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Forced (Return-)Migration between Kosovo and Germany
Language and a Sense of Home

Abstract

This paper deals with voluntary and enforced return from Germany to Kosovo while reflecting upon the experiences of home evolved within the parent-child relationship: Either voluntarily or forced, parental return from Germany to Kosovo creates a sudden enforced mobility for children. In this vein, we argue that return migration represents different mobilities, depending on the generational lens. Based on in-depth semi-structured interviews, our analysis shows how arrival in Kosovo, a country weary of conflicts and poverty, went along with social exclusions, insecurity, and self-isolation. The second chapter analyzes loss in terms of lost life routines, opportunities, and an overwhelming feeling of self-estrangement. The third section goes, therefore, deeper into the feelings of estrangement through linguistic insecurities. While the insufficient knowledge of the Albanian language meant a source of shame, the German language competence represented an emotional resort and a material possibility for work opportunities in both countries. The paper examines the concept of return migration to highlight the unstable meanings of flight, voluntary return, forced removal, and/or deportation, most often defined by legal and political frameworks within the regimes of territorial sovereignty and citizenship.

However, behind these concepts are people who set off to move in search of a better life without bare survival due to poverty, war, or natural disaster.

Keywords: *Return; (return) migration; home; language; loss.*

Introduction

The paper draws upon family life stories about migration. It deals with movement that has a twofold nature within the parent-child relationship: Parental (either voluntarily or forced) return from Germany to Kosovo creates children's sudden mobility experienced as a one-off migration. This suggests an intergenerational distancing that we could best observe in shifting experiences and emotions of home.

The first section deals with return migration, i.e., parents' flight to Germany and return to Kosovo. We argue that these mobilities gain their voluntary or involuntary character depending on the generational lens. The second section looks at the feelings of loss and meaning-making in adaptation to new circumstances. The third part deals with the narrative of language shaming[1] at school that would reemerge from our interviewees' stories moving to a brief concluding discussion on imaginative and embodied home-making practices.

This study is part of the project *Migration and Cultural Transfers between Germany and the Albanian(-speaking) Western Balkans* led by Lumnije Jusufi. It includes quantitative and qualitative in-depth interviews completed in 2020 and 2021 with 318 participants. The four selected semi-structured interviews were conducted with younger adults who were asked to describe their experiences and feelings of return migration to Kosovo. These examples do not address general implications but

[1] This term will be explained later on.

tendencies that also appear in other descriptions. As requested by two interviewees, we will keep them anonymous and use pseudonyms. Because language evolved as a site of home in conversations, this study payed a special attention to the act of listening, sounds and words, and their social meanings (Sterne 2015: 69; Rice 2015: 99). Such approach made it possible to concentrate on language as the aural proximity and as a conversational topic.

This paper explores voluntary and forced returns between Kosovo and Germany. We have employed the return migration term to blur the semantic edges between flight, voluntary return, forced removal, and/or deportation. These forms of migration concern legal and political conceptualizations within the regimes of territorial sovereignty and citizenship. People who set off to a country of new residence, hoping for a better reality – a reality without bare survival due to poverty, war, or natural disaster – have to adjust to a legally accepted majority. In our study, return migration represents the return of an individual or a group to their country of origin. Our vocabulary differs from the IOM definitions of return migration as a voluntary, organized, guided/assisted and monitored process (2019).

Home is a widely used concept nowadays. It guides spatial and topological readings in human geography and phenomenology of architecture (Relph 1976; Schulz 1979; Leach 2005; Navaro-Yashin 2012; Pallasmaa 2012; Kim and Smets 2020) where space, place, and emplacement speak to how one phenomenologically inhabits the built world. Studies cutting across anthropology, history, and literature engage with the concept to broaden the scope of attention by moving to its cultural and ideological forms. Homeland constitutes another concept where the given disciplines intersect. A home(-land) can

be a lost shelter, or a site of persecution, internal forced displacement, torture, or prohibition. Therefore, the addressed term hides immanent lexical tension and is a sensitive heuristic tool.

In our essay, the sense of home draws from a phenomenological dimension that places language and emotions at the center of attention. By doing this, we shift our focus to the unpalpable and ever-changing background of linguistically expressed thoughts and emotions on which a locality or place appears as an individually produced and appropriated space with "its own specific time or times (the rhythm of daily life), and its particular centers and polycentrism," as Henri Lefebvre reminds us (1991: 31). Therefore, we read home in terms of inner motion through bits and pieces of modal dwelling – daydreaming that asks for a sheltering house (Bachelard 1987). This angle allows for consideration of feelingful and imaginative ways in which persons cope with the enforced reality. In trying to be attuned to micro-spheres of intimacy, this approach hopes to avoid reducing lives to locality. It allows us also to employ a time-based look that tests for (different) generational experiences.

Generational lense goes along with particular events that cause experiential ruptures and mutual distancing within the family life. Our case explores how children had been affected by parental enforced migration. This semantics also enables a generation-differentiated approach to home and (enforced) mobility. It is at this point where we note that various forms of migration intersect. In line with Barak Kalir, we speak of deportable subjects and deportation regimes to expose the unsettled state of individuals whose daily life oscillates between bureaucratic approval and removal (2020, 2019). Because this essay is mindful of the historical experience of deportation

before and during WWII, deportation and removal terms are implied within the return migration concept that, as previously stated, aims to go beyond the somewhat static divisions between mobilities. Such lexical choices speak to a phenomenon of force in its semantic layer of motion without or under compulsion.[2] In this spirit, the paper wants to point out that it makes a big difference to our interviewees whether they and/or their families were apparently forced or truly forced migrants. It is not really clear whether they perceive these movements as return migration or re-emigration.

Three of the interviewees moved from Kosovo to Germany as children and from Germany to Kosovo as teenagers, namely Hana and Zana (two young women who we are anonymizing with these names at their request) and a young man who we are naming here with his real names at his request: Nexhmedin Seferaj. Edon Hoxha (male) "fled" to Austria as a teenager with his family in 2015, was supposed to be deported after a short time, whereupon he fled to Scandinavia, from where he was persuaded to return with the support of the authorities. He later legally migrated to Germany.

The outlined forms are not definite but elusive, and we will observe how they evolve in particular circumstances and converge when portraying manifestations of home in the following pages.

[2] The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees in Germany (BAMF 2016) translates *Abschiebung/Abschiebehaft* as deportation and *zwangsweise Rückführung* as forced return. Both terms refer to interconnected actions pertaining to the same procedure of imperative departure of rejected asylum seekers (See German and English Versions of the working paper on rejected asylum seekers in Germany).

Generational positioning

All the interviewed persons were affected by both immigration to Germany and return migration to Kosovo. Two of them were born in Germany due to the refugee status of their parents. Before gaining independence, emigration from Kosovo occurred on a large scale due to Serbia's oppressive politics, occasional armed conflicts, and, thus, infrastructural and economic fragility. The Kosovo war (1998–1999) triggered a giant wave of emigration. Many people left with the hope of returning. Their departure, therefore, meant a hopeful waiting for the future. The *now* abroad was an in-between time when children would be born and grow up while parents put aside their savings to buy or build a house in an abandoned homeland.

> After the declaration of independence in 2008, my parents decided to return. They thought that it might get better there. They did not even have any previous intention of staying in Germany where, after 2008, they could no longer see any future for themselves. Because they studied in Kosovo and could not find an appropriate job in Germany, still felt like foreigners [*Ausländer*], our parents left the country [Germany].

> The minute we arrived in Germany, we started saving. I think it was 2001 when my father started building a house in Kosovo, like almost all *Ausländer* who want to make something for themselves in their homeland. Nevertheless, he did not know then that he would eventually return. He simply wanted to have something in Kosovo. A house in Prishtina.

Parental economic and emotional investments speak of reconnection with the homeland where "it might get better." Parents' home-making practices concern Prishtina and not the

new place where they felt disconnected. Their sense of belonging to the country of origin created different integration responsibilities: While children would act as bridge-builders with Germany due to their linguistic competence and recurrent role of translators, parents would take care of education at home and homeland. Albanian mainly was spoken at home, and some of the children attended Albanian mother-tongue courses as after-school activities. In his book “Where You Come From” (*Herkunft*), Saša Stanišić describes how would have to translate for his parents at school and Immigration office. Furthermore, he would recall his grandmother’s stories of the village in Bosnia that was supposed to be remembered as home, although left by the family a long time ago.

Although Kosovo changed its status, its image hardly did. The interviewed people were children at that time, and, in the words of one of them, they grew up with images of the war-stricken country for which it seemed impossible to become home.

1) I would always hear negative stories about Kosovo, so I thought it was indeed like this. When we left, I have to say, I was positively surprised. I liked the way people communicate, how close and helpful toward each other they are.
2) That was a real problem: my parents spent fifteen years in Germany and there [in Kosovo], there were those connections I just mentioned, the ones we no longer had. After fifteen years, a person is forgotten, but my parents were lucky in a way because they were good students and they had colleagues, good people who also did not forget them. Well, I cannot explain exactly [how it was].

These passages originate from Hana and Zana whose parents fled during the 1990s and then voluntarily returned to Kosovo after 2008. While the first interview reveals a positive encounter with the parental country of origin, the second one speaks of an unfamiliar world where the local connections did not exist as her whole family had been away for fifteen years. Although not forcibly displaced from Germany to Kosovo, the parents and their children were strangers in their homeland. Lack of international assistance concerning return migration policy about Kosovo[3] and absent ties with the local community created many different hardships.[4] Return implies absence from a world one leaves behind – a world that does not resist oblivion. Hours, days, months, years go by, and a returnee, a former absentee, may quickly become a stranger in their past home. That is, a community, once having been left, may subsequently recognize or identify a returnee but not acknowledge them. In this way, parents experience a form of double displacement. Such

[3] Officially, Kosovo did offer an integration program for returnees, but as our research has shown, it must be described as peripheral and almost purely formal. However, the published reports suggest that there were significant investments without specification for which purpose. They also clearly show that integration efforts for children and youth were carried out only in Prishtina in the form of separate classes (see Reports of the Ministry for European Integration of Kosovo: https://www.mei-ks.net/sq/inputi-per-raportin-e-progresit).

[4] The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees of Germany has recently developed a reintegration project URA that provides returnees with social and psychological counseling, job placement, financial aid, language courses, and schooling.
See "Dossier: Reintegration in Kosovo"
https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Dossiers/DE/Rueckkehr/ura-dossier-2017.html, accessed September 23, 2020.

rejection could develop into stigmatization that Nexhmedin Seferaj experienced after he and his family were forced to return to Kosovo in 2001. Between 1993 and 1994, when he was almost nine, they fled the country. Some family members were politically active in resisting the state's oppression so that continual sudden visits and interrogations marked their daily lives. Their home turned into a zone of suspicion which resulted in an emotional state of disquiet and compelled obedience.

> Our flight to and arrival in Germany were not very difficult. I came from a war-torn country with ethnic conflicts that were escalating even at schools. It was not like that in Germany. I experienced things I never did before. I learned a lot and was preoccupied with some small issues. Deportation was a catastrophe. I was in the 8th grade then and was accepted for an internship I had previously applied for. I was completely integrated into my school environment. So, while I was waiting for the internship to start, suddenly one day, we received a deportation notice [*die Nachricht, dass wir abgeschoben werden*]. It was the end of the world for us [*Weltuntergang*]. I had settled in and was playing football with a successful team, so I could imagine my future in this domain. We came back to the village [*kamen ins Dorf zurück*] and, somehow, we settled in.

Nexhmedin was a fifteen-year-old teenager when he had to leave Germany abruptly. When the family went (back) to Kosovo, they did not receive any state support. The existing funding had already been spent on support for war-disabled persons. The war ended, and, formally, Kosovo became a safe post-conflict country. Nonetheless, as Nexhmedin pointed out, it was difficult to reintegrate into a society where the remaining people had experienced the war. This meant that he also had to

integrate into a school environment with children and teachers who were survivors. Therefore one had to be careful and politically aware in one's behavior towards them. Political tension marked a clear difference between Germany and Kosovo, causing self-estrangement. Nexhmedin's forced return displays how "identities of deportees are transformed: from 'voluntary migrant,' 'migrant worker,' or 'undocumented refugee' to 'deportee'" (Majidi 2017: 130). These shifts suggest a lifeworld distortion. Nexhmedin speaks of "catastrophe," and this essay argues in line with Nassim Majidi, who demonstrates how involuntary return has negative psychological impact on "mental, emotional, social and spiritual wellbeing" (2017: 129). Following the example of unaccompanied minors and families in their post-deportation phase in Afghanistan, she concludes that the previously abandoned home becomes more distant through multiple losses of "control, networks, and safety" (2017: 146). Where Majidi describes deportees as feeling "lost" after their return, this essay points to the state of (self-)estrangement, (self-)unrecognizability, and isolation that creates a generational gap between children and parents. In line with Monika Palmbelger (2016), we adopt "generational positioning" while exploring particular circumstances that may cause various biographical ruptures and, thereby, mutual generational distancing. It emerges, we argue, in family estrangements. Different settings and gendered perceptions of lost or regained home become especially palpable in feelings of loss and longing.

Loss

Loss is thematized throughout the interviews and signifies not only lost materialities but also lost habitual modes of life, sensations, and above all, opportunities. Our female participants would point to the loss of privacy and need to learn how to adapt to a male-dominated (patriarchal) society in Kosovo. As she explains, it seemed paradoxical because the parents allowed them [daughters] much more freedom in Kosovo than in Germany. In Kosovo, they felt "observed and supervised" because sporting activities and going out bore gender-based stigmatization. Not having leisure time activities in Kosovo represented a significant difficulty to our male participants, too, who, unlike our female interviewees, would face no restriction concerning outside activities in both countries.

Along with these social and emotional dimensions of the lost place, Germany was longed for in the sense of rules ("laws and regulations") and food (German bakery products like *Vollkornbrot*, whole grain bread, and *Brezel*, soft pretzels), as stated in one of the interviews. Ruba Salih describes an example where Moroccan migrant women try to preserve the continuity between their worlds, Italy and Morocco, through their consumption practices. Food, clothes, and other materialities from Morocco are migratory objects that are stored, displayed, and offered in the second home. Thus, "the consumption of Moroccan meals with guests is also a way of objectifying the Moroccan background since the consumption of food is also symbolic incorporation of the place it recalls" (Salih 2001: 57). Of course, such a back-and-forth movement and mental position between *here* and *there* creates a "tension around where home ultimately is" (Salih 2001: 53). This example suggests an unsettled dimension where lives feel incomplete. In his

description of his return, Nexhmedin underlines a hardship of uncertainty. Lack of perspective, i.e., a frightening future, shaped a sense of self, trapped in the unbearable *here* and *now*.

> It was no longer possible because we had to go back to Kosovo, where the war had just ended. We did not know what to expect. A particular difficulty was the lack of prospects. One is suddenly thrown into something as if pushed into ice-cold water and then you have to swim – from Germany, with its endless possibilities, to Kosovo, where one has to start from the very beginning. Actually, from less than the beginning [without possibilities]. We lost everything in the war: the house, the land. And we had to build a new house. It was hard for a child to inhabit [the place] again, to adjust to the reality and the people that had experienced the war. We spent a year in a small room at my uncle's house.
>
> My parents could not find a job. It was difficult because we, the children, did not know what was coming next and we saw no opportunities. We had everything in Germany and, here, we had nothing. We were without any direction and didn't know what to do. One is pulled away, torn apart [*weggezogen, zerrissen*], without knowing how to survive. We were determined to get through the day [*den Alltag durchzukriegen*]. I did not want any help because I could not accept the reality as it was.

Germany "with endless possibilities" is in direct contrast to Kosovo when one starts their life "from less than the beginning." Lives *here* and *there* are set next to each other through opposing binary comparisons between "nothing" and "everything." With and without future opportunities, Kosovo and Germany become divided by imprisoning *here* and *now*.

Nexhmedin repeatedly explains that his forced return took away prospects and certainties. The recurrent images of lack of prospects are visually suggestive; they present a field of view restricted to the unendurable *now*. Jonathan Echeverri Zuluaga employs the notion of *errance* to analyze how some people from Africa experience their interrupted journeys as they wait in Dakar before continuing toward their desired destinations. Their suspended condition creates a sense of “an emptied present” that develops into a quest for *elsewhere*: “the actual lived space (here)” becomes linked with “other spaces (there)” (2015: 595–596). When following our interviewees’ thoughts, we recognize the “geography of elsewhere” (2015: 600) that tames the feeling of entrapment. As our interviewees repeatedly told us, the post-arrival time in Kosovo occurred as an estrangement, mostly felt in linguistic otherness.

Language shaming and isolation

Involuntary/enforced return disrupts one’s world. Rupture covers somatic and emotional states. Anxiety and shame confuse relations by causing sudden or gradual distance and subsequent disconnection with self and others. Since we are dealing with restored memories of childhood, we move within the emotional environments in which children were developed and socialized. Historians of (human) emotions remind us of the importance of childhood emotions that do emerge, not as behavior that is imitative and fixed but continually changing during interaction with the experienced (e.g., Eitler, Olsen and Jensen 2014). Kindergartens and schools, playgrounds, and various places of team activities are areas where children learn how (not) to respond to external influences emotionally. School, language

shaming, and shame feature as a narrative constant in our interviewees' memories of return.

> I feared meeting new friends and learning the [Albanian] language anew. I cried a lot at school; I could not understand the jokes my teachers used to make. When the history teacher asked me where I came from, I said *Gjermonia* instead of *Gjermania*, and he laughed at me and repeatedly imitated my mistake. I knew I did something wrong, and I used to have a complex about not being able to learn the language. Others were laughing too; it was a challenging situation for me. I was eleven, and I felt they were laughing at me. But, students did not exclude me.

One would expect children to be the ones shaming their classmate for their linguistic otherness. But there is a twist because teachers perform the shaming. As educators and authorities in a public institution, they implicitly define a given emotion as social, public, and acceptable. Lexical choices alone reveal the intense discomfort our interviewee had to endure while wading through her school days. Her emotional hardship is linked to various levels of shame, from embarrassment to guilt, produced by the "shaming processes within asymmetric power relations" (Frevert 2014: 135). Her awareness of doing "something wrong" leads to guilt that intensifies feelings of inferiority. By emphasizing the language mistake, the teacher exposes and mocks the linguistic insecurity of the speaker. Ingrid Piller provides a similar example where teachers choose to focus on the language of student presentations, rather than on the delivered content. She interprets such moments as "linguistic subordination" enacted by the ideology of language shaming (2016). If we try to imagine the abovementioned history teacher as standing in front of the class and repeating *Gjormania* while

laughing, we may observe how unwanted attention exposes and singles out the exposed subject with the aim of group disapproval (Goodman and Cook 2019; see also Pardy 2009 on waiting, feelings of misplacement and shame). This example and similar actions worked as public discrimination against migrant children, while corporal punishment like hitting was an occasional disciplinary method that would generate another wave of culture shock, as our interviewee explains.

> The Albanian language was my greatest difficulty because we barely used [this language] at home. The first school year was so hard that I did not want to go to school whatsoever. We were teased for being *Schatzi,* those who were deported and did not understand the language. Teachers used to mock us more than students. I had to memorize theories without any practical knowledge. During school breaks, we, the children from Germany, would gather around [to speak German], so there was a piece of Germany. Later, during my studies in Prishtina, I heard about special German classes for children like me. Teachers from Germany used to come to teach. It must have been much easier for those children to cope with their return. This would have helped me. Those students were happy because they could speak German with their teachers every day. We did not know that something like that existed. However, it would not have been possible to attend these classes in Prishtina because we lived far away and did not have the financial means. This would have worked for many school children.

Nexhmedin tells a similar story of returnee children that face school bullying in the form of shaming. The environment – teachers again – alienates them as "Schatzis" (alb. *shaca),* the deported ones, who have lost their nativeness and can no longer

reintegrate into a place that once was and is supposed to be a home. Generally, all migrants from Kosovo are labeled *Schatzis* by the local residents. This labeling, without a singular form, derived from the German noun “Schatz” (*treasure*), holds negative connotations in terms of those who are “uneducated” and “uncultivated” (see Jusufi 2020). Therefore, *Schatzis* become stripped of cultural proximity as they are treated as a deviation of the native locality. *Schatzi*s are seen as offenders who face what John Braithwaite calls *stigmatizing shame*. This shame is “unforgiving – the offender is left with the stigma permanently” (Braithwaite 2012: 124). It enforces foreignness and, more critically, isolates. Nexhmedin’s school breaks enabled portions of relief through insular gatherings of returnee/migrant children who would relive their former home, i.e., Germany, by conversing in German. In the words of Trinh Minh-ha, “language is the site of return, the warm fabric of memory, also a site of change, an ever-shifting ground” (2011: 28). However, this evocative return is a product of hiding and separation due to shame (Goodman and Cook 2019).

Both interview portions share the theme of humiliation and shame at school. Children’s exposure in the classroom transforms a school into a stage of public mocking and out-grouping (see also Frevert 2020), where language serves as an inlfuential stage prop that circulates among the audience/listeners. When teachers ridicule linguistic oddities in their students’ talk, they invite the audience to join in the laughter. Such treatment at school can be subsumed under the concept of institutional bullying typical for orphanages, prisons, military units (e.g., see Bourke’s essay on military hazing 2018). Common to all of the forms is that the ashamed subject becomes doubly isolated: from the group and from themselves by

resorting to various coping mechanisms (that can dramatically impact depending on how trauma is channeled) and realms.

Conversations in German in the schoolyard during breaks work in this manner. Sounds and words of the familiar language bring back the lost security. “A piece of Germany” (*Ein Stück Deutschland*) is auditorily restored as the ashamed children speak German and are transposed onto a secure ground. In other words, they mentally and emotionally inhabit the language. Sounds produce a shelter for daydreaming, as Gaston Bachelard would say. Yet, this daydreaming is painful because it is momentous and creates a world “of dislocation and asynchronism” (Khoshravi 2017).

In the absence of institutional support regarding language improvement, the roles become reversed. Parents start doing what they children used to do as they take on the role of linguistic and cultural mediators and interpreters of Albanian in Kosovo. This shift brings us back to role reversal in Germany, where children take care of parents as translators. Such role reversed relationships are common for migratory settings. Speaking from a psychological point of view, they stand for a relationship disturbance because a child is expected to act as a parent toward their own parents (e.g., Macfie et al., 2005). This expectation and disturbance of intergenerational ties between child and parent are usual in migratory settings.

While unfamiliarity with the Albanian language caused stigmatization, German knowledge proved to be the right vehicle for reconceptualizing the future. Even though this narrative of a restored ability to feel at home again somewhere was not fully developed, it made clear that foreign language competence was a vital point in reimagining the new possibilities in Kosovo and deciding not to return to Germany.

On the other hand, our interviewees learned to cope with their new reality as time went by. They recognized the German language as a path to reshape a living place that once seemed strange and intimidating. German language courses at university opened up teaching positions at schools and work at German institutions like the Goethe Institute. On the other hand, German knowledge represented an open-door possibility to come back to Germany as Edon Hoxha, one of our interviewees, did in 2020.

Conclusion

This paper dealt with voluntary and enforced return from Germany to Kosovo while reflecting upon the experiences of home. The first section dealt with return migration that, as we argued, represents different mobilities, depending on the generational lens. While children would experience parents' flight to Germany as emigration, both voluntary and enforced return would present a shock. The arrival in a country, weary of conflicts and poverty, without any international help at that time, went along with disappointments, communal exclusions, insecurity, and self-isolation. The second chapter analyzed loss that represented a recurrent theme in the interviews, designating lost tangible assets and life routines and opportunities. The interviews and the overall research suggest that this dimension may have been influenced by a somewhat rigid binary gender socialization in Kosovo that would further affect child (daughter)-parent relationship. Such various losses created other insecurities that locked our participants up. In their words, although it was their parents' country (Kosovo), everything felt foreign to them. The lost dailiness of life and future possibilities that Germany could offer meant the loss of self-identity because of which now-time felt empty, and the future dissipated. The

third section went deeper into the feelings of estrangement by analyzing language shaming at school, a narrative that our interviewees' descriptions emphasized very strongly. Nevertheless, the German language competence provided a twofold shelter through its evocative strength to make Germany seem emotionally close, on the one hand, and, on the other, reopening work opportunities in both countries.

This essay followed the research with the voluntary and enforced returnees – parents and their children – from Germany to Kosovo. It explored their topological, mental, and sensorial displacement while touching upon the generational distancing and analyzing the concepts of home(-land). Migration scholarship has a lot to say by directing its attention to the intergenerational rifts between the family members as they interchangeably voluntarily and forcibly move from one country to another. Home is an elusive – first of all, a feelingful – dimension that, nevertheless, affects one's world. In the words of Edon, one can have both *Zuhause* (home/apartment) and *zwei Heimate* (two homelands). The journalist Enver Robelli has recently written an article contemplating homeland feelings in the pandemic times. He recognized that the term "homeland" (Ger. *Heimat*, Alb. *atdhe*) presents a problem because it lacks plural form according to the dictionary. Then, he points to the turn in social notions over time: while the given singular may have been the only option in 1974, in 2020, one can use the plural and talk about homelands (Ger. *Heimate*, Alb. *atdhetë*) that are hybrid, positioned somewhere, where one feels well. Translated into Husserlian phenomenology, home(-land) allows us to speak in terms of the environment (*Umwelt*) and world (*Welt*). *Heimwelt* means "*Territorium*" that one need not inhabit

in a sedentary way, but dwell upon through ever-changing bodily, mental and emotional modes of being (2008: 155–156).[5] Our paper was about home-arrival and subsequently, the lived-in homeworld becoming a matter of recognizability and recognition.

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[5] "Jedes Heimland ist 'Territorium' einer Heimmenschheit, der Wohnsitz. Das bedeutet nicht im gewöhnlichen Sinne Sesshaftigkeit, denn in einem weiteren Sinne ist auch der Nomade sesshaft, er hat nämlich sein Territorium, in dem er wandert und das er als sein Land, sein Herrschaftsgebiet, sein Nahrungsgebiet. Geht ein Stamm, ein Volk auf die Suche nach einem neuen Wohnsitz, nach einer neuen Landstätte seines Lebens, so zieht es durch Länder hindurch und eventuell durch Niemandsland, in dem es durchziehend zwar lebt, aber nicht als seinem Wohnsitz, seiner Heimstatt lebt. Das ist also ein Durchgangsmodus: 40 Das Volk ist zur Zeit „heimatlos". Und doch ist es ein Volk, hat seine Lebenseinheit, seine Umwelt – in dem obigen Sinn seine Heimwelt, die aber eine Komponente ist im Wandel des Durchgangs, der also doch ein Modus raumzeitlicher Heimstättenhaftigkeit ist" (Husserl 2008: 155–156).

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