

## Gender and Traditional Values during and after Communism: Detraditionalisation and Retraditionalisation in Albania and Romania (case study)

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**Abstract:** The fall of communism in Albania and Romania brought several social changes. The transition of post-communist countries has had different paths, however general societal and cultural traits seem to prevail, the role of women and gender equality among those. This paper evaluates the accuracy of the observation that after the fall of communism in South East European countries, there is a retraditionalisation of gender roles in the society. The countries in focus are Romania and Albania. The reason why these countries are taken into consideration is their similar type of communist regime. Compared to all the other countries of the region these two have experienced the harshest communist regimes. The assessment of the hypothesis is done by taking into account several aspects of gender issues, during and after communism for each country. The paper's attempt to evaluate the hypothesis is a contribution to gender studies in the region of South Eastern Europe.

**Keywords:** transition, gender, traditionalisation, Romania, Albania.

### **Introduction**

Theoretical developments and studies on gender issues and equality during and after communism focus on the role of women and the status of gender equality in societies before and during transition. This paper evaluates the accuracy of the observation that after the fall of communism in South East European countries, there is a retraditionalisation of gender roles in the society. The countries in focus are Romania and Albania. The reason why these countries are taken into consideration is their similar type of communist regime. Compared to all the other countries of the region these two have experienced two of the harshest communist regimes. The assessment of the hypothesis is done by taking into account several aspects of gender issues, during and after communism for each country. This paper's attempt to evaluate the hypothesis is a contribution to



gender studies in the region of South Eastern Europe. The main concepts used are detraditionalisation and retraditionalisation. The first refers to the idea of women's rights and detachment from the traditional values of these societies. As for the latter, it refers to the process of going back to traditional societal norms and values. These concepts have been explored previously in the literature of gender studies in transitional countries. However, this paper contributes to area studies, by considering and testing the theories in the Albanian and Romanian context.

This paper focuses on gender issues during transition in Albania and Romania and it is structured in two main parts. Firstly, it will deal with Romania and Albania related to the gender situation during communism. Secondly, the paper will analyze the transition process in its beginning and the effects on gender roles in the market again for both of these countries. The reason why the transition analysis is limited to its first ten years is done with the purpose to observe the direct and explicit effects of regime change. The comparative approach between periods and countries is used to show the accuracy of the observation both for the "detraditionalisation" during communism as well as "retraditionalisation" that transition brought. The sources of information used are secondary ones such as academic papers, studies and several reports from UNICEF, UNDP, UNIFEM, as well as primary ones such as national statistic institutions' reports such as INSTAT, Albania.

The main argument of this paper is that during communism in these countries gender was formally detraditionalised. The communist regime did not totally erase the patriarchal structures, but substituted those with the authoritarian regime. Patriarchy was now in the state and no longer inside the family. Thus, gender equality is more similar to solidarity within oppressed members of a patriarchal family rather than for its sake. Detraditionalisation during communism could not uniformly penetrate in all parts of the country. Women found themselves between house and the workplace. On the other hand, transition and its fast pace decreased the level of women in public life and workforce. The structure of liberal economy caused women to be one of the most vulnerable groups of transition, but this shows that beside the new structure itself, those patriarchal values did not disappear, but remained hidden.

## 1. Regime characteristics of Albania and Romania after World War II

Albania and Romania after the end of World War II established political systems modeled on the USSR. Both countries experienced the rise of Communist Parties and the establishment of communist regimes, which later would turn out to be among the harshest not only in the region, but even on a wider scale. The rise of communist party in Albania came as a result of the popular support for the war against Fascism and Nazism. Albania and Yugoslavia had not experienced the influence of the Red Army during the war, because they had their own resistance organizations. Romania's communist party gained control in public administration gradually after the soviet troops imposed a pro-soviet government. Enver Hoxha and Nicolae Ceausescu, although the latter came later into power after the death of Dej, imposed harsh dictatorships.

The characteristics of the regimes are of a particular importance with regards to gender issues as they express the regime's view towards population and more precisely women. Based on Linz's chapter (2000: 44) four indicators to describe modern non-democratic regimes are *pluralism, ideology, mobilization and leadership*.<sup>1</sup> Albania seems to fit into the totalitarian frame, while in the case of Romania the regime of Ceausescu is considered to be sultanist style rather than totalitarian based on Linz's classification.

In such panorama women were seen as part of the state machine and their role had to comply with the state ideology. Firstly, they had to be workers and in the service of the nation. During communism women gained the right to vote in these countries and also, they started working in areas which before were seen as exclusively male areas. All these brought the idea of a detraditionalisation of genders by the regime. However, this claim has to be seen within a larger picture taking into account the overall situation of women both in Albania and Romania.

### 1.1 Women during communism: (un)successful shift towards detraditionalisation

After World War II Romania, as most of the countries in the region was a rural country. "In 1948, more than 80.0 percent of the working age population was employed in agriculture. In 1989, the year the system collapsed, about 28.0 percent of the labor force worked in agriculture, while 46.2 percent of the total population still lived in the countryside, preserving the rural community's traditional lifestyle in the urban setting." (Harsanyi, 1995: 213) Romania under Dej

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<sup>1</sup> See table 3.1 in Linz, J. (2000) "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes", pg. 44

experienced rapid industrialization based on Stalin's style-albeit on a much smaller and less horrific scale. (Massino, 2012: 228) Women had to adapt to this change both by their role in and out of the family. The Marxist doctrine, which was claimed by the regimes as the basis during the establishment of communism in Eastern Europe, claimed equality in terms of gender. Beside the ideological commitment, the fast-paced industrialization changed the national economic priorities. "Women were needed in their productive capacity rather than in their reproductive and care taker functions." (Harsanyi, 1995: 213)

The 1950's mark the beginning of a slight liberalization in Romania. When Jill Massino (2012) tries to analyze the effect of consumption in gender changes she argues that Romania shifted from the soviet influence into trading relation with Western countries. This however, "did not signify a departure from state socialism but instead an effort to re-legitimate it according to nationalist principles." (ibid.: 229) Abortion was no longer considered a crime and the society was going to a certain level of modernization. One phenomenon of this period which cannot be seen in Albanian communism is fashion itself. Romanian women were allowed to dress as in many Western or in more liberal countries such as Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, clothing in Albania had to be controlled by the state and to make sure that it did not reflect any western influence. In Albania fashion was mainly settled according to the ally of the moment, as well as music and other public life features.

Going back to fashion in Romania and its role in women's emancipation in 1950, Massino (2012) argues in her paper "that the feminism and women beauty was put in service of the new regime." Differently from Albania, fashion in this case was not seen as a sign of western "contamination", but as a success of the new regime. At this point consumption in Romania on a superficial level would be considered comparable to that in the West. However, the difference is very substantial. While consumption of the West constitutes the main essence of such a society, in Romania this was used to strengthen the national feeling and the regime's achievements. Thus, one can derive that the new developments in Romania and its fast industrialization brought equal rights in terms of voting and jobs for women, in fields which were previously male-dominated. Also, the consumption life-style promoted in the fifties and sixties created the idea of a freedom of consumption going more towards a western model, thus by trying to create a national pride. On the other hand, all this equality was not promoted for its sake but in the service of the regime. Working in new fields was imposed by the necessity of having the necessary work force. The

nationalization of all industry and of the land took place and private property disappeared. Working in the state-owned economy became the only way to make a living. “Working outside the home was never a choice, but a necessity, for the majority of women.” (Harsanyi 1995: 213) Also, concerning the new life-style and modern technology Massino (2012) argues that “even though modern technology could make housework easier, it did not necessarily lead to a radical restructuring of gender roles.” (Ibid: 231)

Also, the role of women was not the only one affected by state policies. Using the media, the regime sent the necessary signals how the socialist man had to look like. The new man could also engage in helping the woman inside the house. But, as Massino highlights, “by presenting marital and sexual happiness as important elements of a modern socialist society, the state was using the modern for more regressive policies.” (ibid.: 235)

Ceausescu came to power in the late 60s and his main aim was to increase the country’s population, so he banned abortion in 1966. The anti-abortion law had devastating effects for women and their families. At the time, “Romania had the second-lowest living standard in Eastern Europe after Albania as the country experienced shortages of basic living necessities such as heat, hot water, and medical supplies.” (Stancu, 2012: 3) In the 1980s the situation in Romania seemed to deteriorate as the economic system was not efficient in producing necessary daily products. Thus, this new difficult situation brought the need to re-organize again gender roles within the family. Women were supposed to take care about their children, while men were seen as bread-winners. Somehow this was a step back to retraditionalisation of the genders imposed by structural economic needs. Being the bread-winner of the family does not necessarily impose feminine attitudes to male gender. Au contraire, it signifies that in these harsh periods of life, men are strong enough to procure and feed the family. This is seen as a “reflection of their physical endurance, masculinity, and status as breadwinners.” (Massino, 2012: 240)

The rural parts of the country were a key factor for the system’s sustainability. Agriculture was very important in communist Romania. Although in cities during the “consumption era” women were seen to progress in their roles by becoming more modern whether or not for the sake of the regime, the rural parts seem to preserve the structure of the family. As Lobozińska (1995) says in her book, “In Romania the feminization of the agricultural labor force was greater than in the other socialist countries. The majority of rural women were employed in collectivized farms. In spite of the multiple roles acquired by the peasant woman under socialism, her primary

obligations remained connected with her family and home.” (ibid.: 208) Also in this period migration inside the country was a phenomenon that affected rural women as the rural youth went to the cities. Thus, women were obliged to take care of the farms and to get involved in some private farming activity. Women in these areas were as traditionally required, taking care of the family also.

In Tulbure’s chapter (2012) “The Socialist Clearinghouse” the panorama of a Romanian village lifestyle is clearly presented, thus reflecting the clear division of gender roles. While analyzing the role of alcohol both in an economic and social perspective, gender in rural areas is presented as a traditional one. By giving the picture of a tavern in a village the author presents the perception of gender roles in rural communist Romania. Different from cities when women would sit at tables with men and drink, in rural parts this was not possible. As Tulbure argues, “this place was segregated and the talks there was considered to be serious male talks. Hence, categories of masculinity and femininity were mutually constituted in wits and words.” (ibid, 2012: 268) As the regime was trying to fight old stereotypes and create a new concept of gender roles, it was also creating a paradox. “Through speedy modernization, industrialization, and new settlement patterns-it managed to reinforce kinship and promote dependence on extensive networks of relatives, acquaintances, and friends in everyday life.” (ibid.: 271)

The post-World War Second period is not very different from the Albanian panorama. “The illiteracy in the country immediately after World War II was as high as 80%... This is related to the existence of a traditional and very patriarchal society in prewar Albania, where female illiteracy was 90%.” (Gjonça, 2001 :44) The country’s economy was totally rural and backward. After coming into power, the communist party took several measures towards education, by opening special schools for every age group age in society. Also, in the following years the country saw a fast industrialization and urbanization, but still agriculture in rural areas was a crucial part of the economy.

Enver Hoxha, who stayed in power from 1945 until 1985, followed a similar path as Ceausescu in terms of nationalizing institutions. His main ideology was a mix of nationalistic rhetoric and Marxist-Leninist views. In terms of nationalism he tried to keep a national feeling in the population by using women to give birth to as many “socialist fighters”. During communism in Albania titles as “heroic socialist mother” were seen as a source of formal pride, while abortion was banned. Meanwhile, this created a deep burden in women’s lives as they had to deal with

scarcity of resources and sometimes they would turn towards illegal abortion. The economy decreased drastically after the country's isolation and the situation was similar to the Romanian one. People had to queue to feed their families and usually the food provided was not enough. Although communism tried to modernize the society in terms of introducing education, work and the right to vote equality seemed to be formal. "This simply meant that, even though during Communism women were introduced to participate in public life, nevertheless strong traditional impositions regulated daily life." (Calloni, 2002: 4)

Differently from Romania, external migration was restricted. According to the state ideology, since the problems of the past were left behind, there was no need to leave the country. Internal migration was also used for the sake of the ideology by settling newly graduated teachers and healthcare workers in rural areas 'where the nation needed them'. "However, as the expansion of industry slowed down and the urban population was 'supplemented' sufficiently to meet industry's labour demands, rural-urban migration was severely reduced from 1960s onwards." (King and Vullnetari, 2013: 13)

The land reform of communism in Albania was made in two phases. First, all the land was taken from the richest and given to the poor and all was reorganized in cooperatives. Thus, families had to split up in villages. "Paradoxically, as large traditional patriarchal multi-family households were being dissolved in rural areas, new patriarchal multi-family households were springing up in cities and industrial towns." (ibid.:15) But, as King and Vullnetari (2013) argue in their paper, women especially in rural areas had to struggle despite the education provided. In cities social services were available, but mostly in rural parts women had to rely on their neighbors or relatives when they had to leave house for work. This is a clear element of big patriarch families. Also, the element of participating in public life was becoming more and more a duty in the service of communism.

What we can conclude for both countries during this period is that patriarchy was raised in a higher level. As Stancu (2012) puts it for Romanian women (but by the comparison we can use it in the Albanian context): "...women were fighting for survival during the Cold War. They identified the state as the main source of oppression and therefore, they were more likely to form coalition with men." (2012: 15)

## 2. Transition characteristics of Romania and Albania

In Romania and Albania, transition and the fall of the previous regime came as a result of popular protests because of the severe economic conditions these countries were facing. Transition from state owned economies into market economies brought problems for several groups in society. Women were part of the most negatively affected part of society. “Women living through the Romanian Transition were in effect excluded in many ways: they were largely banned from political representation, experienced reduced access to well-paying jobs as well as severely diminished access to childcare.” (Iancu, Baluta, Dragolea and Florian, 2012: 190) Also South-East Europe in terms of values within the society is considered backward and patriarchal. Apparently, the “transition crisis, which has resulted in a loss of security in many walks of life, has led to a strengthening of old role models and values.” (Brunnbauer, 2000:161) Meanwhile this situation is similar in most post-communist countries as well as Albania. In both countries women are seen as going back to their “natural” role of house caring and losing their job positions and status.

### 2.1 (Lost) Women of Transition

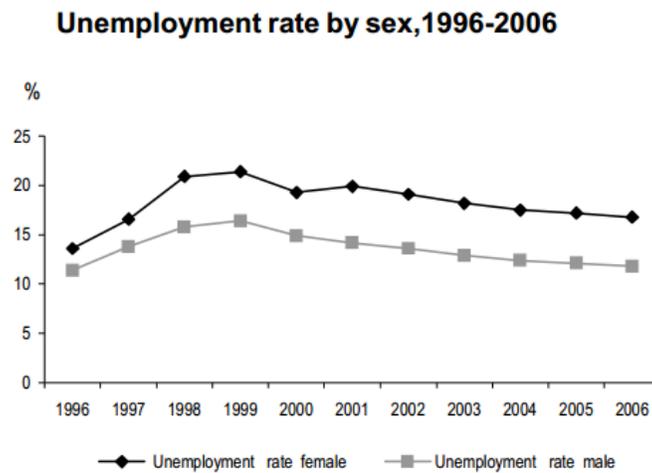
Political representation of women in SEE and specifically in these two countries experienced a decrease during transition. In Romania, the first multi-party parliament had 13 women out of a total of 383 delegates; in the upper chamber, the Senate, the ratio was one woman to 116 men. In Albania the percentage of female delegates dropped from 29.2 per cent in the last communist parliament to 3.6 per cent in 1991, and 2.8 per cent one year later. (ibid.: 155) On the other hand the civil society is seen as the realm where women can develop their capacities.

Also in terms of education, women’s studies are a recent development in the region. Women represent a high number of students and certain areas of education they are even the majority, but specific curricula about gender are not a tradition such as in western European universities. “The first MA program in Gender Studies was established in 1998 at the national School of Political Studies and Public Administration (NSPSA), Bucharest.” (Stancu, 2012: 10) In Albania, a “gender program on university curricula started to run in December 2000.” (Calloni, 2002: 7)

In liberal democracies “Economic power is the foundation of women’s equality and the muscle which helps women exercise their human rights.” (UNICEF, 1999: 5) Based on UNICEF’s study “Women in Transition” the situation of unemployment is very difficult, and women are

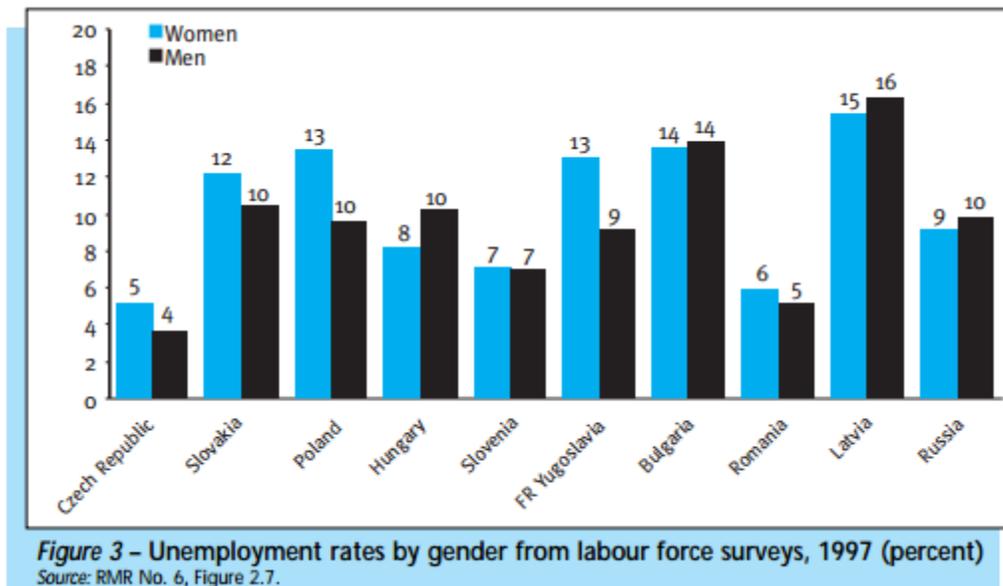
among the most affected groups. Post-communist societies found themselves unprepared in front of this social problem since before 1989 the state had dealt with employment issues and the configuration of the labor market. Employment had declined in almost all transition countries during the 1990's. Overall, the number of jobs lost in the region was estimated at 26 million – 13 percent of the initial level – more than half of which were held by women. (UNICEF, 1999: 3) These data are related to the general situation of women in Eastern Europe and ex-Soviet Union countries. “In Romania, in 1997 female unemployment reaches 6%, while men unemployment is 5%” (UNICEF, 1999:6) for the same year according to The National Institute of Statistics in Albania the rates vary from 16% for women to a lower 13% for men (INSTAT, 2007: 7) Unemployment during transition is present in the case of women, first job seekers and also old men and women. The unemployment rates between men and women are not very different in these countries but “women who completely withdraw from the labor market are not officially regarded as ‘unemployed’.” (Brunnbauer, 2000: 158) Being in this position most of women desperately turned to prostitution. Most of them were trafficked in western countries.

*Graphic 1. Level of Unemployment by gender, Albania, 1996-2006*



Source: INSTAT (2007)

*Graphic 2. Unemployment rate by gender 1997*



Source: UNICEF (1999)

Also, the problem related to the labor market after the fall of communism is the wage gap between men and women. During communism, wages were regulated based on employees' experience and skills. Meanwhile, transition brought a phenomenon that already existed in western countries: the wage gap. In Romania, female average earning in 1997 constituted 76 % of male average monthly wage. "During mid-transition, Newell and Reilley (2000) report that the gender wage gap has remained relatively stable for most countries in the transition economies." (UNIFEM Albania, 2011: 10) This gender gap is mainly caused by occupational segregation according to gender bias. This segregation may be reinforced by social norms. Social norms affect both the job-seeker as well as employers side. "Social norms may also affect employer preferences who may see women better fit for certain occupations than men." (UNIFEM Albania, 2011:11) In Romania during the first ten years of transition there is an occupational mechanism bringing wage differences. "For men, there is basically no difference between gender-integrated and female-dominated occupations, while women working in the sector of female-dominated occupations earn less than women working in the sector of gender-integrated occupations." (Andren and Andren, 2007: 10)

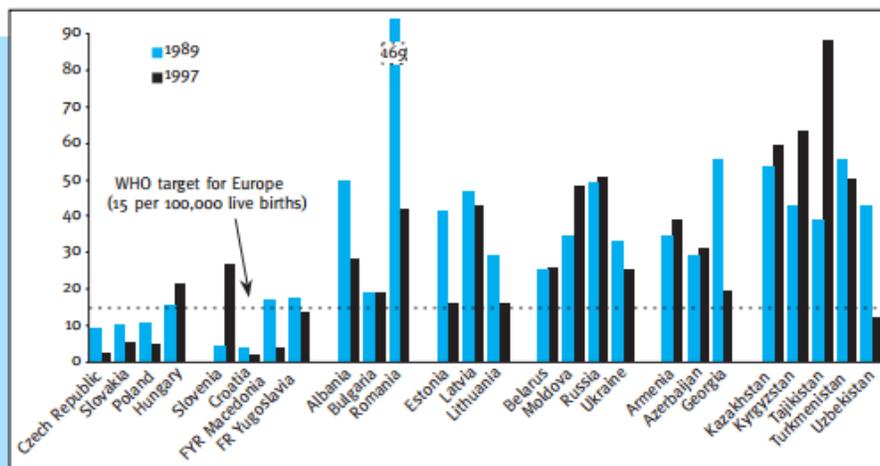
The fall of the communist regimes was accompanied by the decrease of the state's role and state's services. Public kindergartens, crèches and similar social services became inefficient, while

the same services in private sector were unaffordable. Because of the lack of services to the help of women, especially in the aspect of child raising and education, women withdrew inside the family. On the other hand, better possibilities for women with help services, also means better conditions for children.

Furthermore, another important aspect of gender developments during and after communism is reproductive health. Both Albania and Romania had an increasingly high number of maternal mortality during communism because of criminalized abortion. Forced by the law that banned abortion, women had no other choice rather than turn desperately to illegal abortion.

In both countries the regime used the female body as a means to increase the population. Therefore, among all ex-USSR republics and Central and Eastern European countries Romania has the highest maternal mortality rate of 469 per 100 000 live births. Albania had a rate of about 50 per 100 000 live births, which still is among the highest. As we see from the graphic below, a severe policy on abortion caused these drastic rates, but also a decrease in mortality after the abortion was decriminalized again. Abortion rates in Albania in 1989 were approximately 26 per 100 live births, while for Romania around 50. “During 1997 in Albania the number went up to 50, while in Romania there is a drastic change up to 160.” (UNICEF, 1999: 14)

*Graphic 3. Maternal mortality rate in 1989 and 1997*



**Figure 7 – Maternal mortality rates in 1989 and 1997 (maternal deaths per 100,000 live births)**  
Source: RMR No. 6, Figure 4.1.

Source: UNICEF (1999)

In terms of domestic violence, it increased a lot because of Yugoslav wars, but also in other countries. In Albania and Romania, it took the form of domestic physical and psychological violence. Most of the factors derive from a deteriorated socio-economic condition or alcohol consumption. “In Albania, a survey in 1995 had 63 per cent of the 850 women interviewed reporting physical or psychological violence. In Romania, 29 per cent of women treated between March 1993 and March 1994 in the Bucharest Forensic Hospital had been beaten by their partner.” (Brunnbauer, 2000: 163)

## **Conclusions**

This paper evaluates the claim that gender in ex-communist countries had been retraditionalised after a detraditionalization, which occurred during communism. It analyzed data taken for the case of Albania and Romania since these two countries show similar socio-economic and political development traits during and after communist regimes.

Firstly, as it is presented in this paper, gender was detraditionalised during communism to the extent that it was serving the regime’s ideology. Somehow the equality produced was mainly formal because it could not reach all the parts of the country such as rural areas which remained patriarch to a certain level. Also, women work and participation in public life overlapped their family role. Therefore, emancipation was more a duty in service to the nation and the regime rather than trying to fight old values per se.

Secondly, political participation during communism was high, but considering that all was settled by the party this remained formal. The first democratic elections generated parliaments with decreased number of women that reflect the population’s perception towards women in power. However, communism in both countries brought fast urbanization, education and voting rights for women.

During the transition, countries faced the deterioration of general conditions, and women were among the most affected groups. However, one cannot claim this is a retraditionalisation process. This process is continuous in the sense of values within the society. As before women were seen in the service of the state and family, now they are mostly in service of the family. This is a consequence of market economy changes and values within the society that communist regimes and fast industrialization could not totally erase.

On the other hand, communism did have achievements in some directions, such as political representation, education and employment of women outside the house. However, women were under the pressure of combining the roles inside the house with those outside it. Taking all this into consideration one cannot claim that the above assumption can be simply applied in these cases. Factors such as transition as a source of problems for other layers of society, the dualism of women's roles during communism, the rural areas perspective in that period and the patriarchal type of state require a deeper analysis of the context. There is no concept of retraditionalisation if the detraditionalisation was not such, or at least fully successful in the socialist period. Instead, it was transferred into the state level.

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