Movement Matters:
The Case of Southern Albania

Nataša Gregorič Bon
Institute of Anthropological and Spatial Studies

RÉSUMÉ

L'importance des mouvements : le cas de l'Albanie méridionale
Cet article analyse les différents modes de mouvement et de sédentarité, de mobilité et d'immobilité qui fabriquent le senti-ment de l'habité sur la côte méridionale de l'Albanie. Le mouvement (*kurbet*) et la sédentarité, telle qu'elle se manifeste dans la demeure (*shtëpi*) sont à la fois des institutions traditionnelles qui créent des réseaux d'enracinement au sein desquels les gens nouent des relations et des liens entre les différents lieux. Cependant on ne peut se contenter de lire les mobilités à la seule lueur des relations sociales et spatiales : il faut les lire aussi en référence aux caractéristiques géomorphologiques de la région. Au-delà des peuples, des choses et des idées, les lieux se transforment aussi et changent de position, de sens et de valeur.

Mots-clés : Mouvement. Mobilité. Installation. Réinstallation. Albanie méridionale.

Nataša Gregorič Bon
Institute of Anthropological and Spatial Studies
Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU)
Novi trg 2
1000 Ljubljana
Slovénie
ngregoric@gmail.com

I can still vividly recall my first encounter with the Albanian landscape and its people, both of which were telling me something about mobility and move-ment that have permeated and characterized this area throughout the centuries. This mobility or lack thereof can already be felt the moment one enters the small coastal towns and villages, which, except for the sum-mer months when they are bustling with tourists, give the impression of languishing in abandonment. The decaying old and the uninhabited new houses, empty streets and closed local shops reify the feeling of loss that comes across in several stories and which is sung in traditional polyphonic songs of those left behind [Pistrick, 2015]. Yet these "migration songs" [ibid.] also sing about migrant's honor, pride and their sacri-fice for their families and their well-being. Therefore it is not a coincidence that several scholars of migration studies compare Albania with a "migration laboratory" [King, 2005] or are discussing Albania as a country "on the move" [Vullnetari, 2012]. Based on several years of research in the southern Albanian coastal area

I question what role (non)movements have in peoples' lives and to what extent they can reveal us their way of understanding of themselves and their environment.

■ Social and geomorphological relocations

With the end of the 20th century, the collapse of "*grand ideologies*" (such as communism/socialism, for example), the fall of several "walls" and boundaries, alongside the foundation of the new borders and frontiers in Europe, anthropology and social sciences underwent a marked change in general that shifted territorial essentialisms and moved them towards various forms of mobility and immobility. This has led to a more processual under-standing of spatial notions which did away with the Cartesian conceptualisation of space that promulgates sedentarist logic and tends to "root cultures, peoples and societies in space and time" [Gregorič Bon and

Repič, 2016: 3]. To some scholars, such as Tim Ingold, for example, the meaning of location and place became understood in terms of movements rather than by the outer limits set on movements [Ingold, 2009: 34; Gregorič Bon, 2014: 135]. Movement, continues Ingold, is a process most immanent to human life and crucial to place-making [Ingold, 2009].

Besides people, locations can also be said to move [Gregorič Bon and Repič, 2016]. This pertains to the geopolitical and social shifting of particular locations and territories, which has been going on over the past few decades. For example, Europe as a continent has with its political inclusions and exclusions of particular territories significantly shifted its location on the geopolitical map. Albania is just one pertinent showcase of how the political, economic and social turmoil can shift a location of a given place. Whereas in the period of communist regime, Albania's location was, according to the official line of its communist leader, set at the very heart of Europe and the world's geopolitical map. In the post-communist era, on the other hand, it slipped to its very margins.

As will be discussed here, in the last decade, due to the processes of the European (dis)integration, its location has even more intensely oscillated between the centre and the margins. This has generated what might be referred to as Albania's "relative location" [Green, 2005; 2012], which is crucial for the Albanian peoples' understanding of their location, its value and themselves within it. According to Sarah Green, the meaning and value of a particular location is never constituted on its own but always in relation to other locations and various movements and relations between these locations. Namely, in their movements through, in and between particular locations, and through distinctions between these movements, people ascribe different meanings to a given location, and these meanings are subject to spatial hierarchy. Location is thus not only defined by spatial coordinates but is also a way of "identifying the value of being somewhere in particular", which is always defined by "something other than itself" [Green, 2016: 7].

This paper argues that movement and mobility resonate in a number of different contexts—either through movements of people, landscape, geopolitical shifts as well as geomorphological movements of land. Several geological and geographical studies concur that Albania is one of the most erosive countries in Europe. Recent studies have shown that the combination of the Mediterranean climate, rich river network, topography[1],

the soil and associated vegetation contribute to severe erosion in this area [Grazhdani and Shumka, 2007: 264; Buchroitner, 2000: 23-24]. According to Qiriazi and Sala [2000: 23], soil erosion in Albania is a 100 to a 1000 times bigger than in most other European countries. Severe erosion or abrasion, as it is referred to, is documented along the Albanian coast, from Vlora all the way to the southern Albanian-Greek border with an intensity of 20 to 50 cm per year [ibid.] This means that along with the geopolitical movements, there are various geomorphological and tectonic movements along the Albanian coast that can be discerned as well. Movements in terms of geomorphological movements of landscape or geopolitical movements of locations and territories as well as in terms of physical or migratory movements of people have been crucial to understanding the Albanian society and its landscape. Thus, in what follows I aim to illustrate and explain how movements and mobility take shape and are shaping peoples' lives and their locations in southern Albania.

■ *Kurbet* : traditional practice of mobility

Movements in the form of migrations and resettlements are not a novel phenomenon confined to the 20th century, as people living in Albania have been leaving and coming back throughout the centuries. Julie Vullnetari [2012] writes that according to social memory, the first mass resettlements took place already in the second half of the 15th century. After the death of the Albanian national hero Scanderbeg in 1467 it is estimated that around 200 000 people inhabiting the nowadays territory of Albania moved to the area of todays' Italy, Dalmatian coast and southern Greece [Vullnetari, 2012: 59]. During the Ottoman reign the migration continued due to blood feud, political prosecution or due to the economic reasons [Vullnetari, 2012: 59][2]. These kinds of movements, according to social memory, as well as historical accounts, were referred to as *kurbet*.

Kurbet, a traditional mobility practice etymologically originates from the Arabic word *ghurbeh* meaning "a journey to or a sojourn in a foreign land" usually for work purposes, or being far from home and homeland and thus associated with alienation and pain [Gregorič Bon 2016: 64]. Even nowadays the Albanian term *kurbet* still carries the idea of pain (*dhimbje*) and longing for home and family. In the Southern Albanian coastal

area, called Bregdeti as well as in other parts of Albania, people often refer to *kurbet* in their narratives and polyphonies about their ancestors who, for economic reasons, were moving through the area in the period of the Ottoman Empire, the interwar period or who joined the massive migrations following the fall of communism. Despite social, political, economic and historical changes, this traditional mobility practice still bears an important role in Albania today and is in many contexts often used as a synonym for migration [see also Papailias, 2003: 1064; Pistrick, 2009, 2010].

The meaning of *kurbet* in Albania is rather ambiguous. On the one hand, in several rhapsodies and in social memory in general, it is described as painful loss experienced on the part of emigrants leaving their homes and making heroic sacrifices for their families [Pistrick, 2010]; whereas on the other hand it is described in positive terms, as something that has brought civilisation (*civilizim*), economic development (*zhvilim*) and general well-being to the area and the people left behind.

Besides being imbued with a strong emotional charge, be it positive or negative, *kurbet* is inscribed into the very landscape of southern Albania. For example, oral stories recounted by elderly villagers living in the southern coastal area, which date back to the inter-war period, describe their ancestors' routes, movements and trading with places over the sea and across the mountains [Gregorič Bon, 2008a; 2008b: 169-190]. Land and water routes by which the local people have been travelling throughout the ages define the location of this area. These stretch between the sea and the mountains [Gregorič Bon 2007; 2008a], locating the area between their past and present upon which people base their sense of home and belonging.

◼ Communism: the period of immobility

With the introduction of the communist regime in 1945, state borders closed and trading relations and travels outside the Albanian territory became limited. When the totalitarian leader, Enver Hoxha, forbade private ownership of cars and limited the in-country movements [Gregorič Bon 2008a: 51 fn. 18], the mobility practice of *kurbet* was stopped. The in-country movements were strictly controlled and one needed a special permit from the local authorities to be able to travel. This process of obtaining the permit

was called *pashaportizim* and it was a long procedure with the outcome unknown. Part of the party's policy was to keep the population forcibly in the rural areas. However, young men and women were invited to join in and take up work with large-scale projects such as construction of major railways, bridges, hydro-electric power plants, factories, etc. A good number of people signing up for these projects were volunteers. After the completion of the project, they were in a position to stay on if they wanted to, provided they had applied for the right kind of official permits. So a substantial part of rural-to-urban movements took place in 1950 and 1955 and many young men and women went to work in places such as Berat, Korçe, Koman, etc.

At all times there were certain professionals who could move from one city to another. These included officers in the army and other personnel working for the ministries or for the highest local government authorities. Of course their movements included their families moving with them too. In many cases people were not given an opportunity to choose the place where they were appointed to work. This was particularly the case for the people who worked in the public sector (e.g. bureaucrats, teachers and doctors, etc.). Along with their occupation of being a public servant they had to also accept having to move wherever they were appointed. Only rarely could they have a say in the location of their appointment. Students—mostly male students—, from all parts of Albania studying at the University of Tirana, tried to find work while still studying, so that they could ensure staying on in Tirana or some other bigger town (Shkodra, Berat, Elbasan, etc.) after completing their studies. Of course not all of them succeeded [Vullnetari, 2012]. According to the census data the urban population grew by more than half, while the rural population grew only by four percent [Vullnetari, 2012: 62-63]. However, with the start of the industrial revolution in the country and the beginning of the political alliance with China, these movements decreased with the new strategy of rural retention and minimal urbanisation during this period [ibid.].

The control of in-country movements, prohibition of travelling abroad, road construction as well as Hoxha's plan of "re-routing" the ethnic population (Roma, Evgjits, Greek minority, etc.) to various locations throughout Albania, introduced (im)mobility as part of the state apparatuses. The border between Albania and Greece, which many people living on the southern coastal plains used to define as "road enclosure"

[Gregorič Bon, 2008b] suddenly brought awareness not only of the territorial difference but also of economic and social differentiations between the residents living on the two sides of the border. (Im)mobility also became the core measure of territorial differences and socio-economic development.

■ Massive movements and migrations

With the fall of the communist regime in 1990 the movement of people increased. In between 1990 and up until 2000, migration studies have identified three migration "*exoduses*" that have importantly influenced the Albanian politics, economy, society and the landscape in general. The migrant literature differentiates between three "migration episodes" [Vullnetari, 2012: 67] that are significant for the post-communist period. The first one followed the collapse of the communist regime and spanned between 1990 and 1993. Thus for example, on the New Year's evening 1990, 800.000 citizens migrated to Greece and Italy [De Zwager *et al.*, 2005]. Besides the sea route towards Italy, the major migration route also led across the mountains, towards Greece. Due to constant movement of the population (emigration) it was impossible to hold the record over how many residents have actually migrated. The second mass "migration episode" is documented during 1997 with the collapse of pyramid investment schemes which led the country to anarchy and social unrest [Musaraj, this volume]. The third "*episode*" corresponds with the Kosovo political and economic crisis of 1999 and 2000 [Vullnetari, 2012: 67-68].

Soon after these first massive movements, the international policy introduced a bureaucratic shift according to which the Albanian citizens were no longer considered as refugees but as economic migrants. This has brought in various political regimes (such as the visa regime) differentiating between who can migrate and who cannot. Yet these regimes did not manage to reduce the number of emigrants leaving the country; as expected, they had the contrary effect, and brought about a rise in illegal migrations and enlarged the number of visa applications. All these have postulated migrations and movements as the core value of the life-world in Albania.

The collapse of the communist regime has not only triggered massive movements of people but also movements of material, financial and other resources and ideas. Remittances to the migrants' country of origin have gained an important role for they were often the main source of income for particular households and economies in Albania. According to the World Bank, remittances are essential to Albanian households in surmounting their economic difficulties [De Soto *et al.*, 2002: xiv]. Between 2004 and 2005, remittances amounted to about 1.1 million US Dollars and generated about 14 % of Albanian GDP [Vullnetari and King, 2011: 55]. In 2009, due to the economic crisis across Europe and the United States, the scale of remittances decreased to 9% of the GDP in Albania [ibid.: 55]. Still, in the same period, they were three times bigger than the value of foreign exports and covered a relatively large part of the trading deficit [ibid.: 55].

Remittances reflect temporality, materialise interactions between migrants and those who stay behind, and provide a window onto the social, cultural and economic characteristics of the destination countries. Since in many cases, these financial and material flows travel in both directions, from the country of immigration to the country of emigration, I prefer to use the term material flows instead of remittances [Gregorič Bon forthcoming]. When circulating between both countries, of destination and of origin, the material flows transgress polity borders and social boundaries, reconstruct and reaffirm existing relationships and create material wealth. They stand in as a material presence for absent migrants, since they materialise the relationships between migrants and their stay-at-home families. They also bring "migrant worlds" into sharper relief [Basu and Coleman, 2008].

The ban of private cars during the period of communism led to an uncontrolled enlargement of private cars after its fall. Whereas up to 1991 the estimated number of cars was counted as anything between 5,000 to 7,000, their number significantly increased by about 1,500 per month after 1991 [Sconosciuto, 2015; see also Dalakoglou, 2012]. Especially in the first decade, most of these cars were imported second-hand German Mercedes Benz which people were familiar with as Enver Hoxha and his officials owned the same brand in the last years of the communist era. Thus in the first years after the fall of the regime, Albania came to be known as the "land of Mercedes". Car-ownership became an important part of social capital and therefore it became also part of the *xhiro*, the peripatetic tradition which no longer involved only strolling on foot but now also by car.

Alongside the out-country migrations, the in-country migrations also increased substantially. The urban cities became bigger and their centres were relocated (e.g. Tirana, Durrës, Vlora, Gjirokastra). In many costal cities, such as Durrës, Vlora, Himara, Saranda, tourism developed and consequently the traffic on land and water increased. Due to the fact that almost half a million Albanians live in Greece now, the road that leads to the Albanian-Greek border has become burdened with traffic. Because of this and lack of funding for maintaining the roads, many are in a state of disrepair today. Over the past few years the European Union (EU) and the World Bank invested in rebuilding and constructing new road connections between central Albania and Kosovo. The project was finished in 2010. With the help of the EU funds, the government of Albania invested in the road reconstruction that connects the capital Tirana and the coastal cities to the south of the country. Some of the large Greek companies invested in the construction of 200 kilometres of highway that connects the town Gjirokaster in the south with the Albanian-Greek border check point.

■ Europeanisation and free movements

The present changes, as well as the remnants of the past, can show us the ways in which various movements (massive or seasonal migrations, ongoing returns, remittances) and non-movements (the meaning of home, house and belonging) of people, ideas and things have all contributed to relocating Albania over the past decades: from the communist period, when its location according to the communist leader was at the centre of Europe and the world's geopolitical map, to the post-communist slippage to its very margins. In the last decade, due to the processes of Europeanisation, its location has even more intensely oscillated between the centre and the margins. With the expansion of the Schengen Zone area and the introduction of the European Neighbourhood Policy, Europe, as an idea and as a place, has been brought closer to peoples' everyday lives.

Free movement, as many Albanians refer to the visa-free crossing of the territorial borders instituted after the Albania accession to the Schengen Zone area in December 2010, has shifted significantly their understanding of themselves and their location. In people's daily conversations the concept of Europe is often invested with ideas of a more economically successful and stable future, embodied in the country's "entering" (*hyrie*) the EU. Armanda Hysa [2008] contends that in contrast to the present economic and social insecurity in Albania, Europe and the EU are often represented as one of the important structures of freedom and well-being. These imaginations, adds Gerda Dalipaj [2008], have to be understood in the historical context pertaining to the period of the communist regime. After decades of life in isolation and on the periphery of Europe as well as the Balkans, the Albanian people have constituted a "poetic quest for freedom" which they relate to "free movements" and mobility across European borders, and their becoming "modern Europeans" [ibid.: 79-86].

The furtive presence of EU could also be visible in several billboards standing by the road announcing and marking the meaning and the role of the EU and its financial funds invested in the construction of the new main roads and highways. Namely, since 1996 the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has invested in construction of the road infrastructure in Albania. Since then, it has reconstructed over 680 kilometres of roads and invested arround 210 million of Euro [Sosciuto, 2015].

■ *Shtëpi* : institution of (im)mobility

Though movement and mobility have been shaping the Albanian environment throughout the centuries, the latter is also characterised by non-movements and immobility, which are reified in another significant traditional institution in Albania, the house and home. Namely, the processes of movements and mobility are always *interrelated* and interdependent to non-movements and immobility and therefore, as Salazar and Smart [2011] suggest, these processes should be always thought together as two sides of the same coin. The political and economic processes influence the (im)mobility of people. Both mobility and immobility are vital to place-making, but not merely in the sense of "build[ing] up place from repeated connections" [Kirby, 2009], but also in the sense of defining peoples' home and belonging.

Besides *kurbet*, the traditional institution of mobility, home and house as traditional institutions of immobility bear an important part of peoples' dwelling. In the Albanian language there is no distinction between

"home" and "house" [Dalakoglou, 2009: 63fn.]. *Shtëpi* alongside the term *fis* (patrilineage) refers to one of the core units of the Albanian kinship [De Rapper, 2012: 81] and is the basis of an individuals' mode of "dwelling" [Ingold, 2000; see also Gregorič Bon, 2016: 68].

My previous research along the southern Albanian coast shows that continuous homecomings are an important part of migrations that have been characteristic of this area throughout the centuries. Homecoming alongside migration is not a one-way process but is bound up in a continuous circulation between the migrants' host- and their home country. Deriving from the study of Michael Jackson among Walpiri people in Australia where "sense of home is grounded less in a place per se than in the activity that goes on in a place" [Jackson 1995: 148], I contend that Albanian migrants on their return-journeys generate their *shtëpi* through various activities (e.g. house (re)construction) as well as emotions, such as nostalgia and longing and communal practices (e.g. visiting relatives, gift-giving) [Gregorič Bon, 2015]. The migrants' homecomings could be interpreted as tropes for routes, with their spatial and temporal implications related to the process of their place-making.

Continuous homecomings work towards eradicating the spatial distance between the country of migration and the country of origin, temporally merging the past with the present and the future. This temporal merging is also reified in the emigrants' houses (*shtëpisë)*, which seem to culminate in different (im)mobility practices [Gregorič Bon, 2016: 69]. In their nostalgic memories of their erstwhile *shtëpi* and home-places, emigrants idealise social relations, thereby transcending the mundane and often difficult realities of their migrant lives in their "host country" as well as their "home country".

Home-making is thus "a dynamic social process in which relationships to places and persons are produced" [Jansen, 2007: 16]. It is a material manifestation of the migrant's perpetual state of homecoming and of their claims to a definite locality [see also Dalakoglou, 2010: 733; Pistrick, 2013]. *Shtëpi* (house) stands in as the material presence of absent emigrants because it materialises the relationships between the emigrants and the *shtëpi* they have left behind. In today's shifting economic and political relations, the meaning of home relates as much to a group's sense of rootedness in a particular location as it does to their continuous movements and migrations.

This article explains various modes of (non)movements that shift the location of the southern Albania coast and its people. (Non)movements are part of peoples' dwelling and as such are the core processes for understanding their life and their environment. Continuous (non)movements have not only marked the history of this area but have also generated its present and the future. Thus (non)movements engender spatiality as well as temporality. From Tim Ingold's [2011] perspective, the people living on the southern Albanian coast are like *wayfarers* who, through (non)movements, (im)mobility, knit a meshwork of paths and places where their dwelling unfolds. The *meshwork* they produce reveals relations between paths and locations such as home and home-place. These relations are part of a continuum between mobility and immobility, both being the two sides of the same coin [see Salazar and Smart 2011].

Home too, can be conceived not as a fixed place but as a relational process. While movements are immanent to peoples' lives, home is the transcendent. (Non)movements of people, things and ideas through/between/in places along with the geopolitical movements of territories and geomorphological movements of the landscape, generate the coastal area as a relative location. Movements and mobility in the southern Albania, however, are not the normative of the present but they have been (re)shaping peoples' lives and relocating their location for several centuries if not "since ever."

❚ Notes

1. Over 60% of Albanian landscape consists of lihified terrigenous material which is highly erosive and over 25% of slopes with steep inclination that have erosion index 1.0 [Grazhdani and Shumka, 2007: 264; Buchroitner, 2000: 23-24; see also Kanjir and Gregorič Bon, 2016].

2. For more detailed information on the history of migration in Albania, see Vullnetari [2007: 8-20; 2012: 59-62] and Tirta [1999].

References

BASU Paul and Simon COLEMAN, 2008, "Introduction. Migrant worlds, material cultures", *Mobilities*, III, 3: 313-330.

BUCHROITNER Manfred F., 2000, *Remote Sensing for Environmental Data in Albania: A Strategy for Integrated Management*, Dordrecht, Springer Science and Business Media, Kluwer Academic Publishers.

DALAKOGLOU Dimitris, 2009, "Building and Ordering Transnationalism: The 'Greek House.' Albania as a Material Process" *in* Daniel Miller (ed.), *Anthropology and the Individual: A Material Culture Perspective*, New York, Berg: 51-68.

DALAKOGLOU Dimitris, 2010, "Migrating-Remitting-«Building»-Dwelling: House-making as 'Proxy' Presence in Postsocialist Albania », *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 16: 761-77.

DALAKOGLOU Dimitris, 2012, "'The Road from Communism to Capitalism': Infrastructures of (Post)Socialism in Albania", *Mobilities*, VII, 4: 1-16.

DALIPAJ Gerda, 2008, "The Otherness Outside and Within: The Challenge of Shaping and Manifesting a New Image of the Other and of the Self in Post Socialist Albani", *in* Elena Marushiakova (ed.), *Dynamics of National Identity and Transnational Identities in the Process of European Integration,* Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Press: 76-87.

GRAZHDANI Spiro and Spase SHUMKA, 2007, "An Approach to Mapping Soil Erosion by Water with Application to Albania", *Desalination* 213: 263-272.

GREEN Sarah F., 2005, *Notes from the Balkans. Locating Marginality and Ambiguity on the Greek-Albanian Border*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

GREEN Sarah F., 2012, "Replacing Europe", *in* Richard Fardon, Olivia Harris, Trevor H. J. Marchand, Mark Nuttall, Chris Shore, Veronica Strang, Richard A. Wilson (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Social Anthropology,* vol. 1, Los Angeles, Sage: 286-307.

GREEN Sarah F., 2016, "Epilogue. Moving Places: Relations, Return and Belonging", *in* Nataša Gregorič Bon and Jaka Repič, (eds), *Moving Places: Relations, Return and Belonging*, Oxford/New York, Berghahn Books: 211-222.

GREGORIČ BON Nataša, 2008a, *Prostori neskladij: Etnografija prostora in kraja v vasi Dhërmi/Drimades, južna Albanija [Spaces of Discordance: Ethnography of Space and Place in the village Dhërmi/Drimades, Southern Albania]*, Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.

GREGORIČ BON Nataša, 2008b, "'Where are We? Europe or Albania': Regionalism as Seen by the Local People of Dhërmi/Drimades in Southern Albania", *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*, 27: 83-106.

GREGORIČ BON Nataša, 2016, "Rooting Routes. (Non)movements in Southern Albania", *in* Nataša Gregorič Bon and Jaka Repič, (eds.), *Moving Places: Relations, Return and Belonging*, Oxford/New York, Berghahn Books : 63-84.

GREGORIČ BON Nataša, forthcoming, *Silenced border crossings and gendered material flows in southern Albania, in* Hastings Donnan, Caroline Leutlof-Grandis and Madeleine Hurd (eds.), *Migrating borders and moving times: Temporality and the crossing of borders in Europe*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

GREGORIČ BON Nataša and Jaka REPIČ, 2016, Introduction, *in* Nataša Gregorič Bon and Jaka Repič, (eds.), *Moving Places: Relations, Return and Belonging*, Oxford/New York, Berghahn Books: 63-84.

HYSA Armanda, 2008, "The religious identity of Albanians and the European integration", *in* Elena Marushiakova (ed.), *Dynamics of national identity and transnational identities in the process of European integration,* Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Press: 76-87.

INGOLD Tim, 2000, The Perception of the Environment. Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill, London and New York, Routledge.

INGOLD Tim, 2009, [2000], "Against Space: Place, Movement, Knowledge", *in* Peter Wynn Kirby (ed.), *Boundless Worlds: An Anthropological Approach to Movement*, New York and Oxford, Berghahn Books : 29-43.

INGOLD Tim, 2011, [2000], *Being Alive. Essays on Movements, Knowledge and Decription*, London, Routledge.

JACKSON Michael, 1995, *At Home in the World*, Durham, Duke University Press.

JANSEN Stef, 2007, "Troubled Locations: Return, the Life Course, and Transformations of 'home' in Bosnia-Herzegovina", *Focaal: European Journal of Anthropology,* 49: 15-30.

KANJIR Urša and Nataša GREGORIČ BON, 2016, *Spatial changes and population movements on the Albanian coastline.* Paper presented at the XXIII Congress of the International Society for Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing, Prague.

KING Russell, 2005, "Albania as a laboratory for the study of migration and development", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, Special Issue: New Perspectives on Albanian Migration and Development, VII, 2: 133-155.

KIRBY Peter Wynn, 2009, "Lost in Space': Anthropological Approach to Movement", *in* Peter Wynn Kirby (ed.), *Boundless Worlds. An Anthropological Approach to Movement*, New York, Oxford, Berghahn Books: 1-27.

PAPAILIAS Penelope, 2003, "'Money of Kurbet is Money of Blood': The Making of a 'Hero' of Migration at the Greek-Albanian Border", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29, 6: 1059-1078.

PISTRICK Eckehard, 2009, "Singing of Pain and Memory. Emotionalizing Mythohistory of Migration in Epirus", *Journal of Balkanology,* 45, 1: 66-76.

PISTRICK Eckehard, 2010, "Singing back the Kurbetlli. Responses to Migration in Albanian Folk Culture", *Anthropological Notebooks,* 16, 2: 29-37.

PISTRICK Eckehard, 2013, "Performing Absences. Seasonal Return in South Albanian Villages", *Ethnologie française*, XLIII, 65-75.

PISTRICK Eckehard, 2015, *Performing Nostalgia. Migration, Culture and Creativity in South Albania* (SOAS Musicology Series), Farnham, Ashgate.

QIRIAZI Perikli and Skënder SALA, 2000, "Environmental Problems of Albania", *in* Manfred F. Buchroitner (ed.), *Remote Sensing for Environmental Data in Albania: A Strategy for Integrated Management,* Springer Science and Business Media Dordrecht, originally published by Kluwer Academic Publishers: 13-31.

RAPPER Gilles DE, 2012, "Blood and Seed, Trunk and Hearth: Kinship and Common Origin in Southern Albania", *in* Gentiana Kera, Andreas Hemming and Enriketa Pandelejmoni (eds.), *Albania: Family, Society and Culture in the 20th Century*, Berlin, LIT Verlag: 79-95.

SALAZAR Noel B. and Alan SMART, 2011, "Anthropological Takes on (Im)mobility", *Identities: global Studies in Culture and Power*, 18 : i-ix.

SCONOSCIUTO Lucia, 2015, "Paving the road to Albania's regional integration: Report for the European Bank for Reconstruction and development" http://www.ebrd.com/news/2015/paving-the-road-to-albanias-regional-integration-.html, 24. 3. 2015.

SOTO Hermine DE, Peter GORDON, Ilir GEDESHI and Zamira SINOIMERI, 2002, *Poverty in Albania. A Qualitative Assessment, World Bank Technical Paper* 520, Washington, DC.

TIRTA Mark, 1999, "Migrime të shqiptarëve, të brendshme dhe jashtë atdheut (vitet '40 të shek.XIX-vitet '40 të shek.

XX)" ["Internal and international migrations among Albanians (1840-1940)"], *Etnografia Shqiptare*, 18.

Vullnetari Julie, 2007, "Albanian Migration and Development: State of the Art Review", imiscoe Working Paper, no. 18, September.

Vullnetari Julie, 2012, *Albania on the Move. Links between Internal and International Migration,* imiscoe Research, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Vullnetari Julie and Russell King, 2011, *Remittances, Gender and Development. Albania's Society and Economy in Transition*, London, I.B. Tauris.

Vjetari Statistikor i Shqipërisë, 1991, Tiranë, Ministria I ekonomisë drejtorija e statistikës.

De Zwager Nicolaas, Ilir Gedeshi, Etlejva Germenji and Christos Nikas, 2005, *A study on Competing for Remittances*, iom, Tirana, Albania.

▌ ABSTRACT

Movement Matters: The Case of Southern Albania

The article discusses different modes of movement and non-movement, mobility and immobility, that generate peoples' sense of dwelling on the Southern Albanian coast. Both movement (*kurbet*) and non-movement, such as home (*shtëpi*), are important traditional institutions that engender routing roots through which people knit relations and connections between locations. Yet, continuous movements do not only pertain to the social and spatial relations but also to the geomorphological characteristics of the area. I argue that besides people, things and ideas, locations also move and shift their position, meaning and value.
Keywords: Movement. Mobility. Location. Relocation. Southern Albania.

▌ ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Bewegung ist von Bedeutung: Der südalbanische Fall

Dieser Artikel analysiert die verschiedenen Arten von Bewegung und Sesshaftigkeit, von Mobilität und Immobilität, die das Gefühl von Wohnhaftigkeit in Südalbanien prägen. Die Bewegung (*kurbet*) und die Sesshaftigkeit, wie sie sich in der eigenen Behausung zeigen (*shtëpi*) sind gleichzeitig traditionellen Institutionen, die Netzwerke bilden, in denen die Menschen Beziehungen und Verbindungen zwischen den einzelnen Orten schaffen. Es reicht jedoch nicht aus, die Mobilitäten nur unter dem Gesichtspunkt der räumlichen und sozialen Beziehungen zu untersuchen, auch die geomorphologischen Charakteristika der Region sind von Relevanz. Über die Völker, Dinge und Ideen hinaus, verwandeln sich die Orte ebenfalls und wechseln die Position, den Sinn und die Werte.
Stichwörter : Bewegung. Mobilität. Installation. Reinstallation. Südalbanien.

▌ RESUMEN

La importancia de los movimientos : el caso de Albania meridional.

Este articulo analiza los modos diferentes de movimiento y de no-movimiento, de movilidad y de inmovilidad, que producen el sentimiento de lo habitado en la costa meridional de Albania. El movimiento (*kurbet*) y el no-movimiento, tal como se manifiesta en la casa (*shtëpi*), son a la vez unas instituciones tradicionales que generan redes de arraigo en las cuales la gente establece relaciones, y lazos entre lugares diferentes. Sin embargo, interpretar las movilidades solamente en base a las relaciones sociales y espaciales es insuficiente. Es imprescindible referirlas también a las características geomorfológicas de la región. Más allá de los pueblos, de las cosas y de las ideas, los lugares se transforman también, y cambian de postura, de sentido y de valor.
Palabras-clave : Movimiento. Movilidad. Instalación. Albania del Sur.

▌ ABSTRAKT

Lëvizjet kanë rëndësi: rasti i Shqipërisë jugore

Në këtë artikull diskutohen lloje të ndryshme të lëvizjeve dhe moslëvizjeve, që gjenerojnë sensin e ngulitjes mes banorëve të bregut të Shqipërisë jugore. Si lëvizja (*kurbeti*) dhe moslëvizja (*shtëpia*) janë institucione të rëndësishme tradicionale që lëshojnë rrënjë përmes të cilave njerëzit lidhin marrëdhënie dhe lidhje mes vendeve. Megjithatë lëvizja e vazhdueshme nuk i përket vetëm marrëdhënieve shoqërore dhe hapësinore, por edhe karakteristikave gjeomorfologjike të zonës. Këtu argumentoj se edhe vendet, përveç njerëzve, sendeve e ideve, ndryshojnë gjithashtu pozicion kuptim dhe vlere.
Fjalët kyçe: Lëvizje. Mobilitet. Vend. Relokim. Shqipëria jugore.