

## PEOPLE'S CHARACTER AS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE ALBANIAN “NATIONAL DELAY”

**Neno Hristov<sup>1\*</sup>, Marian Ninov<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Assoc. Prof. Dr., (NDA "G.S.Rakovski") [neno.hristov@gmail.com](mailto:neno.hristov@gmail.com)

<sup>2</sup>Assoc. Prof. Dr., (NDA "G.S.Rakovski") [ninov64@abv.bg](mailto:ninov64@abv.bg)

\*Corresponding author

### Abstract

The timeliness of the Albanian National Interest today appears delayed in comparison with the resolution of the national questions of the neighbouring firmly established nations, such as the Bulgarian, the Greek and the Serbian nations. As a reason for the Albanian “national delay” special attention receives religion, as pointed out by all researchers surveyed for the article hereby. Religion itself, as a social phenomenon, has its own mutually intertwining reasons of economic and psychological character. Religion, above all, is a product of collective psychology, of the common mentality of its bearers in a definite period of economic conditions. Ultimately, it can be assumed that the prevailing of the Muslim religion among Albanians (which is one of the main reasons for their “national delay”) is a phenomenon resulting from their collective psychology. This assumption allows approaching the explanation of the Albanian “national delay” phenomenon and the answers to the questions: “Why is it so with the Albanians? Why do they adopt Muslim in majority?” in terms of the science national psychology, also referred to as social psychology.

**Keywords:** Albanian National Question, Albanian National Delay. Albanian traditional spirit, Albanian people's character, Collective psychology of Albanians

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Albanian National Question (ANQ) is one of the challenges standing before the regional security in Southeastern Europe. It directly affects the national security and the interest of seven countries – Albania, Greece, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro and Italy, and indirectly affects Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Moldova, Romania, Croatia and Turkey.

According to the “Platform On The Resolution Of The Albanian National Question”, developed by the Academy of Sciences of Albania and published in 1998, ANQ is considered “...movement for the liberation of the Albanian lands from foreign oppression and their unification into one single national state” [1].

## 2 MAIN PART

ANQ arises within the Balkan interstate relations along with the outlining of the borders of Albania according to the Austro-Hungarian project in 1913 and the staying behind of about 35-40% of the Albanians on the

Balkans outside these borders. The timeliness of the ANQ today appears delayed in comparison with the resolution of the national questions of the neighboring firmly established nations, such as the Bulgarian, the Greek and the Serbian nations. This Albanian „delay“, though, is not a precedent and as Bobi Bobev – long-term researcher of Albanian history and Ambassador of Bulgaria in Albania and Kosovo concludes: „... in its overall social and state development, Albania, due to various reasons, is progressing with delay, in an acute deficit of historical time“ [16]. In fact, the Albanians are about to face not only the political resolution of their national question, but also to overcome problems related to „the clarification and the establishment of the Albanian national identity“ [12] in view of the forthcoming completion of nation-forming and ethno cultural processes that already took place for the rest of the Balkan nations in the end of 18th and during the 19th century, and for some – such as the Macedonians – during the 20th century.

“History of Albanian Nation”, published in 2002 by the Academy of Sciences of Albania, dates the initial processes of the Albanian Renaissance and the national liberation struggle as of the thirties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where the Albanian historians observe that there is a certain delay compared to the neighboring nations from Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and Romania [2]. A number of foreign explorers [3,5,9,19,23] of the history of Albanians, however, consider this delay as more serious and state that, in fact, the national liberation processes appear during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the establishment of “The League of Prizren”, also known as the “The Albanian League”, in June 1878. The massive research of the historian with Albanian origin Stavro Skëndi<sup>1</sup> “Albanian National Awakening 1878-1912” begins chronologically with a first part which studies the period 1878-1881, where the first section is “The Albanian League and The Congress of Berlin” [9]. Yet, Georges Castellan, in his monograph “Histoire des Balkans (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siecle)” [3] defines the Memorandum of April 1877 for autonomous vilayet, sent to The Sublime Porte by a group of prominent Albanians, gathered in Yanina by the Albanian social activist Abdyl Halid bej Frashëri, as a “first political act” of the Albanian Renaissance. The Bulgarian researcher working in the USA Maria Todorova is even more radical in her work “Imagining the Balkans”, stating that “... in Albania not only there is no armed struggle against the Ottoman Empire, but its case does not account for clear separation as in the other Balkan nations” [10].

One peculiarity of the Albanian National Renaissance and national liberation movement is also the phenomenon that the political demands for administrative autonomy get ahead of the naturally preceding processes of cultural and educational, as well as religious renaissance and differentiation. These cultural-educational and religious processes in the case of the Albanians, develop mainly after 1896 as a result also from their active stimulation by Austro-Hungary, as stated by Teodora Toleva, who, for the last decade, has been researching the role of this empire for the creation of the Albanian nation in the archives in Wien [22].

There is no doubt that the historians – Albanian and foreign, ascertain, though in different time dimensions, the fact of the Albanian “national delay”, in other words the delayed modernization of Albanian society to the level of a nation and a national state. Reasonably, the following question appears: “Why is it so with the Albanians? Why such “national delay” has been observed?” A great amount of objective reasons and circumstances in relation with the answer of these questions have been presented by various researchers:

1. The feudal relations, reigning in the Albanian society and the separation which exists in respect of religion – Veselin Trajkov [23];
2. The slow penetration of market relations and the three differentiated religious and cultural communities: Muslim (related to Turkey and education in Turkish language), East Orthodox (under the influence of the Greek church, culture and language) and Catholic (under the influence of the Vatican and education in Latin and Italian language) – Bobi Bobev and Toma Kacori [17];
3. The self-confidence of the prevailing Muslim Albanian community (over 70% of all Albanians) for belonging to the ruling and property strong elite, as well as the leading, but diverging role of the Albanian emigration – Antonina Zhelyazkova [12];
4. The contradictory role of the prevailing Muslim religion among the Albanians – Georges Castellan [3];
5. Stavro Skëndi [9] – a major part in the delay of the Albanian Renaissance and the national liberation struggles takes the separating role of religion, as well as geography and history, which led to different development levels of the Albanians – underdeveloped communities in the north and wealthier and progressive south. In his opinion, the lack of mass education and enlightenment among the Albanian communities as a result of the targeted policy of the Sublime Porte and the Greek Patriarchate in Istanbul,

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<sup>1</sup> Stavro Skendi (Skëndi – in Albanian) – Albanian-American linguist and historian. Born in Korcha, Albania in 1905, graduated from University of Geneva. Worked in Columbia University, USA from 1951 to 1972.

has a significant influence on the matter. Skëndi points out the fact that none of the Great powers had particular cultural-ethnic relations with the Albanians unlike the relations of the Slavs on the Balkans with Russia.

Above all, Albanian historians explain „the national delay “with the necessity to fight for the national cause on two fronts – against the policy of the Sublime Porte, as well as against the aggressive national projects of the neighboring countries – Greece and Serbia in particular [1]. They also add the religious separation of the Albanians into Muslims, Orthodox Christians and Catholic Christians, the lack of a historical model of a great middle-age Albanian state, as well as the neglectful attitude of the Great powers [1,2].

In his work “La mashine à Faire des Dieux”, Serge Moskovici, reflecting on the generating interactions between the social, the economic and the psychological, claims that the social phenomena are explained by reasons of economic and psychological nature [8]. In regard with the Albanian “national delay” in particular, the researchers point out reasons of economic nature, as well as reasons that can be defined first and foremost as psychological. As a reason for the Albanian “national delay” special attention receives religion, as pointed out by all researchers surveyed for the article hereby. Religion itself, as a social phenomenon, has its own mutually intertwining reasons of economic and psychological character. This statement is in compliance with Moskovici's opinion that “Religion cannot be explained disregarding the psychology of the masses.”, in other words religion, above all, is a product of collective psychology, of the common mentality of its bearers in a definite period of economic conditions. Ultimately, it can be assumed that the prevailing of the Muslim religion among Albanians (which is one of the main reasons for their “national delay”) is a phenomenon resulting from their collective psychology. This assumption allows to approach the explanation of the Albanian “national delay” phenomenon and the answers to the questions: “Why is it so with the Albanians? Why do they adopt Muslim in majority?”, in terms of the science national psychology, also referred to as social psychology.

Main category concept in national psychology is national character, where religion is among the main factors forming it [11, 21]. Mincho Draganov<sup>2</sup> in his article from 1982 – an article that had fundamental significance for returning scientific interest towards this science in Bulgaria, claims that “... national character and national psyche in general are a serious factor for the forming of the balance between the historical successes and failures of a given nation...”, as well as that “... a researcher is not able to explain historical vicissitudes of a nation disregarding the role of its character.” [18]. In the same article he states his grounds on one of the founders of Bulgarian national psychology – T.Panov<sup>3</sup>, who as far back as 1913, analyzing this term for discussion, points out the following: “All factors influencing the evolutionary process of the nation are reflected in national character, in its overall aggregate.” [20]. The given scientific statements offer grounds to search the answer to the question of the Albanian “national delay” through the prism of Albanian national (people's) character.

National character is a main term concept in national psychology which, as a science, has been overcoming complicated and contradictory stages of validation as far as the time of the German philosopher and psychologist Wilhelm Wundt, who is considered its founder in the nineties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the period between the two World Wars during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the USA was introduced and set into usage the term for discussion “national character”. During the forties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in USA were established Group for research of the nations of the world and a governmental National laboratory for research of American national character with headquarters in Texas. This example was followed by Japan during the fifties by establishment of Committee for research of national character. At the same time, after World War II, in the countries from the East European socialist bloc, national psychology was even “prohibited”. During the last decades, national psychology enjoys scientific interest and practical use as a tool for resolution of external and internal political, as well as economic, matters both in the West, and in the East [14].

National psychology in Bulgaria has its authoritative development through the end of World War II in the person of intellectuals such as Todor Panov, Ivan Hadzhyiski<sup>4</sup>, Anton Strashimirov<sup>5</sup>, etc. Among the

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<sup>2</sup> Prof. Mincho Draganov (1937-2011) – long-standing chairman of social psychology research committee at the International Sociological Association, member of the European Association of Social Psychology, vice-resident of Bulgarian Sociological Association.

<sup>3</sup> Todor Panov – one of the founders of sociology and military psychology in Bulgaria. Author of “Psychology Of The Masses” (1913) and “Psychology Of Bulgarian People” (1914).

<sup>4</sup> Ivan Hadzhyiski (1907-1944) – one of the founders of Bulgarian national psychology. His book “Popular Customs And Spirit Of Our People” is considered his most significant work.

<sup>5</sup> Anton Strashimirov (1872 - 1937) – social activist and writer with original ethnographic observations.

impressive studies for the last decades are the works of Marko Semov<sup>6</sup>, Mincho Draganov, Georgi Fotev<sup>7</sup>. The explanation of the concept “national character” has found most serious research in the survey “Bulgarian National Psychology” by Marko Semov, where he concludes that “the character reflects the main constant needs for survival and development, and not its rapidly changing historical requirements” [21]. This formulation can provide an answer for the Albanian “national delay”, i.e. precisely this need for survival and development of the Albanians - being a small nation with unique genesis in the South-West regions of the Balkans, forms its national character, hence the manner and the approach of Albanians to react and act in various historical conditions and periods.

In Albania, the scientific surveys on national psychology are rather exceptions than common practice. Even in a publication such as “The Albanian Race” by Jakov Milaj<sup>8</sup> dating from 1944, the problems of national psychology are barely touched on, although the author still reflects in short on the role of the Muslim religion for the Albanian national character [7]. Much of an impression makes the survey “Albanian National Character After World War II” [24] by the young author from Albania Gentiana Haxhijaha<sup>9</sup>, which has been implemented during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The fact that the leading professor of Gentiana Haxhijaha (G.H.)'s doctoral thesis is one of the leading Bulgarian national psychologists - Professor Marko Semov, also deserves attention.

G.H., in her survey, concludes that on the topic of Albanian national character “... a number of Albanian authors have been writing, but their goal has not been exactly an analysis of the Albanian national character, but rather a description of historical events.” This is why she set the ambitious goal “... to extract the main national traditions, to study the influence of the historical events on the formation of Albanian spirit and Albanian national character, as well as the very results of this influence”, paying particular attention to the periods of totalitarianism (1945 – 1990) and democratization and europeanization (after 1991) [24].

G.H. begins her survey with studying the formation of Albanian traditional spirit and Albanian national character, analyzing for the purpose the role of the Illyric legacy, the spread of Christianity and its influence on the Albanian values and traditions, as well as the islamization of the Albanians and the resulting formation of Muslim basis of the Albanian spirit. She explicitly differentiates the national character from the people's character. Due to her, the people's character is the core of a nation's spirit, whereas the national character is the core of a nation's psyche, which is being formed after the formation of the nation. Considering that the hereby article is in search of the reasons, which led to the delay in the formation of Albanian nation, it is proper to examine the people's character of the Albanians, and not their national character, which is a consequence from the formation of the nation.

G.H. comes to the formulation of the following peculiarities and structure of Albanian traditional spirit and Albanian people's character [24]:

1. *Specific semi-religiousness* – according to the author, Albanians are not a particularly religious people, often practicing religious rituals of both Christianity and Islam, and in time of need they pray to “any altar, no matter which faith they belong to”. She concludes that “this is an evidence of the practicalness in the character of Albanians – impressive feature, which helped for their converting into Muslims in particular”.
2. *Postfamily individualism* – the Albanian is an individualist outside the family and the kin. Even nowadays, claims G.H., this feature does not allow the Albanian to fight for the fatherland the way he fights for himself. “Maybe this feature reveals the pragmatism of the Albanian who suffered throughout the centuries” concludes the author. In her opinion, the specific Albanian individualism transfers into some other significant features of the Albanian people's character such as the warrior and organizational talent, which is best revealed in the conditions of foreign countries<sup>10</sup>.
3. *Strongly developed sense of personal dignity and pride* – a people's feature structured by the author into

<sup>6</sup> Prof. Marko Semov (born 1939) – professor in national psychology and essayism at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, author of the three tomes “Bulgarian National Psychology”.

<sup>7</sup> Prof. Georgi Fotev – sociologist and social activist, Minister of Science and Education of Bulgaria (1990-1991), acting member of European Academy of Sciences. Author of the two-tome “History of Sociology”, published in 1993.

<sup>8</sup> Jakov Milaj (1911-1997) – pioneer in Albanian anthropology. Graduated from University of Turin, Italy, veterinary medicine. Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in 1943.

<sup>9</sup> Gentiana Haxhijaha is Albanian citizen with Bulgarian origin from the area of Golo Bardo, Eastern Albania. She completed her higher education in Bulgaria, where she defended her thesis under the leadership of Prof. Marko Semov Her ascent in Albanian society, combined with the outside view of a minority ethnicity, as well as the Bulgarian national psychology traditions she applies, prerequisite the unique character of her work.

<sup>10</sup> It is a fact that in the beginning of the Ottoman rule in Albania up to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, 25 of 92 Grand Viziers have Albanian origins, as well as a number of Ottoman superior commanders.

three directions – “the besa”<sup>11</sup>, the blood vendetta and hospitality. These Albanian features have their display also in other typical qualities such as stubbornness and impatience.

4. *Patriarchality* – expressed in attachment to the big family and the objective of every Albanian is to look after the honor and protection of his relatives.

5. *Distrust towards foreigners* – Albanian hospitality towards foreigners is always accompanied by doubt and suspicion. According to the Albanian expert in their spirit and character, the literary scholar Faik Konica: “The Albanian view is that when the other person is trying to deceive you, then lie is absolutely permissible. Since in reality Albanians are being deceived by foreigners, and being clever, they understand that soon enough, then if they doubt the foreigner's sincerity, they use lie... they know how to cheat on foreigners better than between themselves” [6].

6. *Willingness to emigrate and homesickness* – emigration and resettlement are natural for Albanians: whether due to the rough geographic home conditions, whether in order to escape vendetta or due to pragmatic personal reasons. However, the Albanian remains spiritually connected with the homeland.

Apart from the definition of positive features of Albanian people's character, G.H. has presented in her survey the negative ones, though as opinions of other researchers, travelers and collective images by neighboring nations, for example:

- Albanians' stubbornness and impulsive nature, mentioned by Turkish historians, as well as the evaluation made by Turkish military leaders on the indifference of the Albanians during defensive activities, opposed to their excellent warrior qualities in attack;
- Greeks also estimate Albanians as stubborn and in addition as merciless;
- Bulgarians have the common phrase “Albanian resistor”, i.e. Albanians are slow thinkers;
- The negative image for Italians is in relation with the expression “Far L'Albanese”, which means “you act like an Albanian” - idiomatic expression meaning “you act like someone who is unaware of anything”;
- The German scholar Herbert Louis writes about Albanians' gambling weakness: “... every Albanian is a self-confident person; every individual, no matter clever or stupid, has the surprising ability to make individual decisions, to lay down his fortune and blood like a businessman”;
- The French researcher *Ami Boué* remarks their excessive impulsiveness: “Albanians are a people of rapid and direct replies par excellence.”;
- The British observers, according to the author, are the most unfavorable in their evaluations, nevertheless they are straightforward and truthful. William Martin Leake writes about the Albanians: “They are anxious to secure the favour of their superiors, and faithful to them while regularly paid. Their revolts which so often occur are generally caused by the ill-faith of the employers”. John Hobhouse, a close friend of Lord Byron remarks: “Albanians are not of a malignant disposition, and when cruel, it is more from sudden passion than from a principle of revenge. “

G.H. does not bring out the military disposition and talents of Albanians and their attachment to weapon. She does this in a dispersed form throughout the text of her survey, concluding, however, that: “Military nature is a form of the character, a constant feature of this nation.” In this regard, Jakov Milaj also writes in “The Albanian Race” [7]: “Nobody has denied to this day the military qualities we possess in our blood”. Indicative of that is the statement from a peculiar comparative close-up by the English publicist Henry Noel Brailsford, written in 1906: “Education among the Bulgarians, so far from weakening the primitive tribal instinct of self-sacrifice, seems only to intensify it. The Albanian renounced his religion, and received as his reward the right to carry weapons. The Bulgarian held to the faith which the centuries had bequeathed to him, bowed himself to his daily task and his habitual sufferings, acquired the vices of a slave that he might keep the virtues of a martyr.”

G.H. could have also devoted a more structured place for another feature of the Albanian people's character, a feature she mentions on various occasions in her survey and namely: Albanians' acceptance of nominal foreign political presence on their lands, as long as this presence does not intervene the internal affairs of

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<sup>11</sup> Besa – one of the laws in Albanian common law. Translated from Albanian, “besa” means “a given word, warranty for implementation of the engaged duties”. The besa is most often associated with the tradition of blood vendetta – besa is given by a person, who must revenge for a murdered family member.

the Albanian families and the various family clans that consolidate them. In fact, during their history, Albanians have rarely existed independently or in a state of long-term union, maybe except for the few decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century under the leadership of their national hero Skanderbeg. For shorter and longer periods, they have been under the rule of Rome, Byzantine Empire, Bulgaria, Sicily, Serbia and Ottoman Empire up to the declared in 1912 independence. In present day, before the World War II, Albanians' state independence practically existed for about ten years during the twenties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, followed by domination by Italy. During World War II a unified, great, ethnical Albania with common administration was formed, but it was not an independent state. After the War political commitments with Jugoslavia, USSR and China succeeded each other, followed by independence in the conditions of extreme isolation. It can be claimed that during the pace of their historical development, Albanians have built "one perfect system for alternative existence or crypto-duplication of the inherent social relations, institutions and functions of an independent state [13].

The ascertained causal link between the Albanian "national delay" and the prevailing Muslim religion among the Albanian population on the Balkans could be described with the chain, presented in fig. 1, complementing it with the causal link between the Albanian people's character and the dominating among the Albanians Muslim religion.

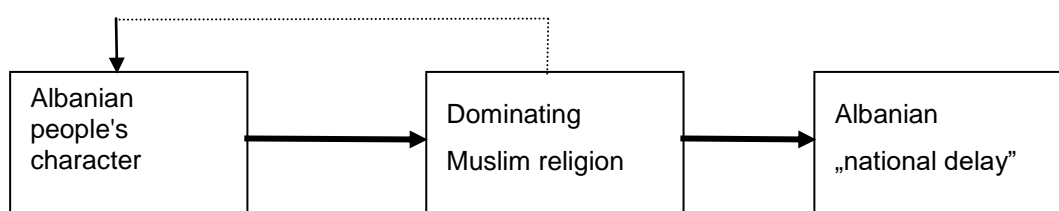


Fig. 1 Causal chain of the Albanian „national delay “

The hypothesis that Albanian people's character has a direct influence on the delay of Albanian modernization could be accepted as probable if the causal link between the Albanian people's character and the domination of the Muslim religion among the Albanian ethnicity in the Ottoman Empire, receives reasoning. Religion is above all a national character forming factor, along with the social and historical, genetic and racial, geographic and cultural and educational factors [21]. At the same time, the level of adoption of given religion by a given nation, in line with all other social, political and economic factors, depends on how this religion impresses with the nation's spirit and character, i.e., as Moskovici claims – religion depends on the psychology of the masses. There is also the presence of the opposite influence – of religion over people's character. The peculiarities of Muslim religion have left their mark and have intensified some characteristic features in Albanian people's character, such as patriarchy and postfamily individualism, typical for other Islamic nations, including the Turks, as a major ethnical carrier of the Ottoman Empire construction.

Islamization of enslaved ethnicities in the Ottoman Empire was implemented both via repression and through the power of privilege. G.H., in the section of her survey "Islamization of Albanians. Islamic Fundament of Albanian spirit" points out the significant role of violence, applied towards Albanians for adoption of Islam. However, according to historians like Peter Sugar, George Arnakis, Maria Todorova, the role of violence is not that significant, and the voluntary forms of religious conversion from Christian to Muslim faith had been a majority. Such violence had been applied towards Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, as G.H. correctly points out, but the mentioned nations have adopted Muslim religion to a significantly lesser extent. Apart from violence, as a reason for mass adoption of Islam, the author points out the role of the weak religiousness of the Albanian, his mercenariness and pragmatism, where she quotes other persons' opinions and evaluations, for example: "When in position between two opportunities – material interest and religious deeds, the Albanian always chooses the first one" - a statement from the twenties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, made by the Albanian Prime-Minister Fan Noli, who is also a distinguished intellectual and orthodox clergyman.

Besides the national psychological features, mentioned by G.H., other peculiarities of Albanian identity explaining mass islamization, formulated by herself, can be added, as follows:

- Albanian's postfamily individualism;
- The strongly developed sense of personal dignity and pride;
- The aspiration for military and authority and organizational manifestations of the Albanian.

It should be also mentioned the peculiar attachment of the Albanian towards weapon. The Albanian would

not be able to stand for his individualism and to protect his personal dignity and pride without possessing weapon, which, however, in the Ottoman Empire, was allowed only to Muslims. And how would the Albanian have the opportunity to penetrate into the imperial administration and achieve high posts, power, influence and profit – something that is a characteristic feature of his national psychology, without becoming a part of the reigning Muslim elite.

Taking into consideration the statement of Marko Semov [21] that „The character (people's character – AN) is defined by factors, but is expressed in reactions, in attitude towards values “, it is completely logical that Albanians adopt Muslim religion in majority, in order to satisfy most of their character's peculiarities. In other words, Albanian people's character has been expressed in the reaction of mass adoption of Islam, which act provides for the following values, important for them:

- Less taxes to pay;
- Possession of weapon to defend their individualism, their personal dignity, as well as the honor of the family and the kin;
- Growth in the hierarchy of Ottoman administration and penetration into the Ottoman elite.

### 3 CONCLUSION

Collective psychology of Albanians, expressed in the peculiarities of their people's character, has a significant role in their mass adoption of Islam – although not so fanatic, but rather more pragmatic. Due to the latter, widely spread among Albanian Muslims is the form of Islam, practiced by the Bektashi Order<sup>12</sup> [15]. Albanian people, however, are above all, Albanians, as claimed by the English publicist from the beginning of the 20th century Edith Durham, who is well acquainted with the habits of Albanian people. Due to her, there is no domination of religious belonging over national self-apperception observed in the Albanians-Muslims, unlike the Serbian Muslims or Bulgarian Muslims [4]. It is not accidental that among Albanians exists the following popular phrase: “Albanians' religion is the albanism”, pronounced by the Albanian poet from the 19<sup>th</sup> century Vaso Pasha. Despite the weaker religiousness of Albanians, the widely adopted Islam and the privileges it brought, did delay their national formation and development, in comparison with the neighboring countries. As a result, Albanian national question springs up and is included in the order of the day comparatively late and is in process of development even as of present day.

There are many factors influencing the development of the national interest, which is positive for Albanians today. Some of them are the collapse of Yugoslavia, the interests of the great powers of this collapse, the Albanian demographic explosion<sup>13</sup>, and the changes in Albanian national character as a consequence of the modernization of Albanian society after World War II.

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<sup>12</sup> The Bektashi Order was founded by Hadji Bektash Veli (Haci Bektas Veli in Turkish), who lived during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Bektashi rituals and practices are characterized with a great deal of freedom. Bektashis pray only twice a day. Some of them drink spirits. Women take part in ceremonies and meetings along with men. Bektashi are not obliged to observe the fast during Ramazan. The Bektashi Order is considered as tightly identified with Albanians.

<sup>13</sup> Ninov M., „Natsionalnia harakter v savremenoto razvitie na albanskia natsionalen vapros“, spisanie „Geopolitika“, broj 1, 2016, Sofia, str.15-28

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