¹¹⁴ Corina Metz, “The Way to Statehood: Can the Kosovo Approach be a Role Model for Palestine?” 2014, pp 86. Wiener Verlag, Austria.

labor purposes until 1980s and immigrants who escaped persecution due to their political beliefs until 1999.

For those that left for labor purposes, it has always been an obligation felt that someone from the family, as soon as they felt strong enough for physical work, they would take the immigration journey. The best evidence which shows that their decision to emigrate was a choice made out of a necessity rather than a desire is expressed through the representation in literature or as a form of arts in many songs which depict painful experiences and sufferings of those who have migrated. In most of them it is depicted as the necessary plague which one must embrace from which one has no escape if he wants to keep the family alive. To better explain the imposed sentiment of immigrating, there is even a male name “Mergim” who is given as a symbol to the people who have to leave their homes and go abroad which means “Migrant”.

From 1980s on, the political and economic situation in former Yugoslavia overall, and specifically in Kosovo, deteriorated drastically¹¹⁵. The abolition of Kosovo’s autonomous status in 1989 directly increased political unrest and emigration pressures. During the 1990s, many young men left Kosovo to escape from Yugoslav military service and were received as political refugees.

Members of the nationalist elite among Albanian students were increasingly persecuted and forced to leave Kosovo”¹¹⁶ and from now on the groups of people could seek for political asylum given that their return back home meant facing with

¹¹⁵ Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist, “Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods”, *The dynamics of migrants’ transnational formations: Between mobility and locality*, 2010, pp. 51-72. [IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press.](#)

¹¹⁶ Noel Malcolm, “Kosovo, A short history”, 1999, Perennial/Harper Collin, New York.

the authorities or being prisoned. The end of the last century, more specifically 1998 when the war in Kosovo appeared, lots of people left Kosovo and led to a phase of mass emigration. Serbian propaganda had a great role in influencing the mass immigration and were in close coordination with the traffickers who acted almost inside the territory of Serbia which served as a transitory place to reach to the countries of Western Europe.

It is not very easy to talk in terms of the numbers and distribution of Albanians in Lyon as there are no sufficient data regarding this. One of the most important social facts of contemporary Kosovo Albanian world and less known is undoubtedly its immigration and that, on its two problematic that are traditional migration and settling of immigrants.

Every diaspora community, regardless of their migratory pattern, either forcefully resettled or moving due to socio-economic conditions, whether settled in a single place or in multiple locations has its “distinctive spatiality”, inspired by experiences and events of the past and the present. They have particular forms and distribution of its settlements, demography, the nature and extent of its social networks, the characteristic circulations of its members, goods, culture and religion, its local inflections (social, linguistic, cultural) and its distinctive imagined, historical and present geography¹¹⁷. Little attention has been given to diaspora effects on the politics of their origin countries and its power in home country

¹¹⁷ Kim Knott and Sean McLoughlin, “Diasporas: Concepts, Intersections, Identities”, 2010. Zed Books Ltd, London, New York.

politics as well as ethnic and transnational community formation in different stages of time and their way of mobilization.

The beginnings of Kosovo Albanian Diaspora are very poor in terms of organization and transnational activities. At the beginning there was mainly labor diaspora who were mainly unskilled and poorly educated recruited as temporary workers. This is generally characterized as the first phase. This stage of emigration was driven primarily by economic considerations and many of these people managed to settle in the host countries and later took their families. Although there were different programs to encourage these guest workers to return back to Kosovo, there was not any forced or compulsory way to repatriate them, thus allowing them to bring their families as a final destination for generations. Most of these people went with the intention of working for some time and once they have improved a little their economic situation, to come back to their homes. However, with the time passing, these people felt that they can contribute more for their homes and families by remaining into the host countries and sending back home a part of their savings.

This wave of emigrants to a very little degree was concerned or involved in political activities or engaged themselves into the political developments back in Kosovo because they were mostly of rural areas and were poorly educated. The situation remained like this until another wave of emigrants arrived which was largely due to the tense situation and anti-Yugoslav protests in Kosovo which would once again bring ethnic based tensions in the region. In this way, “the labor migration of the Kosovo Albanians did not only have economic effects but also

provided the basis for political activities”¹¹⁸ along with the other wave of political immigrants who served as a catalyst to these joint activities.

This phase which involves young people who were parts of organized groups fighting for their rights 1989-1997, and which marks the end of the function of the labor migration providing the basis for political activities, was dominated by the emigration of better-educated and skilled young men, from different parts of Kosovo who escaped from the Yugoslav army service, especially during the Balkan wars 1992-1995. Prior to this, Kosovo Albanians went to military service in one of the Republics which were part of Yugoslavia, but with the outburst of war in Yugoslavia and the dominant role of Serbia, ethnic Albanian soldiers were forced to fight in the lines on the side of the Serbian army and many of those who objected the commands to go to the front, were killed in mysterious circumstances and sent back to Kosovo in coffins.

From 1980s on, the political and economic situation in former Yugoslavia overall, and specifically in Kosovo, deteriorated drastically¹¹⁹. The Albanian–Serb conflict erupted after Tito’s death. During the 1980s, the largest numbers of political prisoners in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) were Kosovo Albanians¹²⁰. In this way “Members of the nationalist elite among Albanian students were increasingly persecuted and forced to leave Kosovo”¹²¹ and from now

¹¹⁸ Corina Metz, “The Way to Statehood: Can the Kosovo Approach be a Role Model for Palestine?” 2014, pp 86. Publisher: Wiener Verlag, Austria

¹¹⁹ Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist, “Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods”, *The dynamics of migrants’ transnational formations: Between mobility and locality*, 2010, pp. 51-72. [IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press.](#)

¹²⁰ Charles Ingrao and Thomas A. Emmert, “Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies, A Scholars’ Initiative”, 2012, pp.51, second edition. Purdue University Press, Indiana.

¹²¹ Noel Malcolm, “Kosovo, A short history”, 1999, Perennial/Harper Collin, New York.

on the groups of people could seek for political asylum given that their return back home meant facing with the authorities or being prisoned. The political developments in Kosovo triggered new symbolic and social boundary-making processes among the former Yugoslav migrants along ethnic lines, and a strong Albanian nationalism emerged. It should be emphasized that before the 90s, transnational action had mainly been mobilized through family solidarity and reciprocity¹²².

The climax of the organization of the Albanian Diaspora can be considered to be the organization on the political level where the Kosovo Albanian Diaspora became extremely active in the establishment of political structures, involving itself in a very intensive propaganda for the Kosovo Albanian liberation aspirations. We can say that the previous diaspora had more a passive role in the sense of political organization. It was a time when they did not know who or what they represent anymore. During the first half of the 1990s, the Kosovo Albanian diaspora had largely supported the policy of non-violent resistance of Rugova's Democratic League of Kosovo, and had contributed financially to its parallel system of governance¹²³. The Kosovo Albanian nonviolent movement protected a vulnerable population (which seemed to have surrendered completely against the Serbian repression) from war for almost a decade while it built an intricate system of social,

¹²² Janine Dahinden, "The dynamics of migrants' transnational formations: between mobility and locality", in : Rainer Bauböck, Thomas Faist (ed.), *Transnationalism and Diaspora. Concept, Theories and Methods*, 2011, pp. 29-41. Amsterdam Press.

¹²³ Jolle Demmers, "New wars and diasporas: suggestions for research and policy", *Journal of Peace Conflict & Development Issue*, 2007, pp.23. Available online: www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk

political, and economic institutions¹²⁴. Kosovo Albanians fought for sovereign independence against a state which occupied, annexed and ruled over the contested territory by force, without the consent of the majority population living there in which 5% of the Serb population ruled over 95% of the Kosovo Albanian population. The nonviolent movement was a strategic step which helped generate international sympathy for the Kosovo Albanian cause, but it did not lead to victory.

We are conscious that we cannot acquire scientific knowledge in general phenomenon without an understanding of its component parts. As the Kosovo Albanian immigration was not addressed by scientific studies before we thought to the choice of a specific geographic area for this study. We thought that this region is the region of Rhone Alpes. Indeed, in this particular area we have a number of Kosovo Albanian immigrants carrying a remarkable history, but also a present and a future which is rather specific. This Kosovo Albanian immigration has not been a single block. In the contrary, the immigration fluxes are determined through time, but also, not always emigrate because of the same factors or the same geographic area of their country. However, in examining the attachment that the Kosovo Albanian diaspora community in Lyon towards their homeland, one cannot avoid the concept of long – distance nationalism and other elements such as transnational loyalties, and diasporic-identity formation¹²⁵.

¹²⁴ Maria J. Stephan, "Fighting for Statehood: The Role of Civilian-Based Resistance in the East Timorese, Palestinian, and Kosovo Albanian Self-Determination Movements", *Fletcher forum of world affairs*, Volume 30, Issue 2, 2006, pp. 57-79. Tust University Press.

¹²⁵ Bahar Baser and Ashok Swain, "Stateless Diaspora Groups and their Repertoires of Nationalist Activism in Host Countries", *Journal of International relations*, Volume 8. Number 1, 2010, pp. 37-60, pdf

Diaspora involvement, nevertheless, is not indicative and cannot in general characterize every community because from the evidence there is nowadays, there appear to be two distinctive types of diaspora, those communities that hold strong ties with their country of origins and those communities which do not. Albanians belong to the group which hold strong ties because they believe in some sort of specificity that sets them apart from others. Regardless of this they deal with constant comparison of one culture with the other, while acquiring as much as possible from the one they are trying to adopt or integrate into, forgetting little by little involuntarily the one abandoned although this is not a goal, but a fact one cannot escape from.

3.2. The selection of the country for migration

The selection of the country is not always an easy choice, however research suggests that when seeking out a destination country, key factors for Albanians (Kosovo Albanian as well) have been geographical, cultural, and linguistic proximity, as well as legal accessibility¹²⁶. Previous waves of migration were more oriented towards far-off countries, resulting in assimilation of most of them and with symbolic numbers of Albanians who returned due to the distance, have played a key cultural role in the determination and selection of Albanians to lean towards more nearby destinations which would allow them to come back as soon as the situation either political or social would be favorable for them.

¹²⁶ Valbona Sulemani, "The Albanian diaspora: immigration and settlement experiences", *Thesis and dissertations, Paper 624*. Ryerson University, Digital Commons@Ryerson, pp.2, pdf

This seems to have played an important role in the Albanian collective psychology and led to the belief that proximity to their homeland was a way efficient to keep constant contact with it. In our interactions with people who arrived earlier in Lyon, we find out that many Kosovo Albanians chose France with the belief that their absence was only for a given period and believed deeply in a return to the country of origin. They were almost without exception optimistic that they were only having a bad period in their life which would soon end and they would be happy when they return back in their country. With the time passing this thinking will evolve and take a variety of forms over time.

In current circumstances and situation in Kosovo, many people leave Kosovo with the belief to remain and become integrated into the host society, giving priority to the new identity which positions them as better and as soon as possible into the host society. For many people who chose Lyon as their destination, France was a symbol of freedom and people believe that admission criteria are easier and more favorable to settle forever in France.

3.3. *The beginnings of Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Lyon*

In Lyon, Kosovo Albanians were a minority among other minorities. It is very difficult to talk in terms of exact time of the beginnings of Albanian immigration in Lyon. For as much as it is known, this phenomenon is quite recent and the available data date from the second half of the twentieth century after the end of the Second World War. Some of the earliest arrivals in Lyon talk about the existence of an information organ, something like a newspaper in Albanian language, very little is known about it and it is impossible to get any evidence of it, such as a copy

or anyone who might give some specific information. The early Kosovo Albanian migrants in Lyon were almost invisible and the French had very little knowledge that among them there was a new social group which did not consider themselves as Yugoslavs. We find this group with very little interest to integrate into French society, focused only in their work with little or no efforts to improve their social position.

It was mentioned earlier that the beginnings of the Kosovo Albanian Diaspora belong to the workers who have come to work without any interest in the integration in the host country. Due to the insufficient integration of the guest workers in the host country, an infrastructure of associations established which made possible the “relationship between members of different layers” different background, and different interests, “of the Albanian society as well as between people from different regions of origin established which would not have been possible within Kosovo due to the bad infrastructure”¹²⁷. This meant that these people apart from their constant efforts of integration into the host country could not focus all their efforts in a single direction. In this sense from migrant communities they become part of diaspora groups “composed of certain members of immigrant communities who maintain ties to the homeland with a strong sense of belonging, by actively participating in their hostland’s political or social spheres”¹²⁸.

¹²⁷ Corina Metz, “The Way to Statehood: Can the Kosovo Approach be a Role Model for Palestine?”, 2014, pp 86. Wiener Verlag, Austria

¹²⁸ Bahar Baser and Ashok Swain, “Stateless Diaspora Groups and their Repertoires of Nationalist Activism in Host Countries”, *Journal of International relations, Volume 8. Number 1*, 2010, pp. 37-60, pdf

Although these people who in their country of origin did not know each other and most of them did not have any kind of interaction among themselves, they would create associations in the 80s, and especially from the 90s to deal with their daily challenges, but also in specific policy objectives and cultural. These associations will produce standards of conduct, symbols, but especially common goals which will be followed or not by the different actors. What is interesting in this context is to understand why and how these associations will play a role both in the preservation of an Albanian identity and integration into the host society. More than that, these associations by their activities will even create a new common identity which is attached to a condition and a specific territory. The lobbying and advocacy activities of the diaspora have largely been the result of the diaspora's political party movements, inspired by different causes and motivated to do something in the interest of their country of origin, their exiled community and political aspirations¹²⁹.

Existing Albanian Associations and Organizations until a specific time did not have a defined role or any clear form of organization of their activities. So, we cannot talk of any specific role until the deterioration of situation in Kosovo. This somehow appealed to the Albanian world in Lyon to follow the examples of other Kosovo Albanian Diasporas in other countries which were better organized and set some boundaries and targets for their organization in what we may agree on setting the specific role of the orientation towards the situation in the homeland. This

¹²⁹ The African Diaspora Policy Centre (2014), *Diaspora organisations as strategic agents of development*. The EADPD project is financed by the European Union and co-financed by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, pdf.

research does not aim to judge these activities and does not provide any effects in political terms. Its purpose is to provide with the basic principles over which these efforts were carried out.

Realizing that life and integration in a foreign country are very difficult, Albanians engaged in the creation of cultural and political organization through which they hoped would help them preserve Albanian language, culture and identity, but also create solidarity links to better cope with the difficulties of everyday life. However, it is interesting to know that these associations play a dual function in that they allow a more satisfactory integration of Albanians in other countries. Albanian associations held language courses, civilization and culture of the host country and collaborated hugely with other local associations and different personalities of the host country who are very interested in the Albanian culture.

Leaving the country of origin with the hope of leaving back all the troubles of life and the hope of a better life, do not always result in better living conditions, especially for those who have emigrated illegally. Realizing the difficulties and the need for support to the new comers, people who had already settled, used to meet in small cafes or clubs to discuss about the problems they were facing and the possible help they could offer. They considered over taking a new role, thus taking a responsibility over their shoulders to continue a battle once they had lost. The turn of events in 1990s would have been unthinkable without the mobilization of their communities in the diaspora¹³⁰.

¹³⁰ Paul Hockenos, *“Homeland Calling: Exile patriotism and the Balkan wars”*, 2003, pp.179. Cornell University Press, USA.

This led to the creation of Associations where the initiatives and addressing the problems and issues would not only be undertaken by individuals, but through an organized and systematic manner. Their role in this was enormous. One such example is the Association “Fan Noli”.



Picture 6. The logo of “Fan Noli”¹³¹ Association¹³²

The Association was founded on March 11, 1991 on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of protests against Serbian regime in Kosovo. According to the founder of the Association, Xhevat Bislimi who had sought political asylum in France after he had been prisoned for several years in Kosovo due to his political activity. At

¹³¹ Fan Noli (Theofan Stilian Noli, 1882-1965) was a famous Albanian writer, historian and politician who served as Albania’s Prime Minister in 1924 and was founder of the Orthodox Church of Albania.

¹³² The photo has been taken from a former member of “Fan Noli” Association.

the beginning when he came to Lyon, there was a small number of Kosovo Albanians which would hardly be more than 300. The association was very active indeed and in order to inform compatriots and to appeal for any kind of resistance back in Kosovo, managed to establish a temporary newspaper “Rruga Jonë” – “Our Way” which circulated from March 1994 to August 1997.



Picture 7. Newspaper “Rruga Jonë” – “Our Way”¹³³

School-based diaspora networks are common across many diasporic groups; they can command considerable loyalty, and often mobilize diasporans who are relatively well-educated¹³⁴. The first school in Albanian language with a

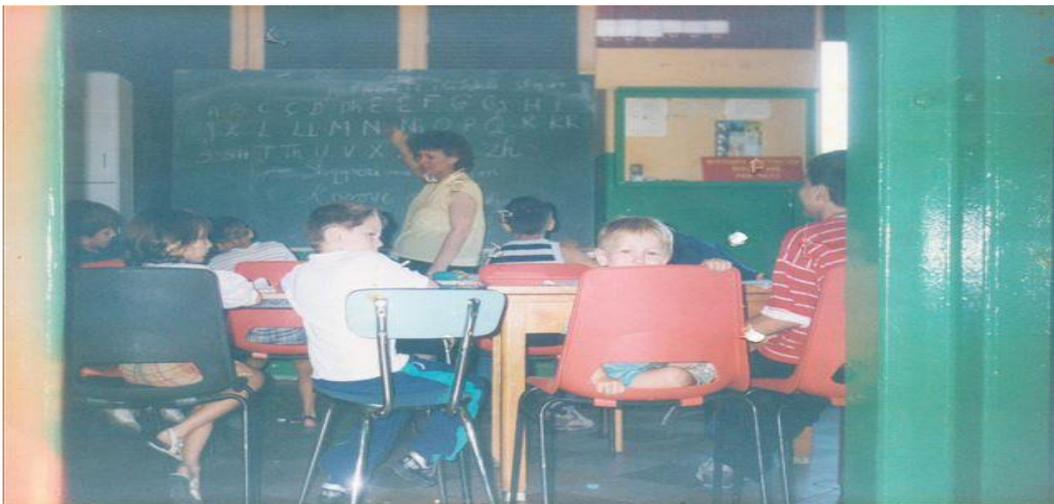
¹³³ Pictures have been provided by an ex-member of “Fan Noli” Association.

¹³⁴ Mette Louise Berg, “Transnational school-based networks” in *Nando Sigona, Alan Gamlen, Giulia Liberatore and Hélène Neveu Kringelbach (ed.), Diasporas Reimagined Spaces, Practices and Belonging*, 2015, pp.136-139. Oxford Diasporas Programme, Oxford Department of International Development, UK, pdf

library of around 2 thousand books in Lyon was opened by the Association “Fan Noli”. Although there was a great enthusiasm about the functioning of the school and many people were seriously engaged in order to make it function properly and achieve its goal for what it had been founded, the school ceased its activity after some time due to a number of different barriers and the lack of funds.



Picture 5. Schooling process organized in private settings¹³⁵.



Picture 6. “Fan Noli” School. Albanian language classes¹³⁶.

¹³⁵ The photo has been provided by a former Kosovo Albanian pupil of these classes.

¹³⁶ The photo has been provided by the teacher that taught Albanian language classes on voluntary basis.

Parts of activities of the “Fan Noli” Association were also the organizations of different national celebrations. One of the most important historical events for the Albanians is the 28 November, the day of the Independence of Albania, which was celebrated regularly.



Picture 7. Celebration of the Albanian flag¹³⁷.

This association also did the mobilization of volunteers who went to fight back for the liberation of Kosovo. Xhevat Bislimi was the political representative of KLA in France who dealt with the organization, mobilization and collection of funds for financial support for purchase of weapons which would be used in the Kosovo war. Xhevat Bislimi as the leader of “Fan Noli” also cooperated with the Kosovo delegation that did negotiations with the Serbian delegation in Rambouillet, France for the political solution to the Kosovo crisis and organized different manifestations outside the building where the meeting was taking place in February 1999.

¹³⁷ The picture has been provided by an ex-member of “Fan Noli” Association.

3.4. Kosovo Albanian immigrants during the war in 1998-1999

The 1990s undoubtedly represent a turning point for international migrations in the Balkan region. The migrations from the Balkans have revealed different characteristics compared to the previous decades in terms of type, size and direction of the flows and have involved the populations of the region to such a massive extent that in some cases a radical geographical redistribution has occurred¹³⁸.

This period was very critical for Kosovo. The Kosovo Albanian factor which at any point considered themselves as leaders has always had a lot of differences and approaches of how to act and the necessary steps to confront the Serbian regime. This was obvious even during the war in Kosovo when the international community had to make different efforts to bring some sort of unity among them in the dialogue which was done between the Serbs and Kosovo Albanians to end the war in Kosovo. However, regardless of the differences among the Kosovo Albanian people and especially among the diaspora, there was a strong sense of unity among them. This unity has best been described by Dahinden (2008), according to whom:

At first glance, it might be paradoxical that Albanian ethnic boundaries have never been as encompassing as during the war of 1998 in Kosovo. During this time of crisis, everybody who could somehow be classified as ‘Albanian’ got his or her place inside this jellyfish of collective group identity. The relevant

¹³⁸ Corrado Bonifazi, Cinzia Conti and Marija Mamolo *Balkan International Migration in the 1990s*, vol. 6. *IRPPS-Istituto di Ricerche sulla Popolazione e le Politiche Sociali (Institute of Research on Population and Social Policies)* CNR, 2006, pp. 2, Via Nizza 128. Department of Demographic Sciences, Via Nomentana 41, Rome (Italy).

borderline was the ‘other’, the Serbs. It appears from the interviews that the boundaries of ethnicity, and at the same time of solidarity, included all Albanian speakers, independent of their citizenship¹³⁹.

The sense of Albanianism was stronger than ever before and everything that was considered to help the Albanian efforts in their fight for liberation was worth supporting. Being affected by the images that came from war zones in Kosovo, their emotional response was immediate and led to “diaspora radicalization and further escalation of the conflict in Kosovo”¹⁴⁰. A sense of one overarching Albanian identity was demonstrated during the Kosovo crisis in 1999. The national emergency involving the ethnic brethren in embattled Kosovo overshadowed all competing preoccupations among different Albanian communities worldwide¹⁴¹. In fact this marks the highest unification of the Albanian factors regardless of their origin into a single body.

The period of war in Kosovo marks a specific phase in the immigration of the Kosovo Albanians (if we may call it immigration for the fact that they were forced to leave their homes and their departure was only temporary which included several months without any plans to settle and the majority of these people returned back home as soon as the war ended) in which more than 800 000 people flee as refugees mostly to neighboring countries (Albania and Macedonia). Although this number

¹³⁹ Janine Dahinden, “Deconstructing Mythological Foundations of Ethnic Identities and Ethnic Group Formation: Albanian-Speaking and New Armenian Immigrants in Switzerland”, *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, Vol. 34, Issue 1, 2008, pp.55-76.

¹⁴⁰ Maria Koinova, “Four types of diaspora mobilization: Albanian diaspora activism for Kosovo independence in the US and the UK”, *Foreign Policy Analysis, Volume 9 (number 4)*, 2013, pp. 433-453.

¹⁴¹ Denisa Kostovicova, “Albanian diasporas and their political roles”, in: Judy Batt (ed.), *Is There an Albanian Question?*, *Chaillot paper (107)*. European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2008, pp. 73-86, Paris, France.

is found in most of the references, it is believed that this number is higher and is close to one million. Western Europe and the USA are characterized by massive return to Kosovo as soon as the peace treaty was signed between Serb forces, NATO and the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Over 715,000 refugees returned to Kosovo from neighboring countries and 30,000 from abroad¹⁴².

Many refugees who had some relatives or families in western countries or anywhere and who were skeptical about the end of the war, but also due to the poor living conditions in camps, had the opportunity to join them from Macedonia and Albania without visa or any sort of procedures. We may argue that this helped relieve the situation a bit both in Albania and Macedonia for the fact that two countries were unable to deal with such a high number of immigrants (displaced people) within a very short period and they couldn't offer any perspective in terms of the labor market. Those who arrived in Europe during this period of violence and repression were accepted and recognized as political refugees, rather than migrant workers¹⁴³. It is impossible to give any exact number of those who went to other countries during this phase.

During this phase of forced emigration – massive population displacement which appeared as a result of the 1998/99 war in Kosova¹⁴⁴, the concentration of displaced is mainly just next to the border with Kosovo which shows that the

¹⁴² Charles Kemp, Lance A. Rasbridge, "Refugee and Immigrant Health: A Handbook for Health Professionals", 2004, pp.230. Cambridge University Press

¹⁴³ European Stability Initiative (ESI), "Cutting the lifeline - Migration, Families and the Future of Kosovo", *Research supported by the Swiss and Irish Foreign Ministries*, 2006, pp.3. Berlin-Istanbul, pdf. Available online: www.esiweb.org

¹⁴⁴ Muhamet Mustafa, Mrika Kotorri, Petrit Gashi, Ardiana Gashi, and Venera Demukaj, "Diaspora and migration policies", *Forum 2015 by Riinvest Institute based on the research conducted in Kosovo, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, UK, Sweden, Austria and the USA*, 2007. Riinvest Institute, Prishtina, pdf.

majority of these people did not plan to go and settle to some other country. For those who were skeptical about the end of the war and who decided to search for other opportunities in other developed countries, France was not the major destination of the Kosovo Albanians, although a number of people went to France in this period, more specifically in Lyon. Germany and Switzerland dominated due to the family ties people had, however “the number of Kosovar Albanians requesting asylum in France increased significantly in 1998”¹⁴⁵. Most of the people who immigrated in France in this period received formal refugee status and settled in France.

The new wave of immigrants who throughout Western Europe were accepted mainly as asylum seekers, but also as clandestine migrants who arrived mainly through social networks of Kosovo Albanian communities already settled there. The process of repatriation in voluntary basis without any procedure is very amazing and it shows the attachment of these people to their homes and homeland, although a great number of them had nowhere to come back as Kosovo was almost completely destroyed and most of the people lived in improvised tents.

We can clearly conclude that the largest migration of Kosovo Albanians abroad happened throughout the 1990s; however it reached its peak during the war in 1998-99¹⁴⁶. Between 1998 and 2000, more than 300,000 people requested asylum in countries with established market economies and other countries in transition, of which only in Europe, 20 per cent of those asylum-seekers that arrived in 1998 or

¹⁴⁵ Joanne van Selm, “Kosovo’s refugees in The European Union”, 2000, pp.166. A&C Black.

¹⁴⁶ Kosovo Agency of Statistics (KAS), “Kosovan Migration”, 2014, pp.24. The report was prepared by the staff of the Kosovo Agency of Statistics in cooperation with representatives of other local and international institutions, Prishtina, pdf. KAS Website: <http://esk.rks-gov.net/>.

1999 were granted temporary protection for humanitarian reasons, 5 per cent were granted refugee status and 45 per cent were rejected¹⁴⁷. What we must admit about both phases of immigration is that smuggling and trafficking have been two major criminal options which have enabled a large number of Kosovo Albanians to reach their final destination. Such groups which still exist have become very sophisticated channels of irregular immigration with strong ties and networks who for one person take three thousand euros and more.

After the end of the war in 1999 and the installation of the UNMIK mission, the role of the Kosovo Albanian Diaspora began to fade and gradually with the development inside Kosovo, a gap began to emerge between Kosovo and the Diaspora which brought about a waning of Kosovo-Diaspora relations. Many organizations and associations, political or non-political, which were active in the diaspora became significantly inactive and some activists that worked in the diaspora returned to Kosovo to engage in political and economic life of the country, nonetheless during this period they were not very vocal about the issues facing the diaspora.

3.5. Kosovo Albanian Diaspora: Moderate versus Radical

Diasporas have existed in one form or another since ancient times. Diaspora's role and involvement has always been evident, however, recent cases allow us to state that "the political weight of diaspora communities has increased importantly throughout the late twentieth century, and that they often play a crucial role in

¹⁴⁷ United Nations, "International Migration from Countries with Economies in Transition: 1980-1999", *Population Division Department of Economic and Social Affairs United Nations Secretariat*, New York, USA, 2002, pp. 106, pdf.

contemporary conflicts”¹⁴⁸. This seems to be true and demonstrated by the case of Kosovo diaspora as well in which “diaspora communities have become the obvious group to mobilize external support” given that identity groups in conflict often lack formal international representation such as membership of the United Nations and a diplomatic corps, they largely depend upon their dispersed members for (the mobilization of) external support”¹⁴⁹.

Kosovo Albanian diaspora (if we may call diaspora in the time when they were moderate) has been very moderate for a long period which lately transformed into a more radical diaspora which lasted until the end of the conflict in Kosovo in 1999. It was due to political circumstances and a very peaceful behavior of the Kosovo Albanian leaders in Kosovo without the aspired result and excessive violation of human rights back in Kosovo that made the diaspora more active and change of attitude towards the situation in Kosovo. While theories on the relationship between repression and aggression predict such an outcome in the domestic context, there is a similar effect in transnational politics, even though Diasporas do not experience the violence directly, but through the global media.¹⁵⁰ Diaspora organizations are significant, and increasingly politicized players in

¹⁴⁸ Jolle Demmers, “Diaspora and conflict: Locality, long-distance nationalism, and delocalization of conflict dynamics”, *Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture*, 2002, Vol. 9, pp. 85 – 96. Centre for Conflict Studies, Utrecht University. Published online: 07 Nov 2014.

¹⁴⁹ Jolle Demmers, “Diaspora and conflict: Locality, long-distance nationalism, and delocalization of conflict dynamics”, 2014.

¹⁵⁰ Maria Koinova, “Conditions and timing of moderate and radical diaspora mobilization: evidence from conflict-generated Diasporas”, *Working Paper No.9, Global Migration and Transnational Politics*, 2009, pp.3. George Mason University. Available online: <http://cgs.gmu.edu/publications/wpgmtp.html#gmtppw...>

today's global world¹⁵¹. In this context, the role of the Kosovo Albanian diaspora has been massive.

Diaspora activism in terms of political support to insurgent movements, sending remittances back home and participating in homeland affairs became highly significant¹⁵². As any other diaspora, the Kosovo Albanian diaspora became more active and their role was highly influenced, if not entirely from the loss of any kind of rights in the motherland and the necessity to save what could be saved, but never to acquire something which did not belong to them.

Although Kosovo Albanian Diaspora was a conflict generated diaspora who are characterized for maintaining radical behaviors, they had adopted moderate claims in the internationalization of the issue of Kosovo for a long time. By this they wanted to construct a sort of the image and they believed that this would make them part of the game and would gain the sympathy and support of the strong powers. In other words they wanted to put into play the international community by showing that they are not in favor of the violence but it is rather the violence which is being imposed to them. Given that the conflict in Kosovo in 1998-1999 ended with the support of the strong powers, then we can build a parallel that this behavior worked.

¹⁵¹ Jolle Demmers, "New wars and diasporas: suggestions for research and policy", *Journal of Peace Conflict & Development Issue 11*, 2007, pp.23, pdf. Available online: www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk

¹⁵² Bahar Baser and Ashok Swain, "Stateless Diaspora Groups and their Repertoires of Nationalist Activism in Host Countries", *Journal of International relations, Volume 8. Number 1*, 2010, pp. 37-60, pdf.

3.6. *The transformation of diaspora from moderate to radical*

There are numerous cases when diaspora communities participate in conflicts in their homelands while living their politics long-distance behaving as long distance nationalists. Being away enables them to gain more capacity to influence their original homelands, especially if they live in developed locations. The Kosovo Albanian diaspora intervention occurred when moderate local agents started losing support for their nonviolent struggle and grave human rights violations took place against ethnic brethren in the original homeland¹⁵³.

At the beginning there was as Koinova (2010) calls “contained” diasporic repertoire which used mainly nonviolent form of searching for their rights, nonviolent rhetoric, lobbying, petitions, publications, nonviolent demonstrations, which as such did not bring much result. However, later it turned into as Koinova refers to “transgressive” diasporic repertoire which included more radical measures and violent behavior such as: demonstrations, recruiting of fighters, purchase of arms, and fund-raising for radical domestic factions¹⁵⁴. It seemed that the only way to end long century hostilities between the two ethnic groups, Serbs as conquerors and Kosovo Albanians as autochthonous population, in Kosovo was to respond to violence by violence.

The last decade of the twentieth century, especially the period of military activity of the Kosovo Albanians in Kosovo marked the culmination in the mass mobilization of Albanian migrants – whether first or second generation – in home-

¹⁵³ Maria Koinova, “Diasporas and Secessionist Conflicts: Mobilization of the Albanian, Armenian and Chechen Diasporas”, *Article in Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2010, pp.333-356. Routledge, England, pdf

¹⁵⁴ Maria Koinova, “Diasporas and Secessionist Conflicts: Mobilization of the Albanian, Armenian and Chechen Diasporas”, 2010.

town association projects, collective remittances and humanitarian projects. This resulted with the emerging of “an ethnic consciousness among Albanian-speaking migrants, which went along with the appearance of ethno-politics and nationalism”¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵⁵ Janine Dahinden, “The Circulation of People: Understanding the dynamics of transnational formations among Albanian-speaking migrants in Switzerland by bringing in the theories of mobility, social inequality and ethnicity”, *working paper 6 – 2014/E*, 2014, pp.9. Universite de Neuchatel, pdf.

CHAPTER IV
SECOND PHASE OF IMMIGRANTS FROM 1999 – 2019

4.1. Kosovo Albanian Immigrants from 1999 – 2019

In the past decades, new political science research emerged to focus on the impact of Diasporas on political processes in their original homelands.¹⁵⁶ Kosovo Albanian diaspora remains unknown in a scholarly sense despite the fact that the Kosovo is one of the rare countries in the world that has almost half of its population outside its own territory. This lack of study shows how scholarly research is unequally distributed by social phenomena. Noticing that a social phenomenon of such magnitude is virtually unknown (in a clever way), we felt the need to pose a scientific interest in it.

One of the main characteristics of Kosovo Albanian ethnicity is its strong commitment to the homeland; therefore, it complicates the understanding of the contemporary mass emigration and increases the curiosity of those who dare to venture on such grounds. This initial curiosity makes a challenge of understanding and demonstration of the truth for the research.

Although a lot of scientific attention has been paid to migration phenomena, its definition is still not clear and there “is no unique definition of migration nor is a simple classification of migration possible either, because of the existence of multi-dimensional migration criteria such as cause, length, distance, direction, volume, velocity, migratory status, etc.”¹⁵⁷. Much of this attention is paid to the positive and negative impact that migration has both for the country of origin and

¹⁵⁶ Maria Koinova, “Four types of diaspora mobilization: Albanian diaspora activism for Kosovo independence in the US and the UK”, *Foreign Policy Analysis, Volume 9 (number 4)*, 2013, pp. 433-453.

¹⁵⁷ Katerina Veljanovska Blazhevka, “Factors that influence the process of migration of youth: A case study of Kosovo”, *Security and Defence Quarterly 2017; 17(4)*, 2017, pp.48-73. Published by War Studies University, Poland, pdf. Available online: <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0011.7846>

the host country. Migrations are increasingly determinant to social and economic transformations causing multilateral social, demographic and economic consequences to emigrating countries, but they have also the positive aspect, such as bringing innovation and cultural transformation¹⁵⁸.

The impact of migrants who bring a number of changes in terms of demographic, social or economic structure and the differences between this new population and the local population of the receiving country are elements which deserve a greater attention. With this trend of migration affected both by positive and negative impacts which migration may have both for the country of origin and the host country, more attention has been paid to it by international bodies such as The United Nations and other organizations such as OECD, World Bank and The European Union which have pointed out the need for better and more harmonized data on migrants, and they have engaged in a range of activities to achieve this goal¹⁵⁹.

As regards the views of economists who analyze the issue of migration from a macro and micro perspective, they consider that international migration stems from international differentials in both earnings and employment rates. According to this view, they argue that the wage difference is the catalyst that entices workers from low wage countries to move to high wage countries. There is no doubt that the view that “lack of employment or proper remuneration prospects may be the main factor in an individual’s decision to migrate to a country where prospects are

¹⁵⁸ Besim Gollopeni, “Rural urban migration in Kosovo”, *International Journal of Business and Social Science Vol. 6, No. 9(1)*, 2015, pp.96. Center for Promoting Ideas, USA.

¹⁵⁹ Joan Font and Mónica Méndez, “Surveying ethnic minorities and immigrant populations: Methodological challenges and Research strategies”, 2013, pp.13. IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press.

better”¹⁶⁰ is very logical if we refer to migrants who leave their country in other circumstances than war or political persecution. However, this would hardly match with the majority of Kosovo Albanian emigrants who left Kosovo as political emigrants in the 1980s and on until the end of the war in 1999. But, it does match very well with the post war reality in Kosovo.

We already explained the first phase of immigration. The second phase of Kosovo Albanian immigration is distinct from the first on the type of immigration. While the pre-war period can be characterized as a “return migration” due to the intention of people who immigrated to maybe one day the unresolved status of Kosovo could change and they might one day come back, the post-war period is characterized with “settlement migration” or “no return back” migration due to the unresolved personal status of the people who feel incapable of living in a place where they must have strong family ties to get a job, or work on the private sector where the average salary per month is 250 euro.

Now we see different ethnic group formations as compared to pre-war Kosovo which are concentrated over a different type of activity. Although these formations have constantly changed and have taken different shapes, there is still some content or subject among the Kosovo Albanian immigrants that has remained the same. While in the first phase, the main idea over which the Albanian diaspora are structured was the organization of parallel system and armed conflict in Kosovo, in the second phase which starts just after the end of the war in Kosovo, this changes

¹⁶⁰ W. Andy Knight, “Conceptualizing transnational community formation: Migrants, sojourners and Diasporas in a globalized era”, *Special Issue on Migration and Globalization, Canadian Studies in Population Vol. 29(1)*, 2002, pp. 1-30, pdf.

with the belief that the mission has been completed in 1999 with the intervention of NATO. In the second phase, much of the activity has stopped, however there is still the substance which keeps the Kosovo Albanian diaspora tied to their homeland and this is demonstrated either in the form of remittances or lobbying for its democratic development. We consider that migration patterns have changed in time influenced and driven by different actors; however immigrants' response has varied significantly reflecting on the changing circumstances back in Kosovo. However, we can confirm that Kosovo Albanian diaspora remains an active participant in all activities in both phases.

Although we acknowledge that for Kosovo, the emigration has had more positive impact for the reasons mentioned above, we can also refer to a number of negative impacts it is having nowadays. Unfortunately, a lot of capable people are leaving after they have earned a University degree causing like this loss of governance capacity and weak institutions with people employed on familiar basis and nepotism which are not able to deliver economic growth and proper public services.

Unfortunately it is impossible to find exact information or data on the migration flows nowadays, but the official statistics from the census in 2011 confirm that approximately 700,000 people who were born in Kosovo currently live abroad which make up its diaspora and this number includes only those who have

applied and legal asylum seekers, which suggests that the number could be higher due to others residing illegally¹⁶¹.

The lack of a reliable census data on migration in Kosovo makes it very difficult to talk in terms of accurate size of the current diaspora. There is an approximate number which is subject to different debates of which Germany leads with approximately 270,000 and host the largest observed and Switzerland is the second which includes naturalized members of the Kosovo Diaspora. Other communities are established largest in the United States of America, Scandinavia, the UK, France, Belgium and Austria¹⁶². Germany and Switzerland nowadays host more than half of the Kosovo Albanian diaspora with 58.1 percent of total Kosovo Albanian migrants. Considering that Kosovo has a population of about 2 million, then from the number mentioned above, more than one third of the population of Kosovo is living abroad and are considered to be Diaspora.

After the end of the war in Kosovo in 1999, immigration policies in other countries towards Kosovo became more restrictive to Kosovo citizens because it was considered that there is no longer a hostile environment and people had no reasons to leave Kosovo. However, those who were determined to emigrate resorted

¹⁶¹ Zana Dobruna, Burim Ejupi and Learta Hollaj, "An overview of migrations of Kosovars into the EU: Migration as Multifaceted Phenomenon", *A publication of the Institute for Development Policy (INDEP)*, supported by Think Tank Fund, 2015, pp.7. Prishtina, pdf

¹⁶² Nevruz Zogu, Artan Nimani, Shpetim Rezniciq, Valbona Zeqiraj, "Diaspora as a driving force for development in Kosovo", *European Journal of research in Social Sciences*, Vol. 3 No. 1, 2015, pp.76-82. Progressive Academic Publishing, UK, pdf

to illegal means. According to the 2007 household survey, about 73% of the Diaspora emigrated before the war and 27% during the post-war period¹⁶³.

4.2. Push and Pull Factors today

The potential for migration from Kosovo remains high due to such push factors as unemployment and poverty. A high percentage of Kosovo Albanians are currently below the poverty line, with a part of population living in extreme poverty. Classic migration theory talks about push and pull factors affecting migration: as the term itself implies, push factors are negative factors “pushing” people to leave their country against their will. They may include unstable economy at home, issues of security such as civil conflict, political instability and persecution or other social and economic reasons such as lack of job opportunities, famine, and underdevelopment which is regarded as a steady push-factor for emigration. Pull factors are positive factors which attract and encourage people to go to a different country, region due to higher living standards and safer life. They are more often economic, primarily a strong economy and job availability in other countries, higher pay rates, better opportunities and other future life prospects, or they can be personal, such as joining family members. In other words, some migrants leave their home countries, while others seek out another country. The medium-term

¹⁶³ Muhamet Mustafa, Mrika Kotorri, Petrit Gashi, Ardiana Gashi, and Venera Demukaj, “Diaspora and migration policies”, *Forum 2015 by Riinvest Institute based on the research conducted in Kosovo, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, UK, Sweden, Austria and the USA*, 2007, pp. 27. Riinvest Institute, Prishtina, pdf

result is the same, but the reasoning behind the decision differs as may the implications of the decision¹⁶⁴.

The factors which enter into the decision to migrate and the process of migration may be summarized under four headings, as follows:

- *Factors associated with the area of origin.*
- *Factors associated with the area of destination.*
- *Intervening obstacles.*
- *Personal factors*¹⁶⁵.

According to Lee's push and pull model, there are two sets of "push" and two sets of "pull" factors involved in the process of migration, meaning there are positive and negative factors related to the place of origin and the place of destination and they may be any type political, economic, social, environmental or cultural forces.

According to a survey conducted by IVS (2015) in main municipalities, there were identified the main motives of the recent wave of illegal emigration where drives or push factors that led to the illegal emigration are presented in percentage terms. The listed reasons are as following: economic instability (69.66%), disappointment and disbelief in the country's institutions (54%), lack of

¹⁶⁴ Amanda Klekowski von Koppenfels, "Profiling of irregular migrants and analysis of reintegration needs of potential returnees from Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro), Albania and FYROM in Belgium, Italy, The United Kingdom and Germany", *Final research report to the European Commission*, 2004, pp. 24. IOM, pdf.

¹⁶⁵ Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration", *Demography* Vol. 3, No. 1, 1966, pp. 47-57. Population Association of America.

prospect for a better life (41%), social reasons (26.33%), and political reasons (27.66%)¹⁶⁶.

4.3. Settlement of Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Lyon

While there are many difficult procedures for newcomers who in one side seem to hamper the settlement and integration into the host society, it is indeed this fact which makes the people to be more persistent in their goal until their final settlement has been achieved. The basic concern of the new comers, besides for linguistic barriers, is survival, finding a roof over their head, some job no matter what just to make a living and language acquisition in order to give them more chance for access into a better job. In terms of survival, their needs are very basic which in time as they progress, they become bigger and bigger.

Contacts and conversations with many immigrants of Kosovo in Lyon reveal that there is a full consent among almost all of them that settlement procedures are extremely strict and difficult. According to them, upon arrival in France, it is obligatory to address to competent authorities. Before 2017, immigrants had to go to prefecture to present themselves and get registered for further procedures. This is not the same anymore. Anybody who arrives in France must go to register themselves at “Forum Réfugiés” in order for them to create an address and then they make an appointment at the prefecture where one can present his demand for asylum. After presentation at prefecture, it will be demanded to give finger prints in order to check at the European system for data and asylum requests

¹⁶⁶ IVS – Iniciativa për Veprime Sociale, “Studim mbi migrimet e kosovarëve gjatë 2014-2015” (Study on the Immigration of Kosovars during 2014-2015), 2015, pp.13.
Retrieved from: <http://ivs-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Studim-mbi-Migrimet-2014-152.pdf>

if the person has presented his request for asylum in some other country. They accept the file and give a one month document without right to work with a possibility of extension and also the seekers are given files to fill in and take them to OFPRA to consider the request for asylum.



Picture 8. Forum for refugees in Lyon¹⁶⁷

After the file has been admitted by OFPRA, a letter is normally sent to the person with the number of the file and other personal data. After that in order to make the extension of demand for asylum with the document which OFFRA has returned to the applicant, the person must present himself at Prefecture in order to make the extension of temporary document which is usually extended for a period of six months. During this period, these people obtain the right to get a symbolic amount of money for their expenses of 11 euro per day or approximately 400 euro per month during the whole period of the procedure for asylum request.

¹⁶⁷ The photo was shot in June 2019. It is here where the immigrants have an address and where they receive their mail.

A big problem for the majority of people who arrive is that they do not have any shelter. According to the French legislation in power, the authorities are obliged to provide temporary shelter upon the admission of request for asylum; a thing which in reality often doesn't happen and families with or without children are often left without shelter in an open sky or camps. These procedures may last for years. Life of immigrants and asylum seekers in refugee camps is very concerning. Co-living with different people of different nations mainly coming from the countries of Africa and unsettled territories has caused a number of infections and different diseases such as tuberculosis. A number of people who have been rejected from asylum status have been repatriated and they have resulted positive in tuberculosis and other transmitting diseases.

4.4. Life in “Foyers” (collective shelters)

Although for people who experienced living in camps and streets, receiving some sort of shelter has been a solution, even for some time, there are often reporting and confessions from people who lived there that life there is quite difficult. Experiences are different, for children, as they grow up, they are left behind as time passes, however, for adults this seems to be a greater problem and these experiences are experienced very emotionally by them. Refugees or asylum-seekers after being interviewed by the Refugee Forum (Forum Réfugiés), they are usually accommodated into collective shelters which are called “Foyer” which means “Shelter”.

At the entrance of these shelters, there is a directorate which the “inhabitants” perceive as an observation point which controls every movement

made by the inhabitants. Every family is appointed a supervisor who is interested about everything that concerns his appointees, official meetings and so on. They have regular weekly meetings. These shelters are inhabited by refugees from all the continents of the world. In one entrance there are usually four to five families with small studios of about 9 square meters. This space is insufficient with a space for two beds and a small table, with a toilette and a small sink in the form of a cabin. These rooms are identical to each other. The rooms are divided depending on the composition of the family and the numbers of the family members. In the hall, there is a specific shower for men and women and joint for all the inhabitants of the floor. Noise is common for most of the time of the day.

There are foyers where asylum-seekers receive two-week incomes for food and they have to prepare on their own in joint kitchens with gas ovens. There are often many disagreements between the people who share the same space regarding the use of the kitchen and preparation of food. However, in many foyers, food is served in social restaurants. But, what are social restaurants? - They are usually some spaces where is made preparation of hot dishes similar to peoples kitchens. The food which is prepared there is said to be basic and often tasteless. Food ingredients are brought by producers and they often do not match the criteria for market being often damaged and near expiry. Refugees are given some sort of card where after each meal, it is sealed and it is prohibited to take the food along. Lunch time is usually one hour from 12:00 to 13:00, whereas dinner from 19:00 to 20:00.

During the stay in Foyer, intensive work is carried out with children. There is organization of different language courses, sports, dance, and even to the way of

feeding. In other words, as regards food, there is an influence of domestic food, French cheese and green salad. In these courses which are specific, things are described in details. A high significance is also given to the French language and grammar.

In general, there is a lot of improvement in the living conditions of immigrants from one generation to the other and a great number of those immigrants who have arrived at a young age and have been able to go through education program “share a certain number of common values with the native French population and consider themselves more as citizens of their country of settlement than as members of their country of origin”¹⁶⁸.

4.5. *The existence of Albanian Associations in Lyon and their role today*

Throughout different stages of emigration, there have been a number of well-organized organizations and associations which operated with the contribution of the emigrants themselves with little or no support from their country of origin, besides for some symbolic aid like books or magazines in Albanian and some short visits of the Albanian children in their country of origin. By organizing into associations and different organizations, Kosovo Albanians felt the need to continue with the efforts and tasks they couldn't accomplish back in Kosovo. They were able to meet regularly and they collected the necessary information on the situation back in Kosovo.

¹⁶⁸ Jacques Barou, “Integration of immigrants in France: a historical perspective”, *Identities. Global studies in culture and power*, Taylor Francis (Routledge), 2014, What remains of the National Models of Integration?, 21 (6), pp.642-657, pdf

Although the Association “Fan Noli” stopped its activities and mission in 2002, it was some of the members of this Association which initiated and established another Association which tried to follow some of the basic principles of the previous Association although with slight differences according to the different circumstances and different attitudes. This Association was named “Iliria”¹⁶⁹ and was founded in June 2003.

Another Albanian association which was founded by a group of young students from Kosovo and Albania was “Bashkimi Shqiptar” (The Albanian Union) and it was founded on March 6, 2010.



Picture 8. Logo of “Bashkimi Shqiptar” Association¹⁷⁰

“Bashkimi Shqiptar”, by focusing on the Albanian diaspora, through its organization, aimed to be the transmitter of the Albanian word between the Homeland and the Diaspora, so it aimed to keep and maintain the strong tie or connection between the two. Besides this primary role, the Association “Bashkimi Shqiptar” was nothing more than an organization which aspired to bring forth the

¹⁶⁹ Illyria (Iliria) was a region in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula inhabited by many tribes who identified themselves as the Illyrians and whom the Albanian people consider their predecessors.

¹⁷⁰ The photo was provided by “Bashkimi Shqiptar” Association, of which I was a member, too.

Albanian word where it belongs in different world centers among different friends of the Albanian world. So, its goal was to set the Albanian language and world free from isolation and break the boundaries which keep it only among the Albanians, but to make it echo all over the world through the Albanian Diaspora.

So, the purpose of the association was to make the Albanian word, day by day, a factor of historical processes, economic and cultural European and world developments. The aspect of information, inspiration about the national history, culture as well as socio economic needs of the country of origin have been the main concern of “Bashkimi Shqiptar”. The Association helped in the settlement and professional advancement of the new students who arrived from Kosovo. This association did not receive any funds from the state, besides for some symbolic support either with books or some visits which came either from the Embassy of Kosovo in Paris, or some representative from the Ministry of Diaspora of Kosovo.

The main way of financing of the Associations was through the fee which the members paid monthly and the help that was occasionally offered by some small businesses of Kosovo Albanians in Lyon. Some of the main activities were teaching Albanian to the children, consulting and supporting the Albanian-speaking community, the cultivation of national culture and tradition in order to recreate and sustain a positive sense of ‘ethnic’ belonging while living abroad. Activity zeal of the diaspora is very big. There are many volunteer activists who work for the welfare of the Albanian community by engaging even personal means and funds to develop and keep active the Albanian activity.

In order to promote the activities of diaspora in Lyon, but also in other countries of the world, “Bashkimi Shqiptar” managed to establish another magazine called “Fjala” – “The Word”. Although this was a very good initiative and the magazine circulated for some time, it was impossible to continue it due to different challenges.



Picture 9. Magazine called “Fjala” – “The Word”¹⁷¹.

4.6. Schools of the Kosovo Albanian diaspora in Albanian Language

The school in Albanian language for Albanian pupils was re-established with the initiative of Labinot Bislimi, a student at that time at the University Lyon 2 who worked as a voluntary teacher of Albanian language, culture and history. At

¹⁷¹ The logo was provided by the representatives of the magazine. I was a member of the editorial staff of the magazine.

the beginning of this research, the school in Albanian functioned perfectly well. This school unfortunately ceased its activities now. At the time of its existence, two lessons were held once a week on a voluntary basis. The teachers were privately sponsored by the Association of Albanian Teachers and Parents. The classes were held in the premises of IDRAC Business School near train station “Gorge de Loupe” in rue Sergent Michel Berthet.



Picture 9. Students and members of the school in Albanian language¹⁷².

The aim of these classes was to strengthen the basics of the first language and to increase the children’s familiarity with Albanian culture and lifestyle. The supplementary Albanian native language and culture classes did not have any negative impact in the French language and the regular education in the French school. Since courses in Albanian language and culture have never been integrated into the regular school curriculum, they were held during the weekend. The classes

¹⁷² The picture has been provided by a teacher who taught in Albanian language.

in Albanian tried to be as attractive as possible in order to attract the attention of the participants as much as possible.

The participation in these extra classes in Albanian did not seem to present any difficulties or any barriers given that they were not obligatory and the children did not feel the pressure either by the teachers or they were neither under the pressure of the evaluation process. Although, the contribution of these classes was minor for the fact that it did not count on the final assessment criteria for admission into higher education, for Albanian community, the participation of the students in these classes was a success in itself for the fact that it helped have a higher estimation of their skills in the Albanian language and culture than children who did not participate in Albanian language classes.

4.7. Language of the Kosovo Albanian Diaspora

There are a variety of questions we could address while treating the issue of language. I want to examine every and each element regarding to the use of language of home, the symbols, celebrations and any other element that is related or significant in what the immigrants or diaspora believe to be vital for the preservation of their identity while putting all their efforts in the integration and a sense of belongingness into a different world.

The language of diaspora is increasingly invoked by displaced peoples who feel (maintain, revive, invent) a connection with a prior home¹⁷³. Language is a central feature of human identity. When we hear someone speak, we immediately

¹⁷³ James Clifford, "Diasporas", *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 9, No. 3, *Further Inflections: Toward Ethnographies of the Future*, 1994, pp. 302-338. Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the American Anthropological Association. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/656365>, pdf.

make guesses about gender, education level, age, profession, and place of origin. Beyond this individual matter, a language is a powerful symbol of national and ethnic identity¹⁷⁴. It is very hard to explain what it happens to the language when it enters into new mixture of linguistic resources, how it changes its shape and the function of social discourse.

While for many, language is not the primary concern to talk about and usually tend to create their own preferences each according to one's own perception about the things that concern them, for linguists, it is much easier to understand. It would be rather misleading to discuss this issue to whether who is right or wrong, it is true that world nowadays faces with different extreme challenges which plague the human existence, however most of the concerning issues have a daily treatment or they are discussed on daily basis.

The language is considered to present the cultural and identity basis of a nation, for Albanians even more whose key determinant to identity is language, rather than religion or something else. It is part of a long-life history with which associate the most determining identity and specification elements of a country or a nation and the distinguishing features which are inseparable from the people who speak the respective language.

As regards language outside the boundaries of an existing country and the characteristics that it carries in itself, this requires further treatment in order to identify the basic concepts of language which go beyond the usual perception that language is a mere tool of communication which enables people to convey their

¹⁷⁴ Bernard Spolsky, "Second-language learning", in J. Fishman (Eds), *Handbook of language and ethnic identity* (pp. 181-192). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pdf.

ideas and messages to each other. I would agree that this is the primary function of language, but this is not the only and the most important one. By interpreting it in this way, one would necessarily ignore the true importance of language and its role would seem pale and disvalued by leaving aside the elements with which language is closely connected.

To talk about language means treating aspects which go beyond the general perception of the majority of people which identify it with communication. It is necessary at least to try to define or make the comparison of the use of language of the country of origin versus the language of the host country for the mere fact that this determines or indicates significantly the degree of integration of generations into the cultural or social system of the host country and the detachment to that of the country of origin.

It is necessary to talk about the language use which is closely linked to the identity of the Kosovo Albanian diaspora. The idea of language preservation of diaspora by some people is regarded to be a little bit of contradictory who question the use of the language of origin and argue that those groups of people, whether they are individuals or families, regardless of their reason to emigrate (forced or voluntary immigration), have given up their identity starting from the very first step after leaving their country. With the case of Kosovo, it would be hard to find somebody who has emigrated for simple reasons.

There is no language which can be defined better in any kind of terms compared to other languages as all the languages share the common characteristics, and the language that the immigrant chooses to speak is not the language of his own

choice, but rather a language that allows him to get through and the means that is served to him letting him no choice but to accept it for his own purposes and personal advancement.

Although, some Albanian diasporas such as the case of the Albanian diaspora in Italy where the “Albanian language retention is not well maintained in the second generation in which children appear to have little desire or incentive to preserve their Albanian language and their parents do not offer much encouragement either”¹⁷⁵, this is not the case with the Albanian diaspora in Lyon. Even though parents see the future of their children in France and most of them have already integrated into French society, it is still important for them to maintain their mother tongue and most of the people who have managed to integrate normally and have the right to go back and visit Kosovo, they do so every year especially during the summer time in order for their children to be in closer contact with the Albanian language and culture.

Albanian language is spoken at home most of the time by parents and the children understand and are able to communicate in Albanian language (though they might lack the necessary vocabulary). However, the general practice shows that children in most cases communicate to each other in French especially in the cases when they don't want to be understood by the parents or in the cases when they are angry and they express their disagreement with something. In many cases parents understand French as well but find it more difficult to practice it and speak

¹⁷⁵ Janine Dahinden, “The Circulation of People: Understanding the dynamics of transnational formations among Albanian-speaking migrants in Switzerland by bringing in the theories of mobility, social inequality and ethnicity”, working paper 6 – 2014/E, 2014, pp.9. Universite de Neuchatel, pdf

it fluently. The degree of the French language that parents speak is mainly the language they have acquired at their work environment which we have to declare that is mainly centers over a specific nature of work that they do which at its maximum reaches the degree of communication at work, they are not so much exposed to the standard language.

4.8. Language level of old generation versus young generation

Regarding the language proficiency, most children are bilingual and can communicate Albanian which comes as a result to the parents' influence who speak and impose the Albanian language at home. Their level of proficiency depends from the family background, for example there are some families which did not develop any further in the aspect of the Albanian language and therefore the children might be more isolated in their expressions in Albanian and this can be best evidenced in the interactions with them when they think in French and want to say something in Albanian and they hesitate. In this respect, they can speak the language of their parents, the language their parents spoke before arriving into France, so they remain within the framework of the past if we consider the changes and advancements that languages undergo in time, without the enrichment of the vocabulary with new and trendy words of the country of origin.

Children value their origin and are proud of it; however, there is still the dominance of the French culture which is influenced in school, and in the surrounding community, making them bicultural speakers. Their use of French language allows them to enter the cycle of the social field and makes them equal to their peers at school providing them with the necessary access to cultural and social

relations. It represents the mechanism which increases their chances for safer and successful social access and their future at the same time given that French language is the one that offers the grounds as the language necessary for life, communication, education and employment. From this, we can assume that the process of acquiring the language of the host country means weakening of the tie with the home language.

Talking in language terms, we should try to understand that we are talking about two different ways of development, especially in children. Those who came to the host country with a good degree of their mother language, they need to make transformation from that of the origin into that of the host country. It is a matter of degree to how much it is possible to save during the phase of transformation while acquiring and developing in a completely different manner.

Language has a very specific feature in the sense that once we hear the language of one country or another, our mind becomes active almost immediately by bringing to us the elements of the judgment we have for a specific country which the language belongs to and the approach we should have or the behavior we should make accordingly in response to them.

There is a full consent of scholars and researchers around the world about the strong tie or connection between language and identity. Languages symbolize identities and are used to signal identities by those who speak them. People are also categorized by other people according to the language they speak. There is often a

particularly strong link between language and a sense of belonging to a national group, a sense of national identity¹⁷⁶.

From the literature review regarding language and identity among colonized people in numerous references, we notice that language is always a target of colonizers to assimilate or lose track of one's identity. Talking about the case of Kosovo where almost the whole population is Albanian with over 95% and the official language is Albanian language, for decades and for almost one century, this language was attacked in order to be extinct, names of the places were changed by the Serbian authorities from Albanian into Serbian trying to make everything sound Serbian and change the whole history by that.

The educative institutions were forcefully taken as the main bearers of wisdom and legacy of language and national values including the public broadcasters trying not to leave any alternative in order to penetrate deeply in houses and people's minds until one day it has been fully accepted. Although, this had an impact to some extent by leaving footprints in the vocabulary of the Albanian language making it bastardized with the interference of Serbian words which found their use almost unwillingly and unconsciously, the extinction of Albanian language did not happen.

¹⁷⁶ Michael Byram, "Languages and Identities", *Intergovernmental Conference, Languages of Schooling: towards a Framework for Europe*, Strasbourg 16-18 October 2006. Language Policy Division, Strasbourg.

4.9. The impact of power in the selection of language

In making the choice of language among Kosovo Albanian diaspora, there are many factors which determine the use of French language over Albanian. The first generation's competence of language is limited because their activities involve mainly domestic and relative interactions in Albanian language which makes them become limited in the use of French the language. In this context Albanian language is more dominant because of the difficulties to acquire the new language and due to the lack of contact in their everyday life and everyday interactions outside the domestic settings. This situation is not the same for younger generations who attend schools and who are involved in any kind of activities which make their integration much easier.

Young generations adapt to the French language because it is necessary for them to interact in their daily life, but also because they believe that it is trendier or has a wider use than Albanian language. In this way they want to be in and they want to be considered a part of this society that surrounds them and where they want to develop themselves in the future. For them it is difficult to preserve all the characteristics of the Albanian language that their parents possessed back in the Kosovo, for the fact that their physical presence is remote and Albanian language does not find any use outside the family setting. In this respect, they do not preserve the wholeness of what their parents represented back home; they only represent a part of this wholeness. Inevitably, even the strong feelings of the first generation of belonging to home, intentions to return and transnational ties are actually fading over time as they have already made efforts to integrate into French society.

Although many young attribute to their parents' influence their pride in culture, and their wish to actively foster the representation of Albanian culture and language, they still find it very different to act as Albanian, they are in constant struggle to construct an identity facing all the time between the two different cultures, in one side, the Albanian culture and language at home and the other side, the French culture and language in everyday interactions at school or outside their homes. It is true that parents place explicit value on the ability to speak Albanian at a high, near-native level of competence by trying to engage their children in different activities of the Albanian community in Lyon such as celebrations organized by the associations.

In the formation of one's personality and identity in the host country, the interaction of distinctive cultural components constitutes the constant threat to the traditional notions. In this situation, despite the fact that the Albanian diaspora are so fanatic to keep as much as possible from their tradition, they are part of a process of "radical de-traditionalisation" where the domination of the past in the shape of everyday life re-appears in very different way¹⁷⁷. Facing this, the single body tries to involve, retain, or build two different actors within oneself losing the ability to act properly in each of them. In some way, they hesitate to give up the customary traditional self-representation which is a great barrier for them.

Although the majority of Kosovo Albanian families try to keep the breath of the Albanian language in their families, parents themselves often use French

¹⁷⁷ Kostas Maronitis, "Threat and Defence: Diaspora and the Creation of Ethnoscapes" *Conference Paper "INTER: A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden"*, organised by the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS) in Norrköping 11-13 June 2007, pp.388. Linköping University Press (ISSN: 1650 3686), pdf

language (although it is not fluent) in the interaction with their children when trying to show a degree of belongingness in the eyes of their children who have good language skills acquired through daily interactions at school. A number of parents who do not have the opportunity to work on public sector or more prestigious jobs, working in the shadow with their rights being denied and vulnerable to discrimination, feel some sort of pressure in front of their children considering themselves as transmitting to them a poor cultural capital.

Albanian language retention is not well maintained among the descendants of the first generation. As Albanian youth integrate into the French society, they assimilate step by step and the connection to the Albanian sentiment, language or culture, fades. With this, the desire to preserve their Albanian language in private settings weakens and there is no incentive to maintain it, also partly because in public settings they can be identified as “foreigners” and may be subject to marginalization and discriminatory behavior.

What you can see in the majority of Kosovo Albanian families is a big number of symbols brought from Kosovo which are related to Albanian history and culture. The hospitality of the host of the family is traditional based which gives the impression that nothing has changed since their arrival. One can experience the warmth of homeland where the main conversations are home nostalgic revoking moments spent in their past and the plans to visit Kosovo as soon as a chance has been given to them.

4.10. The exodus of Kosovo Albanian immigrants in 2014 - 2015

The end of 2014 and the beginning of 2015 mark a new period in the phenomenon of migration for Kosovo in which we see a rise in the number of illegal immigration. Although, in the daily political discourse in Kosovo, especially by the opposition leaders of Kosovo politicians, the number of 100.000 is mentioned, in a number of references we find that this number estimates to about 50.000. A lot of schools around Kosovo reported about the number of pupils and students who were leaving school for immigration purposes. A report by the Ministry of Education and Science in Kosovo referred to a number of 5,200 pupils who dropped out of school to follow their parents abroad¹⁷⁸. A great number of these people saw France as a more suitable destination due to the higher possibility to settle there forever given that France does not send immigrants back to their country.

We have met a number of these people who have crossed from Serbia to Hungary where they have been kept for some time isolated in vocation houses and then they found the way to leave and come to France. Their experiences are different, showing about so many difficulties and sufferings in bus journeys and border crossing chased by dogs and border police and the danger and risks they had been exposed to. Concerned by the latest political turmoil, associated with street unrest driven by poverty and economic stagnation, low level of education and a poor health system, nepotism and the lack of future perspective, most would hope

¹⁷⁸ Ari Rusila, "Conflicts -The Mass Exodus of Kosovo Albanians", 2015, Retrieved from: <http://www.internationalpeaceandconflict.org/profiles/blogs/the-mass-exodus-of-kosovo-albanians#.VRA4XY54pKU> on 10.09.2017.

to find work in the grey economy in wealthy western Europe, hooking up with relatives and friends until they can ultimately legalize their stay¹⁷⁹.

What is very concerning and indeed gives a very bad image of Kosovo around the world, is the fact that nowadays as regards illegal immigration, Kosovo is ranked the same as countries which come from war areas, such as Syria, Iraq or Afghanistan with its 66,885 asylum seekers for 2015. If we consider the number of asylum seekers from RKS for the 2013-2015 periods according to the data of Eurostat, we can conclude that within three years around 124,935 citizens, or 7% of the entire population¹⁸⁰ have left Kosovo mainly through the illegal route from Serbia, using Hungary as a transit destination for some time with the main destination Germany and France.

Although there is a lot of debate regarding the illegal migration among the Kosovo Institutions and some initiatives which would haul this phenomenon which seems to present the only way of escape for a great number of Kosovo people, especially young who express that everything is politicized in Kosovo, according to Halili et al. (2017), the main factors that have impacted illegal migration of Kosovo citizens are push factors such as: visa liberalization, the institutional vacuum of 2014, the lack of rule of law, and the high rate of unemployment. At the beginning of this research in 2012, the number of Kosovo Albanian people was not as big and the majority of people knew each other. This changed mainly in 2015

¹⁷⁹ Fatos Bytyqi and Krisztina Than, "Dramatic surge in Kosovars crossing illegally into EU", Reuters, article, 2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/04/us-kosovo-eu-migrants-idUSKBN0L811120150204>

¹⁸⁰ Xhevdet Halili and Adrianit Ibrahim, "Causes for the Irregular Migration Crises: Case of Kosovo", Strategos, 1 (2), 2017, pp. 79-98. Prishtina, Kosovo, pdf.

Online: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321757677_Causes_for_the_Irregular_Migration_Crises_Case_of_Kosovo.

when a large number of people arrived in Lyon and since that time it was more than usual to see or hear people interacting to each other in Albanian language in the streets of Lyon.

4.11. The presentation into media and imagination

One of the things which plays the most important role in the formation of identity is the media representation. Usually the media have the power to construct or damage the image in the most direct way for the fact that media consumption deals with everyday life and is crucial for the formation of common cultural codes, especially of those who are not in close contact with the specific phenomenon. As regards the Albanian diaspora, their representation has been mainly negative, if presented, in which the “media portrayal of Albanian migrants have created identities entrenched with negative stereotypes”¹⁸¹. Unfortunately, the Albanians have been perceived and characterized as criminals due to the involvement of some individuals in crimes such as thefts or small fights.

Not only in France but throughout Europe, the Albanian diaspora suffer from what appears at first sight to be a paradox: “they are under-researched yet over-represented in the media where the criminalizing discourse of Albanians has become dominant”¹⁸². The fact that they are under researched and over-mediated contributes to stereotyping and stigmatizing. It is very necessary to point out the element of imagination of the local people about the Albanian immigrants who once

¹⁸¹ Bahar Baser and Ashok Swain, “Stateless Diaspora Groups and their Repertoires of Nationalist Activism in Host Countries”, *Journal of International relations, Volume 8. Number 1*, 2010, pp. 37-60, pdf.

¹⁸² Etleva Demollari, “Migration and globalization: A Case study on Albania and Migration”, INTERCOM - International Committee on Management, Museums and Politics, Conference papers: 13 - 16 September 2011. Copenhagen, word document.

the term “Albanian” is mentioned, it is associated with crime, drug dealing, theft and other negative connotations. One might ask whether, for example, the media’s depiction of Albanians, and western law enforcement’s response to Albanian offenders, have led to the social exclusion of Albanian people, which in turn may have led to an increase in criminal activities among members of this ethnic group¹⁸³. There would be fewer and less stigmatizing stereotypes if objective research evidence about Albanian migration was more widely available. For this purpose any kind of research that depicts the real situation of Kosovo Albanians can present a guide in which there would be a better and more realistic approach towards them.

While for some people adapting to the new identity is a plus and the possession of a new belonging has advantages over the current status as for most of them being French helps them to identify with the values that the country possesses due to its reputation and the judgments, whether they are fair or exaggerated, as Albanian community, for many others, adapting to the new identity is synonymous to the loss of possession and the loss of battle. The poor image the Albanians have in general is part of the reason why children do not speak Albanian in public settings in order to avoid recognition of their Albanian origin which might be subject to prejudices, discriminatory or racist reactions by other children in the school or street. However, in the internal settings, most Kosovo Albanian migrants rely on satellite television for entertainment and information about their culture and identity in Albanian language which have different programs addressing issues on diaspora.

¹⁸³ Jana Arsovska, *“Decoding Albanian organized crime”: Culture, Politics, and Globalization*, University of California Press, 2015, pp.107.

The struggle of becoming a member of the host society and escape from being stereotyped is very evident. Sometimes it is hard for children to find the expressions that associate both in French and the language of their identity. Likewise, there is the tendency for them to identify more with France rather than Kosovo and like this they are often not part of their interest in everyday interactions of their parents who use Albanian language in their everyday communication.

CHAPTER V
INTEGRATION, ASSIMILATION, IDENTITY, MARGINALIZATION,
ACCESS TO HEALTHCARE

5.1. *Integration and social life*

A great concern or problem not only for France but all the countries that host immigrants is the process of integration. How these new arrivals become accepted part of the host society and the interaction of the two in which the host society is dominant over the immigrants'. This is the most difficult part for the fact that there are a number of dimensions such as socio-economic, cultural, political and religious or even legal which need to be described in detail.

Western Europe has been conquered by refugees at different times from Middle East, Africa and the countries of the Balkans. The increase of numbers of refugees often raised many questions which are associated with prejudices. Although the countries of the EU try hard to reduce the numbers of refugees through strict immigration legislation, this is almost impossible. Description of life experiences by immigrants often entails embarrassing, even discriminating treatment by the local authorities.

Nowadays France is among the countries of EU which hosts the greatest numbers of immigrants from all over the world. When facing with such a high number of different communities of different cultures, religions, ethnicities, it requires that the responsibilities of institutions are separate and well-coordinated in order to address a number of issues of specific needs of immigrants such as their integration into French society associated with different programs of education and employment as the basic and the most necessary steps towards inclusion into the social French system.

Ministry of Interior is officially responsible for the immigrant integration programs. The main institution in charge of integration in the Ministry of Interior is the office for Integration, Reception, and Citizenship (*Direction de l'accueil, de l'integration, et de la citoyennete, or DAIC*). Immigrant integration is therefore also addressed by the Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal opportunity (*l'agence pour la cohesion sociale et l'egalite des chances, or Acse*), a central agency that operates under the guidance of the City Ministry¹⁸⁴.

The integration of immigrants in almost every country is mostly rejected and it is hard to be accepted by the locals because they are perceived as undeserving foreigners who at great part occupy jobs of the local population; they interfere into traditional values of the local community and make use of all the good things which have been created, achieved and set in place by the local people. So, the equal access to the political and social rights of the immigrants is often denied and these immigrants are perceived as causing harm to the economic and employment opportunities of least skilled workers whose jobs are often occupied by the immigrants who accept working longer hours with lower wages because most of Albanian immigrants have a poor level of skill and education.

This anti-immigrant sentiment is also partly due to the perception of the local people who see immigrants as competitors to the labor market. In this sense, they feel that they have become less attractive and less desired as inclusion of newcomers means redistribution of economy, the welfare system and income as

¹⁸⁴ [Angéline Escafré-Dublet](http://www.mpieurope.org/), "Mainstreaming immigrant integration policy in France: Education, employment, and social cohesion initiatives", *Migration Policy Institute Europe*, 2014, pp.1.Brussels, pdf. Available online: <http://www.mpieurope.org/>

well. In other words, there is a transfer of a part of wealth from local workers to foreign people which has previously circulated only among the local population, sharing of joint spaces and opportunities towards employers and customers who use cheaper immigrant labor force, products and services they offer.

The arrival of new immigrants is typically perceived as a threat to pre-existing workers, particularly among the low skilled and manual workers, whose jobs are greatly affected by the foreign labor force. Studies indicate that low-skilled workers and pre-existing immigrants do tend to lose out¹⁸⁵. As regards the Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Lyon, the impact they have in job and wage losses of native born are small and concentrated on the low-skilled. In this regard, we should try to focus on the positive impact for the fact that they help reduce shortages in the fields which are not covered by the native population who have better job opportunities and who rarely accept doing a job which an immigrant without papers and other prospects does.

There are a number of impacts in different aspects of society which may be felt in both the host country and the country of origin of the migrants. The movement of people from one country to another does not simply mean an escape from a low productivity region into some other region with a higher productivity either of jobs or other means. We cannot deny the economic dimension of this phenomenon; however we have to admit and address other aspects of it which go beyond the economic aspect such as the social and cultural aspects.

¹⁸⁵ European Investment Bank, "Migration and the EU - Challenges, opportunities, the role of EIB", 2016, pp.7, pdf.

The emotional, social, economic and cultural integration into the host society on one hand and the preservation of their culture, language and their customs and traditions of the country of origin on the other hand, are very important to the Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Lyon. It is interesting to see the scale and speed of integration into the host society and the process of linguistic, social and cultural homogenization. For Kosovo Albanians the process of adaptation to the new environment and sometimes total change in values and lifestyles prove to be very challenging and difficult.

Integration challenges for immigrants – legalization as a crucial element to integration has proven to be very difficult for Kosovo Albanians. Getting “papers” as the Kosovo Albanians refer to the regularization and legalization of their stay in France is extremely difficult. “Fixed marriages” in which one person who is legal marries a person who is not legal and arranges his/her documents are very common. There are cases when this is done among Albanians, but there are cases when men who have arrived illegally, have worked for some time undeclared and have not been able to arrange their papers, marry someone from the host country for a specific period until his documents have been achieved. In a number of cases, the legal stay can be granted to someone who is sick and his or her disease is not curable in Kosovo.

Exiting irregularity and legalization are crucial in order to avoid difficulties in education, housing, labor market and temporary or provisional outcomes and their final settling in the host country which they have chosen for the achievement of their goals. However, despite the first phase of immigrants who faced extremely

difficult circumstances for the fact that they had come to a place which had not been historically their principal destination and who did not have a settled community they could join, the current phase has undergone number of changes for the fact that almost everybody who arrives nowadays, has some point of reference from some member of the family, friend or relative.

The problem of legalization represents the greatest barrier to integrate, because besides for an uncertain way of living, continuous stress and hardship, Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Lyon are not able to make long-term plans for their future. Having entered illegally into the country and being unable to do a declared job which could benefit from the social scheme, priority for them is their economic improvement which as such leaves little time and opportunity for them to socialize and make necessary steps towards integration.

While the Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Lyon try to integrate and be absorbed into a new environment, they go through a specific form of development which in itself entails elements of distinctiveness and self-appreciation from the others in terms of remaining faithful in what they believe to be their identity. What makes the issue of integration more complex is the degree of education back in Kosovo the older generations had and the majority of them coming from rural areas where big patriarchal families are assumed to lack the necessary education.

The interaction with people reveals that they have not changed much in their mentality (traditional), and despite their improved family economy, their quality of life has not changed as much. In this respect, the degree of integration is related to the degree of education. Kosovo Albanian diaspora in Lyon is positioned as not

well-educated or intellectual diaspora. Due to this, there is a lack of cultural advancement associated with a failure of climbing the social ladder into a well-deserved level. In home visits we have made, the majority of Kosovo Albanian diaspora, especially men, prefer subjects that are related to their homeland, speaking about political, economic and cultural situation. Many of them show high degree of pessimism in the developments back in Kosovo for which they blame the leadership of the country.

What is very evident nowadays among the earlier generations who have come to live in Lyon, is the degree of preservation of their culture which compared to people living nowadays back in Kosovo, is more profound and for many things they are more fanatic. This gives the impression that while they have made sufficient steps on their way towards integration, a part of them has remained faithful to the time when they have left their homeland back with strong elements of patriarchal and traditional family structure within their families.

5.2. Integration versus Assimilation

While the term integration nowadays refers to the degree the people get accepted among the host society, as part of my research, I would like to argue with the primary description of it. It is normal that the primary function of it is to move towards the creation and the adoption of the imposed way of living, different from the one they have abandoned. Deep within its description and function of let's say better way of life and the creation of some sense of belonging in a distinct place, it does largely entail within itself elements of assimilation.

While history proves that assimilation before happened as consequence of colonization of one country or nation over the other, nowadays we cannot talk in terms of classical colonization something like previous centuries, but we can refer to some modern mental colonization. To my perception, there are no specific measures for integration of the first generation, making them feel as a left aside category and passive. The integration of the second and third generation is done in such a way as to integrate on them the French model of life setting up and imposing their culture with the belief that their civilization attains a higher standard which would influence every aspect of their lives.

It is normal that the process of migration has its own consequences for those who immigrate to another country. Although, people immigrate for different reasons, the majority of immigrants are very fanatic to their identity, they are very obstinate and do not want to give up. According to Bommès (2002), “any form of migration implies assimilation to some extent. Living in a new society means that they have to adopt a part of it, therefore they have to adjust. They all assimilate when they take positions in the different sections and activities of modern society and when they try to fulfill the expectations that define the social and structural conditions of behavior and action in the adjustment process”¹⁸⁶.

Although the process of assimilation does not entail in itself elements of imposition, the hardship that the immigrants go through with different procedures over legalization, long years of waiting, stress, discrimination and stigma and the

¹⁸⁶ Michael Bommès, “Transnationalism or Assimilation?”, *Journal of Social Science Education*, Volume 4, Number 1, © JSSE 2005 ISSN 1618-5293, pp.14-30, Bielefeld University, Germany, pdf. Available online: <https://doi.org/10.4119/jsse-338>

reference of “asylum-seeker” or “foreigner” on daily basis with all of them having a negative psychic impact on them, make them assimilate by themselves just to get off their shoulders the burden or the stain by which they are identified and which differentiates them from the rest of the people of the host country.

Unfortunately, the legal status of great majority of Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Lyon determines and imposes a very difficult way of life and restricts employment opportunities. Besides for denial of access to many resources and free movement, it is the denial of human rights to act as a normal citizen and being subject to discrimination and stigma. We should emphasize that the situation of the Kosovo Albanians is not like this only in France, but throughout Europe they have (since the mid-1990s) been increasingly confronted with stigmatization, ethnic discrimination, and socioeconomic marginalization, resulting in the building of strong exclusionary boundaries against them¹⁸⁷.

The efforts to integrate and regulate their status in France, does not stop the majority of Kosovo Albanian diaspora in Lyon to invest back in Kosovo mainly in their houses or apartments either for the members of their families left back or for their own with the purpose of spending summer holidays. Even though this has been their main investment back in Kosovo which generally did not generate any income, nowadays there are individuals who invest in other businesses and generate income for themselves and help the economy of Kosovo as well.

¹⁸⁷ Janine Dahinden, “Albanian-speaking migration, mid-19th century to present”, in *Immanuel Ness (ed.), The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, 2013, pp.3. Wiley Blackwell. Available online: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444351071.wbeghm026>

Integration has always proved to be very difficult. Some attention to the integration of immigrants has existed since the time of Durkheim in the beginning of the twentieth century and other researchers of the time who poses a specific emphasis to labor as the main precondition for integration of immigrants in a modern society. In conversations made with a number of respondents, they stress that in their demands for jobs at “Pole Emploi”, the officials usually ask about the qualifications one has and the job one can do, but the job offered is completely something else regardless of the professional preparation.

In this respect we argue that while there is a lot of pressure to make the immigrants culturally French, at the same time there is social exclusion. According to Simmel (2009), “the division of labor in society offers individuals many more opportunities to enrich their personality by developing relations with a larger number of social circles. The aim of education is to give individuals the means to enlarge their social networks, not to push them to abandon their primary ones”¹⁸⁸. From our correspondences and interviews with a great number of Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Lyon, the majority of them work mainly in construction and cleaning services, men generally in construction and women in cleaning. This means that their circle is really poor and limited reducing for them the degree of integration.

Many Diaspora families in Lyon are becoming increasingly preoccupied with integration in their host countries, including their children’s education and purchase of real estate as the final step of their settlement process and their migratory projects. Parents are aware that their children will gradually lose their

¹⁸⁸ Georg Simmel, “Sociology: Inquiries into the Construction of Social Forms” 2009, (orig. 1908), pp. 363–408, volume 2, chapter six. Translated and edited by A.J. Blasi, A.K. Jacobs and M. Kanjirathinkal. Leiden: Brill.

mother tongue and adopt the French language and culture. “These second and third generations themselves perceive French culture as a common center of reference in the public sphere and consider their culture of origin as dominant in the private sphere of family and community ties”¹⁸⁹.

Competency on the official language of the first generation presents a big challenge associated with other challenges such as recognition of the country of origin credentials, trainings and previous work experience. “The lack of language skills creates divisions between parents and children and sometimes also resentment among the children towards parents who cannot perform their parental role, especially in school in front of their peers. More importantly, the inability to communicate and be self-sufficient from the side of the parents has damaged the boundaries within the family and parent-child relations, as parents could not function and the children missed a role model or an authority figure”¹⁹⁰.

In a research made by Vathi (2010) at the University of Sussex about the Albanian community in London, she explains a situation which we find similar in Lyon among the Kosovo Albanian community. Although we are referring to two different countries, the situation is absolutely the same:

“In particular, parents’ lack of proficiency in English (in our case French) was voiced by both children and parents themselves as one of the main issues that the families faced. This more or less forced the children to take up many of the parents’ responsibilities in terms of managing family life, such as dealing with

¹⁸⁹ Jacques Barou, “Integration of immigrants in France: a historical perspective”. *Identities. Global studies in culture and power*, 21 (6), 2014, pp.642-657. Taylor Francis, Routledge, pdf.

¹⁹⁰ Zana Vathi, “New Brits? Migration and Settlement of Albanian-Origin Immigrants in London”, *Working Paper No 57 Sussex Centre for Migration Research*, 2010, pp. 17. University of Sussex, pdf

institutions, doing the paperwork, and in general connecting the parents with the outside world. There is a significant difference in the agency and aspirations of those children who arrived around early school age, which helped them to learn the language fast, compared to those who were older at arrival. The former had to share and also take over some parenting responsibilities. The older children and siblings sometimes left education early and in the case of boys they usually took up employment in order to help the family. Not being sent to school straight away, the older siblings learnt the language later and were not very involved in family affairs”¹⁹¹.

There is a big generation gap between parents and their children. Parents manifest their cultural conservatisms with strict rules in preserving traditions and customs who consider patriarchal family structure as the main element to preserve honor and rule within family. They are unable to understand the youth culture of the host country which the children try to adopt such as night life, freedom to make own choices and especially inter-racial marriages or relationships. This lack of social integration of the first generation that have retained their life model of the past within the context of a more rural and primitive approach makes them be over-protective over the second generation and often proves to cause divisions and clashes between the two generations.

In this case, what parents do, according to them is the best for their children as the majority of interviewees from the parents’ side declare that the main reasons for them to immigrate was exactly for the sake of the children to offer them better

¹⁹¹ Zana Vathi, “New Brits? Migration and Settlement of Albanian-Origin Immigrants in London”, 2010, pp. 17.

opportunities for education and life. To some extent, they consider it a sacrifice made for children, a long term project which in the end will be finalized with legalization and citizenship and a secure life for their children, which as soon as might be achieved, would make them reconsider going back to the country of origin where they feel stronger sense of belongingness.

As we mentioned before, immigration is directly linked to assimilation. It is impossible to live in one country different from that of origin and behave as if one was in his country of origin. Although, many researchers avoid mentioning the term “assimilation”, especially in the “French case in which the change of the view of immigration has led to the virtual disappearance of the term “assimilation from scholarly vocabulary”¹⁹² there are others who admit that the result of immigration is assimilation, if not for the first generation who have immigrated at adult age, then in second and on. Indeed the theory of assimilation in the majority of references is regarded as a classic theory.

We may argue that French integration strategy is stricter than that of many other countries of the EU. “The French contemporary integration policy (formerly called “assimilation” policy) allows for the expression of cultural belonging in private, but not in public life. This French integration policy aims at transforming immigrants, or at least their children, into French citizens, thereby providing the newcomers and their descendants with the right to become full citizens with equal obligations and equal rights. In other words it is through individual citizenship that

¹⁹² Mirna Safi, “The Immigrant Integration Process in France: Inequalities and Segmentation”, *Revue française de sociologie*, vol. 49, Supplement, 2008, PP. 3-44, pdf.

Available online: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-francaise-de-sociologie-1-2008-5-page-3.htm>

the French assimilation policy attempts to transform a population of foreign origin into French people”¹⁹³. In other words, one must set himself “free” of his previous culture in exchange to the French citizenship.

The term “assimilation” in modern democracy nowadays seems somewhat too harsh and it is often described as a natural process of integration as a more acceptable approach. In many books or journals there is a tendency to avoid the classic understanding of it according to which “over time and generations, immigrant populations become increasingly similar to host country natives, ultimately becoming indistinguishable from them. Behind this view lies the hypothesis that there is a natural process by means of which a variety of ethnic groups come to share a culture, a process understood to consist in a gradual loss of the former culture in favor of the new one. Once this process has begun, it will inevitably, irreversibly lead to assimilation in the strong sense of the term”¹⁹⁴.

Across the EU there are problems with existing integration approaches which do not explicitly address people with a migrant background, even though they are often disadvantaged. Different member states have different approaches and there is a lot of question about two major elements for successful integration: education and language learning. Language learning is often of poor quality and rarely linked to on-the-job-training. There is also strong evidence of some form of segregation in schools revealing migrants and non-migrants living separate, divided

¹⁹³ Gretty M. Mirdal and Lea Ryyänen-Karjalainen, “Migration and Transcultural Identities”, *European Science Foundation (ESF), Standing Committee for the Humanities Forward Look Report, Workshop 3*, 2004, pp.23. Available online: www.esf.org

¹⁹⁴ Mirna Safi, “The Immigrant Integration Process in France: Inequalities and Segmentation”, *Revue française de sociologie*, vol. 49, Supplement, 2008, pp. 3-44, pdf. Available online: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-francaise-de-sociologie-1-2008-5-page-3.htm>

lives. In order to refocus integration efforts it is necessary that all EU institutions, national governments, human rights institutions, civil society, social partners, and faith communities put human dignity at its very heart”¹⁹⁵.

Kosovo Albanian diaspora experience difficulties and are unable to find a job in their chosen field or what they are qualified for, becoming a reason for a number of people to remain passive. This negative approach has not only a negative outcome in terms of economic benefits, but it also has an impact on self-worth and socialization, and the sense of belongingness as well. This form of exclusion has a number of other negative implications; by facing with non-standard employment or unemployment, they not only become subject to poverty and inadequate income for principal needs for their families and participation into the host society, but they also become subject to deprivation and insecurity, incapability for personal development, sustainable development of them and their families and isolation from the rest of society.

There is a big gap between the immigrant needs and support given to them. Although the Kosovo Albanian community in Lyon present a specific group and should be a vital part of society, there are no immigrant programs that encourage or support them through the process of immigration and more specifically of integration across their life cycle. There are no language trainings as the basic component for integration and no attention is paid to specific training that would confirm their education and skills in order to access employment that is relevant to their past experience.

¹⁹⁵ <http://fra.europa.eu/en/news/2017/facing-challenges-migrant-integration>, retrieved on 05.12.2018

Jacques Barou (2018) in his collection of essays from different scholars on integration of immigrants makes a lot of criticism about the politicians and decision makers for presenting the national model of integration as normative and for believing that immigrants must adopt it without question. According to them immigrants and their children need cultural recognition and that the failure of integration is not due to a missing will or ability of the immigrants and their children to integrate French society, but it is the result of a wide process of social exclusion and racial discrimination¹⁹⁶.

The lack of integration of the first generation has had its consequences among the younger generation, either those who came with their parents as children or those who were born in the receiving countries. This lack of integration is demonstrated among the younger generation in terms of lack of the proper orientation by their parents who are not able to push their children to attend higher education. Indeed, immigration represented radical changes for the first generation who partly because of the lack of their capacity to integrate, but also partly because of the restrictions and non-willingness to integrate them, made them become self-satisfied with only some sort of legal stay resolution. Migration research tells us that the first generation of immigrants often remains dependent on relationships with persons of the same background, mainly because of language difficulties. Moreover, mutual aid among persons sharing similar migration experiences remains important for adjusting to a foreign environment.

¹⁹⁶ Jacques Barou, "Integration of immigrants in France: a historical perspective", *Identities. Global studies in culture and power*, Taylor Francis (Routledge), 2014, What remains of the National Models of Integration?, 21 (6), pp.642-657, pdf.

Even though the French assimilation model has been challenged by the recognition of the right to be different for immigrants according to which they are not prohibited from maintaining strong relationships with their country of origin, there are a lot of French scholars and politicians who have been claiming that France was a perfect example of the assimilation paradigm which transforms immigrants into Frenchmen and people should be indifferent towards their origin if they wanted to be accepted into French society¹⁹⁷. We have probably mentioned before that the focus is not on the first generation who as we said by ignoring them, they become less and less interested in transnational issues trying to show their dedication to becoming more accepted into the French society and as such there is no family transmission in the maintenance of transnationalism to the second generation.

5.3. *Identity attachment*

For many people treating the identity preservation of the diaspora might seem irrelevant and completely unnecessary. For most of them, the identity preservation is sort of paradoxical, what is the use of preserving it if once in a time you abandoned it to accept and build a new identity. When discussing this issue, one cannot but start thinking of this from a starting point and then one addresses a question to oneself: are these people aware that they are abandoning the identity they inherited or this is not their primary concern. This has an explanation as

¹⁹⁷ Chris Beauchemin, Hugues Lagrange, Mirna Safi, "Transnationalism and immigrant assimilation in France: Between here and there?", *Imiscoe Annual Conference, Workshop 6: Integration and transnationalism: how are the two connected?*, 07-09 September 2011, pp.1, Warsaw, Poland.
Online: <https://hal-sciencespo.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01069469>.

regards the first period (we refer as “the first period” the period from 1960s until 1999).

Why it is necessary to dig a bit deeper into this issue is that leaving the country does not necessarily mean giving up one’s identity, because this is not something any of those people leaving their country have as their intention, in fact they aren’t even aware about this process, it is just after a specific period of time that they face with the issue and it is exactly at this point that they try to save something from what they believe represents their values and distinguishes them from other cultures. At this point, some give up easier and some resist as long as they can.

The study of life and activity of diaspora does not only mean simply describing the general concepts over the movement and displacement of the people from one space or area into another, there are a variety of ways and prospects of which this problematic or issue can be analyzed. What the study of diaspora necessarily implies is the study of phenomenon of the struggle of identities and culture, the one abandoned without prejudice to the push factors and the acquisition of the new identity. Parallel to this, focusing on what diaspora does in relation to individual advancement or integration, would show only the single side of what constitutes this issue, so it is rather unavoidable to analyze its role in other disciplines and developments such as economic, social or political in the country of origin.

The issue of identity makes up a special component in one’s process of integration. Almost every immigrant, regardless of his or her origin, puts a great

emphasis on his or her identity. However, with the adjustment of the social environment, the lack of self-confidence and little or no use of such identity make them give up on a part of their self in order to improve their self –image necessary to establish their sense of placement into a new social environment.

This developmental process means that almost every adult immigrant must give up on a part of his personality, a part of his background with different values and norms and a part of their existing identity in order to construct a new socially influenced identity trying to fit as soon as possible into a society which belongs to a higher socio-political position. So, from a given identity which has been constructed from their birth, the confrontation with different values of a different society influences on the deconstruction of their identity thus giving it a new form and shape.

An important evidence which shows the desire of the first generation to keep their ties with their identity is also shown from the names which they give to their children who are born in France. These names usually include the names of famous and historical events or territories, towns and other important names which pose a great significance to them. Among the names of Kosovo Albanian children in Lyon we find these names:

1. Kushtrim (an echo, normally used by the Albanians in the cases to appeal for mobilization against an enemy)
2. Jon (the name of the Ionian sea in the shores of Albania)
3. Tirana (the name of the capital city of Albania)
4. Liridon (Liri – Freedom, don – wants, someone who wants freedom)

5. Abetare (the book of the first class that teaches ABC)

Regardless of the degree of integration into France, but also a feature of identity that is present among almost all the Kosovo Albanian diaspora around the world is that in the cases of death of any member of the family, at most cases the body is repatriated with the wish of the family who believe that the body should be buried where the roots are. Apart from the death ceremony which is organized at the country of origin, the majority of Kosovo Albanian diaspora organize condolence days just like they do back in Kosovo.

5.4. *Marginalization and stigma*

Unfortunately, the low socio-political position where the Kosovo Albanian immigrants come from as well as the bad image make them be marginalized. This, but also the continuous stigmatization they feel both in personal terms and the terms of their origin, has a crucial impact in their personal self-identity and social identity. Facing with these, they are in a constant battle in which situation they have to make a decision either to attempt for a new status, reject the previous one, or try to act some sort of bi-culturalism. This is not easy to do when we bear in mind that there are a number of differences such as language, religion, ethnicity, or race. The attempt to maintain both cultural statuses represents a great challenge for them due to the different restrictions they may have in either of them which are often confusing and frustrating.

Although marginality can arise in a number of different ways, the case of the Kosovo Albanian immigrants in France matches very well with the definition of Leonard (1984) who defines social marginality as “being outside the mainstream

of productive activity and/or social reproductive activity characterized as people who experience “involuntary subordinate marginality”¹⁹⁸. They experience marginality which has not been impaired from birth, but which has been acquired by the change in social and economic system with very limited opportunities to make social contribution into the host society. The main reason for this is because they come from a country which is marked by poverty with political and socio-economic situation undergoing through continuous crisis and their entrance into the host society as the lowest socio-economic category. So, instead of making use of their economic, social and cultural contributions through inclusive immigrant policies, they live in a social and political climate which suggests a restrictive period with much of their contribution being invisible. This form of marginalization imposes on them some sort of conservativeness for the fact that they perceive this new environment as a foreign environment which is not part of their cultural background, which is constantly clashing with and attacking their personal and cultural values.

In big cities and towns with high number of different communities, it is normal to see concentration of one specific immigrant group into specific area. As regards the Albanian immigrant group, they present a more diffused pattern and we cannot refer to any neighborhood as the “Albanian neighborhood” and few or no signs of the Albanian presence in public places such as cafes, pubs or restaurants with special services or networks functioning as a distinctive entity within an

¹⁹⁸ Peter Leonard, “Personality and ideology: Towards a materialist understanding of the individual”, (Critical Texts in Social Work and the Welfare State), 1984, pp. 181. Macmillan Education, London UK.

ethnicized area like we can see for example in Guillotierre where generally are concentrated Arabic ethnicities. In other words, they are scattered across the urban and rural areas and the main determinants for their accommodation are low rents, employment opportunities and access to faster services.

There are enough arguments of why the Kosovo Albanian immigrants are stigmatized. Goffman (1963) in the theory of social stigma defines stigma as an “attribute that is deeply discrediting” and causes the individual to be classified as different from others, from the norm, undesirable, thoroughly bad, dangerous or weak and reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one¹⁹⁹. The main elements of stigmatization start in the first step of the immigrants’ effort to settle and integrate into French social order and life. One immigrant must submit his file or request at the “Saxe Prefecture” which is specifically for foreigners. To get the services here, one immigrant must get the line during the early hours of the night to wait until 09:00 o’clock when the prefecture opens.

¹⁹⁹ Erving Goffman, “Stigma, Notes on the management of spoiled identity”, 1963, pp. 3. London:Penguin.



Picture 9-10. Waiting lines in front of the Saxe Prefecture²⁰⁰.

In general, there is the perception that there is a degree of indifference of the French authorities to integrate immigrants in a systematic and organized manner. There are no such initiatives like we have for example in Switzerland or Sweden where Albanian teachers are paid by the host authorities to deliver extra

²⁰⁰ The photos were shot in June 2019.

classes in Albanian at least once a week in which the interest of the Albanian community to follow these classes is very high. It seems that in terms of this, by making the integration harder, the French authorities in an indirect way push the Albanian community to focus more on the integration rather than putting their efforts into preservation.

5.5. *The exclusion from the labor market*

While the first generation (those who came immigrants as adults) was focused mainly in the jobs less attractive and less favorable for the local people, they were mainly “invisible” and there was less discrimination among them. They worked in these jobs because they came specifically for these jobs. Their ambitions were not so high and these boundaries determined the degree of discrimination against them, there were no diverse jobs and they were not exposed to high degree of discrimination because there was not so much choice for them.

It was less possible for them to have access to public sector either due to ideological conviction or highly restrictive legislation on naturalization and their status of ‘foreigner’ (in countries such as Germany, Belgium, France, Austria, etc.) which excluded them from the public sector²⁰¹. Regarding employment in the public sector of the second generation (referring to those who came as children and got their education in the host country) the situation seems to be almost the same.

A lot of people of the Kosovo Albanian Diaspora in Lyon are employed.

The highest number of men we interacted with (about 90% of them) are hired at

²⁰¹ John Wrench, Andrea Rea, and Nouria Ouali Migrants, “Ethnic minorities and the labour market – Integration and Exclusion in Europe”, 1999, pp.10. Palgrave in association with Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

construction sector, especially due to the lack of the residential status who can work for construction companies as undeclared who do not necessarily ask for residential permit and who avoid any kind of taxes. Very few are employed in restaurants, hotels and manufacturing industries while as regards managerial or supervisory positions they are not engaged in such positions although among them there are well educated people and have the necessary qualifications. About 70% of Kosovo Albanian female work in cleaning services. Migrant workers are among the most vulnerable workers in the world, often subject to exploitation, discrimination and abuse, lacking access to mechanisms for remedy and redress and in constant fear of deportation²⁰².

There is a degree of discrimination for which a number of victims of discrimination aren't even aware, besides for the well-educated who understand and are able to distinguish the extra barriers they are facing once they have applied for a job. And being aware of this, there is no doubt that this has an impact on their job seeking behavior, because from the very beginning they see less chances for them to be recruited when they are in competition with local people, even if they are well qualified.

Different researches nowadays show that there is discrimination and exclusion of foreigners (immigrants and their descendants) despite the existence of the necessary legislation against that in most EU countries. Despite the existence of the anti-discrimination law according to which there are equal opportunities, in practice this fails to happen and most Kosovo Albanian immigrants and diaspora

²⁰²International Organization for Migration (IOM), "International Migration, Health and Human Rights", 2013. International Organization for Migration, Geneva, Switzerland.

work in non-formal sector where they are exploited, with very low wages, excluded from any kind of benefits and security schemes.

Given that there is a wider range of opportunities for second generation in comparison to the first generation and their ambitions are greater, this makes them more visible and the degree of discrimination they face is bigger than it was with the first generation. The first generation was rather invisible as they were focused mainly into a separate sector. In this case they faced with direct discrimination for the fact that they had been appointed into this sector, however no one had the idea of discrimination at that time. For them it was important to have a job and to be well paid.

According to Knight (2002), the level of an individual's education, experience, training or language skill may determine if that individual is allowed to enter the labor market of a receiving country²⁰³. In highly developed countries with approximately the same level of industry, such as the countries of EU where people are free to move from one country to another without any difficult procedures, we may argue that for the countries with a poor economy, such as Kosovo, this statement does not correspond to reality. There are a number of well qualified people from Kosovo who have never had the chance to find employment in their specialized fields. There are cases when people go to "Pole Emploi" to ask for jobs, they are offered a list of jobs and asked what jobs they can do. What they are offered

²⁰³ W. Andy Knight, "Conceptualizing transnational community formation: Migrants, sojourners and Diasporas in a globalized era", *Special Issue on Migration and Globalization, Canadian Studies in Population Vol. 29(1)*, 2002, pp. 1-30, Pdf.

in exchange in almost all the cases, is some low-status and low-wage job or jobs which have nothing to do with their qualifications.

The effective access of all migrant workers and their families to social rights is critical in preventing their marginalization and social exclusion in the host society, thus assisting their integration and enhancing development in the country of employment. Also part III of the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW) underlines the application of the principle of non-discrimination and equal treatment between nationals and all migrant workers and their families regardless of their immigration status in respect of access to basic social rights, such as rights to social security (subject however to the fulfilment of requirements in applicable national legislation, bilateral and multilateral treaties), emergency medical care and access to education (Articles 27, 28 and 30 ICRMW respectively)²⁰⁴.

From the literature review regarding rights of immigrants we find that according to international human rights laws no one is allowed to enter another state without that state's permission and authorization, and as such they might be regarded as violators of the host country's national legislation by entering illegally into its territory. Regardless of this, it does not completely nullify the host country's responsibility to protect the rights of the immigrants without discrimination, for example against torture, degrading treatment, or forced labor. There are many

²⁰⁴ Kristina Touzenis and Ryszard Cholewinski, "The Human Rights of Migrants", *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)* Vol. 11, No. 1, 2009, pp. 1 - 18 UNESCO. Available online: www.unesco.org/shs/ijms/vol11/issue1/intro

conventions which deal with the immigrants' rights which any country dealing with immigrants must apply to.

Part III of the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW) underlines the application of the principle of non-discrimination and equal treatment between nationals and all migrant workers and their families regardless of their immigration status in respect of access to basic social rights, such as rights to social security, emergency medical care and access to education²⁰⁵. We may argue that the main issue is in terms of the application and implementation of conventions and laws as regards human rights of immigrants and there is great disparity to what the immigrants should enjoy according to the international laws and what they experience throughout the course of their life in the host country. When clearly analyzed, all segments of immigrants' treatments are defined and as such they should not leave any uncertainty as regards matters to their treatment, installation, integration and other issues related to their final settlement specifying also the main institutions which are responsible for different steps that immigrants have to follow until their final acceptance into French life and society.

In a lot of diaspora and immigration researches, it is evident that a lot of attention is paid to the religious element of the immigrants and the practice of religion. Although the majority of the Kosovo Albanians are Muslims in Kosovo, little attention is given to religion. I haven't had the opportunity to meet anyone who practices religion, therefore this issue will not be treated further.

²⁰⁵ Kristina Touzenis and Ryszard Cholewinski, "The Human Rights of Migrants", pp.1-3.

5.6. Access to Healthcare

It is very interesting and indeed very impressive the access to health care. Regardless of their status, the majority of Kosovo Albanian immigrants praise the medical system for their approach. Anybody who has health problems can go and receive treatment for free. Given that the majority of Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Lyon which I have met have come involuntarily due to diverse reasons, and they belong to the category of “forced immigrants”, they are exposed to higher health risks than the local population. Besides for poorer health services back in their home country, a great number of them have been exposed to risk and unhealthy conditions on their migration journey (who may have suffered torture and violence, stress and panic on illegal routes by smugglers) as well as climatic conditions.

Many immigrants, especially those who are not settled properly, face health-related problems after being settled in Lyon. Their mental health is impacted due to the loss of status in the country of origin and the vague situation in acquiring the status of the host country, their social isolation and poverty. Poor living conditions and overexposure to dirty, difficult and dangerous jobs have a negative impact in the health of immigrants and being “unauthorized” and “undocumented” makes the access to health care more difficult for the fact that once the immigrants have settled they are not aware of the rights they have on medical treatment or the fear they might have of being caught and reported by the immigration authorities.

Immigrants from Kosovo who are suffering from serious medical conditions such as serious kidney problems, cancer or leukemia have been coming to France to gain access to the French full treatment health service while applying

for asylum. France's asylum procedure currently allows claimants to get full free medical coverage. We should emphasize that Kosovo is not among the countries that is regarded unsafe and to whom asylum is granted. These so-called "medical refugees" arrive in Lyon knowing the full extent to which they can exploit the French medical system. If the health conditions are considered as serious and incurable in Kosovo, it is possible that they get qualified for residency status. However, we find out that prior to this, there is some cooperation made between the two countries on the treatment of different illnesses back in Kosovo. If there is no full treatment about some specific disease, then the immigrants are granted a status.

During the research, I have had the opportunity to meet a number of people who have received such treatment and are under constant medical observation by the doctors to see the progress of their cure. In the course of my work, I visited two of hospitalized people from cancer who were receiving full free treatment regardless of their unsettled status. Although they were treated very professionally and there was a lot of enthusiasm by them and the doctors who were treating them, unfortunately they did not make it.

In 2000 the "Universal Health Cover" (Couverture Maladie Universelle - CMU) was created as health coverage for all residents of France. At the same time the State Medical Assistance (Aide Médicale de l'Etat) was created as health protection for undocumented migrants. It was regarded as a means to help in combating exclusion of foreign nationals who live in irregular situations in France and face with financial difficulties. However, in order to receive this assistance

there are some conditions which have to be met such as the physical presence on the national territory for over three months and low annual income which is less than 8.645 euro and several supporting documents that prove the applicants' identity and an address of domiciliation²⁰⁶. The basic reasons of this scheme have been humanitarian as well as necessity for the protection of undocumented migrants' rights, but also, the respect of European and International conventions.

Governments in many EU countries, including France, in order to fulfill their legal obligations at the international and national levels have acknowledged the need to integrate the health needs and vulnerabilities of migrants into their national plans, policies and strategies²⁰⁷. In terms of reasonability of these security schemes, we may argue that besides that it is great help for a very vulnerable category, it is also very necessary in restricting and preventing contagious diseases which need a fast and effective treatment in order to control them and prevent some propagation. So, they are not useful only for immigrants, but also for the community where they live.

Although the majority of the newcomers from Kosovo claim to have come healthy and their primary reason to come to France was not for a medical reason, the hard living conditions and poor or inexistent hygienic conditions they face after their arrival in France without a proper shelter and accommodation, such as the case

²⁰⁶ Jean Marie André and Fabbienne Azzedine, "Access to healthcare for undocumented migrants in France: a critical examination of State Medical Assistance", *Public Health Reviews*, 37:5EHESP, 2016, pp. 1-5. French School of Public Health, CNRS (National Center of Scientific Research), UMR CRAPE (Research Center on Politic Action in Europe), France. Published online: 03 August 2016: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40985-016-0017-4>

²⁰⁷ International Organization for Migration (IOM), "International Migration, Health and Human Rights", 2013, pp. 11. International Organization for Migration, Geneva, Switzerland.

of a large number of immigrants who lived in tents for months near the Perrache station under the bridge in 2013.



Picture 11. Immigrants in hard living conditions in tents near Perrache station²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ A large number of people lived here for months until there was a solution made for them. There was a threat of some epidemics due to inexistent hygienic conditions.



Picture 12-13. Immigrants under the bridge in Perrache²⁰⁹

This form of treatment, besides for presenting a serious violation of human rights and ignorance of international conventions and agreements on immigrants' rights to access on health services, it does also present barriers to an important

²⁰⁹ The photos have been provided by an ex-member of "Bashkimi Shqiptar" Association. In our interaction with some people who were living there, we could hear their complaints and their disappointment. Prior to their arrival in France, their expectations had been different, and the majority of them already regretted.

element that facilitates integration and incurs higher health and social costs to the immigrants. Besides, it makes them suffer from different diseases affecting their physical and mental health.



Picture 14. Camp of the immigrants near Part Dieux station²¹⁰.

Although nowadays there are a lot of efforts across the EU member states' acquis to make more favorable conditions and easier access into health services, security schemes and programs to address a number of inequities, there is still evidence about limited and conditional access to health care. Unfortunately, in many countries immigration is perceived with a negative connotation and there are still a lot of misperceptions about the burden that migrants cause to the host society both in terms of finances and health system.

²¹⁰ This photo was shot in February 2016 by me upon the information that there are Kosovo Albanians living in this camp along with other immigrants from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan.

CHAPTER VI
THE KOSOVO ALBANIAN IMMIGRANTS IN SWITZERLAND

6.1. *Life of Kosovo Albanians immigrants in Switzerland*

Although there has been a great progress in the treatment and integration of the Albanian community in Switzerland mainly because of the integration of the second and third generations, Albanians are still facing with social exclusion, discrimination and are occasionally targets of racist remarks. Studies reveal that young people of Kosovo Albanian descent are disadvantaged when looking for a job, despite having the same capabilities as Swiss applicants, i.e. the same qualifications regarding language, school and occupation, as well as an identical curriculum²¹¹. They have been exposed to stigmatization in the public opinion²¹² and this has had a negative impact in the behavior, self-esteem and social inclusion within the Swiss society.

The Albanians have close ties and associate with each other and the language they use at home is mainly Albanian, besides when children want to express something better. Women of the first generation usually use the Albanian language. This makes them lack the necessary degree of language of the host country, and their integration as well. The lack of proper level of language determines their role in the labor market and the majority of people who don't speak language very well, usually work in small Albanian firms where the communication is mainly Albanian. In this respect the observed ethno-linguistic homogeneity could be interpreted as the result of, and possibly the reaction to, status deprivation and marginality, as

²¹¹ Charles Westin, José Bastos, Janine Dahinden and Pedro Góis, "Identity Processes and Dynamics in Multi-Ethnic Europe", 2010, pp.136. IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press.

²¹² Bashkim Iseni, "Albanian-speaking transnational populations in Switzerland: continuities and shifts", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 13(2), 2013, pp. 227–243, pdf. Available online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2013.802174>

well as an attempt at self-assertion²¹³. Due to these factors, it is perceived that there is a degree of isolation among the Albanian community, where main interactions and many activities are developed among themselves.

As part of the migration discourse, there is a set of other issues which interweave between each other such as human rights, policies, country of origin, host country, factors, installation, integration, gender issues, religion, social background, inequality, group differences, discrimination and other issues which must be taken into account and which need specific treatment within the subject. Indeed, the very term immigration is so complex in itself exactly because it is not a mere issue because in its description it involves a number of different scientific disciplines.

Unfortunately, although nowadays many people who emigrate through international migration consider that it is the best step to improve their socio economic situation, or in more general terms, the situation in Kosovo, such a step besides for the contribution which we may say is obvious, at the same time it has its negative impact in detracting the necessary resources which make progressive steps in local settings, either social or economic. What we often notice among the first generation is the dissatisfaction in getting the proper jobs often being imposed on them to get whatever they can do and thus making them distant from integration, often feeling they are not being a good example to their children for whom the best answer then is the abandoning of the identity of origin.

²¹³ Charles Westin, José Bastos, Janine Dahinden and Pedro Góis, "Identity Processes and Dynamics in Multi-Ethnic Europe", 2010, pp.136. IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press.

The integration of immigrants is a very challenging issue for almost all governments facing with immigrants because immigrant needs vary according to a number of intersecting factors. There are a number of complex social and economic dimensions which have to be taken into account such as the differences in culture, tradition and customs and the incapability to accommodate and provide solutions for the whole labor supply in local terms. Since the late 1990s, no doubt influenced by policy discourses in the European Union, the Swiss federal government has declared an interest in exploring the concept of integration as the guiding idea in questions of the social and political incorporation of immigrants and their descendants²¹⁴.

Although the Swiss view employment as the way to include the newcomers which find themselves excluded from the Swiss life, finding a job does not always conclude the whole integration process. The situation as regards employment and residence in Switzerland for the nationals of EU/EFTA states who have the right to legal residence based on the provisions of the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons. Unfortunately, Kosovo, although geographically part of the Europe, still faces with a strict visa regime and they enter into the same classifications with the nationals of Africa and other continents of the world as third-state nationals. Being classified as such makes it very difficult for them to gain admission and work

²¹⁴ Organization for European Cooperation and Development (OECD), "From Immigration to Integration. Local solutions to a global challenge", 2006, pp.3. *OECD Local Economic and Employment Development (LEED) Programme, pdf.*

permits in Switzerland unless they are exceptionally well qualified persons in high demand sectors with a scarce supply of specialists²¹⁵.

In the 1980s, labor migrants and refugees increased in number in Switzerland and comparing to other migrant groups from other countries and Swiss population, they still differ strongly with reference to their socioeconomic status. With the changing circumstances in Yugoslavia, the motives of immigration changed as well. 1990s were characterized by family reunification which implies that the education level of the majority women and children who came mainly from rural areas of Kosovo was very low and as such education attainment was not very high²¹⁶. This period also marks a large number of Asylum seekers which peaked in 1999 with the war in Kosovo, when more than 46 000 persons sought asylum in Switzerland²¹⁷.

What is to be noticed nowadays is the degree of inequality as regards the differing judicial status of migrant groups. While the EU citizens in Switzerland are entitled to equal social and economic opportunities in Switzerland as an outcome of the Bilateral Agreements of 2002, migrants whose origins are from Kosovo can only consolidate their entitlements by acquiring Swiss Nationality²¹⁸. In this manner, this has an impact on the educational sphere where many migrant groups

²¹⁵ Steve Fenton, "Focusing on the young: Integration in Switzerland", in OECD, *From Immigration to Integration. Local solutions to a global challenge*, 2006, pp. 285-320. *OECD Local Economic and Employment Development (LEED) Programme*, pdf.

²¹⁶ Dorit Griga, "Participation in Higher Education of Youths with a Migrant Background in Switzerland", *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, Nov. 2014, Vol. 40 Issue 3, pp.379-400, pdf.

²¹⁷ Thomas Liebig, Sebastian Kohls and Karolin Krause, "The labour market integration of immigrants and their children in Switzerland", *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers No. 128, Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs*, 2012, pp.21. OECD Publishing, pdf.

²¹⁸ Rosita Fibbi and Philippe Wanner, "Children in Immigrant Families in Switzerland: On a Path between Discrimination and Integration", *Innocenti Working Paper, no. 2009-17*, 2009, pp.380. UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, pdf

are disadvantaged as compared to the Swiss citizens for the fact that parents' socioeconomic position plays an important role as well and for many graduates who earn their degrees even from Swiss educational institutions whose background is that of immigrants, there are more problems when applying for jobs as compared to those with non-migrants background. With respect to Switzerland, Buchmann et al. (2007) indicate that students with an advantaged social origin are comparatively privileged in both achieving eligibility as well as enrolling in higher education²¹⁹.

Unfortunately, due to their underprivileged social origin, the youth of Kosovo are not a well-regarded group among the Swiss and they are often subject to discrimination in terms of jobs when their name and background often places an unsurpassable barrier and considerations for job interviews. From this we come to an understanding that companies and institutions use nationality and origin as the basic criterion for job application consideration.

Part of my research and most contacts I had for the purposes of this research were in Geneva, partly because it is not very far from Lyon and partly because there are so many Kosovo Albanian people living there. Compared to Lyon and France, Kosovo Albanian people in Switzerland seem to have more rights, to be more integrated and there are better job opportunities for them (such as working in different public sector and other highly paid jobs). However, a large number of

²¹⁹ Marlis Buchman, Stefan Sacchi, Markus Lamprecht and Hanspeter Stamm, "Tertiary Education Expansion and Social Inequality in Switzerland" in *Yossi Shavit, Richard Arum, Adam Gamoran with Gila Menahem (ed.), Stratification in Higher Education: A Comparative Study*, 2007, pp. 321-348. Stanford University Press, pdf

people still have problems with their legalization and as such are more probable to have jobs at construction sector, most of them working at very dangerous circumstances and living 4-7 people in one apartment in order to save as much as possible from their earnings.

Switzerland is among the OECD countries with the largest immigrant populations – 27%. Although integration works well with a labor market which is highly favorable and employment rate for men and women immigrants is higher than in other OECD countries, in spite of considerable improvements over the past decade, the overall framework for integration is thus still underdeveloped, with only few integration measures directly targeted at immigrants available throughout the whole of Switzerland²²⁰. As we know one of the ways for Kosovo Albanian immigrants, especially in the past was that it was characterized with men immigrants who went to work and after some time, if they managed to settle down in Switzerland, they took their wives and children to live together.

In this respect, for this immigrant group of women and children integration for them was not very easy given that women came from low educated families without any idea of the modern world and dynamism, mentally unprepared for a different way of life which would break the myth of family isolation and man role in the family. There are few integration measures for immigrant women and they often do not have access to the full range of active labor market policy tools. Even though their integration into host societies was challenge for them, we argue that

²²⁰ Thomas Liebig, Sebastian Kohls and Karolin Krause, "The labour market integration of immigrants and their children in Switzerland", *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers No. 128, Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs*, 2012, pp. 5-6. OECD Publishing, pdf.

migration has affected their status and family life, as well. By entering into a wage earning production process they become more independent and active in family decision processes, with more open relations among family members and their social networks were expanding. Additionally, recent female migrants are more open into integration processes. They are showing interest for involvement into labor market and educational processes, meaning that beside job, they tend to ensure the position at profession, as well²²¹.

The previous immigrants from Kosovo were mainly workers who went to Switzerland for labor purposes. This has changed over the time, especially in post-war Kosovo where more and more people who are well qualified and who decided to make a step forward as a sign of dissatisfaction and disappointment with the poor economic and social situation in Kosovo with less and less opportunities for employment. Given that Kosovo is not an OECD country, this group who is qualified and have a degree of education or even more, they are strongly discounted on the Swiss labor market and there are few bridging courses available. In contrast to other OECD countries, there are also few mentorship or similar programs in place which would provide immigrants with the necessary contacts with native-born Swiss and with employers, as well as knowledge about labor market functioning, both of which are important for access to higher-skilled jobs. Such tools should be provided more broadly, in co-operation with employers²²².

²²¹ Mimoza Dushi, "Influence of Migration in Women Emancipation. Case Study from Kosovan Albanian Diaspora", *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences Vol. 58*, 2015, pp. 91-103. SciPress Ltd, Switzerland.

²²² Thomas Liebig, Sebastian Kohls and Karolin Krause, "The labour market integration of immigrants and their children in Switzerland", *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers No. 128*, Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs, 2012, pp. 6. OECD Publishing, pdf

Although Switzerland is among the most democratic countries with strong commitment to the human rights, the idea of multiculturalism does not necessarily include immigrants whose cultural and language recognition is limited. Unfortunately, children of parents or grandparents from the Balkans, such as ethnic Albanians from Kosovo, Macedonia (ex-Yugoslavia) or from Albania are at high risk of being stigmatized and discriminated against. Children of Albanian immigrants with a bicultural and bilingual background are more likely to be sent to special classes for children with learning difficulties, which limits their chance for school success²²³.

These difficulties which Kosovo Albanian community or diaspora in Switzerland face are quite strange for the fact that this community is not recent. They represent one of the most important communities who played an important role in Swiss economy and society since 1960s. The first flux of Kosovo Albanian immigrants who have immigrated for economic purposes mainly covers the period from 1960-1990²²⁴. The majority of these people, if not all of them, who came to work in agriculture and construction as Yugoslav season-workers for nine months of the year in Switzerland and three months of the year back to their home, were registered under the Yugoslav nationality and it was only during the war with the disintegration of Yugoslavia that they were distinguished as Kosovo Albanians.

²²³ Andrea U. Haenni Hoti), "The Ignored Potential of Albanian-Speaking Minority Children in Swiss Schools", *International Journal of Learning*, Volume 12, Number 7, 2005/2006, pp. 287. First published in Melbourne, Australia by Common Ground Publishing Pty Ltd, pdf

²²⁴ Sarah Vuilleumier, "La Diaspora Albanaise dans le Canton de Vaud", *INTEGRATIONINFO* nr. 38, Bureau cantonal pour l'integration des etrangeres et la prevention du racisme, 2013, pp.2. Lausanne, pdf

In 1981 and 1982, young Albanian academics began to take refuge in Switzerland. These newcomers were not migrant workers. During these two years, approximately 1,600 people applied for asylum. The precariousness of their situation in Switzerland, the helplessness they felt, brought back the threat of social exclusion²²⁵. The Swiss environment was unknown for the majority of people who in responses shut themselves up and did not have the courage to venture for new life. According to their perception, the new environment was not very friendly for them and even hostile, often facing with unrealistic behavior and conditions of the authorities and excessive bureaucratic procedures which imposed a family based orientation as the only safe source they can rely to.

The young unsettled Kosovo Albanian workers hardly participate in social life in Switzerland. It is due to their status as foreign workers that dictates to them some sort of a cultivated distance vis-à-vis the Swiss society. Those who have a provisional admission and many others whom the stay in Switzerland has been rejected by the authorities live in great stress and uncertainty which is hard to support. Their departure is at the corner and their stay in Switzerland could end at any moment or another if they are caught by the police in the streets or their work place.

As regards young Kosovo Albanians who are settled and have managed to make some steps towards integration into Swiss life and society, plans for return in the country of origin of their parents seem to be almost non-existing besides for short visits during holidays. The previous myth or fixation of return by the first

²²⁵ Hans-Peter Aarburg, "L'émigration albanaise du Kosovo vers la Suisse. L'imprévisible évolution des projets migratoires", *Ethnologie française* 2002/2, Vol. 32, pp. 271-282, pdf. Available online: 10.3917/ethn.022.0271

generation which represented some sort of principle or obligation among the Kosovo Albanian people in exile has vanished over time and now the second generation in Switzerland considers their own home a place which their parents considered foreign.

Given that labor migration was made impossible, Kosovo Albanians were accepted as asylum-seekers relying on Swiss social welfare. However, their settlement was not very easy given that there were political campaigns against them considering them as “fake migrants” and a big economic burden, abusing the Swiss welfare system²²⁶. The presence of this "new" community in Switzerland contributed to a bad public image in the media. The often erroneous prejudices that surround this community (for example, young men, perceived as "violent" or young women considered as "victims in need of independence") persist and act as a brake on their integration²²⁷.

The number of Kosovo citizens in Switzerland is estimated to be around 170,000 in 2011, representing roughly 10 % of the foreign population. Of these, some 40,000 are Swiss citizens of Kosovar origin, a group that does not appear in official statistic²²⁸. This number is probably higher given that a large number of people left Kosovo in 2015 and continue leaving with Switzerland as one of their favorite destinations. Immigrants from the Albanian-speaking area of former

²²⁶ Rosita Fibbi and Jasmine Truong, “Parental involvement and educational success in Kosovar families in Switzerland”, *Comparative Migration Studies* 3:13, Article number: 13, 2015, pp.2. University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

²²⁷ Sarah Vuilleumier, “La Diaspora Albanaise dans le Canton de Vaud”, *INTEGRATIONINFO* nr. 38, Bureau cantonal pour l’intégration des étrangères et la prévention du racisme, 2013, pp.2. Lausanne, pdf.

²²⁸ Bashkim Iseni, “Albanian-speaking transnational populations in Switzerland: continuities and shifts”, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 13(2), 2013, pp. 227–243, pdf. Available online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2013.802174>

Yugoslavia have been exposed to stigmatization in the public opinion²²⁹, the children of Kosovar descent have been the object of greater skepticism in the public arena fearing that they were less likely than other immigrant groups to perform well in school and enter the labor market facing an unfavorable and sometimes hostile immigrant-receiving context²³⁰.

6.2. The promotion of democracy in the country of origin by the Kosovo Albanian diaspora

Kosovo Albanian diaspora remains very much involved in the lives of people and has an active role in promotion of democracy and development of Kosovo and the social welfare. Albanian Diaspora is perceived by the population in the home country as the driving force for cultural and political changes, and especially for economic development.

Although, the greatest satisfaction after the end of the war was that country was free and almost everybody believed that things would be much easier for them. Most of the people were very enthusiastic and returned voluntarily as soon as Serbian Military and other troops left Kosovo. For those people who had already moved to the countries of EU and wanted to return voluntarily, almost all of the countries offered some financial support in order for them to settle back home which would serve them to construct houses given that a large number of houses had been destroyed by the war.

²²⁹ Bashkim Iseni, "Albanian-speaking transnational populations in Switzerland: continuities and shifts", 2013

²³⁰ Rosita Fibbi and Jasmine Truong, "Parental involvement and educational success in Kosovar families in Switzerland", *Comparative Migration Studies* 3:13, Article number: 13, 2015, pp.2. University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

Unfortunately, this enthusiasm did not last long as the economy had almost been destroyed entirely and very few people could work, besides for the public sector. Given that Kosovo has not enjoyed an economic recovery as some of its neighboring countries, a lot of people started being less positive about the improvement of the situation in Kosovo and once again those people who had returned voluntarily, were now finding it more difficult to accept the new situation they were facing and emigration was again their first option.

Legal routes of emigration were no longer possible for Kosovo Albanians as no countries would accept immigrants from Kosovo given that European governments now consider Kosovo a 'safe country' and have imposed rigid entry conditions for migrants from the province. Regardless of the rigid measures put by countries which are seen as the main destinations for Kosovo Albanians, job emigration was and remains a substantial and important source of existence for a large number of Kosovo families²³¹. These barriers put by many EU countries leaving almost no other legal migration possibilities seems to contribute to an increase in illegal migration.

Regardless to their migration patter, Kosovo diaspora strongly impact economic opportunities and the living standards in Kosovo. Besides for the contribution it gives in improving the welfare state in Kosovo, it also impacts a number of other fields such as: human development, remittances, transfer of skills/know-how, participation in the social and political activities, and support for

²³¹ Christopher Tüetsch, "Kosovo's Burdensome Path to Economic Development and Inter-ethnic Co-existence. Fast Risk Profile Kosovo", *Working Paper 4/2005*, pp. 20. Swiss Peace Foundation, pdf.

mobility of Kosovo residents in the field of education, health care, and employment²³².

6.3. *The interest of Kosovo government on Kosovo Albanian diaspora*

The Ministry of Diaspora as a head institution of the Republic of Kosovo, amongst other issues has as objective to draft, propose and implement policies and legislation to promote the values of diaspora and migrants, and to supervise their implementation; to support the promotion, protection and cultivation of cultural, linguistic and educational identity of migrants²³³.

Although there is a considerable Albanian Diaspora around the world, there have been no efforts from the government (either from Albania or Kosovo) to support the creation of cultural centers or other structures to support the preservation of language and cultural identity among Albanians living abroad.²³⁴ The lack of financial means strongly hampers Albanian cultural activities abroad; for what it is believed that there is more import of foreign culture into Kosovo Albanian diaspora compared to the export of Kosovo Albanian culture among the other cultures.

Members of the Diaspora express deep concern and discontent about the “lack of attention and care” by Kosovo government institutions regarding problems they are facing in resident countries. In addition, there is the perception that the Kosovo government does little to facilitate travel and protect the rights of the

²³² UNDP Kosovo Human Development Reports, “Migration as a force for development”, 2014, pp. XII, Kosovo. Retrieved from: <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/khdr2014english.pdf>

²³³ Shqipe Pantina, “Diaspora for a better representation in decision-making”, *Institute for Management and Development, within the framework of the project, ‘Diaspora for Development*, 2011, pp.11. Kosovo, pdf

²³⁴ Stefan Çapaliku and Kastriot Cipi, “Country Profile Albania”, *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe, 13th edition*, 2012, pp.10. Tirana, pdf. Available online: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net>.

Diaspora while, at the same time, benefiting from Diaspora tourism and calling on the Diaspora to increase investments and remittances to Kosovo.

6.4. *The representation of Diaspora in Decision-making in Kosovo*

The necessary information reveals that Kosovo diaspora remains almost inactive in the representation in decision-making. Despite the fact that there have been such demands such as those that diaspora should have its own representatives in the parliament of Kosovo who would represent all the problematic of the diaspora, but also would help establish networks and legislature which would facilitate their investment in Kosovo, this thing never happened.

Members of the Kosovo Albanian Diaspora in Lyon, but also in other countries express deep concern and discontent about the “lack of attention and care” by Kosovo government institutions regarding problems they are facing in resident countries. In addition, there is the perception that Kosovo government does little to facilitate travel and protect the rights of the Diaspora while, at the same time, benefiting from Diaspora tourism and calling on the Diaspora to increase investments and remittances to Kosova²³⁵. Kosovo has created a capacity within the government that actively and successfully engages the diaspora in the country’s affairs. For instance, Kosovo even has a Ministry of Diaspora²³⁶. Regardless of this, many members of the Kosovo diaspora are disappointed with the Kosovo government. They indicated that despite the fact that the diaspora contributed

²³⁵ Muhamet Mustafa, Mrika Kotorri, Petrit Gashi, Ardiana Gashi, and Venera Demukaj, “Diaspora and migration policies”, *Forum 2015 by Riinvest Institute based on the research conducted in Kosovo, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, UK, Sweden, Austria and the USA*, 2007, pp.9. Riinvest Institute, Prishtina

²³⁶ Center for International Development, “Developing an Albanian Diaspora Program Draft for Comments”, January 29, 2015, pp.1, pdf. Harvard University.

greatly to Kosovo, they have not been involved in the development of national strategies, policies and other important developments that have taken place in Kosovo.

There are a number of different measures which the authorities in Prishtina should take into considerations when dealing with the Kosovo Albanian diaspora. Although the impact of diaspora is very big through remittances, their impact could have been much bigger whether there was some clear interest and willingness of the authorities in Prishtina. Unfortunately, these people are not motivated enough, regardless of their will to invest in Kosovo due to a number of different factors such as unsafe environment for investment and a number of different other barriers and excessive beaurocratic demands. It would be a great advantage for Kosovo to strengthen these connections between the diaspora and Kosovo and developing a number of different networking activities, foundation of cultural centers anywhere where the number of Kosovo Albanians is big, and special seats for them at the parliament of Kosovo who would represents the direct interest of diaspora and easy beaurocratic measure for those who want to invest in Kosovo.

6.5. Questionnaire

This questionnaire has been made as part of the doctoral thesis which is related to social, economic and cultural life of diaspora (Kosovo Albanian immigrants) in Lyon, France in order to have accurate data about them.

1. Age: Profession (job): Gender : M / F

2. When did you come to France?

3. What is your main reason for coming to France?

a) *Job* b) *Studies* c) *Family reunification* d) *Marriage*

4. Purpose of your coming has been:

a) *Temporary?* b) *Permanent?*

5. How did others treat you when you came to France (have you ever been offended in racial or national terms)?

a) *Yes* b) *No*

6. Do you feel discriminated (as regards employment, health care, equipment with necessary documents, etc.)?

a) *Yes* b) *No*

7. How much do you think your life has changed since your inclusion into the French society?

a) *Little*
b) *Sufficient*
c) *Not at all*

8. Do you have sufficient access in education (primary, secondary, university)?

a) *Yes* b) *No*

9. Is there any joint activity you do with other Kosovo Albanians?

a) *Yes* b) *No*

If yes, which are they? _____

10. Do you have more friends of your nationality or nationality of host country?

11. Are there programs for advancement and integration of immigrants in France (French language courses, courses on life and French culture, employment guidance, etc.)?

a) *Yes*

b) *No*

If yes, which are they? _____

12. Living between two different societies while living in France, how do you define yourself in relation to French society (regardless of your legal status such as refugee, economic immigrant, student, citizen, etc?)

a) *As a foreigner*

b) *As a citizen of this country*

13. As part of two different societies at the same time, how do you define your identity in relation to these two societies (do you feel more Albanian or French)?

a) *Albanian*

b) *French*

14. How do you feel perceived by the French citizens?

a) *As an immigrant*

b) *As an equal citizen with other French citizens*

15. How do you feel perceived by people in Kosovo?

a) *As an immigrant*

b) *As a local person*

16. Which country do you consider to be your place (where you belong to)?

a) *Kosovo*

b) *France*

c) *Both*

17. Which citizenship do you currently possess?

a) *French*

b) *Kosovo Albanian*

c) *Both*

18. Which language do you use in family environment (flat/home)?

a) *French language*

b) *Albanian language*

19. What are your plans for the future, do you ever think of going back to Kosovo?

a) *Yes*

b) *No*

20. Do you regret about the decision to immigrate here?

a) *If yes, why?* _____

b) *If no, what do you like most in France?* _____

6.6. Findings of the questionnaire

Even though the questionnaire has been anonymous where people can express their opinions without being afraid that their name might appear somewhere and they may become subject to some measure as response to their criticism and negative view and opinion over certain issues and questions, there were people who did not want to respond to questionnaire. This questionnaire has been presented to them in order to have as better view as possible about their pattern of life; however there is still space for questioning to whether the opinions have been expressed realistically and the complete accurateness of the questionnaire. There have been a number of cases when people hesitated to answer the questionnaire for different reasons, but our perception is that they do not want to express their views in public fearing any negative outcome.

The questionnaire has been delivered to people of different ages of both genders and different professions who have migrated at different points in time which can demonstrate to how people of different periods see themselves. Based on different interactions at different periods and often as a form of free conversation, the outcome of the questionnaire is almost predictable and expected. In such circumstances, it is normal that people have different experiences and may answer according to what they have gone through, what is good for a category of people does not necessarily mean good to another category who may have come at different point in time and may have suffered different legislation procedures.

There have been 30 people who have responded to the questionnaire. Of them, 22 were male and 8 were female. This is for the reason that contact with men was

easier and I knew many of them during the usual Sunday meetings in football matches. The settlement time varies from those who arrived as early as 1988 and those who have recently arrived, in 2017. The majority of those who have migrated to France at adult age have come for employment purposes and almost all of them have come with the intention to stay only temporary and someday return back to Kosovo. A number of them, mainly female have come for family reunification purposes, but a percentage of them who have arrived recently have come for study purposes with plans to come back upon the completion of their degrees.

Many of respondents consider that there is no racial behavior by the side of the local people and reject to have ever been subject to such offences and this makes them believe and feel as an equal citizen without any distinction to the French citizens with equal access in education, employment opportunities and good healthcare system. However, there are cases when people have suffered and that is the reason why a number of people still feel that their life has not changed as much and this strengthens their perception and impression that they can never be regarded as equal as the French citizens. Around 70% of people feel or perceive themselves as emigrants or as distinct group from the others, especially those whose legal status is not regulated. It is exactly this negative perception or if we may call it reality of oneself which confirms their lower position in the host society with less rights and fewer chances which in some way leads them to self-exclusion and assimilation as the only way of being accepted within the host society.

Although there are some programs and trainings for the integration of immigrants, in the question made by us, almost half of the respondents are not

aware about such programs and trainings given that they have not had the chance to attend them or go through such a process. Some know about some sort of integration mechanisms; however they are not able to explain what programs they are, where and how they are organized. Unfortunately, this shows that the majority of them are not part of organized and systematic process of integration and many of them remain socially excluded, socializing mainly with their compatriots and relying mainly on family ties. This is probably the reason why all of the respondents have stated that the language they use in family surroundings is the Albanian language.

What has been a very surprising finding is that although part of this questionnaire were a number of those who were born in France, they have attended studies and earned a university degree and can be considered to be well integrated into the French society, however they still consider that they belong in Kosovo and that one day they would like to come back and live in Kosovo. Many answers indicate strong ties between migrants and Kosovo who plan to come back to Kosovo somewhere in the future, most probably after they have retired. More than 90% of the respondents have claimed that in France they define themselves as “foreigners” despite their legal status and identify themselves as Albanians. Only a small percentage of them respond that they consider themselves as French citizens with equal rights to the other local people and consider themselves as both French and Albanian. They share a common feeling of belongingness without plans to come back, now that they feel integrated. Furthermore, they do not have any reasons to plan to come back where they would have to face with everything from

the beginning. They perceive life easier and less stressful and coming back would mean leaving behind a better and safer environment for an absolutely unsecured political, social or economic and not promising world for them and their families.

The fact that almost all respondents who have arrived before the war and just after the war, still work in the construction sector and cleaning services, strengthens our conviction that integration for these that have arrived at an adult age is very difficult. More than 90% percent of the respondents do not regret for the choice they have made to immigrate to France. What they value the most about France is: culture diversity and infinite opportunities, the way of organization of life, employment opportunities and good health system, the opportunity to advance in career, sense of freedom and equal opportunities, protection and the rule of law, and access into education.

Although the Kosovo Albanian diaspora represent a valve of survival to the majority of Kosovo Albanian families in Kosovo and the Kosovo economy itself, many people perceive themselves as foreigners by their relatives and Kosovo people when they come for visit in Kosovo. They are especially perceived as “showing off” and causing especially too many accidents on the roads of Kosovo and they may often be subject to different derogatory names. Sometimes they are identified with the host country where they have settled, such as for example, if they come from France, as French, from Germany as Germans, and so on. There is also a word which is used for almost all of the people living in diaspora. The word “schatz” which in German means “dear” is always used to address to any person living in diaspora.

Conclusion

The objective of this research was to give an accurate and detailed information based on facts and personal experiences on the Kosovo Albanian migration factors and patterns starting from 1960s until 2019. From literature review, daily and regular interactions, interviews and questionnaire with Kosovo Albanian people during the whole course of the project, it was possible to draw on a number of findings which show to be very useful and help the reader to have an exact approach over the Kosovo Albanian people and their migratory patterns.

As conclusion we can add that there is a big difference of the current period (1999 – 2019) as compared to the pre-war period (1960s – 1999) in Kosovo where almost everybody was concerned over the organization into ethnic group over a joint ideology and contribution they could give back in Kosovo working as a single body. The focus of the immigrants was not on integration, which is not the case nowadays. Much more attention is paid to integration and this ethnic organization is not as much emphasized nowadays.

Immigrants from 2000 and on left the country for several main reasons: 1. Migration for the purpose of family reunification; 2. Legal migration for the purpose of education and temporary work arrangements; 3. Illegal immigration fuelled from widespread poverty, corruption, high unemployment, especially among youth, and lack of future prospects²³⁷, who cannot find jobs even after they have earned a university degree, 4. Loss of belief in the political leadership of the

²³⁷Zana Dobruna, Burim Ejupi and Lerta Hollaj, "An overview of migrations of Kosovars into the EU: Migration as a Multifaceted Phenomenon", 2015, pp.8. Institute for Development Policy (INDEP), Kosovo.

country, 5. Lack of belief in the judiciary system, 6. Lack of belief in institutional capability and willingness to make any positive changes in the country and a number of other reasons.

The majority of Kosovo Albanians in Lyon are at the edge of society socially excluded which prevents them from participating in social and economic life, participation in politics, educational opportunities, and no access into power or decision-making life. With this low social status of the majority of immigrants, they have very little or no control of their lives. Persons who become associated with a stigmatized condition thus pass from a “normal” to a “discredited” or “discreditable” social status²³⁸. During this stage of life, under the pressure of stigma, it is evident how much their individual behavior changes and the impact on their social lives and relationships in order to comply with the surrounding social obligations and norms which are quite distinct from their previous ones and which very often cannot be met.

It is obvious that Kosovo Albanian community in Lyon live in a world of confusion and they live an ambiguous life between two fairly different cultures. While the traditional sources of family, homeland, ethnic belongingness, language and others are playing a significant role in their lives, their identity is being constantly challenged by the intervention of a different set of norms and values associated with their perception of others’ perception on them. Of course that their movement from a country where they lived socially and culturally as a majority where they had a home, a family and a sense of belongingness, into a country where

²³⁸ Erving Goffman, “Stigma, Notes on the management of spoiled identity”, 1963, pp. 3. London: Penguin.

they are regarded as a social and cultural minority, treated as a second class people at the edge of the French social system often without home, family and the psychic burden of “foreigner”, has a great impact in terms of identity.

The new identity of the majority of Kosovo Albanian immigrants has been constructed and changed as a response to others’ behavior and the consequence of both internal and external pressures. As they progressed in adopting a new identity, the born identity has faded little by little over time leaving less and less Albanian sentiment in them. As a number of researches while studying the immigrants and diaspora sometimes make the point of diaspora “between here and there”, we have to admit that this group, especially the first generation are somehow more sensitive to these categorizations because as non-born citizens in France, they will always be considered as foreigners, whereas in Kosovo, they have lost some part of their belongingness and they are not regarded as an active composition part of society.

Kosovo Albanian immigrants of young generation are in constant struggle to construct an identity in their interactions with diverse and traditional characters in the time when there is so much effort of the older generations, their parents, in preserving their own culture and identity. Albanians are striving all the time to find their place among the other people of France. The children of immigrants whose parents are low-educated tend to have low educational outcomes, for the fact that they are not able to make such judgments about the real value of education in upgrading their personal social status. In such circumstances the unfavorable outcome of children is attributed to their parents due to the lack of priority of early childhood education at critical age.

What the first generation wants and what the real situation is are two different things. They want to keep the substance of what makes them Albanian, to sustain this substance and protect it with fanaticism; however what is real is the fact of their existence both in the country of origin and the host country, but not the substance which undergoes an irresistible transformation. No matter how much they try to keep the matter or substance within themselves, it is the factors of time and space which determine or set new rules if we may call so, which through time achieve their goal.

Although a great number of Kosovo Albanian women can be categorized as not well educated and having immigrated for the purposes of family unification, the expectations related to them are that their position in society will alter due to the set of opportunities that are offered by the society of the host country compared to that of the country of origin. Host societies offer migrant women many ways to challenge, transform and negotiate traditional understanding of womanhood, women's work and identities²³⁹.

At the very end of this research, we can only leave an open question: how long can these generations resist and maintain their identity: until the death of the first generation or second generation; or in terms of years – 10/20 years or even longer? This issue remains open without any specific and accurate answer. We can only suppose that it will end-up with “I'm proud to be an Albanian” at some point in the future.

²³⁹ Marina Richter, “Contextualizing Gender and Migration: Galician Immigration to Switzerland”, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 38, No. 1, 2004, pp. 263-286. Available online: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00196.x>

We believe that this research can be considered as an initiative for further scholars and researchers to deal more with Kosovo Albanian immigrants in order to have even more information on this subject which has not had the sufficient attention so far.

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Appendix

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 53 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : AMVISE Gjinia : M F
2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?
2003
3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?
a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa
4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :
a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?
5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?
a) Po b) Jo
6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?
a) Po b) Jo
7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?
 a) Pak
b) Mjaftueshëm
c) Aspak
8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?
a) Po b) Jo
9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?
a) Po b) Jo
Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?
MË SHUM KAM TË KOSOVES

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumeti në Francë? _____

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 47 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : — Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

2017

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak
b) Mjaftueshëm
 c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Kombësisë time

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato?

sdi si gjuhen

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? _____

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Mosha : 25 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : Kontabilitet Gjinia (M) F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

I lindur këtu

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm?

b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato?

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoj

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njejtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? *Arëzia ekonomike, ndihmat për secilat kategori, pasuria kulturore.*

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 61 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : *Studenti i artit* Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

1992

3. Cilat janë arsytet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Te Kosovës

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato?

Nivelo e di

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse?

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumeti në Francë?

Kushtet e jetes

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 36 Profesion (zanati) juaj : asistent social Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

1999

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm?

b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Koncerte në shtëpi, por edhe në aktivitete tjera kulturore e intelektualore.

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Në shumicë të shokëve shqiptarë, por jo më pak edhe të asaj franceze

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Shkëmbimi francezë apo një tërë mendësiht për tanëvaktëkuar vetën

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën Shqipëria

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

Shqipëri

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? Mundësitë për të avancuar dhe mëvetë...

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 34 Profesion (zanati) juaj : Mekanik Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

Në vitin 2008

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Janë aktivitetet sportive

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Kam më shumë miq të kombësisë time

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Janë shoqata të ndryshme që ndahen në degë të ndryshme.

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse?

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? Sepse kushtet jetësore janë më të mira.

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 20 Profesionit (zanati) juaj : Student Gjinia M / F
2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?
Në vitin 2012
3. Cilat janë arsyt e ardhjes suaj në Francë?
a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa
4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :
 a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?
5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?
 a) Po b) Jo
6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?
a) Po b) Jo
7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?
 a) Pak
b) Mjaftueshëm
c) Aspak
8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?
 a) Po b) Jo
9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?
a) Po b) Jo
Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Te huaj

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato?

Shkolla dhe formacione

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse?

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? shëndësit e dhena për studime ...

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 42 Profesion (zanati) juaj : Mekanik Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

Ne france kam ardhur ne vitin 1996

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm?

b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Puna

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Te vendit tim por edhe te huaj

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato?

Informacione të organizuar nga shoqatat

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse?

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? Jeta me emirë për fëmijët, punën.

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 58 Profesionit (zanati) juaj : KUZHIWER Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

1990

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qënë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

KA PASUR MË HERET
FESTA KOMBETARE

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

MA SHUM KOM SHQIPTAR

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? KA DISA

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? MUNISIA PER PUN
DHE SHNETSIA

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 33 Profesionit (zanati) juaj : *Parquetar* Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

Në vitin 2008

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimit tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak
b) Mjaftueshëm
c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Takime të kohës kohshme biseda si dhe ndonjëherë organizimin e festave të shtetërore

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Mga të dyja palët si dhe kombësi të tjera.

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Kurse për gjuhë

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant si Gurbelger

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? Sundimi i ligjit dhe respekti njerëzor. Duke mos përfshirë politikën shtetërore që është pak destruktive ndaj të huajve.

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 26 Profesion (zanati) juaj : Student Gjinia M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

1 Undur në Francë

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm?

b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato?

Futboll

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Mesatarisht më shumë Shqiptarë

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Nuk u a njoh emrat sepse nuk kam pasur nevojë

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? _____

Nuk është se diçka më pëlqen më shumë apo më pak. Por megjë
jam gjeneratë e dytë dhe i lindur këtu, më duket vetja si

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 19 vjeç Profesion (zanati) juaj : Student Gjinia M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

Në France kam ardhur më 04 gusht 2017

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak
 b) Mjaftueshëm
c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Jane aktivitetet sportive që na mbajnë afër njëri-tjetrit

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Kam më shumë miq të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoj si; francez, arab etj...

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Janë kurset intensive që ndihmojnë në integrimin e emigrantëve.

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumeti në Francë? Puna dhe vullneti i njerëzve për të ndërtuar një të ardhme më të mirë.

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 31 Profesion (zanati) juaj : Mekanik Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

Ne vitin 2003

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm?

b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Te kombësisë time

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Shkollat e organizuara nga vetë shqiptarët

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse?

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? Lanca, ambienti, shqiria

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 30 Profesion (zanati) juaj : MEKANIK Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

16 - 09 - 2013

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qënë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak
 b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? SPORT - FOTBOLL

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

TË KOMBËSISË TUAJ

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? KURSE TË GJUHËS

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? PUNA GJUHË

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 31 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : *NDRTIM* Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

2015

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) *I përkohshëm?* b) *I përhershëm?*

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) *Po* b) *Jo*

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) *Po* b) *Jo*

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) *Pak*
b) *Mjaftueshëm*
 c) *Aspak*

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) *Po* b) *Jo*

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) *Po* b) *Jo*

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

SHQIPTAR

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? ~~_____~~ ponsiani

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 33 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : JURIST Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë? 2015

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak
b) Mjaftueshëm
c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? TË NDRYSHME

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

TË KOMBËSISË TIME

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? _____

PUNËSIMI

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 31 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : Ndërkohësimtari Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë? 2014

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

- a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

- a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

- a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

- a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

- a) Pak
b) Mjaftueshëm
c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

- a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

- a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Te ndryshme,

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Me shumë shqiptar

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njejtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? jam te qet

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 33 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë? 2015

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Festa Familjare

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Kombësisë Time

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? KULTUR

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Mosha : 31 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : Shofer Kamionit Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

1999

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

Lufta

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm?

b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Te dyat

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Kurse të gjuhës frënge

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse?

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? Lirie, barabartë me gjithë këu, Mbrojtje.

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 57 Profesionit (zanati) juaj : Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

VITI 2000

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak
b) Mjaftueshëm
c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

TË PËRZIER

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? KURSE PËR GJUHËN FRENÇE

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

TE DYJA

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse?

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumeti në Francë? PUNSIMI, SHËNDËTSIA, ARSIMI etj.

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 49 Profesion (zanati) juaj : Knijues Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

2005

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak
b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Jhemim përvjetorë të festave kombëtare...

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Kombësitë time

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? kurse të mësimit të gjuhës frënge

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? Njeriu ka një jetë... Njeriu ka rrënjë...

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumeti në Francë? _____

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 40 Profesion (zanati) juaj : Moler Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

1999

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

Ikja nga lufta

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm?

b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Te Kosovës

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Nuk kam njohuri

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse?

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? Mundësitë për punësim

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 24 Profesion (zanati) juaj : Student Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

Në vitin 2016

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qënë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Aktivitete kulturore në kuadër të ambasadës së Kosovës dhe Shqipërisë në Francë, etj

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Kombësisë së vendit ku jetoj.

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Organizata të ndryshme ndihmojnë mjaftueshëm përth avansimit të të huajve në Francë.

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? Nuk pendohem asnjëherë.

Studimet e mia në Francë janë një mundësi e për zhvillimin e karrierës sime. Në anën tjetër, Franca si një djepe e kulturës dhe civilizimit historikisht kanë ndikuar në zhvillimin dhe kulturën të Kosovës.

e madhe një djepe politike dhe kulturës të Kosovës.

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 150 Profesion (zanati) juaj : pasturë Gjinia : M F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

1993

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm?

b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Te Kosovës

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Nukë" jame mediemi

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njejtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumeti në Francë? Duna

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 23 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : Studente Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

E lindur

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak
 b) Mjaftueshëm
c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoj.

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Po ka po nuk e di se si guben

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? Kultura.

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Mosha : 26 Profesion (zanati) juaj : Ekonomiste Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

Në 2002

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak
b) Mjaftueshëm
c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Qëllimi i shkollimit të fëmijëve në gjuhën shqipe

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Më shumë nga ata shqiptarë, por edhe Francëzë

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Kurse të ndryshme me nivele të caktuara.

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse?

Kishë zgjedhja e tepërt (gëndrimi në Francë).

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? _____

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 41 Profesion (zanati) juaj : Ekonomiste Gjinia : M (F)

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

2005

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak
b) Mjaftueshëm
c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato?

Festat

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Shqiptarë/ bashkëkombëtarë

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

Gjuhës

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumeti në Francë? _____

Mjekësia franceze

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Moshë : 23 Profesionin (zanatin) juaj : *Studente* Gjinia : M F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

Me qendër të vitit 2015

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm?

b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? *Festat konsullare me Shogaten Iliria*

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Shumë më shumë miq të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoj.

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? Tha gendura integrimi për mrek i mjesh specialist.

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare (Shqiptare)

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumeti në Francë? Mungesa e organizimit të jetës në përditshme.

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Mosha : 23 Profesionin (zanatin) juaj : Studente Gjinia : M / F F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

Ne Francë kam ardhur në shtatorin e vitit 2017

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm? b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qenë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesëm, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

Kam më shumë miq shqiptarë

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njëjtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? _____

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumeti në Francë? Diversiteti kulturor
dhe mundësitë e pafundme

Pyetësor:

Ky pyetësor është realizuar në kuadër të temës së doktoraturës që ka të bëjë me jetën sociale, ekonomike dhe kulturore të diasporës (imigrantëve shqiptar të Kosovës) në Lyon të Francës me qëllim që të kemi të dhëna sa më të sakta për ta.

1. Mosha : 28 Profesioni (zanati) juaj : STUDENTE Gjinia : M / F

2. Kur keni ardhur në Francë?

2001

3. Cilat janë arsyet e ardhjes suaj në Francë?

a) Puna b) Studimet c) Bashkimi Familjar d) Martesa

4. Qëllimi i ardhjes suaj ka qenë :

a) I përkohshëm?

b) I përhershëm?

5. Si ju kanë trajtuar të tjerët kur keni ardhur në Francë (a keni qënë ndonjëherë të ofenduar në terma racor apo kombëtar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

6. A ndjeheni të diskriminuar (sa i përket punësimit, kujdesit shëndetësor, pajisjen me dokumente të nevojshme, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

7. Sa mendoni që ka ndryshuar jeta juaj me inkuadrimin tuaj në shoqërinë franceze?

a) Pak

b) Mjaftueshëm

c) Aspak

8. A keni qasje të mjaftueshme në edukim (fillor, të mesem, universitar)?

a) Po

b) Jo

9. A ka ndonjë aktivitet të përbashkët që e bëni me shqiptarët tjerë të Kosovës?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato? _____

10. A keni më shumë shokë/miq të kombësisë suaj apo të kombësisë së vendit ku jetoni?

TE VENDIT KU JETOJ

11. A ekzistojnë programe për avancimin dhe integrimin e emigrantëve në Francë (kurse të gjuhës frënge, kurse mbi jetën dhe kulturën franceze, udhëzime për punësim, etj)?

a) Po

b) Jo

Nëse po, cilat janë ato?

NUK EDI

12. Duke jetuar ndërmjet dy shoqërive të ndryshme me banim në Francë, si do ta definonit veten tuaj në raport me shoqërinë franceze, (pavarësisht statutit tuaj juridik si refugjatë, imigrant ekonomik, student, nënshtetas, etj.)

a) Si i huaj

b) Si qytetar i plotë i këtij vendi ?

13. Si pjesë e dy shoqërive të ndryshme në të njejtën kohë, si do ta definonit identitetin tuaj në raport me këto dy shoqëri (a ndjeheni më shumë shqiptar apo francez)?

a) Shqiptar

b) Francez

14. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga nënshtetasit francezë?

a) Si imigrant

b) Si qytetar i barabartë me një nënshtetas tjetër francezë

15. Si ndjeheni të përceptuar nga njerëzit në Kosovë ?

a) Si emigrant

b) Si vendas i plotë

16. Cilin vend e konsideroni të jetë vendi juaj (aty ku ju përkisni)?

a) Kosovën

b) Francën

c) Të dyja

17. Cilën nënshtetësi posedoni aktualisht ?

a) Franceze

b) Kosovare

c) Të dyja

18. Cilën gjuhë e përdorni në mjediset familjare (banesë/shtëpi)?

a) Gjuhën frënge

b) Gjuhën shqipe

19. Cilat janë planet e juaja për të ardhmen, a mendoni të ktheheni në Kosovë?

a) Po

b) Jo

20. A pendoheni për zgjedhjen që keni bërë për të emigruar këtu?

a) Nëse po, pse? THJESHTË E PREFEROJ KOSOVËN

b) Nëse jo, çfarë ju pëlqen më së shumti në Francë? _____

