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Influence of Migration in Women Emancipation. Case study from Kosovan Albanian Diaspora

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ABSTRACT. In many undeveloped Mediterranean countries with few occupational possibilities, international migration from late 1960's become a matter of government policy, frequently through bilateral agreements for guest workers. Initially part of these agreements were only men, who migrated toward European countries as seasonal workers. This type of migration created attitudes among the Albanian population in Kosovo that international migrations are mainly for men. However, being in such places with high employment opportunities, profits and life standard, many of them decided to continue living in host countries, bringing thus their family members along. This move gave the to the Kosovar Albanian women opportunity to become part of host societies and possibility to Albanian population to understand that migration as a right which belong to both genders' equally.

Initially, migrated women who joined their husbands came mainly from rural and low educated families and were personally and mentally unprepared for a new life in an alien environment. Even though their integration into host societies was challenge for them, we argue that 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, families became egalitarian, relations between family members became more open 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 well.

These criteria of emancipation we will prove by using ethnographic research technique, which implies the collection and analysis of detailed in-depth interviews (life stories) of Kosovan Albanian migrants in Germany and Switzerland. By women's narratives, through which they express themselves, will draw a conclusion about integration strategies and way of living in host societies. While, the husbands and children's narratives will be used to prove the changes in their family life.

1. INTRODUCTION

Although women compose roughly one half of the world migrant population (Stecklov, 2010; Dhar 2010; Asis, 2005; Zlotnik, 2005), the migration literature and studies were focused primarily on the experiences of men (de Haas and van Rooji, 2010). They were considered as active migrants, due to their higher education, greater possibilities of employment and the role of breadwinner for their families (Dhar, 2010; Islami, 2008). 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 reunification. This perception of gender migration in the literature has not changed so much 1980s (Asis, 2005). Authors has continued to be focused on men's migration with marginal shift to access if women enjoyed better privileges and opportunities as a result of movement with their husbands (Dhar, 2010). Women has been involved in recent migration studies and literature, only when they become active in labor market in receiving countries and in the same time are a source of family income in their origin countries (IOM, 2004; Zlotnik, 2005; Asis, 2005)). This is a sign that status of women in society is transforming, their role is reshaped by

culture, tradition, education, power relations, beliefs, etc. (Usher, 2005) and migration is one of the features that has affect on this process.

The status of women in society, their emancipation is closely linked with the process of modernization, which normally is proceeded by industrialization, urbanization and migration (Usher, 2005; Amadan-Unat, 1977). Primarily, industrialization leads to increased participation of women in labour market, geographical mobility and occupational mobility. Secondly, urbanization under these circumstances has greater effect on family life. The changing nature of the social environment, pattern of settlement and the new structure of services create the new relationship between family members and society. Thirdly, migration appears to be a factor that affects both family life and women. Migrant families become more egalitarian, their relations between members become more open and ambitions are stressed on achievement and independence of children. The expectations related to women are that their position in society will change because the host societies offer wider (and presumably better) set of social opportunities compared to origin societies (Jolly and Reeves, 2005; Amadan-Unat, 1977). Host societies offer migrant women many ways to challenge, transform and negotiate traditional understanding of womanhood, women's work and identities (Dune, 2013; Richter, 2004). They have greater chances to participate in labour market or public life, which helps them on creating a new identity (Richter, 2004) and having influence in decision-making processes (Amdan-Unat, 1977).

This perception of gender, emancipation of women through migration will be treated in this paper. The study is focused on migrants from Kosovo toward European countries, particularly in Germany and Switzerland. In these two countries, according to Kosovo Agency of Statistic is living 58.1 percent of total Kosovan Albanian migrants (KAS, 2014). They are representing the greatest community of migrants; therefore we suppose that is the best example for studying the process of women emancipation through migration. However, until the Kosovan Albanian society still preserves the traditional values, women in this research will be treated as "members of families". We argue that women in international kosovan migration begin to participate after 1980s, only when working migrants of 1960s and 1970s have decided to become permanent migrant and to reunion their families. Therefore they were considered as passive migrants, who migrated primarily for family needs. Intensity of gender migrations has been increased after 2000, when besides family reunification appears economic and educative motives among Kosovan Albanian women. We suppose that women, irrespective of the reason, as soon as they becomes part of modernizing world, they are making a step toward emancipation.

From ethnographic interviews with Kosovan Albanian migrant women we will explore 1) the role of women in migration process, their motives and decision making process and 2) emancipation strategies following migration, include overcoming of initial difficulties, entrance into a wage earning production process and adoption of nuclear family.

To conceptualize this work, in the beginning will be given some information about Kosovan Albanian society and gender perception, than will follow with empirical evidence of emigration from Kosovo, its flows, motives and gender participation. Narratives of women migrants will examine the main part of the work, emancipation of women through migration. Moreover, narratives of their husbands and children's will be used for better and deeper explanation of changes in their family life.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF KOSOVAN ALBANIAN SOCIETY AND GENDER PERCEPTION

The Kosovan Albanian society holds characteristics of traditional society. In theoretical aspect the WWII represent the time of transitioning from traditional to modern society (Islami, 2008), however this transformation is happening only nowadays (Dushi, 2009). Until 1950 the majority of population was rural and the main branches of economy were farming and livestock (Islami, 2008). Those economic branches required high number of manpower, which dictate living in extended families with many family members and with one common household property (Islami, 20018; Begolli, 1984). The gender relationship and the position of women in family and society

have been regulated by traditional rules (Caro, 2012). Her severe position was not caused only by the backwardness and patriarchy, but the CLD was the one that stiffened this situation even more, limiting the women from the so less rights that belonged to her (Dushi, 2009, Stecklov et al. 2010, Caro et al, 2011, King et al, 2006). The main right, given by this code was for male, who besides different privileges that he enjoyed, had the right of domination upon woman and all younger family members, as well (Pupovci, 1971; Begolli, 1984; Luarasi, 2001; Dushi, 2009). This obsession gave back the position of the women by causing total isolation from the public life (Begolli, 1994, Luarasi, 2001).

This situation was almost homogeneous in the entire territory of Kosovo. The changes have begun after the year of 1960s and 1970s, when it comes industrialization that urges the development of urbanization and modernization and influence the changes in the educational level of population. This new situation brought differences between regions in term of development, which intensify the movement of population initially from rural to urban direction. The opportunities to increase profit outside of household has been increased among the population. This brought the phenomenon of splitting the extended family into small families. In some cases they are divided forever, thus taking part in permanent migration, while in others due to inability to provide permanent resident for family members they participate in daily migration of the workforce (Islami, 2012). This new situation allowed people to seek for opportunities for improving their life style, sometime even with migration abroad. Theoretically with this situation, has started the contemporary migration phase in Kosovo (Islami, 2009).

However, in early stages of this phase the migration were “gender-blind” (King et al, 2006) and in migration took part only males, because it is assumed that they had the “breadwinning” role for the family. Moreover, in traditional culture, migration is considered a male perverse (Asis, 2005). While women continues to live close to family and household. They had lower education compare to man and preservation of traditional way of life does not support them for integration into urbanization process. In this time the female migrants were considered suspect (Asis, 2005) for family members, if they have shown interest for changes in life. They have started to migrate mainly after 1880s and only as wives, dependents and ‘followers’ of their ‘pioneering’ menfolk (King et al, 2006).

3. EMIGRATION FROM KOSOVO

Starting from 1960's, known as a phase of contemporary migrations in Kosovo (Islami, 2008), are recorded four emigration waves toward European countries (PSA, 2014), composed by regular, irregular and forced migrations. *Regular migrations* were mainly for economic reasons and represent the first external migrants toward European countries; *irregular migrations* related with political reasons, include emigrants from political pressure and young mans who refuse to participate in ex-Yugoslavian military service; and *forced migration* related with the war refugees, when Albanian people were deported outside the borders due to ethnic clearance within years 1998-1999.

The *first* wave is “Guest-worker migration” from ex-Yugoslav republics to Western European countries, particularly in Germany and Switzerland (Schmid, 1983; Islami, 2014) in response to increasing labour demand, and subsequent family reunification. This has started in the 1960s through bilateral agreements between sending and receiving governments (Canefe, 1998). Migrants were mainly unskilled young men with little education (Iseni, 2013) from rural Kosovo (UNDP, 2015) recruited to work mainly in construction, agriculture and manufacture (Iseni, 2013). Initially, Kosovan Albanian migrants have received a seasonal status, which were considered as temporary migrants. Under this regime, after having spend several years in the certain European countries, migrants were enable to apply for family reunification (Iseni, 2013). Whereas the organised recruitment of workers stopped in 1973 (Canefe, 1998) due to the oil-crisis induced slump in the European economies (Iseni, 2013), individual labour migration and family reunification continued well into the 1980s (KAS, 2014). In the *second* wave are refugees and asylum seekers fleeing the political and socio-economic situation that prevailed in Kosovo (Iseni,

2013) during the period 1989-1997 (UNDP, 2015). After the abolishment of Kosovo's independence in 1989, Kosovan Albanians workers were dismissed from the public service and socially owned enterprises (UNDP 2014). Skilled and educated young men from both rural and urban areas migrated to Western European countries to find job and to escape from the Yugoslav regime and military service (UNDP, 2014). In addition, in this wave an intensive process of family reunification took place, made possible by the transformation of the sessional status into a residency permit for those migrant men who had been working in European countries for many years (Iseni, 2013). In a *third* phase are refugees during the 1998-99 war (Schwander – Sievers, 2005) in Kosovo. More than 800 000 people flee as refugees (UNDP, 2015), mostly to neighbouring countries (Albania and Macedonia), Western Europe and the USA. In the aftermath of the war June 1999, Kosovo experienced a rapid return of the displaced population (UNDP, 2015). Lastly as a *fourth* phase that has been started from 2000, are migrants who search for lucrative work and hoping for a western lifestyle, often as irregular migrants. Many migrants claim asylum, but for most of these the push factors were lack of employment, rather than fear for prosecution or violence (Meyer, et al. 2012). In this period mainly dominate migration for family reunification purposes; irregular migration of unskilled and undereducated youth and legal (temporary) migration of highly skilled and highly educated individuals through study or work arrangements (UNDP, 2015).

The vast majority of the Kosovan Albanian diaspora until the early 1990s consisted of men migrants (Figure 1), whose point of reference was their country of origin, where its families lived and relied on their economic support. This support was an important factor in the reduction of poverty and the improvement of living standards (Iseni, 2013; UNDP, 2015; Asis, 2005). Moreover, these were part of migrants who had invested heavily in their country of origin because their status, as migrant labourers had not planned a long-term stay in West European countries (Schmid, 1983; Iseni, 2012). Their aim was that after a few years they would return at home country. However, seeing that the political and economic situation in Kosovo is not getting better and they are growing old, their planes changed (Castels, 2006). Most of the migrants decided to continue living in foreign countries. After this, increasingly women and girls emigrate in the following stage for family formation (mostly women joining their new husbands abroad) and family unification (family members joining the original migrant). Also the more recent group of refugees and asylum seekers who left the country around the time of the 1998-99 conflict tends to be more gender-balanced, as it often regarded entire families moving abroad. In recent years is noticed a greater percentage of women migration, mainly due to family issues, marriage or education.

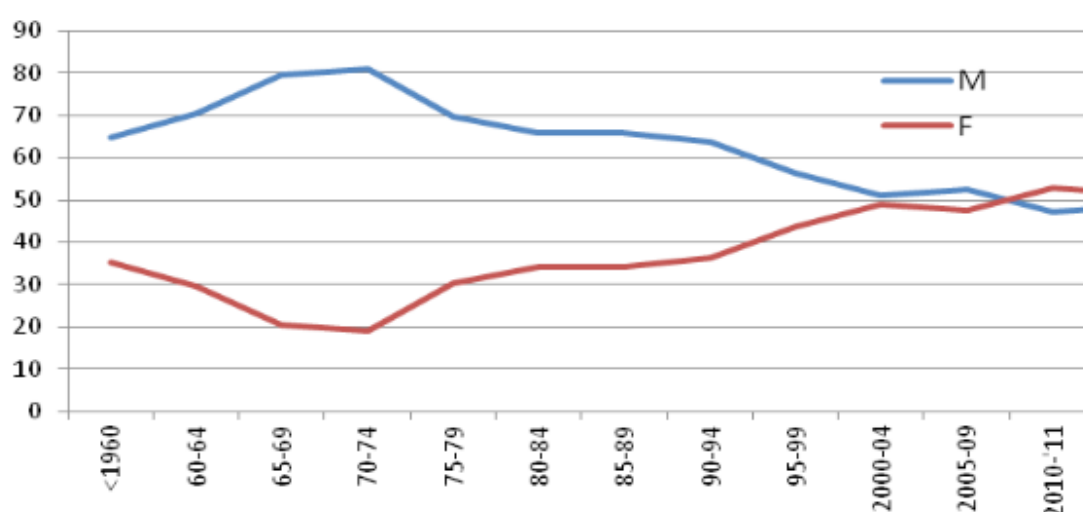


Figure 1. Emigrant population, by sex and period of emigration (in percentages)

Source: KAS, 2014

Overall, base on recent data (KAS, 2014) around half of the emigrant population (49%) left Kosovo for family-related reasons, such as marriage or joining a family member who left for e.g. employment abroad. Employment itself is the second-most important reason (38%), followed by

asylum seekers (8%) and education (1%). 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 reasons (Islami, 2015). 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 emigrants. After the reduction of this refugee- and asylum flow in 2001 the previous levels and trends are resumed again reflecting a situation where family-related migration has a larger volume than labour migration: 60% versus around 37%. Currently, the main option for Kosovo citizens to legally enter and live in EU and other Western European countries is family reunification

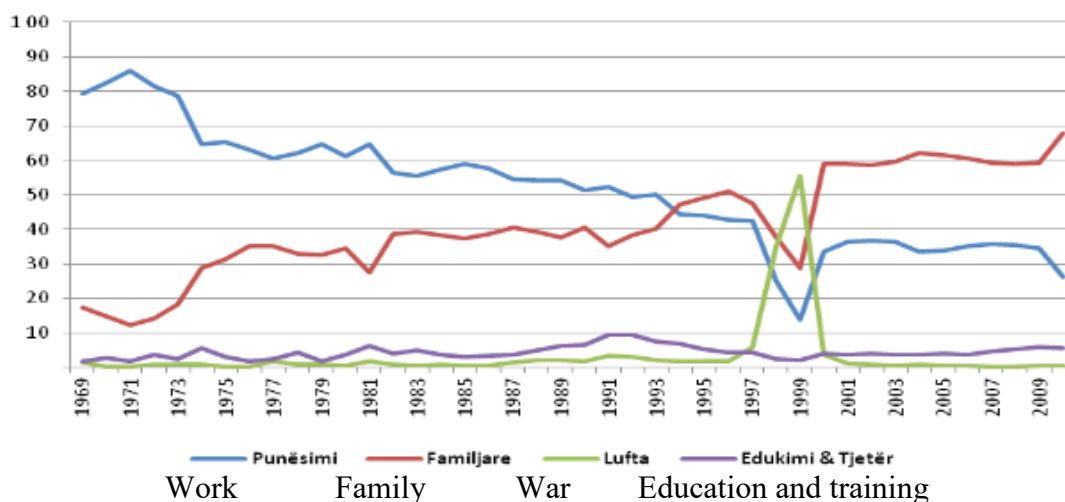


Figure 2. Emigrant population, by main reason for emigration (in percentages)

Source: KAS, 2014

4. METHOD

The paper focuses on the first generation migrants coming from Kosovo toward Germany and Switzerland, because in these two countries are the greatest number of Kosovar Albanian (Islami, 2015; UNDP, 2015). The data collection is done in Kosovo, when migrants came on country of origin for holiday season in December 2014-January 2015. The experimental framework of pilot study was done a month before, during November 2014 in order to allowed the researcher to gain access to the conversation mode with emigrants and create network for identifying the narratives.

Participants

For this paper are used 22 biographical interviews with Kosovan Albanians migrants in Germany and Switzerland. In way to achieve the purpose of the paper, to analyze the changes in women's life and in the family life, are used biographies of both sexes. In total are 6 females aged 30-48 and 16 males' aged 30-65. All of them are first generation migrants; belongings to different migration flows and in the time of interviews were employed regularly in construction, manufacturing or services sectors.

The interviews

The interviews were conducted by the researcher (author), usually started after a short discussion by showing the interest of the research in way for gaining the trust of the interviews and allowing them to express themselves without fear of uncomfortable feeling (Knoks and Burkard, 2009) or misconception (Hewer and Vitija, 2013)). This, however, presented some methodological and ethical issues on assuring about anonymity and confidentiality. The interviews were done in Albanian language, because it was important to allow informants to express their feelings in their own language. Participants have been found with snowballing technique (Mack et al, 2005; Erdal

and Ezzati, 2014) and interviewed by appointment in a psychologically safe environment, mostly proposed by participants itself, where they feel more comfortable, such as their home, office or any quiet cafeteria. The interviews were semi-structured which served as a guide, a foundation on which the interview is build and allowed creativity and flexibility to ensure that each participant story is fully covered (Knoks and Burkard, 2009). Schedule of interviews consists on three folds: life story where the narratives were free to talk about themselves; than things that we need to know deeply related to motives for emigration, family and work and industrial citizenship issues, related to social and economic dimensions that accompanying the migration process.

All interviews and materials were presented in Albanian language. The interviews were recorded and transcribed into Albanian and than coded with MAXQDA software. Translation into English was done partly, depends from the purpose of the paper and codes. Each interview lasted between 1 – 2.5 hours and transcripts run to 25-35 pages in length.

5. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Decision to migrate

The study revealed that the majority of women who took part in international migration did not have much to say about the decision to migrate (Caro et al, 2011; Dhar, 2010, King et al, 2006). From their narratives it is clear that they have migrated directly after marriage or joined their husbands who had migrated earlier. However the time of migration has an effect of women's perception of migration and integration. Those that have migrated before the year 2000 were influenced to a great extent by the presence of family and relatives, who were the major contributing factor for supporting the decision to migrate. While the final decision to reunion family belonged to husband (Dhar, 2010). Taking into consideration that he originate from the same life environment, he had a same traditional mentality about women's rights

I could ... but for the sake of family, for parents who needed someone to take care, I left my wife until my brother got married and create his family. In 2004 I brought my family here, which means that 14 years she lived without me. (men, 50, manufacturing, Switzerland)

Men's who migrated on 1960s as guest worker have seen cultural differences as soon as they arrived in host countries. However, some of the receiving states did not allow family reunification for less skilled migrant worker. Thus, families are kept apart not only by choice but also by state policies (Asis, 2005). Therefore, male migrants keep staying behind their core migration aim, making money and fulfilling needs for family members left behind, because hey believed that are only temporary abroad. In addition, this situation was convenient for the migrants of "guest workers wave". Bringing family members along with them was not either part of their culture.

My wife once asked to join me, but I have refused. I did not know enough. I needed someone to advise me. I understand now what a big mistake I made and do not forgive to myself. Our lives would be different, but destiny was this. I made a mistake. I took my wife too late, after 20 years. Only after she got sick and doctors suggested her a treatment abroad ... I could not take her with me earlier, because I had my mother, as well. Someone had to take care of her. (men, 69, construction - retired, Germany)

For many of them is needed to pass some time to be released by traditional norms and to understand that women can be part of them in migration process.

I did not take my wife, because the village has had many gossips ... If I will take my wife earlier, villagers said he loves his wife and children, more than parents. Leaving women at home, was a sign of equality between family members ... I reunion my family after 12 years in emigration, even though I could do much earlier. (men, 54, construction, Switzerland)

Their children at home country were all taken care of by family members and the migrant women did not feel lonely as they could depend on the support of their kin. People from the same village preferred to live together; sometimes two-three families shared the same house (Begolli, 1984; Dhar, 2010). For this reason, women never seemed that their husbands were miles away from their homeland. They manage to pull the family together in the absence of their husbands (Asis, 2005). For the life in extended family, a migrant daughter remember

Father has migrated in Switzerland in 1985, as a sessional worker. To improve economic conditions of the family and to get return, as all other Kosovan Albanians. However, after sometime he decided to live there forever. We, I with mother and two brothers have stayed with grandfather, uncles and other family members. In 1994 we join father ... it was a nice life. We did not miss anything, ever. We did not miss substantial things, however we miss our parent ... when we grow up, things have started to become hard for my mother. It was hard for uncles, too. They took care so much for us, but without our father was hard either for them. So, my father decided for family reunification. (woman, 30, nurse, Switzerland)

In other hand, women in their narratives have proved its passivity on decision to migrate. Their decision depends largely on their husbands or it is their fate that forces them to migrate, with or without their wish. This opinion mainly stands among women who migrated before the year 2000

My family is educated and I thought for myself, to graduate and to work as teacher of Biology. If I would find a husband there, I would be there. But, it is destiny. Destiny brought me here. (woman, 48, service sector, Switzerland)

While women who migrated after this time, were higher educated and had made a conscious decision to migrate alone or along with their husbands. It is suppose that they are aware about their rights, knows how to ask for it and how to use their rights (Dushi, 2009). Therefore their motives differ from men (Caro et al, 2011). Apart motives for family well being among them are personal motives related to steps toward emancipation, such as education, greater opportunities for employment and lucrative life.

My idea, my dream was always to go somewhere abroad. Medicine was on my heart and I wanted to study that, but could not get enrolled at home university ... within my studies in Biology, I have stayed a year in Heidelberg with exchange student programs. After this, I got. I had rights to stay in Heidelberg, but not to study medicine. Only to continue same studies, started at Prishtina. They gave me possibility to continue studies with self-finance which was not affordable for me ... than I returned, graduate, got married with my fiancé and came again with family formation visa. (woman, 30, master student, Germany)

Overcoming of initial difficulties. Language as an integration strategy

Lack of foreign language is one of the initial difficulties that appear among narratives. From the women narratives, it is clear that they have passed the initial difficulties harder than men. Their obligations differ from each other. Men's through the work outside home have greater possibilities to contact host population (Tuberger et al, 2004), which help them to learn faster language and understand cultural norms. While women, by remaining close within household and taking care for children, required some more time for integration. Moreover, they have less access to information, education and training, so they can experience restrictions on freedom of movement and association, poor health, gendered forms of racism and xenophobia (UNFPA, 2005). However, in most of the cases it depends by them, by their ambitions to work for integration and to accept innovations in life. These migrant women managed to live in host countries without ever knowing a word of German language (specified since the narratives are from German speaking places); their children went to local schools and learnt the ways of the German (Dhar, 2010).

First three-four months was very hard, especially for mother, and us because father went to work every day. We stayed at home with mother. Without knowing language, we could not go anywhere. Also, we did not know anyone. After a while we, children learn the language and start attending schools. Mother attends some courses, too. (woman, 30, nurse, Switzerland).

A large majority of women who had migrated before the 2000s had to make conscious efforts to learn German while migration after the 2000s involved well- educated women who had a good command over the foreign language. After war in 1999 in Kosovo has arrived international community working as humanitarian which offered greater employment opportunities for women. They have opened placement mainly on administration, for which female's level of education was suitable. This situation has helped natives to become open-minded (Dushi, 20019) and to understand the prosperities of speaking foreign languages. In addition to this, from narratives it known that due to increase number of request for family unification, foreign embassies made an extra request for visa supplement. Recently applicants initially should pass the foreign language exam. They require this in order to quickly integrate and contribute to the economy oh host countries.

I have study German Language. ... Always my wish was live abroad. I knew the language therefore I have been oriented in Germany and I found myself here. (woman, 35, trade, Germany)

Many migrant women after migration have used this advantage as strategy for better integration into host society.

In 2012 I have decided to learn German language in higher level, called DHS. I attend 4 months intensive language course and I passed exam, in way to get right for studying at host universities. The lowest needed level was DHS1, while the highest was DHS3. I passed DHS2, meaning I got a right for enrolment in 89-90 percent of German universities. (woman, 30, master student, Germany)

Entrance into a wage earning process

In some regions, mainly in developing countries the male migration has been norm for international labour migration, while women migration was associated only with marriages. This traditional pattern has increased the level of women migration toward developed countries and at the same time it gives them opportunity to be involved in the labour market (Asis, 2005). However, due to their low level of education, they could participate only on low paid jobs such as domestic work, restaurants and sales (Asis, 2005). Thus their position in the household it continues to remain inferior and depended by their husbands. Taking into consideration that husbands still play the major role in the relationship. In most of the cases women are working only if their husbands support or push them to work. They gave her permission to work, helping thus itself for covering life expenses and helping her for the integration process.

I have used my wife. She has worked there. Adults have to work for themselves, in way to reach the life standard ... two years after reunification of family, only I have worked. It was very hard. I had many problems with insurances, rent, bills, and taxes. (men, 65, gardener, Switzerland)

When men manage to create higher life standard from migration work, they have opened private business and create conditions for employment of its household member (Asis, 2005), primarily his wife. This form it seems appropriate and easier acceptable from both spouses, because they are remaining close to each other and contributing equally at the household.

My husbands had its own business, than I was oriented on business. I have not continued with education, or searching for job. Job was ready for me. (woman, 35, trade, Germany)

After family reunification women mostly continues to remain close within household, not only due to uncertainty of language and low possibilities for involvement in labour market, but for childcare. They took care for them until they grow up, start attend a school and become independent in a certain level. Only after children managed to stabilize, women return to her life goals. Begun to attend language courses, to look for employment possibilities and to increase their social network. These steps have leaded her into integration processes and at the same time she become a role model for her children.

My mother has start language course after we, children are grown up and my youngest brother was able attend the kinder garden. After two years in migration my mother has start working. (woman, 30, nurse, Switzerland)

While for women who migrated after 2000s, they looks are more independent, regarding work and placement sites. Their level of education and motives for migration differ from previous migrant women. Initially they had greater chances to work on profession and have shown interest to continue education. Therefore, they used chances offered to her regarding further education and today managed to get high paid jobs and position in the profession. In relation to their husbands, they achieved independency regarding expenses and decision-making.

I study and work at the same research institute. Part of my student job is as auxiliary at the lab, from which I manage to cover 30 percent of my expenses. (woman, 30, master student, Germany)

As soon as they have been released from traditional norms and feel integrated into host society, they express satisfaction with new life. Many of them get to know themselves and value their attributions.

I started working as a salesperson and probably here I realized that I am a temperament women, who like to contact new people ... I am integrated and simply feeling better. Now I have expanded society and finished a private occupational school for makeup. (woman, 48, trade, Switzerland)

When you are employed, you are independent ... I am treated well and I feel very good, despite tiredness. (woman, 47, cleaner, Germany)

Challenging family boundaries and adoption of nuclear family

The transition from traditional to modern society may change the approaches of individuals toward rights, freedom and equality. Women become cautiousness to use the opportunities of involvement in labour market, which may increases the self-confidence and make them more powerful in household decision-making (Caro, 2011; Dushi, 2009). The empowerment of women will moderate relation between family members and will have effect on next generation, too. Thus mothers would be a female role model for its children (Usher, 2005) and educate them to become independent in young age.

We have learned very fast to take care for each other. Without parents at home during the day, we help each other. This situation has helped us to become independent and to decide for ourselves ... It was very nice because we were educated from the beginning that can not always be dependent on someone, but we should take care for ourselves ... Even mother felt free. (woman, 30, nurse, Switzerland)

From husbands narratives are noticeable positive changes within family after reunification. Until that moment, they have lived together with other friends mainly form the same community. Due to the same culture, they easily share goods; problems and better understand each other.

Altogether had the same migration aim, to make some money. Only on such living conditions they could achieve this goal. However, after a while they start thinking differently for duration of stay and family members left behind. Than with reunification and changes that brought this step in their lives, they are satisfied. Some of them are satisfied for life standard

We had a good time. My wife is retired now, but for 15 years my wife has worked 60 – 70 percent. She won a pension and has to live. (men, 65, gardener, Switzerland).

while others for emotional changes

Immediately I saw that people there (Turkish community) were living better. On that time they reunion families and both spouses were engaged into labor market. Immediately their living standard was improved ... mine was improved too, but not economically. (men, 69, construction - retired, Germany)

Many migrant women in a new environment and far way from extended family feel readiness to take responsibilities and decisions for themselves and children. She expresses wishes to wear modern clothes, to go out with friends, to find job, to get a driving license, etc. However, not always finds support by husbands. They are rejecting all her requests. This new situation at home it creates a tense between spouses, which sometime could be ended up with divorce.

“Day and night I stayed at home and has passed some years in this way. After two years in migration I got pregnant for second child. My life remains as housewife. My children were prime in my life and everything I did for them; while other things lets go by itself ... my husband was introvert person close and have not discuss things with me, never talked to me. He went to work, come home, went out with friends, without taking care of me. I felt so much lonely and I did not have my relatives here. Moreover, our culture not to go out with friends and to stay somewhere made it impossible integration for me. I could not do anything while I was close. This was all. However, after sometime after 12 years of marriage I wanted to do something for myself and for my children. I wanted to take driving license. With this step, I realized that my husband did not want this; he did not support me at all. Anyhow, I took driving license and start working as cleaning lady. It was so less work, but simply I wanted some money for myself. Than with this step, I realized that my husband start feeling way from me and also start thinking for another solution ... (woman, 48, service sector, Switzerland)

5. CONCLUSION

In traditional Kosovan Albanian society the right of migration belonged only to males. Starting from 1960s, due to bilateral agreements between ex-Yugoslavia and west countries (mainly Germany, Switzerland, France and Austria; Canefe, 1998) many males migrated abroad for economic reasons. They were sessional workers and according to agreement (Canefe, 1998), had right to stay in west countries only temporary. Therefore they left behind family member with intention to improve life standard and to returns as soon as they finish work abroad. However, taking into consideration life conditions in host countries and difficulties that cross their close family member at home countries, after a while they looked for possibilities to become permanent migrant at to reunion family.

In this article we argue that migration of women in Kosovan Albanian society is articulated through the tradition and power of man (King at al, 2006). Women were passive migrants, who only follow husbands and children. Men's were decision maker for unification, while family members in extended family were supporters. Being in a modern life environment women slowly begin to release from traditional norms. Depends on their interests and support by husbands, they have started to attend language courses and look for possibilities for involvement in labour market. This negotiation of women's personality in relation to the private sphere (Caro et al, 2011) we consider

emancipation. From the life stories used in this paper it is obvious that they are feeling good with these changes and are well treated and appreciated by family members.

However, by deeper analysis of the life stories, we find that time of migration has influence on women emancipation. Migration time is divided into before and after the year 2000. This year in Kosovo is known as after the war period and is considered the time when the social, economic and demographic transition has started. Women, who migrated before the year 2000, were mainly passive migrants. Their involvement in labour market and integration process it depends by husband and children. Many of them did not work until children have grown up and afterward employment was mainly temporary and pushed by husbands. Due to low level of education they have managed to get mainly low paid jobs in service sector. While those who have migrated after this year, were a bit open minded and had prior knowledge of foreign language. Still majority of them migrated for family formation or unification, but it was a certain number who migrated for other motives, such as education or employment. Therefore they are integrated quickly and knowledge of language did not used only for involvement into wage system, but also for further education. They demand possibilities for working in the profession and get higher revenues. In this point, we could not ignore the fact of divorces among migrant women. Sometimes they do not get support that have expected by husbands. They feel that they could give more for their families, therefore they requested for taking some steps in life. When they did not get husbands support, they choose a divorce. In this paper we consider that either this process it indicates one-step forward emancipation. They could not live in a modern environment with traditional norms.

From narratives of husbands and children is observed their satisfaction with changes in family. Husbands mainly stressed economic profits for household and due to women's help they could reach higher living standard. While children thinks that life in nuclear family has helped them to become independent and manage to do everything on their own. Moreover, they have used mothers as a role model for their future, achieving their goals and organizing its own families.

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