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# **Balkan Public Agenda**

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## Introduction

### Objectives of the research

The qualitative approach was designed to deliver information needed for developing a questionnaire inquiry to be implemented in all South East European countries. The goal of the qualitative research is to monitor the public agenda in the Balkan area.

The results of the in-depth interview -based research are not to be considered representative for the entire population of a country. They have an intrinsic value and provide an understanding on how people motivate their stand with respect to the situation of the country.

The interviews were conducted according to the interview guide designed by IMAS in collaboration with IDEA International.

### Methodology

12 in-depth interviews were conducted. The interviewees were selected randomly in a list of 10 individuals in 12 categories as written below. All the individuals were the representatives of higher levels of the prescribed below categories.

<b>category</b>	<b>Position</b>
Government	Director, Public Administration Department/Council of Ministers
President office	Advisor of president
Public sector	Director, Obstretic Gynaecologic Hospital
Police	Chief of Cabinet/Ministry of Public Order
Parliament	Chairwoman, Parliamentary Commission on Constitutional Issues and Laws
Foreign institution	-World Bank
Intelligence	Annalist
Civil Society	Executive Director, SOROS Foundation
Private sector	Businessmen
Military	Director of Defense Academy
Media	Journalist of “Shekulli” newspaper
Judiciary	Head of Tirana Tribunal

# 1. General overview of the situation in Albania

## 1.1. Vulnerability of situation

As resulted from the in-depth interviews, the most important problems Albania faces nowadays are:

### The most frequent ones:

- **Politics:** lack of faced political options, conflicts in politics and incapability of political parties to dialog, low quality skills of political class, thinking of politics as a profitable mean rather than server of people.
- **Bad governance:** lack of accountability by the politicians and civil servants. Corruption and weak institutions.

Most of the interviewers see the politics as the cause of the most of the other mentioned problems. Only two of them see the politics as the outcome of other problems. Considering the mentioned frequency, it seems to be the most problematic one.

- **Public order:** – civil insecurity

It seems to be the outcome of economic problems and weakness of public institutions.

- **Rule of law:** weak and corrupted judiciary, adapting the legislation to the international accepted standards, worst implementation of laws, law is not above all.
- **Economic problems:** -weak market economy, unregulated market and “black” economy.

Two of the interviewers think that economic difficulties generate political instability, public order problems and lack of a spiritual constituency of Albanians.

### Less frequent ones:

- Weak public service delivery
- Unplanned migration, wild migration and population of urban areas.
- People’s mentality – residues of communism;
- Social problems
- Infant democracy
- Establishing the legal and material infrastructure in order to ensure a clear and honest elective process.
- Property’s ownership problems

### 1.2. Problems that have the greatest chance to be solved in the near future

It is observed a kind of pessimism in the interviewees' answers. They do not think that there will be issues solved in the next couple of years. Among the pessimist answer there is a minority that thinks that there will be some improvements in the following areas:

- **Public order.** Interviewees believe that there will be some solutions in the coming years. They base their opinion on the positive trend of public order's development these last years and the engagement that state has shown. One believes that a small state is easier to be governed. State engagement, improvement of judiciary and its relations with the public order structures and citizens help are the main factors in solving the problem
- **Rule of law:** judiciary and law enforcement. It is observed a popular energy and desire to set the rule of law. Joint efforts of anyone will solve the problem.
- **Politics:** People think that conflicts in politics will be solved somehow. The opinion is based on the fact that politicians have already understood that the conflicts do not lead to success. The next coming parliamentary elections are seen as a possible expression of a normal political situation. Pressure from civil society and international community will help in the improvement of the situation.
- **Economic problems:** It is noticed that there is energy and dynamism by the individuals.. Observing the good will of people although there is no organised efforts makes people believe that this issue can be solved. But state must direct the efforts in order to solve the situation. Implementation of law is another suggested solution. Those who believe that there have been a lot of effective efforts on economic development by government up to now, see the Albanian governmental policies, observed and helped by the international community as the guarantee for the solution.

### 1.3. Problems that are most difficult to be solved

The problems that have the least chance to be solved are written in the following categories. None of them represent the opinions of the majority of interviewees.

- **Economy:** it needs a lot of efforts, investments, funds, changing the mentality, political stability and strong institutions.
- **Bad governance and rule of law.** It deals with mentality, lack of tradition, lack of a whole legal framework, negative activities of political parties that do not allow law enforcement etc. The solutions are seen in international community help, civil society involvement, economy growth, changing and reformation of political class.
- **Politics:** changing the political class and increase of its quality need a long time. Intelligence and civil society involvement will improve the situation.
- **Mentality:** two of the respondents think that the mentality of the Albanian society is the cause of all the problems. It is also the most difficult to be changed in the short term. The mentality is defined in two ways: first Albanians have not recovered from their communist past, in that the state is still by large the central figure of all activities. Second the ingredients of a civil society are absent.

- **Corruption:** Only one of the respondents mentioned the corruption as the most difficult to be achieved. The formation of a normal constructive political opposite was the solution suggested by him.

## 2. Economy of Albania

### 2.1. Economic problems. Causes of economic problems

The majority of interviewees think that there is no real economy in Albania. There is no production, no rules of game, wrong set up relations between state and individuals. There is a considerable lack of domestic and foreign investments. There is no supportive physical and legal infrastructure for the businesses. Other issues mentioned are financial market liberalisation, privatisation of public services, small revenues from taxes and customs and lack of effective use of public funds.

From the above-mentioned problems have derived the other problems that are informal economy, unemployment, low salaries, and low economic level.

Inherited bankrupted economy, bad governance, lack of political stability lack of necessary infrastructures are the mentioned causes of the economic problems. One of the interviewees mentioned also that the wrong shock therapy strategy applied in the first years of democracy was one of the causes of economic problems and the situation became worst by privatisation policies set.

### 2.2. Obstacles to solving economic problems

Obstacles can be group in three categories:

**Bad governance:** Unskilled, low qualified, corrupted and low paid civil servants have lead to bad economic policies, lack of vision for the economic development, policies that have been focused on improvements rather than on developments, no long term development strategy, no rules of market economy therefore there are wrong relation of state with private, no stimulation for private domestic investors, high economic risk and no facility for big foreign investments, lack of the financial market. State and its institutions are directly responsible for all above-mentioned problems, and they are not playing their supposed role.

**Inherited poor economy:** means lack of infrastructure necessary for economic development, lack of skilled specialists and skills necessary for operating in the market economy and difficulties appeared in the transition period.

**Mentality:** Laziness of Albanians, lack of capitalist culture and mentality.

### 2.3. Factors that could help solving economic problems sooner

The majority of interviewees think that the combination of the internal and external factors will accelerate the problems solutions. Only two of them have mentioned the internal factors to be the accelerating factors. Only one thinks that the international community financial aid is the main factor in developing the economy

#### *Internal factors:*

- ◆ Sound economic policies
- ◆ Change of politicians' attitude: not denying the previous done efforts and taking in consideration the elite opinions.
- ◆ Eliminating the obstacles and setting up the conditions attractive for domestic business development and foreign investment.
- ◆ Fair and clear implementation of privatisation process
- ◆ Fighting corruption
- ◆ Long term development strategies
- ◆ Establishing the necessary physical and economic infrastructure
- ◆ Establishing the rules of market economy and regulatory institutions
- ◆ Changing the statal principles appearing in the Albanian society that means wider range of local government's involvement in developing the local business.
- ◆ Favourable geographical position
- ◆ Albanian's good will and energy

#### *External factors*

- International community:
  - Financial assistance
  - Assistance in implementation of the reforms
  - As regulatory institutions in certain cases
  - As a guaranty for foreign investments
  - As catalyst in some situations
- Stability in region
- Democratisation of life in Balkan countries
- Integration of Balkan in European structures

### 2.4. Role of the international community/institutions in the Albanian economy

The interviewers consider the role of international community important in principle, but their up-to-now activity is not so much appreciated. Only two of the participants positively

evaluated their activity. The others think that international community aid have been demonstrated in the following forms:

- Using Albanian situations for their own benefits, hiding different interests beyond the help offered
- Giving recommendations and applying formulas of template sort without taking into consideration Albanian reality
- Excess supply of counselling
- Based on different political streams or political attitudes toward Albania
- Overlapped, lack of co-ordination between various donors
- Obstructive
- Increasing the domestic debt

## 2.5. Economic forecast for the 2001

There are three kind of attitudes toward the future:

**-neither better nor worse:** there is only one person who thinks so. He bases his opinion on the Albanians' behaviour through the years. He doesn't believe that Albanians are able for positive drastic changes, but they are used to negative ones.

**Better but if:** government will implements its programs, strengthens its reform, if the new election will bring in power a government that will have a genuine (not a copy-paste) program, if there will be political stability.

**Better:** The interviewees, which are slightly greater in number than the previous group, base their opinions in the positive trend of economic developments through years, on concrete actions taken by government lately, on the ending of the privatisation of large enterprises and banks, on consolidation of financial markets.

*Areas that will be better:*

- Roads (infrastructure)
- agriculture
- Livestock
- electricity
- financial market
- water supply

## 3. Governance

### 3.1. Role of elite in decision making processes

Some of the interviewees think that their role in decision making is important. All of them define their roles according to the job positions they hold. They are not decision makers but

advisor, experts, observers who try to influence the decision makers, their bosses. Some others try to give their example in respect to the models they represent: being uncorrupted and obeying the laws. Others try to influence the public opinion on the sensitive issues through printed or electronic media. Everyone tries to do something positive on his own sector.

### 3.2. Role of institutions in the decision making process

**National authorities:** A slight majority of the interviewees think that national authorities have the greatest influence in the decision making process.

**International institutions** role was seen as very much present by the slight majority of the interviewees. The others think that the decisions having a wider range of effects than internal ones such as on geo-strategic issues or Balkan stability are made by international institutions. It is also mentioned that influence of the international community has been very strong on the Albanian economic issues.

**Local authority:** has less influence in decision-making process as long as they are depended by national authorities regarding their budget and competencies. Three of the interviewees said that the local authorities must have greater role.

### 3.3. As most reliable perceived institutions in decision making

The situation appears gloomy. The majority of interviewees do not trust any institutions. Most of them would like to trust the national authorities more and especially the local authorities, because the last ones can have a prompt and formally feedback by people on their activities. Two of the interviewers said that they trust most the individuals rather than the institution. Three of them trust the international communities most because they are not part of interior politics and they are initiators of integrating processes.

### 3.4. As least reliable perceived institutions in decision making

The question was not so different by the previous one. Three interviewees have mentioned that they do not trust local authority. It was again introduced the idea that sometimes authority of an institution was associated with the name of an individual who they trust.

### 3.5. Factors influencing the Albanians everyday life

- National authorities and institutions deciding on almost everyday life problems. They influence professional and private life.
- Public order and life security
- Demagogy that leads to anarchy

- Lack of rules in every aspect of life.
- Institutional demolition
- Politics. It troubles.
- Job satisfaction
- Every day work routine, spending a lot of time with little things
- No solidarity of people on the good causes
- Water, electricity problems
- Private life commodity

### 3.6. Performance of the political / administrative / judiciary institutions' activity

**Political institutions:** The respondents think that there are no political institutions, there are only political parties. They manifest conflict behaviours, which causes other conflicts in Albania. The political parties are considered a non-professional and unqualified class. They mostly promote demagoguery and shows destructive, corrupted and negative attitudes. They totally miss the civil encouragement.

**Administrative institutions:** They are still unconsolidated and respect toward individuals is absent. The civil servants are less paid, less motivated and corrupted. There is no continuity of the administrative institutions because of the high frequency of staff motivated by political reasons. They are also considered less qualified. Only one of the interviewees thinks that there are some improvements after the approval of the civil servant law.

**Judiciary:** It is called a disaster despite the efforts done till now. The professionalism and civil encouragement are absent. They are considered as the most corrupted institutions and the legal causes are always negotiated. Politics has negatively influenced and they are not reliable at all. The executive power doesn't support adequately the judiciary. Only one of the interviewees says that judiciary institutions are under reforms therefore there are a lot of problems appearing.

### 3.7. Performance of the President and parliament

**President:** In general president is defined as an honest, patriot, positive, neutral and respectable individual. But the majority of interviewees think that he must play a greater role in certain moments. Only four of the interviewees (33%) think that he acts consistent with his constitutional rights.

**Parliament:** Almost all the interviewees think that parliaments consist of unqualified individuals and its quality is negatively evaluated. The respondents think that the parliamentarians do not have professional background and are easily manipulated. They, therefore, are not playing the expected role. One of the interviewees said that the code of conducts and ethics should be applied to Albanian parliamentarians. Another one said that

they are more than necessary in number. The absolute majority in the parliament does not allow any demonstration of the parliamentary life. Only one of the interviewees positively evaluated the activity of parliament.

## 4. Civil society

### 4.1. Sources of information and their credibility

**Sources:** Almost all the interviewees mentioned the individual contacts as the main source of information. Other sources are electronic and printed media, Internet.

**Credibility:** There is a total lack of credibility to electronic and printed media. Media is mentioned to be manipulated, non-professional, misinforming, manipulative, corruptive, not credible, irresponsible, face ownership problems, politicised and extremist sometimes.

**How they decide about the credibility?:** Almost they analyse and verify the information to the other sources, to their perceptions and their deductions while taking in consideration the fact where the information come from and how.

### 4.2. Performance and role of non-government organisations

Majority of the interviewees thinks that the non-governmental organisation activity has been somehow positive and successful. They think that they are having their first steps and are still fragile.

On the other hand the interviewees think that there is a kind of deformation of this sector's activities. There is a considerable lack of NGOs that deal with grass root problems; they mostly work on donators' request rather than on the daily life problems that the society faces. Also domestic funds are totally absent. They are mostly depended by the western ones. The lack of the law on NGO is another problem this sector faces with.

Three interviewees think that NGOs miss the professionalism and effectiveness and steal money.

NGO activity is oriented to:

- creation of the public awareness
- Initiating the discussion on different social problems that are lately discussed formally in the higher levels of decision making process
- monitoring the governmental decision, and activities
- Creation of the civil opposition to the state authorities.

### 4.3. Performance and role of professional organisations

There is a negative opinion on the professional organisations. They are not playing their role and do not protect the rights of the groups they represent.

They are thought to be in an embryonic phase and people are rather hesitant when it comes to appreciating or participating in these organisations. They view them from different

perspective which is based on a mentality streaming from their past. They perceive professional organisations under the same terms with the former communist ones.

There was a clear and strong opinion on trade unions. (These were the most known to the interviewees). Almost all the interviewees think that syndicates activity has been destructive and strongly political positioned. They have never acted in accordance with the supposed principles of them.

#### 4.4. Performance and role of religious organisations

Activity of religious organisations seems to be not so present in Albania. The interviewees don't think that they have any kind of very active role in society and do not influence in the general situation. Also it was said that there is a religious tolerance in Albania.

There were, therefore, some considerations on the way that religion had interfered in the Albania. It is seemed that the super freedom given to the all kinds of sects and uncontrolled investments from religious organisations and sometimes so far called "religious" is a danger for our society until the Albanian state doesn't have the power to verify their origins. Also some obscurantism from Islam that doesn't fit to a modern society was observed and opposed. In addition being a four-religion country, interests of different countries having different religious orientations collide time after time in Albania.

## 5. Public services

### 5.1. Assessment of the activity of public services<sup>1</sup>

Public service	Average score
Health	3.42
Education	4.00
Social assistance	1.90
Transport	3.58
Heating	2.00
Electricity	2.08
Water	4.92
Military service <sup>2</sup>	5.14

*Less assessed*

#### Social assistance

**The problem:** There are a lot of social assistance beneficiaries– the total fund available is low, therefore the amount per person is pretty low and can not provide at least a minimum

<sup>1</sup> Each respondent has granted individual scores on a 1-to-10 scale to each of the public services listed. The figures in the table represent the average of these scores in each group.

<sup>2</sup> The interviewees found difficulties in defining this public service. Five of them didn't assess it.

living standard. The policies of this sector are judged as wrong. The equality principle, which stand for the extension of beneficiaries is more important than the amount given to them, does not solve the problems and is completely wrong on respondents judgement.

**Solution:** Responsible state structure must lead the attempts to solve the problem and the civil society can give its contribution. The first think to be changed are the social assistance policies (what it was mentioned earlier) and verifying the real beneficiaries.

**Privatisation:** it is a concept that doesn't go with social assistance.

### Heating.

**Problem:** it is not a public service at all. It is provided by individuals using almost electricity. It is a problem inherited from the past. There is no strategy from responsible state structures, although they exist. There is only a governmental order, introduced lately that says that all the new buildings must be provided with central heating.

**Solution:** Responsible state structure must define a clear strategy to provide heating and must pay a great attention on this problem. Introducing alternative energetic resources, such as wind, sun, water, in order to provide heating is seen as an effective alternative. Building gas networks close to buildings will solve the problem. Informing the population on different measures that can reduce the heating demand, such as double-glass windows, is also an important element helping the issue.

**Privatisation:** It is seen as an alternative but state must establish the regulatory agencies.

### Electricity

**Problem:** A lot of electricity shortage. Obsolete distribution networks, bad management, misuse of funds. No attention paid on this sector. One of the interviewees criticize the fact that the Albanian Electro - energetic Corporate was given under the administration of a foreign company, that it is public one also.

**Solution:** Attention from government. Defining clear strategies. Diversification of energetic resources. Increasing the awareness of public to pay the electricity bill.

**Privatisation:** It is seen as a possible alternative only for electricity distribution network. Dividing the electricity sector in three part, generation, transmission and distribution, establishing a clear policy and giving the administration of each sector to at least three companies and avoiding state monopoly that is dangerous although sometimes understandable, was another alternative suggested.

*Better assessed:*

Military service: It is an uncorrupted service, and obeys the rules and law.

Water: It is a service, which is improved by individual investments through the water tanks. There a lot of investments by state and the situation is expected to be improved. The interviewees couldn't give any final opinion on privatisation of this sector. Maybe it is worth partly. In any case state must establish its regulatory agencies.

## **6. International relations**

### **6.1. Influence of international institutions in the agenda of the Albanian State**

All the interviewees agreed that international organisations influence the agenda of our country. This influence were not associated with emotive, neither negative nor positive answer by almost the interviewees. Their influence is almost present and a kind of natural process because: i) Albania is a poor country, its economy is weak and it needs their funds and support ii) Albania has its partnership relations and have started the integration processes. These organisms have their obligatory standards, rules and terms iii) the decisions of these international organisms have a wider range of interests, such as globalisation policies or Balkan integration.

Only one of the interviewees said that the international organisations “advise” the government to behave according to their “orders”. He thinks that international organisations have made terrible mistakes sometimes. International communities political affiliation are much dominant in their behaviour toward Albania. Internal European problems or the collision of different political interest by European countries influence negatively in policies/aids toward Albania.

### **6.2. Role of the international community in Albania**

- Supporter to Balkan countries in their development
- Implementation of democratic standards
- Regulatory and supervisor: exercise pressure to state authorities to make sure economy consolidation and setting the rule of law
- keeping stability in Albania
- Creator of bridges between Balkan countries. Helping Balkan integration process.

### **6.3. EU, its influence and role in Albania**

The majority of the interviewees think that there has been a lot of financial and technical help by European Union in Albania. Two of the interviewees have mentioned that the integration of Albania in this organisation will accelerate the problems' solution. Most of them think that in general, the EU can be effective in solving the problems of Albania. On the other hand there are some consideration about its activity:

- EU consists of different countries that are represented by different governments. Some times opinions of different countries or individuals have negatively influenced the policies toward Albanian.
- One of the interviewees thinks that there is some lack of interests toward Albania.
- There is a lack of a clear strategy and future vision for Albania by EU. One of the interviewees mentioned that sometimes EU leads the investments in a wrong direction.

#### 6.4. Significance of the Stability Pact.

Stability Pact was well known to each respondent. All of them defined it as a to be welcomed initiative. Pact was known *as*: an idea, initiative in order to make the countries and the region stable, the myth of co-living ideas rather than conflicting ones, more investments and more communication more joint opportunities. It helps the countries development, destroys the curtains put by history between countries, consequently it will help countries of Balkan to integrate and be integrated in Euro Atlantic structures. One of the interviewees defined the pact as a re-inventory of the projects done by donors' community and defined the philosophy of pact as the idea that countries have to develop themselves.

As it was mentioned before, pact was an idea to be welcomed but its implementation was less evaluated. According to the two of the interviewees' opinion if the pact will not be associated with the economic movements it will be a soap bubble or worst, a utopia.

One of the interviewees think that effectiveness of pact depends on the skills of Albanian administrate.

The majority was optimist regarding the positive effects of pact in the development of regional countries. It is expected:

- Stability, security
- Improvement in infrastructure
- Economic development
- More regional co-operation
- More policies and strategies for future development

#### 6.5. NATO's role in solving the problems of our country

The majority of the interviewees think that NATO can provide:

- i) Protection of Albania from any military risks and guarantees the integrity of the Albanian national territories.
- ii) Modernization of Albanian army
- iii) Its presence can destroy the ultra national tendencies appearing in different area of the region, and can stop possible ethnic cleaning of Albanians by different countries.
- iv) It can also influence politically.

Only one of the interviewees said that the Albanian have an over-optimism regarding the benefits coming from NATO. He agreed on positive effects coming from NATO political

influence but he also said that it is too early for Albania to pretend NATO military protection. He sees NATO as an oriented point for future developments of Albania.

#### 6.6. Significance of joining NATO

Join NATO would be an excellent event happening to Albania, and all the interviewees welcome it. It will have political and economic advantages. But it doesn't seem to be a coming soon event.

What it can be asked:

- A civil country,
- political stability,
- setting the rule of law,
- Modernisation of army. One of the interviewees said that the last think that NATO will request from Albania would be army itself.
- respecting the standards and norms of NATO
- Using Albanian territory for its military basis. (This issue was mentioned by two of the interviewees and it was not a sensitive one. It's something that can happen despite the Albanians opinions. Albania should respect and obey some terms because of joining NATO).

#### 6.7. Key to security in region

- Economic growth, reducing poverty, providing a better life and freedom for each individual in each Balkan countries.
- economic exchanges, a common Balkan market, regional integration, European integration
- democratisation of Balkan countries
- Changing the nationalistic mentalities, forgetting the historical enemies.
- Solving the ethnic problems, and avoiding the armed conflicts
- Each country internal politics

One of the interviewees thinks that inter-states conflicts nowadays are less important than so-called *non-traditional risks* that are: drugs, prostitution, internal political instability, primitive nationalism.

## 7. Individualities

### 7.1. Perception of Balkan countries by Albanian elite

	Kosovo	Serbia
events	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- War</li> <li>- A lot of sufferings; Tragedy; Constantly massacred during history</li> <li>- Oppressed by Serbs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- historical negative interest toward Albania</li> <li>- traditional source conflicts</li> <li>- ex-communist dictatorship</li> <li>- initiate wars in order to survive</li> </ul>
People/country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Other part of Albania nation</li> <li>- Political problems similar to Albania: politicians like in Albania</li> <li>- Less cultured than the Albanians</li> <li>- Hard workers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- crazy (not all)</li> <li>- Negative community towards Albania; positive individuals ( personal contacts)</li> <li>- nationalism; chauvinist tendencies</li> <li>- Balkans temperament</li> <li>- Big country</li> <li>- Sllobodan</li> <li>- Neighbours</li> <li>- Unknown country</li> <li>- Not democratic country</li> </ul>
Resources/developments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- a lot of resources, especially agriculture, minerals</li> <li>- under developed country</li> <li>- poor</li> <li>- close to political stability</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- once developed</li> <li>- economic potentials: opportunities for development</li> <li>- no domestic resources</li> <li>- economic problems</li> </ul>
Status/state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Free (finally) country</li> <li>- Newest state</li> <li>- Chance to be governed by Albanian</li> <li>- Undefined status</li> <li>- Protectorate, international presence and support</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- well organised, know how to organise</li> <li>- don't want Albanian stability</li> <li>- having international attention</li> <li>- military state; army governs; intolerant state</li> <li>- very important military potential</li> <li>- State under the influence of very dominant religious factors. Religion = ideology</li> </ul>
In/for Balkan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- never can co-live with Serbia</li> <li>- interethnic problems</li> <li>- potential risk for Balkan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- important nation for Balkan</li> <li>- a risk for Balkan stability; Conflicts source</li> <li>- Cause of Balkan war</li> </ul>

	<b>Greece</b>	<b>Macedonian</b>
Political future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- its solution will come with Balkan solutions</li> <li>- asking independence sooner than international situation expect</li> <li>- no clear vision for the future</li> <li>- positive perspective</li> </ul>	-
People/country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cynic toward Albania, and Albanian emigrant. Intolerant</li> <li>- Intolerant to religions. Orthodoxy is their danger</li> <li>- Rich individuals</li> <li>- Cultural values, Excellent users of their culture</li> <li>- Neighbour</li> <li>- Being part of Europe and Balkan at the same time</li> <li>- Beautiful country</li> <li>- nice people</li> <li>- Balkans in the real meaning</li> <li>- Not reliable</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Slav</li> <li>- Lack of identity</li> <li>- Not friendly to Albania</li> <li>- Nationalism</li> <li>- Neighbours</li> <li>- Interethnic relations</li> <li>- No political stability</li> </ul>
Resource/s/developments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- corruption</li> <li>- highest living standards in Balkan</li> <li>- developed</li> <li>- political and economical stability</li> <li>- no strong economic and military power</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- model of development in some moments (for Balkan)</li> <li>- no economic development lately</li> <li>- weak economy</li> <li>- weak army</li> </ul>
Status/state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- positive and negative attitudes toward Albania</li> <li>- EU &amp; NATO member</li> <li>- Other countries of region dream to be like Greece</li> <li>- Intolerant state toward Albania</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Artificially created state. A state that shouldn't exist</li> <li>- Two different nation in ratio 60%-40%</li> <li>- Albanian will empower their position in a long term period</li> <li>- Policies toward Albania change according to international situation</li> </ul>
In/for Balkan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- important political factor in region</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- potential danger for Balkan</li> <li>- key factor of region stability</li> <li>- created to prevent the direct physical contacts between Serbia-Albania-Greek</li> </ul>
Political future	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- can survive only under integrated Balkan</li> <li>- it is in danger because of Macedonian-Albanians conflicts</li> </ul>

	<b>Croatia</b>	<b>Bosnia-Herzegovina</b>
events	- industrial and military part of former Yugoslavia	- former Yugoslavia - war, completely destroyed by Serbia - massacred population
People/country	- Slav - intelligent. - catholic religion orientation. Religious strong domination - Tuxhman initiated the independent development - Balkan country - Less known - Nationalism, Ethnic problems	- Deep ethnic problems; ethnic mass - Conglomerate of religious, races. - Scared nation. People who live in peace by fear. - Muslims from Turkey
Resource/s/developments	- developed - advance in medicine - has the intellectuals elite of former Yugoslavia - works on integration	- weak economy - pharmaceutical raw materials factories
Status/state	- political stability	- lack of political stability; wrong political combination - artificially state consisting of Croat part –Rep.Srsbca- Muslim - There is no Boson nationality
In/for Balkan	- positive factor in Balkan stability - leader of Balkan market tomorrow	- resource of conflicts
Political future	-	- will be decide in the same time with Kosovo

	<b>Bulgaria</b>	<b>Rumania</b>
events	- former alliance of Russia.	- Chaushesku massacre
People/co untry	- friendly to Albania - ex-communist country - lovely people	- gentle people - 23 million, big country - Historical affiliation to Italy. Converted Latin - ex-communist
Resource s/develop ments	- Chaos, high corruption - trades with Albania - international attention because of Russian influence - a lot of natural and human resources. Opportunities for development - better developments to democratic process than the other countries	- deep economic crisis, weak economy - corruption - prostitution - opportunities for developments but lesser than Bulgaria
Status/sta te	- loves Macedonian - political stability	- strong state - political stability
In/for Balkan	- should have greater role in Balkan	- can equilibrate the negative tendencies between Slav and non-Slav worlds in Balkan
	<b>Montenegro</b>	
People/co untry	- natural beauties - calm people - small territory - neighbour - ancient nation	
Resource s/develop ments	- very strategic military position - not large economic potentials - cross of possible traffics - small market	
In/for Balkan	- the only opportunity for Serbia to have access to sea	
Political future	- hard to become independent - Want to become independent because it wants to be integrated in Balkan with its status. A very smart political movement.	

## 7.2. Perceived future of the South East Europe by Albanians

The interviewees didn't have any clear vision for the future. They cannot imagine any worst situation than it actually is. Consequently, irrationally without giving any concrete fact they hope for better and the future belongs to the development. They think that countries of Balkan "have understood" that they all need collaboration and developments rather than war. But in fact they do not mean that. Mostly they hope so. International interests on Balkan stability and therefore their support is a positive factor for the future.

Two of the interviewees mentioned that there will be no armed conflict in Balkan anymore. (They were wrong)

One of the interviewees said that the situation is blowing and nothing guarantees there will be no conflicts in Balkan in the future. (He was right)

## 7.3. Inter-ethnic relationships in Albania

The interviewees think that there is no ethnic problem in Albania. The minorities have co-lived together in a perfect way. They are proud that Albania does not have ethnic problems. Greek minority enjoys all its constitutional rights and has always been treated very well (in the former and actual regime). There are a lot of marriages between different ethnic groups. Other minorities are completely assimilated to Albania society.

Based on some lately events the interviewees said that sometimes some interests by mostly external elements want to create artificially ethnic conflicts in Albania. One of them even named these external elements: chauvinist Greek lobes. One of the interviewees thinks that the ethnic relations can be easily negatively manipulated and pre-formed by some negative factors having certain interests in Albania.

Only one of the interviewees thinks that the Albanians try to ignore the minority existence.

## 7.4. Community belongings

The majority of the interviewees feel to belong to Albanian community. They didn't mention any other more specific community.

## 7.5. Geographic mobility

Most of the interviewees had been abroad and come back on their will. They are not likely to live the country because:

- It is too late for them to integrate in other societies and communities and too hard to have abroad the similar job position/activity and the respect they enjoy here.
- They are convinced they should work for Albania

## 8. Final comments

### 8.1. Most significant fears and hopes with respect to Albania

#### Fears:

- Instability and conflicts in region
- brain chain will continue
- internal political aggravation
- Crimination of Albania society: drug, prostitution, violent environment
- Kleptochracy strengthening, corruption.
- economic regress and its effects to Albanians
- Continuity of a chaotic situation that leads to a new isolation of Albania instand of the integration.
- birth of Albanian nationalistic tendencies
- Internal conflicts (case the events of 1997 in Albania)
- Future security: assistance programs
- Berisha (former president of Albania, leader of Democratic Party)
- earthquake

#### Hopes:

- psychological regression of Albanian will stop
- economic growth and prosperity, a better life for children, increasing the foreign investments
- enforcement of rule of law
- no more brain chain
- Emigrated Albanians will come back in the country as the world citizens
- Born of working will
- Support of international factor will continue
- Political stability in Albania
- Integration of Albania in Balkan structure and in EU.