

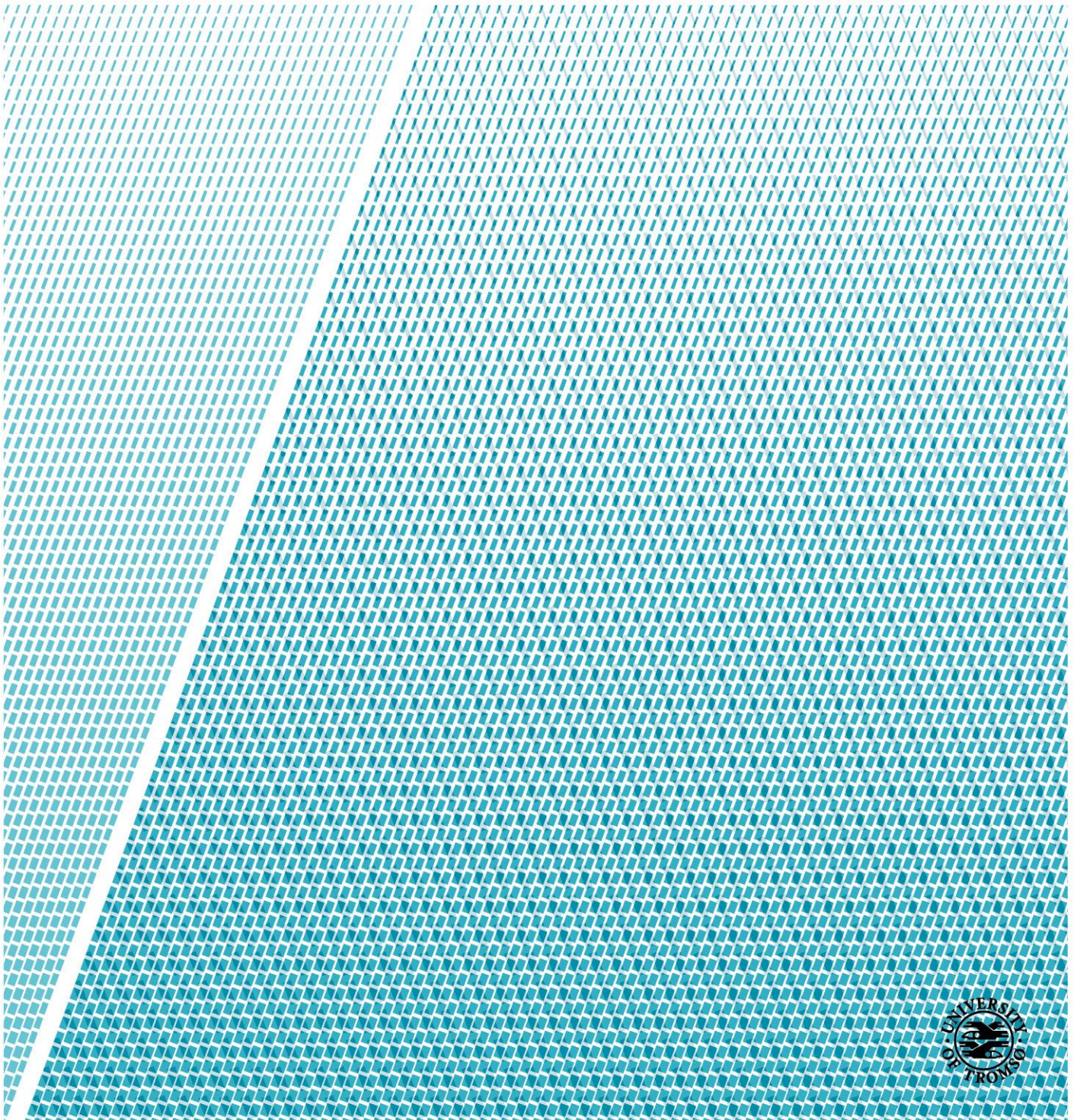
We are waiting for *Behar*

A study of kinship and reciprocity as mechanisms for cooperation in Albania

Bulent Dogani

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Abstract

This thesis demonstrates how regional differences, have contributed to the development of two cooperating strategies for the purpose of increasing economic resources. By utilizing mechanism such as kinship and reciprocity, the local have developed different networks throughout the town in order to take advantage of summer tourism.

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1 Introduction

“*We are waiting for Behar*”, –uttered Ylli while we were enjoying our afternoon coffee in Ksamil, Albania. A small coastal town in the southern part of the country, where majority of the population is unemployed. The small amount of income they have comes from the increasing tourism industry in the country. This tourism reaches its peak in the summer months of June, July and August, which is referred to as *Behar*¹ by the locals. The tourists come to take advantage of the low price compared to the rest of the region² and the pristine beaches that Ksamil offers. These beaches are maintained and operated by the locals, known as *Ksamiljot*. The entire town is intertwined in tourism. The shops and restaurants are intended for tourists, where one can buy everything from sunglasses to beach wear



Figure 1 A local beach in Ksamil

throughout the year. The rest of the *Ksamiljots* make their living by renting out small studios referred to as rooms³. Individual households, referred to as *Shtëpi*⁴, compete with each other for the tourists that are available. The households have developed different strategies in order to maximize their gain during the short months of *behar*. By combining their resources, the households create networks of cooperation throughout the town in order to fill their rooms for the summer⁵.

¹ Behar can be translated to summer break or break in general. Its associated with the summer tranquility.

² Greece, Croatia and Turkey.

³ Some also rent out entire houses.

⁴ *Shtëpi* is also used to refer to house as well as household

⁵ I will use the term summer, behar and on season to refer to the same thing. Winter and offseason will also be used intermixed with each other.

These networks appear only during *behar* and are put to sleep during the winter, were contact between the different *Shtëpi* is reduced. This has created a social dynamic that is influenced by the flow of tourism. The townspeople are active during the summer, where communication between the Ksamiljots is high. As April approaches, the locals start the preparations for *behar*. Houses and rooms get a fresh coat of paint. Gardens, parks and roads are fixed. The long anticipated summer that will bring tranquility and prosperity is awaited with enthusiasm. The different *shtëpi* increase communication with each other and join or respective their respective networks.

This thesis will concern itself with these cooperative networks. I will show how regional differences have contributed to the development of two cooperating strategies for the purpose of increasing economic resources from tourists.

On one side are the Ksamiljot who`s origin is from northern Albania. These individuals speak the Gheg dialect and base their cooperative network on kin relations, thus utilizing kinship as a mechanism for cooperation. The networks based on kinship are unwavering throughout the year, since the foundation for cooperation is based on the blood relations between the different *shtëpi*. These networks are predominantly male oriented, making expansion only through the male line of descent. Expansion occurs either when brothers splits from the parental house, or by adding new family members through the birth of new individuals. This usually happens over generational shifts, making the network stable over longer periods.

On the other side, are the Ksamiljot originating from the south of Albania. Cooperation occurs between households utilizing reciprocity as a mechanism regardless of kinship ties. Tourists are exchanged back and forth between different households, thus creating a network throughout the town. The networks are flexible in size depending on the flow of tourists at any particular time. The more tourists arriving in Ksamil, the larger the network may grows. The size is also determined by the frequency of reciprocal actions taken by the different *shtëpi*. Participation in the network is done by sending a tourist to one of the households within a networks and hope they send one back. If a *Shtëpi* does not recompense that action, that *shtëpi* is usually excluded from the network, as a way of discouraging free riders to participate. Reputations, social status and other signals signal send are an important factor when deciding who to establish cooperative relations with.

As September ended, contact between the *shtëpi* is reduced to a minimum. Both the Gheg and Tosk households retreat to a semi-isolated state, and reducing communication with each other. “*Ksamil hibernates during the winter*”- as one of my informants puts it. He was referring to individuals that retreat within the compounds of their home. Communication with others limited to celebrations or larger events, such as birthdays, deaths or rites of passage. The networks are reestablished as soon as the tourists start arriving in Ksamil and are maintained throughout the *behar*. Those who do not join a networks usually have difficulties filling their rooms. These households are caught in-between different networks try to promote themselves in a limited capacity in order to take advantage during *behar*.

1.1 The field

My primary field site was the small town of Ksamil between January and September 2014. Ksamil is a small coastal town located in Southern Albania near the harbor city of Saranda. Saranda, and the surrounding towns, including Ksamil, has seen an increase in tourism in the recent years. The tourism boost in this region has placed Albania on the world map as a major tourist destination, which resulted in Albania earning the fourth place on the New York Times list of places you had to visit in 2014⁶. This article was highly publicized in the Albanian media and public sphere. A large majority of my informants were expecting an increase of summer tourists in 2014. This expectation is linked with the possibility of higher income by renting out more rooms, beach beds and increased revenue in markets and restaurants. Being isolated from the rest of the world during the communist era, the Ksamiljots viewed this article as a renewed hope, as something that had finally put them on the world map.

Tourisms in Ksamil began after the fall of communism in the 1990`s. in line with the growth of tourists, so did the local population. During the late 90 only a handful of individuals where engaged with tourism in the early days. Now Ksamil is thriving with beaches, restaurants and different markets. Every summer, more beaches, restaurants and parks are added to this small town, creating more places for the tourists.

⁶ http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/01/10/travel/2014-places-to-go.html?_r=0

Albanian speakers from every corner of Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia have relocated to Ksamil in order to take advantage of this growth, and with hopes that this would lead to an increase of personal prosperity. This migration has created different social groups within the community, where origin is an important aspect of social integration and economic cooperation. This has created a group identity where origin and the dialects of the Albanian languages are used as primary markers for social stratification. This stratification is a result of the Albanian communist party's influence on the Albanian population. The Tosk speakers have been the pillars of the Albanian communist movement after the Second World War. Originating from the south, they are the majority in Ksamil. The Tosk are able to define the social situation in the public sphere, stigmatizing the Gheg speakers within the public sphere for being backwards, lazy and uncivilized. The Gheg on the other hand, who originate from the high mountains of Albania, have been able to avoid the heavy influence of communist party. As communism is no more, the Ghegs have reinvented their social organization, which they managed to keep during the communist era, in order to meet the demands of this modern Albania. The Ghegs rely heavily on the kinship ties through the town in order to meet the challenges of daily life, viewing the Tosk as Greeks or under Greek influence and forgetting the Albanian traditions. This stigmatization back and forth influences the different shtëpi choice when trying to cooperate with others when attracting tourists.

1.2 Tourism and the division of winter and summer

Tourism is not a new endeavor among the general population of Albania. The country has seen a variety of tourism sprouts. The first, being during King Zog in the 1930s, when Albania was leaning toward the west, after their independence from the Ottomans. The second, under Italian occupation during the Second World War. The Italians established high quality tourist facilities in Tirana and around the coastal areas (Hall, 2000). These facilities were later renovated with Soviet assistance. This however did not last, since the tourism flow was tightly controlled by the government, in an attempt to control the foreign influence in Albania (Hall, 2000). After a while, lacking marked flexibility in terms of response and change did not fit within the statist model of governance (Hall, 1998), Albania lost the few tourists that started to come.

After the fall of communism in 1990, the tourism started to reemerge as entirely privatized endeavor. The exceptions are a few state parks, such as Butrint, Apollonia and some public beaches in different regions of Albania. This privatization opened up a new market where the locals could reap the economic benefits for themselves, without any state involvement. The result, in Ksamil, is that the coastal areas have been turned into private beaches with their own restaurants attached to them. Access to these beaches is controlled by a handful of the town's population, who have monopolized the coast. An effort has been made by the government to counter this and open up the access, without any major success. A compromise has been reached between officials and the owners, which led to around 20% of the private beaches being dedicated for the public. Lacking maintenance, these beaches are in poor standard and overcrowded during *Behar*.

The beaches are not the only factor attracting tourists. With the restorations of archeological sites such as Butrint⁷, a UNESCO⁸ world heritage site, Albania is able to market history, culture and beach in one big package. This combination, together with low prices, has become a popular destination for tourists. One could observe tenfold of busses with charter tourist parked outside the Butrint National Park. These would later come by the beach restaurants for lunch after their tour contributing to an increase of revenue. The majority of these tourists want to experience the archeology and the relics of the communist regime in Albania. The locals take advantage of this by creating new merchandise related to the former communist party and its leader. The *Ksamiljots* try to enhance the tourists experience by entertaining them with stories from the communist Albania. While at the same time being able to buy ashtrays and cups with the picture of Enver Hoxha, the deceased leader of the former communist party of Albania. Tourists can now also rent refurbished bunkers, build by the former leader, for the night. Where they can experience life in a bunker. This development has created a seasonal economy that is heavily deepened upon tourism. As, the tourists start to leave, individual households retreat back to their hibernating state in all social spheres.

⁷ And other sites such as Apollonia and Durrës.

⁸ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list>

Employment in the region is restricted to a handful of supermarkets, gas stations and public administration. A handful of restaurants owners keep their enterprise active throughout the year, which employ a few individuals. The majority of households however, who depend on renting out rooms have no income, as they are directly linked to the tourist. Most of the private sector in has adapted to the seasonal work. The demand being lower during the winter, the selection of goods at the local markets is greatly reduced. Other private enterprises such as electricians, bakers, construction workers and other related endeavors run at a reduced capacity as well. The public admiration jobs are hard to come by as they require higher education and usually contacts within the government to gain employment. This lack of employment has resulted in the town “hibernating”, with a reduction in social interaction between the households.

Most of my informants spend their days watching Turkish daytime soap operas, with the occasional visit to the local bar for a shot of raki and a cup of coffee in the morning. The promenade, which stretches across the seaside of Ksamil, becomes the sphere of brief social interaction and information exchange during the winter when the locals go on their evening walk. This “hibernation” lasts until spring, were in April individuals in Ksamil start preparing for *Behar*. People come out of their houses and interact more with one another. The cafes start fill up, and the locals start discussing their room prizes and the expectations for the coming summer. Restaurants that have been closed during the winter are freshened up and opened, with new individuals coming from all over Albania to work as chefs and waiters for the summer.

New markets, selling points and kiosks emerge with renewed merchandise aimed at the tourists. The Ksamiljots start briefly to use their respective networks in order to gain information about new jobs, such as painting and construction, prior to the arrival of the tourists. This is done to accumulate some resources in order to buy and refurbish their own houses before the major flux of tourism in June, July and August. Those who are not able to work secure a loan either from the bank or friends in order to buy new paint, and other equipment. People walk around with two or three different cellphones and are in constant communication with each other. One of my informants jokingly uttered that he knew what I was going to eat for dinner, before I arrived at the house, as the spread of information would go faster than the time spent walking from the supermarket to my residence.

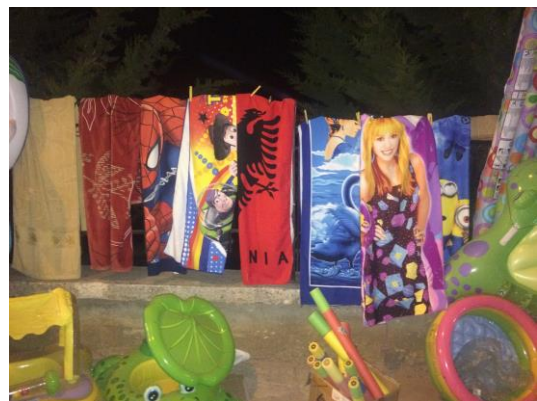


Figure 2 Street seller aimed at the tourists

1.3 Kinship and Reciprocity

The business endeavor itself during *behar* is similar for both group. The *Shtëpi* work primarily for themselves in filling their rooms. In order to do so the Ksamiljots employ two main strategies. The first is based on prior bookings and reservations. The *shtëpi* reserve the rooms upon request from former and potential guest who call in advance. The problem is that the tourists have different dates they want to visit, and rooms usually end up vacant for a period, resulting in a loss of income. In order to fully take advantage for the summer, the Ksamiljots have adapted a second strategy for the filling of the rooms. This is done by cooperation with other *Shtëpi*. These individuals form a network of different households, which are placed in key location through town, where new arriving tourist drive by. The households work primarily for themselves and try to fill their rooms with the tourist they are able to fish. The tourists have different expectations of standards and budgets. The Ksamiljots rooms are located in different places in reference to the beach their prices also vary. By started preliminary negotiations with the tourist, they cooperating *shtëpi* are able to distribute the tourists among themselves. This has a direct impact on the economy, as the *shtëpi* who cooperate are able to gain more when joining forces with other *shtëpi*. The distribution is done referral to the other *shtëpi* within the network, or by physically driving them to that particular location.

Kin is an integral part within the Albanian population. Both the Tosk and Gheg speakers seem to emphasize the father's line of descent. The oldest male is also the household head of the family⁹. In practice however, the Ghegs and the Tosk have a slightly different social organization. This difference is not only limited to the role of kinship in cooperation, but also extended to everyday social situations. The data presented here will highlight the differences of the Gheg and Tosk in the establishment of cooperative networks.

The Gheg utilize an already existing kinship system as a mechanism for the development and maintained of a cooperative network in Ksamil. These networks gain their legitimacy by referral to the *Kanun*, a collection of norms from the 15th Century. The *Kanun* reemerged in northern Albania after the fall of communism (Voell, 2003). With the increasing political unrest during the 90`s, the *kanun* became the primary point of reference in everyday life in the north.

⁹ There are exceptions, detailed in the other chapters.

The Tosk households on the other hand did not have a *kanun* as a point of reference, the individuals *shtëpi* are organized as independent units from the rest of the kin. Having to prior organizational framework based on kinship ties, the Tosk households have developed their networks by creating a system of direct (and indirect) reciprocity. By aligning themselves with households who have different room prices, the Tosk utilize reciprocity as a mechanism in order to gain a collective good¹⁰. In contrast to the Gheg, these networks are less stable with time. *Shtëpi* change allegiance and networks according to the availability of tourism, making them unpredictable in the long run. As a response, punishment like exclusion is used in order to discourage *shtëpi* take advantage of the network. These *shtëpi* that only receive tourist but not contribute to the filling of others, are shunned from the network. This shunning has an effect on their reputation and social status, which can be directly translated into an economic loss for the *shtëpi*.

This thesis will also show how the difference between the northern Gheg and the southern Tosk is a direct result of the communist influence in on the Albanian population. The Albanian communist elite put a large emphasis on the nuclear family as the pillar that holds the Albanian society. The communist party origin can be traced to small clusters in southern Albania that were influenced by the Leninist ideology prior to the Second World War After the war these individuals formed together with the help of the Yugoslav partisan and formed the Albanian politics between 1948 and 1990. This success of communist movement is also a response to the northern lords of Albania and their clan based society that had remained in power ever since the ottoman period. The changes imposed by the communist regime tried to remove the relics of the past. These changed had a larger impact within the Tosk speaking population¹¹, than the northern Ghegs, contributing to the different mechanism for cooperation in Ksamil.

The differences between these two groups are subtle and hardly detectable for the tourists who only spend a couple of weeks in Ksamil. With time however, they become prominent within the economic sphere of the *Ksamiljots*. The next chapter will give a detailed introduction of Albania and its history including Ksamil. Followed up by the theoretical framework and definition of key terms in chapter 3.

¹⁰ i.e. money

¹¹ Who themselves were the driving force.

2 Albania

Albania is located in southeastern Europe, more specifically it is part of the Balkan Peninsula. Albania borders Greece to the south, Macedonia to the east and Kosovo and Montenegro in the north. The Adriatic and Ionian Sea are on the western side of the country. With a population size of roughly

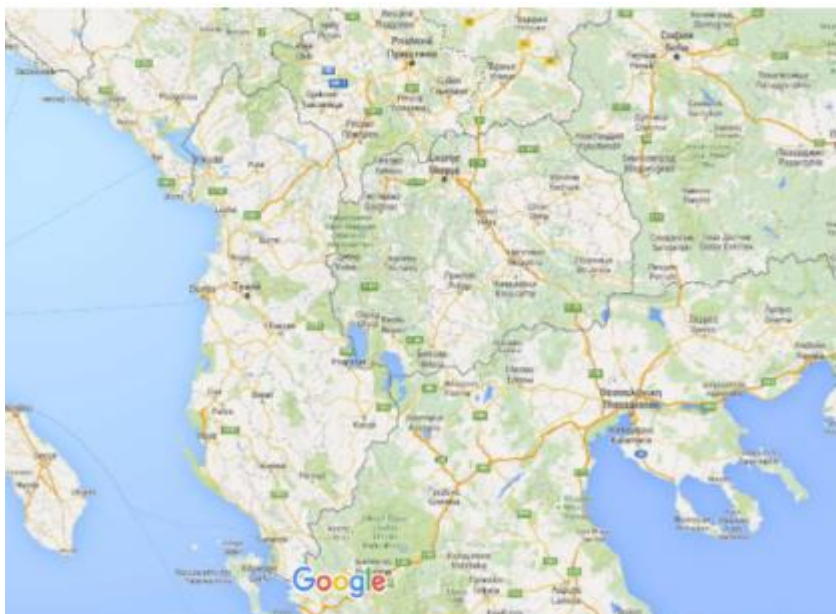


Figure 3 Map of Albania

2.8 million and 28,000

square kilometers it is a relatively small country. The Albanian coast, with its 476 kilometers, includes the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea. The Albanian speaking population extends further than the state borders. There are approximately eight million Albanian speakers living in the world. 2.8 million in Albania and 1.8 million in Kosovo¹² (Krasniqi, 2014), while rest of the population live in the neighboring countries. 500 thousand live in western Macedonia as a recognized minority (Kostadinova, 2002). 300-600 thousand in Greece and lastly somewhere between 600,000 to 1,800,000 living in Turkey (Lewis, 1961). There is also a large majority of the Albanian diaspora¹³ scattered through Europe.

With the opening of the state borders in 1991, international presence in Albania has increased. Apart from the tourists, there are quite a number of foreigners living in or traveling to Albania. These individuals have different agendas either as part of an NGO or as governmental organization like the US Peace Corps. In addition, researchers from different fields¹⁴ were present during my fieldwork. These individuals interact with the community. The

¹² The report is from 2014, but the data is from 2011. The official language in Kosovo is Albanian, and the majority of the population (95%) consider themselves as Albanians.

¹³ There is a large community in the USA, Canada, Germany and Switzerland

¹⁴ archeologists, marine biologists, geologist and botanists



Figure 4 Albanian speakers in Europe

archeologists ¹⁵ have developed friendships in the community, which extended beyond the work relationship. One could clearly observe stories about the newest events where exchanged, transcending language barriers, between these foreigners and the locals.

2.1.1 Old history and the Albanian identity

History becomes a way of producing identity, as self-determination does not occur in a vacuum, but rather in a world already defined (Friedman, 1992), Albanian history, like others, is quite diverse which made the production of an single Albanian identity difficult. A large portion of the Albanians had converted to Islam during the Ottoman era, which lasted from 1385 to 1912. This gave individuals a favorable social standing within the Ottoman Empire, making it easier for them to advance further up the Ottoman system. Some of these converters became land-owning beys¹⁶ that were put in power by the Ottoman rulers. Those who did not convert belonged to the Orthodox groups, left behind by the Byzantine Empire. While the rest, mainly the northern parts, had kept their Catholic roots from the Roman times. Lacking a single identity, Albanians, were referred to as Turks, or orthodox because of the practical implications within the Ottoman Empire (Misha, 2002).

The Albanian ethno genesis reinterpreted its origin myth. Albanians turned themselves to the Pelasgian (Demiraj, 2008) the principal pre-Greek population of the region. They are a subject of various tales from which the Pelasgian were either evicted, by Greeks, assimilated or metamorphosed to Greek (Fowler, 2003).

¹⁵ They had come seasonally for excavations in Butrint. Some had even been here since 2004

¹⁶ Turkish word for lords, which held a position of power during the Ottoman period.

The Pelasgian origin story was replaced by the Theory of Illyrian descent, which was more convincing¹⁷ as a large number of scholars supported it (Misha, 2002). The Illyrian descent theory became one of the principal pillars of Albanian Identity formation (Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 2002) which also helped to establish historical continuity in the region. The 15th century Kastrioti emblem became a national symbol because of its Christian roots. This established a link to the European continent as Christians, who had become Muslims. Albania declared its independence from the ottomans in 1912. The newly established government tried to establish its border based on common criteria such as language and history, which was ignored by European powers. The result was that the population was spilt between different states of Albania, Yugoslavia¹⁸ and Greece. Some Albanians remained in present day Turkey.

Figure 5



A reconstruction of the Kastrioti emblem, the double headed eagle, hanging at the national museum in Tirana.

2.1.2 Communism (1945-1991)

The Albanian communist party, henceforth referred to as ACP, was established in 1941, by merging the different communist cells that had been under society influence since the 1920s. These cells were comprised of students, intellectuals, artists and artisans who had been exposed to communist ideas abroad (King and Mai, 2008). With help from the Yugoslavs and Soviets, partisanship and liberation became a united front in a powerful mutual reinforcing movement. This made the ACP the supreme political force in Albania by the time the German occupying force was expelled in 1944 (King & Mai, 2008).

¹⁷ The finding of sites like Butrint, Durrës and Apollonia also seem to add support for this theory.

¹⁸ Now Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia (and a small population that lives in Croatia)

The ACP completely dominated the political, economic and military sphere (Brown, 1992) shifting the balance of national political power from the northern population to the central and southern regions south of the Shkumbin river. Brown (1992) further states that there was a strong possibility that Albania would have been incorporated into the Yugoslav federation including the region of Kosovo, because of the help they received from Tito. However, Tito broke off with Stalin in 1948. The leader of the ACP, relabeled the Albanian Workers Party, (henceforth referred to as AWP) Enver Hoxha sided with the Soviets. Albania ended thus up becoming a client state for the Soviet Union.

2.1.2.1 Daily life during the communist era

In order to destroy the power of the land-owning beys left over from the Ottomans, land reforms were implemented in 1945 by the ACP. This land distribution was in line with the communist egalitarian ideology. By removing the beys from power, the ACP hoped to gain the support from the farmers. The regime pushed for collective farming throughout Albania, which in practice transferred the land ownership to the state. This became a problem within the northern communities. The land reforms were met by protest from the northern farmers (King and Mai, 2008). The organization of the northern communities is based on tribal system, which made the head of the tribe also a bey within the ottoman system. By removing the bey from his position, the state actually took away the land from the family tribal group and made them workers for the state. Collective farming during that time became of the most common ways of having an income. In the southern of Albania, these farms comprised of orange, olives, lemon plantations, or cattle farms. All of these enterprises were state owned, and employed a larger number of people so that everyone would have work. However, the collective work regime led to careless practice and fading motivation leading to food shortages, especially grain, meat milk and egg (King & Mai, 2008).

Officially, Albania remained a classless state, but the realities were quite different. Two of my key informants, Ylli and Eli, who are now in their 40`s and married to each other, had dissimilar upbringings. Ylli grew up in a family with connections to the military. Eli`s upbringing was quite different, as her parents were average workers working in the state owned cooperatives. This led to Ylli`s family having more resources than the rest of the families. The form of wealth referred to here is not in the sense of material wealth, but rather in the consumption of food and

access to eatable resources. Meat was for example scarce since production was highly controlled by the state. Even hunting and killing wild animals, without the authorization of the state was strictly forbidden, despite the fact that Albania had a flourishing wildlife. Hunting was reserved only for the elites in the AWP.

Despite the limitations imposed by the state, most of my informants view the AWP as a positive force on the Albanian society. During interviews, informants would frequently emphasize that the state made sure that every individual either went to school or had a form of employment. The idea from the AWP point was to supply the population with income so that none would starve. The problem however was not the income, but rather the goods that were available in stores. As Eli explained, her family used to save up some money from time to time in order to buy more goods. However, the state rationed the goods based on family members, so even with savings they were not able to buy more goods than the amount that were specified by the state. The exception to this scarcity was, as I understood, the members of public service. Although officially they were not entitled to anything more than the rest of the population, the reality was that most of them were able to gain favors or more resources than the rest.

The notion of equality and classless society was overshadowed by the social realities within the populations. State employed individuals, like officers in the military or higher party officials were in a position to gain more resources and have a better living standard. This amounted to higher living standard for that particular group of individuals. Since Ylli had a family member in the armed services, he frequently stated that it was on rare occasion that they had dinner where meat was not present. While in Eli's family, meat was seen as a scarce resource. Eli recalled from her youth that there were times when the resources were so insufficient that the only edible thing was *white bread* and *black bread*¹⁹. Eli had her siblings were given a slice each and were told by her mother that the stew was in the black one, that's why it was darker. Both my informants were clear, that even though there was an idea of a shared community and a classless society, there was an individual difference within Albania during the communist era. The party policies, meant to create social equality, often had a negative impact on those that were already at the bottom. Those who did not have work were forced to work in so-called volunteer programs, referred to as collective action.

¹⁹ whole-wheat bread

2.1.2.2 Collective Action

Collective action was a volunteer program initiated by the state to participate in either construction of some specific object or other endeavor for the greater good of the state. Although they called in volunteer work, it was rather a forced form of labor. The consequences of not participating were severe, those who did not comply with the state policies had a tendency to end up in jail or in extreme cases just disappear. One of my older informants Mentor, who is now 74 years old, stated several times that he used to be one of those who would round up the spies for execution or imprisonment. Mentor, now an old man, spent much of his free time at a local bar talking about the old times when he used to enforce the law on individuals that did not comply with the AWP. His stories, highlight the lack of freedom and other limitations imposed on the population by the AWP.

These limitations extended also to the media. Television was state owned and heavily controlled. In addition, foreign radio and television was strictly forbidden. However, in the early 1970s watching foreign television became an increasingly widespread activity among Albanians according to King and Mai (2008), as many households had a black and white set. Italian TV signals could be received through western Albania (King & Mai, 2008), while Greek channels were more common in the southern parts. Ylli told tales of how they used to construct makeshift antennas in order to gain Greek channels. All of this was done in secrecy with the risk of being discovered by the state. Ylli stated that the government would classify these different foreign channels as Western propaganda. The state, according to Ylli issued statements that the foreigners were jealous of the Albanian lifestyle and trying to disturb the Albanian peace. Most of my informants used to believe that this was the case. Ylli and the others from Ksamil actually stated several times that although he saw these different marketing commercials and other forms of entertainment and how people were living through Greek TV. He believed for a long time that this was only propaganda. It wasn't until later, when they emigrated to Greece and Germany, that they actually saw that these were not propaganda, but how people actually lived in other places.

2.1.3 Democratization and the proses of a modern state (1991-1997)

The relationship with the Soviet Union did not last long, and soon after some disagreements, the AWP broke of all relations with the Soviets in the early 1960s. In 1961 Albania made China, with Chairman Mao, its patron state (Brown, 1992, Gjeçovi, 2009). The economic support from China was however, less than the Albanians were used to from receiving from Soviet. This had a profound impact on the daily life such as will Eli family. Brown (1992) states that Albania did manage to fight of serious food shortages, and people even thou they have little, they had some form of food. In 1978, the Chinese severed all connection with the Albanian state. Albania pursued economic contact with Europe, and was still exporting goods like lemons and oranges. Some of my informants remember that even though the Chinese connection had broken down, they still worked in cooperatives that carefully picked and packed oranges and lemons for export to the outside world. However, in terms of political, social and cultural ties the country remained one of the most isolated in the world until the 1990s (King & Mai, 2008). This breakup with the patron states such as China and the Soviet, started the change of events that eventually led to the democratization of the country. It didn't take more than 7 years after the relationship with China ended that the Dictator Enver Hoxha, who believed that Albania could become the "lighthouse of Socialism" in Europe died in 1985. Ramiz Alia took over as his successor, and by this time most of the Albanian population was essentially starving. Alia, although a strong supporter of the communist state, started gradually to implement a number of new reforms, in hopes of develop the Albanian economy. Trade relations were restored with many countries, and even cultural and political debates were allowed within some limitations (King & Mai, 2008).

2.1.4 Inner turmoil

The semi-secret watching of foreign television described above, and the new reforms where a crucial part in giving the youth motivation into pressuring the government for foreign access. With no outside factor influencing the AWP, the party started to lose its grip on the population. Ramiz Alia, the part secretary, tried to reboot the Albanian economy, however it was already too late. The Albanian economy imploded in 1990. Cooperative and state farm were dismantled and destroyed.

The consequence of the destructions during the 90`s are still visible today, as cooperatives, bunkers and other former state owned industrial scale buildings lie destroyed and abandoned. All other the main industrial complex were paralyzed by strikes, and street protests and student demonstrations were escalating (King and Mai, 2008: 44). In December 1990, political pluralism was granted. One of the countries intellectual elites, Dr. Sali Berisha, aligned himself with the students. They formed the Democratic Party and Berisha became the first non-communist president in 1992. Berisha assumed office after his victory in 1992 and a period of stability followed as a consequence of foreign aid being poured into Albania (Pandolfi, 2002). remarked that the process of transition that took place in Albania over the 90`s was like a journey through a labyrinth. Western involvement became a media spectacle whereby the “modernizing” proposals to be implemented privileged electoral politics rather than real priorities and needs in Albania, where standard practice and rhetoric accompanied aid packages derived from experts and hard-working bureaucrats with little knowledge of the local reality (Pandolfi, 2002). By 1994, the government of Berisha was regarded corrupt, as post-election protesters were brutally put down (King & Mai, 2008).

The same intellectuals, who allied themselves with the students in the beginning of the 90s to bring openness freedom to Albania, was now going into the footsteps of the former dictator. Berisha was becoming more and more authoritarian. The opposition party, The Socialist Party²⁰, was not allowed to organize itself. which eventually led to a collapse of the government²¹ in 1997. According to King and Mai (2008) two factors contributed to this collapse. The first, being the growth of criminal and illegal activities. The second is the growth of private pyramid saving schemes, in which unsustainable rates of interest were promised to investor on the basis that the numbers of savers would continue to grow more or less exponentially (King and Mai, 2008: 46). These pyramids collapsed in a spectacular fashion in 1997 corresponding the governments collapse. Over half of the Albanian households lost their lifesavings, a memory that is still fresh in the minds of my informants, as frequent comments were made about that time during conversations with Ylli and Eli. The state declared a state of emergency and imposed a curfew throughout the country, which only provoked further opposition and unrest (King & Mai, 2008).

²⁰ The former communist party members had reinvented themselves and formed a this new political party

²¹ Although there was a government operational, its power was heavily diminished.

2.1.5 Modern Albania (1997-)

This intermix of political lies and nonfunctional bureaucratic system in combination with widespread poverty eventually led to the inner turmoil of 1997. Large parts of southern Albania were effectively outside government control, and in the hands of local gangs with looted firearms. These firearms were raided from the storage facilities of the Albanian military. The civil unrest ended with the government's resignation, which sparked mass exodus out of Albania to Greece and Italy (King & Mai, 2008)

After the political unrest in 1997, Albania began to stabilize. During the 2000`s it opened the socio-economic corridor to the European market and new opportunities arose. For the first time since 1948 Albanian speakers in the neighboring countries of Kosovo, Macedonia, Greece and Montenegro were able to communicate with each other, as they had been divided by the great powers after the Second World War ended²². Different political ideologies between these states, restricted the movement of people. This in turn led to the population having more or less no contact with each other through the communist period in Albania. With communications restored, a self-awareness was growing within the Albanian speaking populations. The idea of an ethnic Albanian nation-state has been proposed, tracing its roots from history and a common identity. The state policymakers have in recent years also adopted this reflection. A great effort has been made by the Albanian and Kosovar governments to increase cooperation in different areas. In education especially in the form of a mutual curriculum for all of the Albanian speaking schools and universities. Albania has given one of its seaports in Shëngjin to Kosovo authorities and customs control as a sign of mutual ethnic heritage, giving Kosovo access to the sea. Other forms of cooperation include shared embassies and future cultural festivals are planned. Because of these recent changes, more and more Kosovars are moving and starting businesses in Albania. Kosovars travel companies have established different routes to the sea side destinations in all the corners of Albania. In total there are over 15 different companies filled with people traveling on a daily basis. Albania recently increase foreign aid and cooperation with different states, as a result for signing the agreement of accession with the EU in June 2014, thus becoming an official candidate.

²² The majority of the Gheg speaking Albanians that fought with the Partisans were included in the newly formed Federation of Yugoslavia, the Albanian natives to the Epirus region, referred to as Çamë, where incorporated into Greece.

2.2 The County of Vlorë

The administration of Albania is divided into 12 counties called *Qark*²³. The counties comprise of 36 districts, referred to as *Rrethe*. The *Rrethe* have 61 *Bashki*, which function as the center of the surrounding municipalities known as *Komunë*. Saranda was the closest *Bashki* to Ksamil. Her most of the legal matter for the locals in the area is settled. Saranda was also the center for

outside and inside communication in forms of transport and other companies with ties outside and inside the country. The municipalities, *Komunë*, usually have just one form of semipublic transport²⁴, three local busses who`s schedule is hourly from Ksamil during the day.

These busses are maintained by different entrepreneurs. They own the physical buss themselves, and have come to an agreement with one another and the municipality on how to divide the route. All of the public transportation such as busses, except the train²⁵, are privately owned. The owners were usually the drivers of the buss. They had a conductor who would to the ticked gathering and with the on and offloading of the bus. There weren`t any big companies involved,



Figure 6 The different counties of Albania

but rather small entrepreneurs in cooperation with each other and the different *Bashki*.

²³ Prefectures in the map

²⁴ Excluding taxis

²⁵ I actually never saw a train running in Albania, as it only runs from Durrës to Vlorë. This information was obtained at the local library.

2.2.1 Saranda

A port city, Saranda is the main center of interaction for the region. Located around 17 kilometers from Ksamil, it served as the entry point for the international and local tourists. Saranda is also the southern hub for other endeavors, both private such as telecom companies, banks, logistics companies, but also public undertakings like, hospitals, libraries, police, firefighters. The university of Tirana has a branch here as well with three bachelor's programs: Nursing, English and Economy. Saranda²⁶ also served as a center of information in term of



Figure 7 Saranda and Ksamil

obtaining historical documents and Albanian anthropological literature.

The district of Saranda operates as a city-state with its own regional police and court. The districts have a large autonomy from the central government.

Although smaller municipalities surrounded Saranda, there were rumors that the newly elected government was in the proses of uniting all these smaller municipalities into a big one with the center in Saranda. I learned early on

that rumors, especially related to politics, were a normal conversations topic during daily interactions. Even though most of these rumors did not have any factual basis, they still engulfed the daily life, and unnecessary worries based on rumors were a common thing.

²⁶ Frequent trips were made by me to Saranda in order to get access to literature.

2.2.2 Ksamil

2.2.2.1 Town history and structure

Ksamil is located between Butrint and Saranda. Facing the Greek Island of Corfu on the other side of the sea. VIetti (2012) argues that the Albanian toponym Ksamil derives from the Greek word *Εξάμιλια*, which means “six miles”, as a reference to the distance between Corfu and Ksamil. Although I have not been able to find another reference to this statement, as most of my informants had negative viewpoints²⁷ towards the Greek. Suggesting something like this during a conversation would have compromised my relationship with them. Settlements around the borders of southern Albania diminished during the communist era. This was due the perceived threat of the foreign powers, in this case that threat was from Greece. Ksamil before the 1970, according to my informants, was a militarized zone heavily graded by the army and used as an exclusive site for the higher ups of the communist party and military personnel. Most of the older settlers seem to remember that Ksamil was a hunting ground for the higher ups in the communist government. Stories of higher ups within the AWP about soldiers that carried the boar in front of the government officials and generals, so that they could shoot it with

Figure 8 Ksamil



The newer part of Ksamil. The house is divided into several dorms, with their bathroom, a small kitchen area. with 2-4 bed. These particular houses are the closest (75-150 m) to the beaches.

minimum effort from a close range, were part of daily remanence when mentioning the old Ksamil. Ksamil was established as village plantation where workers grew and maintained orange, lemon and olive trees. The first settlers came here from the 1974 and onwards as part of the cooperative farms.

²⁷ These feelings are based on their experiences as immigrants in Greece.

The village has grown since that time into a small town with its own municipality. The orange and lemon trees are still visible around town, as the majority of the houses were built on the actual farms. Oranges are also sold in large quantities, on every street corner in the winter. While the olive trees are located on the outskirts of the town. These are divided into two segments, one is by each side of road leading to Butrint. The other segment of olive trees is located prior to entering Ksamil, between the sea and the road, creating a panoramic view of green trees and blue water. These olive trees are still owned by the state, but the maintenance and harvest have been divided between the old Ksamiljots who moved there during the communist era. These comprise of 407 families. The olives are used for producing oil for the purpose of self-consumption²⁸.

Vletti (2012) states that there are 9000 individuals living in Ksamil in total, with 4000 living abroad²⁹. According to my informants the current number of residences seem to be around 7000. An

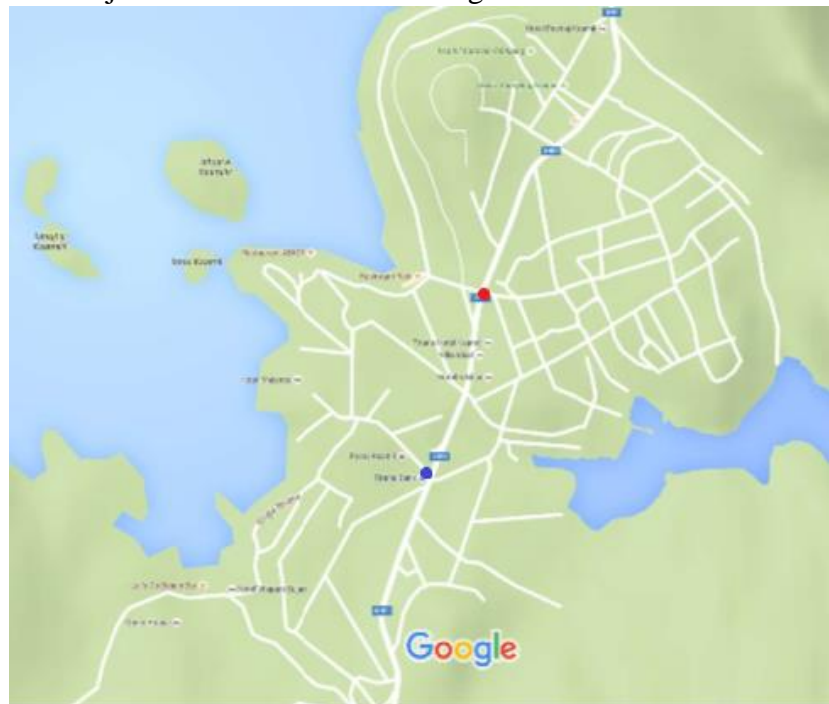


Figure 9 Ksamil. The red and blue dots representing the centers

official census of Ksamil is difficult to establish. The public records are not reliable, either because they are outdated or because they did not keep track of the movement of individuals. Some individuals although they are officially registered in Ksamil, are actually living somewhere else. Migration to Greece is common among all the Ksamiljots.

²⁸ Some also sell or offer them as gift to tourists.

²⁹ I would like to add, that the population of Ksamil is increasing rapidly, as I was there for a brief visit a year after my fieldwork, new establishments and families had moved there.

The town itself is built around two main centers. “*Vallëtare*³⁰” (red dot) and “*Sheshi I Miqësies*³¹” (blue dot). Most of the shops, market and other form of service buildings are around these areas. The majority of these are however closed until May, as their revenue didn’t exceed the costs of maintaining them during this time. Other buildings include the town hall, bank, a school, a pharmacy, a small post office and local construction shops. Frequent trips to Saranda were required for any other service, such public service like hospital and larger institution such as police and firefighters.

2.2.2.2 Accommodation and the Tourists

The rest of the town consists of three types of structures: hotels, restaurants and houses. The houses, referred to as “*Hotele*” by the locals, consist of individual dorms with 2-4 beds in one room, a bathroom and a small kitchen. The larger buildings are referred to as “*Pallate*³²”. These are either private residences or larger hotels consisting of several different rooms, while restaurants are a common thing around town, in which the majority are closed during winter.

Figure 10 Room



The typical dorm/room looks like this. Although this particular one was larger, the structure and building of the room is still identical to the rest of the rooms in Ksamil.

³⁰ Dancers in Albanian

³¹ Friendship Square

³² Usually these were the left over buildings from the communist era. These were still used by the original families who lived here, although some have been sold to newly arrived individuals.

The *Hotele* are the most popular accommodation for the tourist. The rooms within these comprise of 2-4 beds and a small kitchen, they offer a solution to individuals that do not have

Figure 11 The Flying Dolphin



The Flying Dolphin going from Corfu-Saranda. The trip usually took around half-hour one way.

large resources to spend on vacation. In a region where the average salaries varies around 300 € a month ³³ (Eurostat, 2013), accommodation is quite expensive if one wants to spend more than a week in Ksamil. Thus, by having the option of “cooking at home”

the tourist are able to enjoy the sea and at the same time stay within a budget. This however did not seem to have a large impact on the beachside restaurants as they are full during lunch. The town shops main goods are tourism-based items like, sunscreen, beach towels, bathing equipment. The tourists arrive gradually the end of May, and the tourism season reaches its peak in July and August, being the busiest months.

The tourist can be divided into two categories. Those who come from the beach and those who only come for a daytrip from Corfu. These daytrips are part of a cruise packaged consisting of individuals from all around the world. The Cruise ships would anchor in Corfu, and the tourist would take a flying dolphin across the Channel to Saranda³⁴. A local buss with guide, who would take them to Butrint, Gjirokastër and Castle of Saranda.

Figure 12 Local staff



The local staff waiting for a bus of tourists coming for lunch after they had set up the table.

³³ This statics are based on only people employed by the state (teachers, officials, etc..) in fact the average individuals makes around 200 euros a month according to my informants.

³⁴ Which also admitted other travelers, making it the only Corfu-Saranda route.

The tours are matched with the schedule of the ferries, coming early in the morning and leaving around 18.30 in the afternoon. The only interaction these tourist have with the locals, is when buying local souvenirs, or interacting with their guides in Butrint and other places of attractions. On rare occasion, depending on which company was in charge of the tours, the tourist would eat at the local Ksamil. They usually stayed at the beachside restaurant. A section of the restaurant is reserved for these tourists. None³⁵ of these individual would go by the sea or on the beach, even if that beach is a few steps away from the restaurant. This category of tourist consisted of mostly Americans, Germans, Canadians, French and other who just want to have a peek at Albania before going to other destinations with their respective ships. Their stay is short, and their interaction with the local population is shorter.

Figure 13 Beach



One of the beaches in Ksamil during Behar. The tourists have occupied a beach bed each, while the some of the locals walk around the beach trying to sell newspapers, toys and even local variants of doughnuts called *Petullë*.

The other category of tourist usually come for the beach and sea. This group, comprising of individuals who have been to Albania prior, or from the nearby region³⁶ of Kosovo, Macedonia, and Serbia. The majority of these are Albanian speakers, who drive to Ksamil by car or bus³⁷. Most of them consist of family groups. Couples usually stay in Saranda as Ksamil did not offer a vibrant nightlife or any other entertainment at night. Ksamil has a park, and small amusement era for children, but except the beach there is nothing to do. For entertainment people travel to Saranda, where

³⁵ An assumption based on those tourists that I was able to observe, and the fact that most of them traveled without their bathing suit.

³⁶ I would like to add, that recently a large number of Scandinavian tourist have visited Ksamil. However these were very few in numbers, and usually stayed at the larger hotels in Saranda.

³⁷ Charter busses were a frequent sight from Kosovo to Ksamil.

concerts, clubs, and other festivities are a nightly endeavor. The typical Ksamil tourists spend their days at the beach, and the night at home, with the occasional walk at the promenade to look at some local merchandise.

Local Ksamiljots have taken over the area after the fall of communism and constructed the beach according to their own. These were also the ones operating their respective restaurants and beach. No one actually owned the property right for the beach, they still maintain control over it, refusing access to individuals, the owners did not want there. The workload of the staff is divided. The headwaiter

Figure 14 Restaurant at night



The beach restaurants around 20.30 during the July, which is the peak of the season.

is in charge of the restaurant area and the service provide to the guests. The other was the bed manager, who is in charge of maintain the beach, bed and control over the area. A parking attendee overlooked the parking of the cars.

The beaches being so popular are crowded with people during noon to the point that one is not able to move, as the beach bed as so close to one another. Some beaches have a more organizes system of beach beds, with their own category of price. A beach bed segment with an umbrella cost around 600 Albanian lek³⁸, depending on the beach. Those beaches that have less space, usually charge more for the bed, and also expect the person to dine at their restaurant. Those who do not, are turned away from the staff when trying to seize a beach bed the next day.

³⁸ Around 4 €, (the exchange rate being at 150lek=1€)

There are some Macedonian, Serbian tourist coming to Ksamil by car or bus, but the majority are Albanian speakers, from Kosovo and Kosovar diaspora living in Europe. These comprise the main body of tourism that kept Ksamil afloat. These regional tourists usually are limited within a limited budget. Most of that budget goes into the housing. Since the regional tourists drive, some of these also fill their vehicle with food for consumption during the one week they spend in vacation. Those tourists who come frequent to Ksamil, usually pre-book the rooms several months ahead. This is due to the personal relationship the Ksamiljots have developed with their guests. Some of Ylli's guests were awaited with great joy every summer. This establishment of friendship with tourist was change the rules for tourists-local interaction, which has had a profound effect on Ksamil. This however, is not unique to Ksamil, as other southern have noted the same changes in different regions where over the years as the nature of tourism, or the type of tourists, or the quantity of tourists in any area changes, the rules for tourist-local interaction may undergo profound transformation(Crick, 1989). A similar pattern also occurred in Fuenterrabiaha, where the town experiences an enormous growth in summer tourism, which transformed every aspect of life, in labour, food services and accommodation (Greenwood, 1972). According to Greenwood (1972) this transformation has led the local population of Fuenterrabiaha, in the similar fashion as the Ksamiljots, to focus on the sleepless frenzy of the summer months of July and August. Followed by ten months of gradual preparation for the reappearance of tourism.

Tourism studies in anthropology have been divided conceptually into two halves (Stronza, 2001). One half seeks to understand the origin of tourism, while the other focuses on the impact tourism has had on the local population. Stronza (2001) argues that this division, even if combined creates only a partial image. The current tourism related theories, although they create an understanding of tourism and the impact on different local population, lack sufficient data to support them. The author emphasizes throughout the article that since the tourism industry is changing, so should the approach of anthropologist when study tourism.

3 Theoretical framework and Definition of Key Terms

This thesis tries to a degree³⁹ to accommodate some of issues raised by Stronza (2001) by focusing on the description of the empirical data gathered through the fieldwork, rather than an abstract analysis of the local population. In doing so I will use a theoretical framework that is heavily influenced by human behavioral ecology.

HBE (Henceforth referred as HBE) is defined as the study of evolutionary ecology of human behavior. Its central problem is linking human behavior with its history of natural selection, by focusing on the question of how individuals achieve reproductive success and related goals (Cronk, 1991). The focus of anthropology within HBE has been the actor based methodological individualistic approaches, such as Barth social exchange approach⁴⁰ (Cronk, 1991). This is done by developing hypothesis and study how measurable variation in ecological conditions predicts variation in the behavioral strategies that individuals display. This implies that humans learn to use different behaviors in different social and ecological context, in order to maximize their *inclusive fitness*⁴¹ (Næss, 2009b, Alcock, 2009). HBE utilizes simple models in order to study complex human behavior (Binmore, 2006, Cronk, 1991). This is done in several levels, such as between-species, between-population, between individuals, or even within-individual level (Nettle et al., 2013).

The aim of this thesis however, is not to measure behavioral outcomes in the form of reproductive success or inclusive fitness. Neither is it to make a general prediction about the cause of human behavior. The aim is to use HBE as an overall theoretical framework to define the concept of cooperation, including terms such as kinship and reciprocity. These definitions will assist in the understanding of the cooperative networks in Ksamil, where the two mechanisms for maintaining these are based on kinship ties for one group and reciprocity for the other.

³⁹ This thesis will also focus solely on the local population and how they cooperate, this not giving a complete image of Ksamil. However, my aim is to show how these networks are established and maintained

⁴⁰ Which is similar to reciprocity theory according to Cronk (1991)

⁴¹ An organisms reproductive success (i.e. the numbers of genes he has contributed to the next generation) is referred to as fitness (Alcock, 2009; 462-482). Inclusive fitness is the sum of direct and indirect fitness (Alcock, 2009; 549)

3.1 Cooperation

Humans are remarkable within the animal kingdom for the extent to which they become involved in cooperative exchange (D. Nettle & Dunbar, 1997). Cooperation has been an integral part of anthropological studies, especially within resource sharing (Cronk, 1991, Barth, 1965).

The focus of these studies has been on societies such as hunter-gatherers communities and nomadic pastoralists. A great effort has been put on the measurement of resources obtained by hunters-gatherer society such as the Dobe Ju/Hoansi, which is described in detail by Lee (2012).) Even if the goal of HBE is to measure reproductive success and fitness cost. The core of HBE is still committed to the description of what people really do in the environment they live in. Recently an increasing number of papers focus on individuals living in industrialized societies. Nettle et al. (2013) show that over 40% of HBE research has been conducted precisely in industrial societies, where production, cooperation and kin vs non-kin relations are central topics.

Cooperation in this thesis is defined as *collective action for mutual benefit* (Smith, 2003). Collective action refers to whenever two or more individuals must interact or coordinate their actions to achieve some end (Smith, 2003). This end, according to Smith (2003), is generally to provide a collective good, meaning any material or service that is then available for consumption by the members of the collective. In this thesis, the good is the economic resources that are obtained from tourism⁴².

The simplest form of cooperation, involves coordination. This applies when the actor share preference on the rank ordering of each strategy pair in the interaction and thus always mutually benefit from cooperation (Smith, 2003). Coordination is also known as *Mutualism* (Smith, 2003). Mutualism as a concept within anthropology is not new, although its definition has varied. Steward`s (1963) description of the Shoshonean Indians of the Great Basin. Steward`s (1963) Shoshonean Indians of the Great Basin are an essentially family level of integration. The nuclear family was independent and self-sufficient during the greater part of the year. Their suprafamilial integrations involved no permanent social groups of fixed membership. These nuclear families did however co-operate in various ways.

⁴² i.e. money, or economic resources

The most prominent form of cooperation was the collective hunt (Steward, 1963). This cooperative effort yielded larger quantities of raw meat and fur from primarily rabbits and antelope than the Shoshonean Indians would be able to gain individually. Shoshonean are nomadic and tend to move seasonally, as families were concerned with warding off potential starvation by moving from place to place. By not having fixed membership in social groups, they were able to engage in hunting as soon there was sufficient game, and a considerable amount of families where gathered (Steward, 1963). When the game was no more, the Shoshonean retreated into group consisting of the nuclear family, where all of the cultural actives were carried out in comparative isolation for others, creating seasonal fluctuations based on the availability of game.

Another study, from Næss et al. (2010) observed cooperation among Sámi Reindeer herders that illustrate two approaches to mutualism. Næss et al. (2010) investigate possible cooperative labor related effect on production among Sámi Reindeer herders in Norway. The Saami reindeer husbandry unit is the basis unit in the social organization. By using kinship relations as a proxy for cooperation Næss et al. (2010) undertook three statistical analysis. The first being on labour investment, where by cooperating and sharing labour, individual pastoral household may read additional benefits of pastoral production in terms of herd size. The second is the degree of kinship, were kinship was expected to correlate positively with herd size. The third is a combination of the first two, where they include kinship and labour investment simultaneously into a model.

The result was that labour and kinship alone had a positive effect on herd size, but was not statistically significant. However, when Næss et al. (2010) combined these two variables, they found that both of them simultaneously had a clear positive effect on herd size. The study shows that when pastoralist combine their effort they were able to reap additional benefits, in contrast to operating on their own. As the interaction between labour and kinship is important, larger husbandry unites with high relatedness performed better than husbandry units in districts with lower degree of relatedness and/or smaller units (Næss et al., 2010). By combining their workforce with their relatives, the husbandries were able to gain direct benefits in term of herd size.

The two studies above illustrate how kinship affects the cooperative relations when trying to accumulate larger resources. Kinship within a cooperative network may also be used to define the roles within that perspective network. As individual roles are defined prior to entering in cooperative behavior, and used to regulate the norms within that network. Different approaches to kinship have influenced anthropology throughout the years, but a central theme is the social ties between individuals (Eriksen, 2010)

3.2 Kinship

Kinship is an overall and loose term, which refers to the relations of several individuals with each other. These relations are based on genealogical model, or a categorical⁴³ model (Godelier, 2012). The categorical model, or social kinship consist of relationships that are socially created rather than genetically inherit (Alvard, 2011).

Social kinship implies being part of a group or lineage, whose member may not be known or physically present (Alvard, 2011, Eriksen, 2010). Anthropological studies usually focus on the aspects of social kinship in the organization of society (Eriksen, 2010). Most anthropologist however, agree that kinship relations have an aspect of biology, even if their emphasis lies on the social ties between individuals (Godelier, 2012). Despite these different approaches, it remains a fact that kinship relations are universally (or nearly universally) framed in terms of biological descend (Eriksen, 2010; 126).

Genetic kinship is a relation that arises as a result of genetic inheritance (Alvard, 2011). By this Alvard (2011) refers to that genetic kin are related “blood” and share genetic material through common descend, being a mother, father, or grandfather. Kin is a key organizing principle (Smith, 2003) and a large degree of empirical approaches has focused on kinship and kin theory to explain human cooperation (Chagnon & Irons, 1979).

⁴³ Including affinal kinship, created by matrimonial alliance usually in the form of marriage, as categorical models (Godelier, 2012).

Biological⁴⁴ kin relation have been well documented to play in important part cooperation (Steward, 1963, Chagnon and Bugos, 1979, Alvard, 2009, Alvard, 2003, Nowak, 2006, Næss et al., 2010, Richerson and Boyd, 2001, Alvard and Nolin, 2002, West et al., 2011, Whitlock et al., 2007). Since kin share genes as a result of common descent, behavior that increase the reproductive success of relatives can also increase the future representation of ego genes (Alvard, 2003). Kin selection theory predicts that all else being equal individuals will be more likely to favor kin than non-kin. According to Hamilton (1963) a gene causing altruistic behavior towards brothers and sisters will be selected only if the behavior and the circumstances are generally such that the gain is more than twice the loss; for half-brothers it must be more than four times the loss; and so on. Kin selection seems to offer an evolution explanation for why cooperation among relatives should be common.

Chagnon & Bugos (1979) analysis on crisis events such as axe fight that occurred in a Yanamamö village in Venezuela in 1971 showed clearly that closeness of relations measured genealogically serves as a mediator of interpersonal behavior in the conflict. Members of the group that supporting the Moheiwä described by the authors in the fight are not random set of individuals from the village, but rather related.

Chagnon and Bugos (1979) show that relatedness between individual increase the change of cooperative behavior during crisis.

Kinship throughout this thesis is defined based on three units within a genealogical model.

1. *The clan*, which according to Godelier (2012) comprises of a group of individuals who considered themselves to be descended from a common male or female ancestor. The clan is one of the primary organizational principle within the Albanian sphere. The clan, also known as *Fis* has until now been defined as a patriarchal descent group (De Rapper, 2012). This however, is not the case throughout Albania. The meaning of *fis* is rather broader and refers to anyone with biological ties to Ego (De Rapper, 2012).

⁴⁴ Note that I use the terms consanguineal and biological interchangeably under the assumption that the brothers described in this thesis are “blood” (i.e. biologically) related.

2. *The brotherhood*, which is used in various ways within anthropology. One of the most common definitions, is the relationship created between individuals who are not related but come to each other's aid (Okada, 1957). Within the Albanian sphere however, brotherhood⁴⁵ refers to a unit of biological brothers called *Vëllazëri*. These individuals may now live in separate households, but they remember the unity of the paternal house by labeling it a *brotherhood* (De Rapper, 2012). Brotherhood in this thesis is thus defined as biological brothers originating from the same *fis*, forming a unit of cooperation.

3. *The household*. The household concept has been used in a variety of anthropological analyses, in dealing with composition, consumption and exchange (Næss, 2009a). Næss (2009a) also notes that the household and family have been used interchangeably. This we have seen in the description of Londoner family by Miller (2005), others have focused more on the interchanging relations between households (Barth, 2004). A distinction is however needed between the family and the household. The family is wide and can also refer to *brotherhood* and even the *fis* within this context. The household, throughout this thesis will be referred to as *Shtëpi*, which is defined as an independent unit with its own household head.

3.3 Reciprocity

Reciprocity is an important factor in explaining the relationship of exchange. Mauss viewed reciprocity as a fundamental fact of human life according to Eriksen (2010). Mauss (1955) gives a detailed description on how the exchange among indigenous communities in North America has created a system of reciprocity, also known as potlach. Sahlins (1974) on the other hand, links reciprocity to kinship. Close kin tend to share, to enter into generalized exchange, and distant and non-kin to deal in equivalents or in guile (Sahlins, 1974; 296).

⁴⁵ Brotherhood is mostly used by the Gheg speaking population of Albania.

Sahlins (1974) defines reciprocity based on three terms. (1) General reciprocity, where transactions are purely altruistic. This sort of reciprocity usually occurs within the house, such as sharing, hospitality and kinship duties. (2) balanced reciprocity, which refers to direct exchange. Lastly, (3) negative reciprocity where one attempts to get something for nothing. This according to Sahlins is the most impersonal sort of exchange, where individuals are looking to maximize their gain for less effort. Reciprocity according to Sahlins (1974; 198) is inclined toward the generalized pole by close kinship, toward the negative extreme in proportion to kinship distance⁴⁶. This link between kinship and reciprocity described by Sahlins is problematic.

Firstly, not all individuals within a kin group engage in sharing and hospitality. There are times where people will steal and cheat within a kin group (Lebra, 1975). Neither is action by individuals within a governed by the rules of reciprocity. A father does not necessary expect something in return when doing an act for his son. Hamilton's rule⁴⁷ and kin selection theory seem to offer a better explanation for actions taken within a kin group.

The second is related to the linear view of Sahlins reciprocity. The empirical data from Lebra (1975) show that individuals usually engage in reciprocal exchange for the purpose of establishing connections with others. Extra ordinary hospitality is displayed to guest, stranger or potential enemies (Lebra, 1975). Lebra (1975) adds that intertribal sociability recurs too regularly to be dismissed. This correlates with my data where individuals within the networks in Ksamil establish relations with other by engaging in reciprocal exchange.

Reciprocity is identified as a subset of exchange (Lebra, 1975). This exchange system involves two basic elements, the actors who participate in the exchange (the actor here is the *Shtëpi*⁴⁸) and the object being exchanged (the tourists). Reciprocity throughout this thesis is divided and defined by two subcategories; *direct*⁴⁹ and *indirect reciprocity*.

⁴⁶ General reciprocity occurs in brothers that share the house, while negative reciprocity is between individuals from two separate villages are tribes, and balanced reciprocity is situated in between these two.

⁴⁷ Described above

⁴⁸ The actor can be a collective or an individual (Lebra, 1975).

⁴⁹ I would like to add that the direct reciprocity that I will use and Sahlins balanced reciprocity describe the same thing.

Direct reciprocity is a form of imitate reprisal: “I will buy you a cup of coffee, and then you buy me one later”. If an individual does not return the action that individual is either ignored in the future or punished. This form of punishment is sometimes also referred to as negative reciprocity, i.e. punishing others who violate the norms of cooperation (Vromen, 2012). Direct

Direct reciprocity functions as a powerful mechanism for the development and maintenance of cooperative behavior (Nettle and Dunbar, 1997, Alexander, 1974, Axelrod, 2006). However, direct reciprocity falls short in explaining other aspect that are important in social interaction. Exchange does not always involve direct and immediate payback. Direct reciprocity also relies on repeated encounter between the same two individuals (Nowak, 2006). Social interactions usually involves more than just a benefactor and recipient. This is where indirect reciprocity, which is more complex and usually involved more than just a pair where the return is, expected someone other than the recipient of the beneficence (Alexander, 1987).

Indirect reciprocity is defined “*as a consequence of direct reciprocity occurring in the presence of interested audience-groups of individuals who continually evaluate the members of their society as possible future interaction from whom they would like to gain more than they lose*” (Alexander, 1987: 93). Alexander (1987) emphasizes that indirect reciprocity may take three major forms.

- The first one is that *the beneficent individual may be rewarded with direct compensation from all or part of the groups* (Alexander, 1987: 93) i.e.: “James will buy Tim a cup of coffee, so that Tim can buy John a cup, who then will buy James one”.
- The second involves the entire group: *The beneficent individual may be rewarded by simply having the success of the group within which he behaved beneficently contribute to the success of his own descendent and collateral relatives* (Alexander, 1987: 93).
- The third is where the concept of status and reputations are involved. As according to Alexander, (1987; 93): “*the beneficent individual may later be engaged in profitable reciprocal interaction by individuals who have observed his behavior in direct reciprocal interaction and judged him to be a potentially rewarding interactant*”.

These systems also entail various forms of punishment, such as ostracism or social shunning, for freerides trying to take advantage of the system without contributing to the community (Alexander, 1987).

Indirect reciprocity, as expressed in humans, require, according to Alexander (1987) memory, in order to remember who did what. Consistency across time, the application of precedents, and persistent and widely communicated concepts of right and wrong. Thus becoming what Alexander (1987) refers to as moral systems. As there are different moral systems, groups will form with their own governing rules of right and wrong. The individuals in these groups are dependent on different statuses and reputation to maintain their role.

Status, in the form of signaling, is one mediator in establishing and maintaining relationship. The concept of status implies that an individual is privileged or its access to resources are controlled in part by how other collectively think of him (Alexander, 1987: 94). Status within a group can determine the expansion factor, by serving as a signal to prospective individuals wanting to be part of that particular group. When there is no kin and the only mechanism of interaction is reciprocity, status and reputation play an important part as the governing rule of interaction. According to Eriksen (2010) status is a socially defined aspect of person, which defines a social relationship and entail certain rights and duties in a rations to other. A distinction is made between *ascribed* status and *achieved* status. Ascribed are predetermined, such as for example gender and age. Achieved status are acquired, such as a profession or a specific role. These notions of status or reputation can be expanded, or diminished according to the specific social situation at any given time (Goffman, 1959). One can be a football player during a game, but that same individuals is a brother or a sister when interaction with family. Status are important within cooperation as they can distort communication between individuals, refusing them access to a sphere of economic prosperity. One can have access to the physical place, and is interacting with the same people, but not have accesses, based either reputation or a specific social status. This is something I also discovered during the fieldwork, as my own status became both an advantage and disadvantage when trying to gain access to the field.

4 Access and Methodology

My guide during the planning phases of the fieldwork was based on Spradley (1980). His introduction into doing participant observation starts with locating a social situation. Spradley (1980) defines a social situation by three primary elements. First a place, which was a specific location. Second, every social situations includes people who are considered a sort of actors, they become point of interest for the brief period they were interacting in the physical place. Thirdly the activity happening in that location. My interpretation of Spradley (1980) was that this social situation was static and not movable. Coming straight from the university lectures, I was confident enough to think that my social situation would be in Ksamil. Thus making it unnecessary for me to include the rest of Albania. Ksamil can be accessed thru sea and land⁵⁰. The nearest airports are located in Tirana⁵¹, which is 300 km away, and Corfu, which is only reachable by ferry. Since my knowledge of the farriers was limited, I decided to fly to Tirana,



Figure 15 Bus

The buss going from Tirana to Saranda. The local busses where of similar as well

then take local busses to Ksamil⁵².

Going from the airport to the bus station I engaged in conversation with the taxi driver from Tirana. The driver, Joni, asked about my purpose here in Albania, since most of the tourists only come during *behar*. I was able to squeeze some words out of my mouth, with poor Albanian grammar, that managed to become a reasonably whole sentence. As we continued the conversation

I started to understand that the different terminologies that we learned were harder to pinpoint when being at the actual field site than I first had anticipated. I learned that day that even though my field site was Ksamil, the rest of the Albania and Albanian speakers became important. Not

⁵⁰ I had been in Ksamil and the region on vacation the previous summer, which also influenced my decision on doing fieldwork there. Also helping me acquire accommodation prior to my arrival.

⁵¹ The capitol of Albania, the airport was located 20 km from the capitol.

⁵² This way I would not have been stranded in a Greek island if there were no ferries active during the winter.

only as a comparison, but also an important context for understanding my informants. Defining a social situation at any given time, as described by Spradley (1980) would be difficult. My field is not fixed to a specific location such as Ksamil, but rather blurred and fluent, as access is not simply a matter of physical presence or absence (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This field extends beyond the physical borders of the town; it includes other locations, as I found myself in situations where I had to travel with my informants to their place of origin. The data gained from these trips filled in the blanks of Albanian history and daily life during and after the communist era. Most of the buildings from the communist times were still standing, and made an impression when gathering data.

When I finally arrived in Ksamil, I found it rather difficult to engage in conversations with the locals. It is here that I truly learned how lonely it could be conducting fieldwork in a remote place far from home. Not knowing anyone, and having difficulties to creating social bonds, I resulted like the explorer described by Spradley (1980), who tries to identify the major features or the terrain. I began by gathering data about the physical town. I spend the majority of my time, during the early stages of my fieldwork, walking around town and trying to draw maps, counting buildings and take pictures of my surroundings. This non-participant observation was the only thing I could do in the beginning. By starting with overt, unsystematic observations in natural settings as defined Flick (2009), I hoped to get an overview of the site and individuals living there. Being new in a small town, where the majority of the households keep for themselves during the winter, I found it rather difficult to engage in small talk. Since the ethnographers task to be accepted as part of the group (Robson, 2002), I used to drop by the different local markets and by things like, sugar and other items that would not expire in order to engage with some individuals. By having a University of Tromsø jacket on me the entire time, I hoped to become visible for the local population. I thought that this would be at least a conversation starter. This idea⁵³ that walking around town would lead to a conversation was more than far reach. I started to realize the limitation of passive participation as a method. Since most of the locals kept to themselves during the winter and one would rarely see people outside of their houses, unless they were out to buy something.

⁵³ Doing passive participation, such as being bystander or sitting by an observational post, even grocery shopping.

Even the owners of my residence were almost never visible to me during the day. Not knowing the social norms, I found it rather difficult to knock on someone's door, for engaging in a conversation.

4.1 Document analysis

As a result of not being able to conduct interviews or start a conversation, my starting point became document analysis. Document analysis as described by Robson (2002) was used as a supplement method in the early stages of fieldwork. Robson (2002) is referring to primary written documents, such as books, newspapers or magazines. This data collection served two purposes for me. The first was that by being up to date with the local news and other media, I could interact easily with the locals. The media in the form of newspaper and TV played an active role in the townsfolk life. This was because every decision that was made about their livelihood was from the central government, who was far away and was broadcast via the media such as newspapers. Some locals didn't even read the newspaper, but they still managed to keep up to date with the political and other news. The ksamiljot spent a lot amount of time gathering information about both local and national politics. By being up to date with the news, I could gain an understanding of the local "talk".

The second purpose was context. By doing a content analysis of books, newspapers and public records, I would gain a broader understanding of the local history, and Albania a whole. The content analysis started out in a similar fashion as the observations, which systemic gathering of different books. Later, I had a specific goal at mind with the gathering of the data. The goal was to gain a general overview of Albanian history. Later on I narrow the literature to history from the communist era. My sampling strategy (Robson, 2002) was based on references. By starting with a referred book from the librarian, I used the references from that book to gain access to other books. I usually bought the books, since books were cheap in Albania, and owning physical books yielded several advantages. This data was permanent and could be reanalyzed at any given time.

The books could be used to scribble inside, as well as compare with the informants recollection of historical events⁵⁴. The document analysis gelded also several disadvantages in the long run. Documents are written for a specific purpose⁵⁵, such as political motives and other agenda, something also stated by Robson (2002). Fact checking became part of the analysis when working with books in order to check their validity.

Some documents, such as books, didn't have any references list at all, which made it difficult to check the validity of them. The greatest disadvantage was time. Going thru literature in a language that I didn't master was time consuming. Combined with the fact that the only bookshops⁵⁶ in the region were located in Saranda, 17 km away, it became time-consuming effort. Frequent trips to Saranda were needed in order to gain access to new documents, with a bus that only was available hourly.

4.2 Key informants

One of these bus-rides turned out to be the turning point in terms of gaining further access into the local community of Ksamil. The bus conductor Elsid approached me while we were waiting for the bus⁵⁷. Origin was an important factor in the establishment of first contact. Question related to origin were more frequent than the exchange of names in start of conversations. After the establishment of origin, one could move along with the conversation. My own origin became an important factor in the establishment of key informants. My language skills of the Tosk dialect where limited at this particular time. Based on this, most of the individuals I spoke to deducted that my origin must be from Kosovo⁵⁸. Based on this, Elsid offered to introduce to

⁵⁴ I have spent countless hours with them going thru books and other historical literature to see if the events described there correlated with my informant's memories from the communist era.

⁵⁵ I would like that informants during interviews also had agendas or different motives.

⁵⁶ Including the library and public records.

⁵⁷ There were always two individuals operating the bus, one driver and a conductor, the later came and gathers the money from passengers and directed the driver. But he usually stopped at the next last stop and had a cup of coffee while the bus was turning around.

⁵⁸ Trying to explain to informants that I was Norwegian, was a difficult task. Using the fact that I was born in Kosovo became an advantage for me in the long run when conducting interviews. The

a local a Kosovar who had a small bakery⁵⁹ in Ksamil. Establishing relations with a Kosovar came easier⁶⁰ to me. My hope was that I could use this relationship in order to gain access further within the community.

Bread⁶¹, being a universal commodity I hoped that the baker had established contact within the community. That particular day, as we closed in on Ksamil, the baker had already received a phone call from the Elsid, and was waiting for us. Argjend became one of my key informants, and a dear friend throughout my fieldwork. His relations became my access point to the region



Figure 17 the new bakery of Argjend

around Saranda. My role shifted after meeting the baker, as I went from being a passive observer to take on a more active role with Argjend. At first this active role was in the terms of moderate observations (Spradley, 1980). Following Argjend in his daily routines, such as transporting goods from the bakery to different markets, meeting with clients and patrons. Being with Argjend all day, I was able to

establish a trusting relationship with the rest of his family as well. It didn't take long until I was granted access to their most private affairs. I was included into the daily dealing of the bakery, and helping where I could. As time went by, the baker was moving his production base from Saranda to Ksamil. The new location had already been prepared. I began by helping with the renovation of the new bakery, where I would lay tiles, and help where I could with my limited set of skills. Argjend became a patron when interacting with the Ksamiljots, showing me the cultural and behavior norms at any given time. This active participations which Spradley (1980) refers to as to do what other people are doing in order to fully learn the cultural rules of behaviors,



Figure 16 helping were I could.

skepticism of foreigners created by the AWP was still present while trying to establish long term relations with locals.

⁵⁹ This bakery was rather a selling point for his goods.

⁶⁰ I had met the baker during my last visit in Ksamil. His car had broken down my brother and I being clos helped him out with that limited capacity. However, I was not sure if would remember me.

⁶¹ Bread is also an important part of the Albanian cuisine, being present at almost all the meals.

opened new pathways for me. Being an active participant with the baker, I also started to interact with other Ksamiljots. Participation in activities beyond that of the baker was now possible. My confidence in the Albanian language⁶² increased and I was able to engage in conversations with locals. Interaction with the house property-owners became easier.

A slow proses in the beginning, but as time went by, I took on the role of the big brother for their two children. I walked with them to school or back sometimes; had dinner with the family; attended birthdays and other festivities; and helped around the house with the summer preparations. My tile laying skills had improved, and I could now take larger assignments. As interaction became more and more frequent with different individuals, I started to see a pattern of behavior within the community. I became first aware of this difference between the Tosk and Gheg speaking Ksamiljots from Argjend. As interaction with the community increased the differences between became more transparent. Access to the Tosk speaker came relatively easier, with Eli and Ylli being the property-owners of my dorm. Being Tosk speakers,⁶³ I was able to gain access to the Tosk speaking households thru them.

4.3 Gatekeepers

Access to the Ksamiljots Originating from the north was rather difficult. Although I was always welcome, I never felt included in the same way as with the Tosk speaking households. I failed to establish trust with what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) refer to as gatekeepers. Referring to Individual or group whom one might want to study may be available in public setting, but they are not always welcoming to researchers or outsiders of any kind.

Access to formal groups and private settings where the boundaries are clearly defined are not easily penetrated and guarded by gatekeepers according to Hammersley & Atkinson (2007).

⁶² Especially the Tosk dialect

⁶³ Ylli being from Gjirokastër and his wife Eli from Korça.

I discovered quickly that one of those gatekeepers was Haxhi Daci for the Ksamiljots originating from the north. He was the owner of the selling point for the bakery that Argjend was renting. The initial establishment of relation went easier, since it was thru Argjend. Trying to deepen that relationship in the same manner that I had done with Eli and Ylli was however difficult. Even after several months with daily interaction, I could not get access into what Berreman (2007) refers to as backstage. Making it difficult to gain access to the data I desired. Later i found out that this was because to two factors. The first one was due to me being an outsider.

A combination of misunderstanding anthropological fieldwork from their perspective and the communist influence on the Albanian society, Haxhi and his son, Altin believed that I was a government spy⁶⁴. This belief was maintained even though my efforts to be as transparent as possible about my research project. Attempts to shepherd me as a fieldworker (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) and trying to steer me in a direction that was favorable for them occurred from time to time with other informants as well. Even Eli and Ylli exhibited resistance in the beginning. Their concern was, understandably, with what kind of picture I would paint of them, as my role was not understood. However, the resistance exhibited by Haxhi had an impact on other Ghegs speaking households. Being the gatekeeper and a highly influential individual, I needed his approval in order to advance with interviews. Trying to bypass him by using someone else on the inside as suggested by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) was out of the question for me. Since that would only have created a larger barrier between Haxhi and me⁶⁵. I resorted to extensive “hanging about” with Argjend at Haxhi`s bar in hopes of establishing trust. By trying to be as open as possible, about both my background and interest, I hope to find a mutual ground for us to connect.

The turning point in the establishment of trust came after a death in Haxhi`s extended family. An old woman, originating from a village near Kukës in northern Albania, had gone missing. The Ksamiljots arranged for search parties in order to find that missing person. I volunteered together with Argjend and we spend hours looking searching the area, without any success.

⁶⁴ They could not understand why Ksamil would be interesting, unless it was government related. I also learned later on that the family was politically active.

⁶⁵ Ksamil being a very small place, made it almost impossible to conduct any sort of activity without being know to all the inhabitants.

Several days later a shepherd had found the body in the hills leading to Butrint. The old woman, was on her way to Butrint and had slip in the rain not so far away from the main road.

A funeral was arranged the following day. Following the customary traditions of the north, one is to show respect to the family by visiting them prior to the funeral. The male and female members of the household are divided into to locations. Each group receiving visitors who want to show respect for the deceased. During the visit, it is expected to bring a pack of cigarettes for the male members of the family. The funeral was planned at 12, which meant that the visit to the family had to occur prior to that time.

Argjend called me at 7.30 in the morning that day, knowing that I had not attended this kind of ceremonial endeavor before, he had already bought the pack of cigarettes for me and explained what is expected of me. Ksamil being a small town, the men were waiting in queue in front of the house in order to pay their respect to the family. After entering, we greeted the male family members, and were shown to our seats.

We sat down for a small chat and expressing our condolences. As each of us put down a cigarette pack on the table, one of the younger family members came in with a tray of large shots of *Raki*⁶⁶ for each individual from our company. A toast was expressed with the words “*Rrojn tjer*” (the others live), before leaving the room so that others who were in queue outside could enter. The entire visit took about 10 minutes, and I went back home before attending the funeral at noon. This display of respect combined with that little effort made in the search for the woman, by someone who was unknown to the family, was what earned the trust of Haxhi. I felt that finally after several months of work, I could get backstage access to the Gheg community. Little did I know that the notion of backstage and frontage shifted according to the given station at hand. Access would be granted to family dinners, but denied to family gatherings. As was the case with the document analysis, my informants had some agenda as well. No one would truly talk “unfiltered” during interviews.

⁶⁶ Homemade peach beverage with a 96% alcohol content

4.4 Interviews

The interviews be divided into two parts. The first part was completed in the beginning of the fieldwork period, between January and March. A small scale demographic data survey was conducted in order to have an idea of the distribution of individuals in Ksamil. This was done by gather unsystematic basic information from different parts of the town. These gatherings where done at random. These interview were semi-structured and informal⁶⁷ as described by Robson (2002). By semi-structured I am referring to the questions being prepared beforehand. Three questions served as a starting point⁶⁸. The first was related to origin prior to moving to Ksamil. The second was the level of education and lastly if they had employment elsewhere than the houses or rooms they rented. Most of these interviews in relation to the demographics were conducted in the morning when the informant would have their morning coffee or raki at different location around town. Although demographic surveys are conducted formally with a set of question, my goal was not to have a complete list of the demographic in Ksamil, but rather an idea of how the distribution of origin within the population was. The semi-structured interviews where important in gathering comparative data in order to gain an overview of the townspeople. In total, 103 interviews were conducted where the primary objective was to gain some statistics on origin, employment and education. Age is not included as it would have been considered rude, and personal to ask. A fair estimation would be between 21-56 years old. All of the recipients were male, as there were no females present at the cafés⁶⁹ during the winter. My hope was that this line of interviews gave me the opportunity to get to know my informants, also removing some of the doubt they had about my presence in Ksamil.

The second wave of interviews were more in depth and over a longer period of time, March-September. I started with semi-structured interviews, again for a baseline comparison with other interviewees. Since the interviews were more in depth I had comprised a core set of questions involving topic such as family origin, communist era, current living conditions and tourism activities including current kinship present in Ksamil. These core questions were used as a guide in all of the interviews so that I could compare the answers. At the same time, the question

⁶⁷ An informal interview is defined as an interview that occurs whenever you ask someone a question during the course of participant observation (Spradley, 1980)

⁶⁸ The question were kept simple, as I was trying to customize not only myself with the role of interviewing, but also help my informants get used to me being there and performing interviews.

⁶⁹ There were a few exceptions, but they declined being interviewed.

could be modified according to the situation at hand. Such as when the interview was interrupted by others join our table if we were at a café, I would simply change the order of the question. Instead of continuing on the family origin, I would ask about the communist era, then go back to the family when the third person left the table, or continue another time.

As it is essential to take full record of the interview (Emerson et al., 2011, Robson, 2002), I usually traveled with my notebook and tried to record as much as possible of the interviews and observations I made. I discovered that this would be problematic, as some informants remained reluctant to talk when I had the notebook open.

Even if I showed the notes, and explained that I didn't have anything to hide. It was difficult to make them feel at ease and talk freely with the notebook open. This became apparent one day while I was drinking coffee with Some Ksamiljots. I had my notebook open, as I was going through some of the notes I had from a previews interview. One of my informants saw that I was writing something in it, and commented on me writing. My coffee companions heard the comment, and although the comment was meant as a joke, I felt an unease from the informants as their tone changed and their interest in my notebook suddenly rose.

After this, I changed my approach, and left the larger notebook at home and started to carry a small notebook with me for when I was alone. I ended up primarily using my cellphone to take notes of key phrases from the interviews. I would then go home and write the interview down, with the help of those key phrases, what we had discussed during the interview. This was easier, when the questions where prepared beforehand. However, after the summer was approaching and my informants time was limited. I ended up changing the entire interviews into unstructured, and non-directive (Robson, 2002) in the sense that the subject for the interview was controlled by the informant. This approach made it possible for me to ask follow-up personal questions, without the threat of intimidating my informants. This second wave of interviews was comprised of fewer individuals⁷⁰. I was now also able to ask questions that are more personal. Relationship with other family members, and neighbors, friendships, personal history, future thoughts and to some degree politics were some of the subjects we discussed. The interviews gradually also changed structure with time. As my personal relation with the information depend, the interviews became more conversational like and we started. My

⁷⁰ In all 25 Ksamiljots comprised the main body of interviews. These are also the primary subject of the cooperative networks described in the upcoming chapters.

notebook was rarely used, as the cellphone`s note application took over the role of the notebook. Spradley (1980) does not distinguish between interview and conversations, as in his account every question asked during participant observation could be informal interview (Spradley, 1980). However, Holstein and Gubrium (2003) make a distinction between interviews and accounts. Accounts are; when participants engage in explaining, attributing, justifying, describing and otherwise finding possible sense or orderliness in the various events, people places and courses of action they talk about (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003). Accounts as I interpreted them are conversations, just that in my case the conversations were conducted in groups of people.

This became also the foremost method of interaction, as I rarely was alone with one informant outside the house. Thus by engaging group conversations in a preexisting group was a good way of gaining access to knowledge, without the need of breaking the group up. It also gave me the opportunity to blend in with the natural environment, without sticking out. I initiated the group conversations by having my informants meet me for a cup of coffee, which also sometimes triggered a snowball effect, as they would also have someone else with them or suddenly if a friend or acquaintance comes by you are obligated to invite them over at your table. Ksamil being a small place, it was difficult to find a private place. This was even the case in my own residence, as visitors had to go through a hallway in order to come to my dorm. This lack of privacy made it also difficult to interact with all of the individuals living in Ksamil. Since individuals had moved here from different places, they also carried the social norms of their place of origin. This made social interaction with individuals from different locations difficult for me⁷¹. It turn however out that these differences based on origin would play an important part during *behar*.

⁷¹ A large portion of the interviews could not be conducted because some locals refused to talk to me due to my affiliation (me renting a dorm) with specific individuals.

5 The Old and the New

Migration plays a vital role in the social and physical transformation of the town. Vietti (2012) divides the population into two categories, the older residents that moved in Ksamil during the communist period⁷² and the new population that has arrived after the collapse of the regime. Due to this migration, Ksamil has experienced a phenomenal growth after the fall of communism. The town has gone from 407 families to approximately 2000 families. Families have come from every corner of the country, including distant cities in the north (Vietti 2012), which has contributed to an extreme diversity of origin. This migration, according to Vietti (2012), has created a distinction between the inhabitants who moved here during the communist era, and those who arrived after the fall of communism. Vietti (2012) also states that the sensation of time compressed brought about by the rapid growth of the village has meant that the old inhabitants tend also to include those who arrived in the very early 1990s. Only those who were physically present at the time of the cooperative are actually as “*vendas*” (locals), opposed to the “*të ardhur*” (newcomers). Because of the size of Ksamil, most of the populations could distinguish between who was *të ardhur* and who was *vendas*. This distinction between the old and the new was also present during the early stages of my fieldwork. The *vendas*, having been here for a while were able to secure properties and land near the beach. While those who came later usually ended up further way from the seaside. Except for the location and housing, the distinction was less prominent than Vietti (2012) describes. With time, I discovered that this was due to the kinship relations between the old and the new. The first 407 households were relocated through the AWP, as the AWP was no more, these households started to pull other relatives⁷³ to Ksamil. Haxhi, moved here from the north after the fall of communism, is a newcomer according to Vietti. However, one of his relatives who had been living here during the communist era pulled him here, and interaction between them occurs on daily basis. The social dynamics described by Vietti (2012) are not as significant as the author pronounces. There does not seem to be any difference in interaction between old and the new. Informants would rather go to a shop that was a bit further away and belonged to someone who had just moved here in Ksamil in order to buy the weekly goods, than going to someone who was part of the older residents and closer to their house. This was strictly, because

⁷² 1974-1990

⁷³ There are some exceptions, but rarely, even the baker had bought his bakery from another Kosovar, who used to live here prior to my arrival.

the goods were a bit cheaper⁷⁴. However, time showed that regional background seem to be of importance in the social dynamics of the town. This is something also stated by Vietti (2012), with reference to the Ksamiljot who`s origin is from Tepelenë, which during the town planning, some locals have been prioritized more than others. Those Ksamiljots who are not from Tepelenë reproached the mayor for having “forgotten” the town center. The mayor had spent all the money on doing up the Ksamil district where “all those from Tepelenë” lived and by no coincidence, the mayor himself lives (Vietti, 2012). Matters like this were common among the Ksamiljot. Different social group were formed based on origin prior to relocating to Ksamil. Those from Kukës region would gather at Enver place during the afternoon as the spring was upon us. Enver being from Kukës owned a small “*Kafebar*” where locals could enjoy chess and raki during the entire winter.

As summer was approaching, the Ksamiljot started preparing for *Behar*. Individuals and their respective households started suddenly and with great haste to refurbish their rooms. It seemed that with the rise of temperature so was the pace of the Ksamiljot interaction. Around late spring a small amount of tourists started to arrive. One could also observe large trucks, arriving from different parts of Albania in Ksamil. These were filled beds and other goods which locals had ordered. Brushes and paint replaced the popular Turkish soap operas, as my informants started to paint their ways rooms and walls. New equipment such as small stoves and TV were bought to fill these newly painted rooms. Murat, a traveling merchant who lived in Tirana, drove to Ksamil in his infamous red van⁷⁵ selling equipment that he had bought in large quantities at storehouses in Tirana to the Ksamiljots. He timed his trips right before *Behar* and were closely connected to the pace the Ksamiljots did their home improvement. Murat made several trips back and forth between Tirana and Ksamil during April-May. Ksamiljots came out of their hibernation and the anticipation for this year`s flux of tourism was high. New individuals in the form of seasonal workers started to arrive from all over Albania. Artan, originally form Elbasan, constructed a large makeshift tent by the side of the road. Here one could buy beach towels, shorts, and other beach related merchandise. Artan was the brother-in-law of the local imam in Ksamil. He stayed here only during *Behar*, and moved back as soon as the season was over. Other seasonal workers from various places also had family members who lived in Ksamil.

⁷⁴ Economic interest are central part of the interaction, individuals seek friendships that could be beneficial in the beginning.

⁷⁵ His red van was well known in Ksamil, as the equipment Murat bought had good quality

Rexhep, whose origin was from village near Kukës⁷⁶, had pulled several individuals from the north in order to work in the restaurant during *Behar*. Argjend, who now had the bakery open for 24 hours, also increased his workforce. His brother and an apprentice had arrived from the Has village of neighboring Kosovo, in order to meet the high demand by the tourists. These seasonal workers fused into the daily life of the Ksamiljots. As the flux of tourism increased new dynamics started to emerge in Ksamil. These new dynamics banded individuals *Shtëpi* together prior to the arrival of *Behar*. The emergence of different cooperative networks was becoming clear. At first, I thought that these were rooted in the different dialects that existed in Ksamil. Since the town had attracted individuals from all over Albania, I assumed that working with individual from the same region would make the communication easier. However, it turned out the dialect was not the only criteria for the construction of the different groups. The social organization of the Albanian population played an important part when amassing the necessary workforce for *behar*. This social organization is rooted in the effect the AWP has had on the Albanian population. The Albanian population is divided into two main categories, Gheg and Tosk.

5.1 The Gheg and the Tosk

The two main dialects that are prominent in the Albanian speaking population are Gheg and Tosk. There are some other variations of Albanian such as Arbëresh spoken in southern Italy. Another group is the Arvanit. The Arvanites are a group of Albanian speaking Greeks who have been living in Greece for one thousand years. They slowly transformed their identity from a regional localized ethnic identity to a Greek national identity. Thus contributing to the decline of the Arvanit



Figure 18. Map of the distribution of the different Albanian dialects.

Map by Arnold Platon [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons

⁷⁶ A notion I want to add, is that all of my informants, when asking about origin replied either, Kukës, Dibër, Mirditë, Delvine etc... Naming the larger towns, instead of their own villages.

language. The rest of the Albanian speaking population use either Tosk or Gheg. Tosk is mainly used in the south, including the Çamë who reside in both in Albania and Greece. While the northern part of Albania, including Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia use primarily Gheg. The River Shkumbin in Central Albania is considered as the dividing line for the two.

Most of the communist leaders were Tosk speakers including Enver Hoxha, the secretary of the AWP from 1948 until 1985, who was himself from Gjirokastër located in southern Albania. These individuals made an effort to standardize the Albanian language based on the Tosk dialect. The official name of Albania was change from the Gheg⁷⁷. This elevated the Tosk dialectal to be the dominant in the public sphere in Albania. This dominance has is still visible among the Albanian speaking population today. The Tosk dialect is still the standard form of Albania within the public sphere. Other Albanian speakers, who used primarily the Gheg dialectic view the Tosk as more “correct Albanian”. An effort is made by the tourist to “switch” dialects to Tosk while on holyday in Albania⁷⁸. Although not an ethnic division⁷⁹, this difference between Gheg and Tosk, also extends the social organization within the Albanian population.

5.2 Family Organization

The social organization of the Albanian speakers can be divided into three units⁸⁰. The lowest unit is the *Shtëpi* (the household). It consists of the nuclear family and is economically independent from the rest of the kin. The household head, also known as *zot Shtëpi* in Albanian, functions as the patriarch and makes the final decision conserving the household. When the male members of the household marry, they can choose to stay within the household creating a larger *shtëpi*. The oldest male member of the household functions as the head of the Shtëpi. This can either be the older brother or father. A brother may also choose to spilt from the household and create its own *Shtëpi*. If a household that consist of several married male

⁷⁷ From “*Republika Shqipërisë*” (Gheg) to “*Republika e Shqipërisë*” (Tosk)

⁷⁸ Interviews and conversations with non-locals show that the Tosk dialect is still the standard Albanian.

⁷⁹ All my informants would state specifically state that the division is not an ethnic, as they view their ethnicity as Albanian.

⁸⁰ Although, in some villages the entire village is seen as a social unit, when comparing to other villages. During weddings receptions or deaths, feuds between neighbors were put to rest in order to receive visitors from other villages.

members, the majority choose to do this. This intermediary unit is the *Vëllazëri*, which is comprised of biological⁸¹ brothers who have moved out of their paternal house. Although the households are independent from each other when considering the everyday interactions, they may go together for larger issues concerning family relations, weddings and alliances. The last unit is the clan, referred to as *fis*. The *fis* is exogamous comprises of several brotherhoods and nuclear families. It includes all the extended kin who share the idea of a common ancestor.

This kinship organization applies to both Tosk and Gheg. The system has a male patriarch

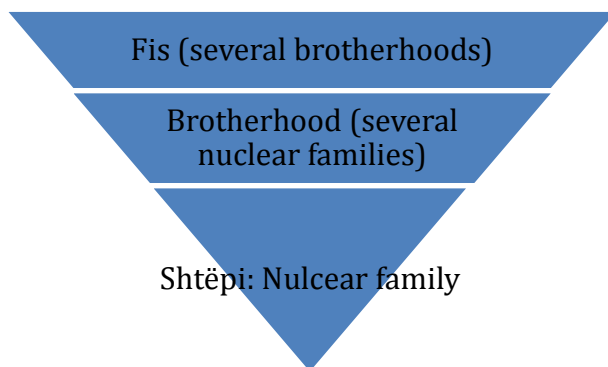


Figure 19 Northern Kinship Organization

serving as a head of the different units. Usually this is the oldest member. The clan (*fis*) has counsel of older individuals with a patriarch known as “*kryeplak*”, meaning the head older. Both the mothers and fathers lineage is traced, and marriages within both is forbidden. A distinction is made between mothers brother (*daj*, in Albanian), and fathers brother (*axhë*). This was the case for both the Gheg and Tosk

speakers. The main difference between the north and the south is related to the interpretation of the *fis*. For Haxhi, the *fis* was the extended lineage in relations to the clan. These individuals did not have to share the same last name, as long as they could trace their origin from same ancestor. Last names were usually changed after four-five generations, stories of origin were passed down thru several generations of the idea of a common ancestor, who had long faded from memory. The Daci *fis* is also scattered throughout Albania, a large majority of the *fis* still resides in the village near Kukës. Others have moved to different locations for different reasons.

The Tosk on the other hand, have a different interpretation of the *fis*. The *fis* is referred to the extended kin outside of the nuclear family. De Rapper (2012) gives also a comparable account of kinship and social organization in the southern Albanian town of Devoll. Through the town of Devoll, De Rapper (2012) shows how kinship and social organizations are embedded in the wider representation of the society in Albania. According to De Rapper (2012) there are four

⁸¹ Blood relations is an important factor highlighted by my informants. Although adoption did occur, most of the informants would make a clear distinction between an adopted brother and a biological brother.

structured difference in the social organization between the individuals of Devoll and northerners.

The first being lineage depth. Although kinship ties are well known in Devoll, their knowledge is usually limited to three or four generations. Thus the *fis* in the southern town of Devoll only goes back as far as memory. This was also present in Ksamil during several conversations with Tosk speakers. Eli's *fis* extended as far back as her uncles and their households that are currently living around Korça.

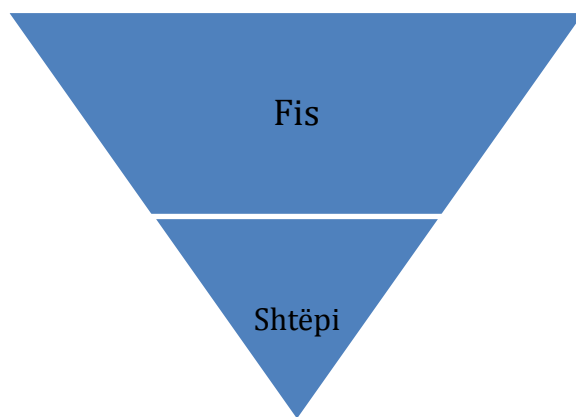


Figure 20 Kinship structure among the Tosk

The second is the difference of organization. The northern Albanian have a segmentary organization of kinship, where the *fis* is divided into several branches, starting with the founder's sons, then each branch is comprised of several *Vëllazëri*. These brotherhoods are comprised of several households. While in Devoll the *fis* is made up of certain number of houses, but no intermediary unities are recognized between

these the *shtëpi* and the *fis*. The brotherhood is not viewed a social unit within the Tosk speakers. Relationship with brother is maintained on a personal level. In contrast to the Gheg speaking Ksamiljots, Ylli's brother would gather only during events such as birthdays, weddings or deaths. This is linked to the third difference De Rapper (2012) emphasizes; military and political power. This link is related to the beys and their power relations within the ottoman period, some of which is described in earlier in history and context chapter.

The fourth difference between the north and the south, De Rapper (2012) links to patrilinearity. The northern clans make a distinction between blood, which refers to the father's line of descend and milk, which refers to the mother's line of descend. This distinction, according to De Rapper (2002), is only made in northern Albania. These terms were however not known in Devoll.

A distinction is made between mother's brother (*daj*) and father's brother (*axhë*) is however made in Ksamil, even though the term milk and blood is never used. Genealogy was traced through both the mothers and the father's side for both Gheg and Tosk speakers. The distinction between *daj* and *axhë* was according to my informants a classification between the mother's side of the family and the father's side. The same classification was made with mother's sister (*teze*) and father's sister (*hallë*). Although the Gheg speakers in Ksamil did not use the terms blood and milk De Rapper (2012) shows, they did rely on the *Vëllazëri* for the purpose of gaining tourists during *Behar*.

The *Vëllazëri* is also linked to the political sphere in Ksamil. Such as Daci *Vëllazëri* used each other connections and friendships in order to gain influence with the Ksamiljot populations. The Tosk speakers on the other hand, heavily influenced by the AWP, shared the idea that the *fis* and *Vëllazëri* as relic of the past left over from the Ottoman rule. Something the AWP (with the Tosk in leadership positions) tried to abolish by emphasizing the role of the nuclear family. The Tosk (including the AWP) linked the *fis* to a time when Albanians didn't have culture. Culture is viewed as something one has to achieve through the process of urbanization and social interaction with modernity. It is viewed as a contrast to the village and the rural way of living. The Tosk had adopted this way of thinking, and being in control of the public sphere for several decades, have to a large degree influenced the larger part of the current Albanian society. This diminished the role of the *Vëllazëri* and *fis* within the larger settlements such as Tirana, Vlorë, Sarandë. This created a division between the rural and urban areas. Although there were Gheg speakers in Tirana and the cities above, their Tosk influence was really noticeable if compared to rural areas near Shkoder, Kukës and other northern cities.

6 Vëllazëri and Exchange

6.1 The Fis of the North

The Gheg speaking individuals that have move to Ksamil have retained their social organization. The *fis* and *Vëllazëri* are used as references for social action. If a brother decides to build a house, consultation is sought with the rest of the *fis* and *Vëllazëri* in order to make a diction. This also extend to creation of alliances, either in the form of business endeavors or in terms of matrimony. The *fis* and its segments gain legitimacy from the *kanun* (Voell, 2003). The *kanun*, is a collection of norms and rules that is used to express the wider social organization of the northern (i.e. Gheg) Albanian society. It`s rules and norm cover everything from the duties of individuals within and The *Shtëpi*, *Vëllazëri* and *fis*. The current written version of the *kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini, was collected by the Albanian Franciscan Gjecov (1874-1929) in different northern Albanian communities and published after his death on 1933. The *Kanun* itself is quite known the all of Albanian, even the Tosk speakers. Several books have been published in reference to the *kanun of Dukagjini*. This included *kanuni i Labëris*, which is a collection of norms and rules for the *Labë*, a classification used for individuals whose origin is around the Region of Gjirokaster. Other regions have their own version of the *kanun* that has after the fall of communism been reproduced in large quantities. The physical book is on sale in almost every Albanian bookstore. The actually book however is never used as a point of reference, and different communities have different interpretation of the norms within the *kanun*. Since Ylli was a *Labë*, Eli and I spend countless evening going thru the canon and trying to figure out how much of the written book actually had an influence on the community. The majority of the text was not familiar to Ylli, who viewed the book more as a joke than the ideal of Albanian norm. The book is seen as a relic from the past, something that the AWP tried to remove from the Albanian society according to Ylli. While their northern Ksamiljots still referred to the *Kanun* in the daily life. My focus point when it come to the portrayal of the northern networks is the *Vëllazëri* of Haxhi Daci. Haxhi frequently remarked norms of the Albanian hospitality written in the *kanun* during conversations about tourists and guest coming to his restaurant. Also during the death of the old woman, the mourning ceremony was held according to the Kukës interpretation of the *kanun*.

6.1.1 The Daci and their network

There were several times where the behavior of Haxhi and his *Vëllazëri* was seen as uncivilized by my Tosk speaking informants. As the expectations of behavior varied between the Gheg and Tosk speaking Ksamiljots, thus creating a social stratification. Thus individuals acting on the basis of the northern norms, did not meet the expectations of their southern Ksamiljots. The

Daci *fis* can be considered “*të ardhurë*”, since they relocated here after the fall of communism.

The *fis* consists of several brotherhoods that moved to Ksamil in different years. Haxhi,

being the head of the largest *Vëllazëri* and one of the oldest

individuals in the *fis* is also the de-facto head of the *fis* in Ksamil. He, and his household arrived here in the early 2000`s following one of his uncles⁸² who was working at the cooperative. The rest of the *fis* is scattered throughout Ksamil. The members engaged in different endeavors, such as renting out houses and rooms for tourists, while others are still engaged in husbandry. The *Shtëpi* of Haxhi includes his wife Mirela, his only son Altin and Daughter-in-law Ida and his grandson Joni. Haxhi, besides his son, has also three daughters who live separately. The two

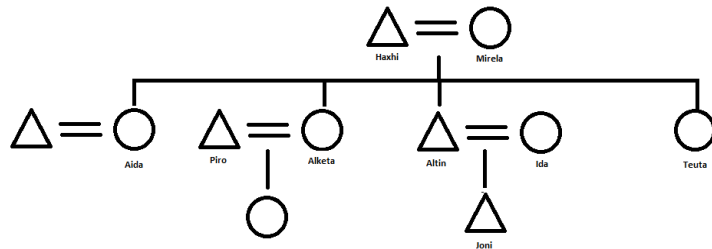


Figure 22 The nuclear family Haxhi

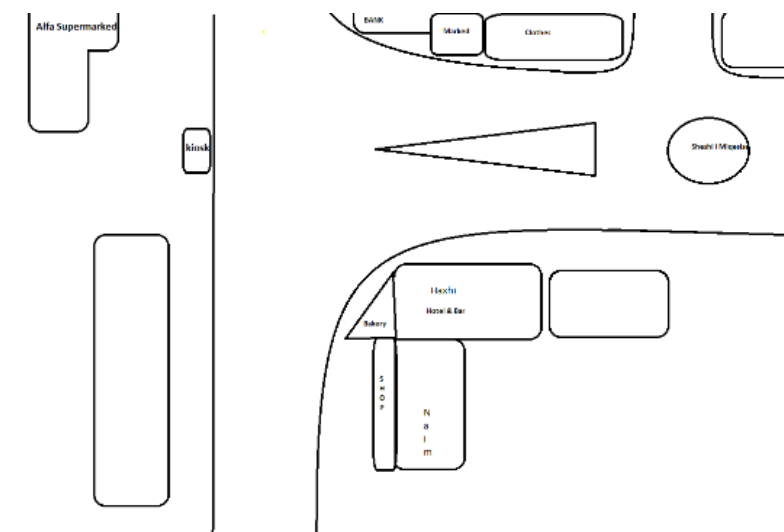


Figure 21 Sheshi I Miqësies, Drawing by me

oldest daughters are married. The oldest, Aida resides outside of Ksamil. The middle, Alketa is married to a local restaurant owner living in Ksamil, Piro who also originates from northern Albania. The youngest daughter, Teuta, is living in Elbasan pursuing her college degree.

⁸² Has since relocated away from town and is engaged in husbandry.

Haxhi, together with his brothers followed their *daj* (mother's brother) from a village the northern city of Kukës to Ksamil. The Daci *Vëllazëri* moved to Ksamil

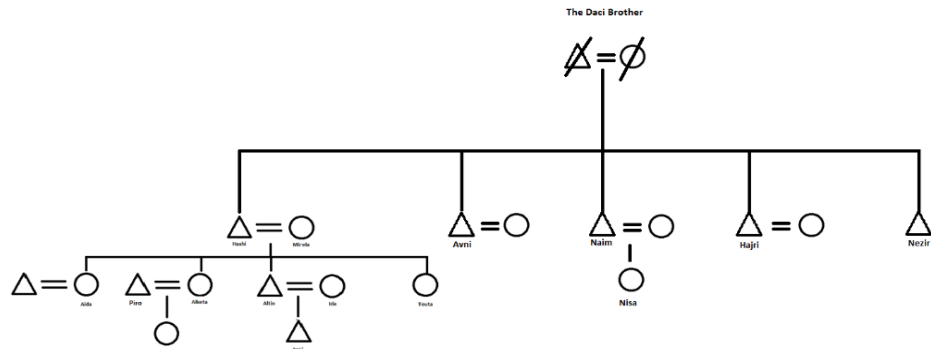


Figure 23 The Daci Brotherhood

in hopes of establishing a foothold here and increase their prosperity as a consequence of the changes in the Albanian economy after the fall of communism. Haxhi and one of his brothers inhabit one of the larger buildings near “*Sheshi i Miqësies*”, the second town center located near the majority of the markets, banks. The *Vëllazëri* is comprised of five brothers, who now have established roots in Ksamil. Haxhi and Naim reside near *Sheshi i Miqësies*, while the rest of the brothers have their respective hotels further from the town center. Hajri and Nezir are located at the end of the Town, by the road leading to archeological site of Butrint, while Avni's residence is at the entrance to the town border. All of the *Shtëpi* within the *Vëllazëri* are engaged in tourism. The *Shtëpi* functions as independent economic units within the *Vëllazëri*, with their respective household head. Haxhi, being my contact point and the main beneficiary for information northerners, became also my access point to the rest of the families originated from



Figure 24 The Kafobar of Haxhi

the north, as he was one of the gatekeepers described in a previous chapter.

The housing complex of Haxhi is located near Naim, his younger brother. On the first floor of Haxhi's complex is a restaurant, and a small

photo booth with a reception. Here one can buy some photography related equipment, and print out pictures from a digital camera. Altin used to have a small garage until April where he fixed cars for friends and family, although that does not pay much and is mainly used for hobby purposes. The restaurant is open during the winter, contributing to some extra income from the

locals who come in the morning for coffee or a shot of *raki*⁸³. Haxhi is also active in local politics for the Democratic Party⁸⁴. Party meeting and other political meeting were frequently held at the restaurant during my fieldwork. However, do to my affiliation with other Ksamiljots, especially Tosk speakers, I didn't get access to this specific political sphere⁸⁵. Haxhi is the only one engaged in local politics as far as I understood. The other brothers have their own respective spheres, Naim used to be a police officer, while the rest of the brothers worked in construction sites when that was available. Despite these different, I learned that the unity of the *Vëllazëri* is an important part in the establishment and maintenance of political connections in Ksamil. On brothers actions could have an profound effect on the other brothers reputation. Being the head of the *Vëllazëri* after his father passed away, Haxhi is the decision maker in all matters concerning the brotherhood. Even if Haxhi laced a formal tittle within the *fis* such as it is custom in accordance with the *Kanun*, since the oldest of the *fis* was still in northern Albania. Haxhi's decisions regarding the Daci *fis* carried weight, in the sense that he was always asked to be the ceremonial head of events such as deaths, births or other rites of passage. Haxhi being the head of the *fis*, is also the head of the brotherhood. He is considered as the centralized⁸⁶ power within the *fis* and the *Vëllazëri*. Power within the Gheg speakers is inherited usually from the oldest to the youngest brothers, in the absence of the household head. The power transfer after the death of the household head is done by agreement within the brotherhood, which is in line with the *kanun*. According to my informants, even if a member of a household decides to move out from the paternal house, he is still considered to be part of that household as long as the parent is still alive. The youngest brother usually stays behind and takes care of the parents. He is also the one who inherences the paternal house. In practice, all of the sons of Afrim Daci (Haxhi's father) were considered part of the household of Afrim Daci, who was living with Nezir, while the other brothers had established their own *Shtëpi*. After their father pasted away, the brothers became *Vëllazëri*, and the power of the household head was transferred from Afrim Daci, to Haxhi Daci, who took the role of the father. In the absence of Haxhi, the next brother in line who is present at that specific location is the highest authority⁸⁷.

⁸³ Strong alcoholic beverage

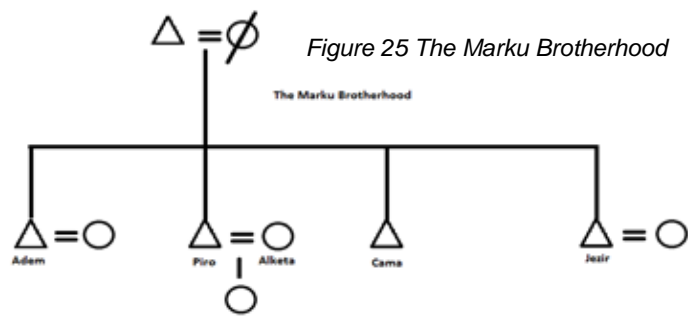
⁸⁴ One of the largest political parties in Albania, the other one being the Socialist Party.

⁸⁵ Also the fact that Haxhi and his son still thought of me as a foreign spy

⁸⁶ In the sense that he was the decision maker for almost of issuing concerning the *Vëllazëri*.

⁸⁷ However, in the modern age, a phone call to the *Vëllazëri* head is made when making a decision.

This can be interpreted as a hierarchal decision system within the *fis*, where the oldest usually is in charge. This system balances itself in the sense that the household head lives with the youngest brother. The youngest brother who inherits the family home according to the *Kanun*.

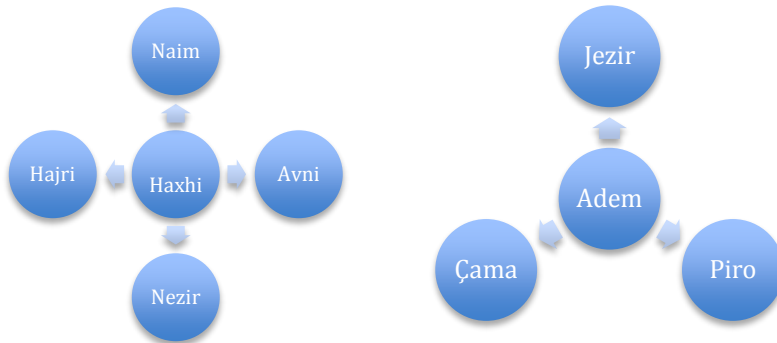


This is also common among other Ksamiljots originating from northern Albania. The Marku *fis* had a similar way of making decisions concerning the *Vëllazëri*. This brotherhood is comprised of four brothers and their father, Durim. The brothers have established their own *Shtëpi* in different parts of Ksamil. Adem, the oldest son, had taken over the position as the head of the brotherhood from the father, Durim. Jezir, being the youngest, had also the responsibility of taking care of his father, Durim. The third brother, Piro, was married to Haxhi`s daughter Alketa. Piro owned and operated one of the restaurant near the beach promenade. While both Jezir and Çama depended also on tourism by renting out house further away from the city center. The brothers are economically independent from each other. However, as Behar approached these brothers come together in order to fill their rooms with as much tourists as possible. The tourist is send back and forth between the different *Shtëpi*. The decision on who will receive which tourist is made by the *Vëllazëri* head⁸⁸. This is done directly, or indirectly as a suggestion to the brothers. The rest of the brotherhood, even if they do not share a *Shtëpi*, respect and comply with the decision made by the *Vëllazëri* head.

The illustration underneath gives a simplified overview of how decision within the brotherhood are made. Although the model does not include the communication between the brothers and the head of the network, which connected all of the brothers, it still shows how the Ghegs operated. Haxhi and Adem were the final word in most *Vëllazëri* related issues. The *kanun* was frequently used as a reference point when disagreements occurred during discussions.

⁸⁸ In this case Adem for the Marku, and Haxhi for the Daci fis

This system extended further than tourism and *behar*. It also includes cooperation with other *Shtëpi* that are beyond the cooperative network. Haxhi and Adem, functioned also as the behavior gatekeepers within and outside the family. Although discussions or disagreement occurs within the *Vëllazëri*, decisions made by the head are never questioned in public.



Left figure: in this case is the Daci *Vëllazëri*, where the blue circle represented the *Shtëpi* with their own household head. The arrows going from Haxhi to the other brothers represent decision or instructions. Haxhi being the head of the brotherhood, is placed in the middle, as almost every decision is made by him.

Right figure: Shows the Marku *Vëllazëri*, where Adem is the head of the brotherhood, thus the arrows go from Adem to the rest of the brother. This hierarchical system is normal within the Ghëg speakers in Ksamil.

Figure 27 Ghëg network

This became evident during the preparations for the summer. Avni was constructing a larger hotel, and was getting supplies from a Ksamiljot from Tepelenë. Naim had fallen into a disagreement with this particular individual. Haxhi, after hearing about this decided to cut ties with that particular individuals. Haxhi's shunning out that Tepelenas, resulted in the rest of the brotherhood cutting ties as well. This included also the supply chain that was established by Avni. The decision, even though it had an impact on Avni's economy, was respected by the rest of the *Vëllazëri*. Stronger brotherly bonds were more important than the economic relationships the different brothers had throughout the town. Haxhi's decision reached beyond that of the economic sphere. His approval is also sought when establishing formal relations⁸⁹ with other families. This became evident during the engagement of Naim's daughter, Nesa. Nesa was in a romantic relationship with another local boy in Ksamil. This relationship was only known by a few individuals within the Daci *fis*⁹⁰. Since the relationship was not formalized with an engagement, the families were waiting for an announcement. This was in line with the *kanun*⁹¹. As the relationship had lasted for a while and Ksamil being a small town, it did not take long from the moment rumors started to the announcement of an engagement. This formal union

⁸⁹ by formal relationship

⁹⁰ Including the boy's family

⁹¹ fill inn the info...!!!!

was possible with the blessing of Haxhi. Being the head of the brotherhood and the *fis* in Ksamil, he was in charge of the ceremonial and practical aspects of the engagement from the Nesa side of the family. By having the head of the *Vëllazëri* doing the ceremonial aspects of the engagement, a strong signal was sent to the other Gheg speaking Ksamiljots about bond the Daci. This signal is tied to the political and military institutions that was active prior to the establishment of communist Albania. De Rapper (2012) links this power to a time when skirmished among different *fis* was common. Haxhi, in this sense is entering the role of the *bayrak* (banner-carrier, implying being the first of the *fis*). However, instead of military power, the signal was transferred to a political force in Ksamil. This was used gain accesses to different economic sphere in Ksamil. Piro, from the Marku brotherhood, who was married to Alketa, the middle daughter of Haxhi, frequently used his father-in-law's political influence in order to complete different projects that would otherwise not have been approved by the municipality. One of these projects was the



Figur 28 Street Pickup

Waiting for tourists by the street leading to one of the main Beaches in Ksamil, in front we see the houses of the Tosk. The Northern would also place individuals in the Tosk neighborhood.

construction of a new supermarket in town. Piro, owned a plot near the *Sheshi i Miqësies* had just signed a contract with the marked chain Alpha, who were expanded their venue to Ksamil. The owners of the supermarket were originally from Saranda, and had established three successful markets there, but as Ksamil tourism was increasing, they wanted to take part here as well. However, the owners discovered that getting a license for construction was a difficult process in Ksamil. A ban on construction had been place by the government, in order to stop illegal buildings around the costal area. Piro`s construction plan was stopped by government officials who came by several times and halted the workers from completing their task. This did however not stop the building of the new supermarket. I later learned through Argjend, that this was only possible due to the political connection of the Daci *Vëllazëri*. Naim, used to be a former police officer in the northern Albania, would still have connection within the police force throughout Albania, and Haxhi having his political connections they could use their

connection in order to complete this type of projects that were otherwise difficult for others. This favor was than later returned by Piro, who employed the Haxhi youngest daughter at his restaurant during *Behar*. Favors like this were frequently exchanged between the different brotherhoods such as the Marku and the Daci. However, this was due to the oldest daughter being married to one of the Marku brothers. Also a form of reciprocity was expected from Daci when contributions or favors like this were made. In the case of the Daci and Marku, they were never incorporated into cooperative network of the brotherhood during *Behar*.

6.1.2 Kinship as a mechanism for cooperation

A consequence of the government turmoil during the 1990`s, the Ksamiljots were able to seize land without any form of state control or regulation. The Tosk, being first in Ksamil have their residences closer to the beach front and city centers, while the Gheg have been pushed back further from town centers and beaches. This made it difficult for the Ghegs to attract the same volume of tourists compared to the Tosk. Those who did rent from the Gheg had to drive or walk every day, from the other side of the tow, in the heat in order to access the beach. The solutions to this for most of the Gheg, was to lower their room prices in order to compensate for the distance to the beach. The Daci⁹² adjusted the prices to meet the criteria of the tourists. In a region where the average wage is around 200 €, the individuals *Shtëpi* within the Daci network are able to offer rooms with 4 beds for 10-15 € for a night⁹³.

In practice this meant that the different *Shtëpi*⁹⁴, which function as independent units within the network, do not compete for the same category of tourists. The Daci used two strategies when attracting tourists. One, is based on “fishing” the tourist that arrive by car or bus in the morning⁹⁵. This was done by having different *Shtëpi* within the network wait for arriving tourists in key locations such as; the main road leading to Butrint or the two town centers.

⁹² Excluding Haxhi and Naim

⁹³ The average price was 10€ for a bed, which meant that rooms varied from 25-100 €.

⁹⁴ I`m using *Shtëpi* and brother to refer to the same thing

⁹⁵ Most of the tourists would drive from Macedonia, Kosovo, Serbia at night in order to take advantage of one extra day at the beach.

The bakery was also used as a location by some, as most of the Kosovars, would see the flag and stop by to ask for help from the baker. These *Shtëpi* would concentrate in filling their own rooms first, prior to helping out the rest of the network. However, as different tourists have different expectations and budgeted. The Ksamiljots would stay in constant contact with the rest of the network by phone. The Ksamiljots would try to keep the tourist's expectation of the price within the network. This became clear to me during a summer day while I was accompanying Altin.

A car with Macedonian plates arrived at the bakery asking for a place to stay. Altin introduced himself and negotiations started. Tourists Xhiko, was looking to stay in Ksamil for week, with his wife and two kids. Altin had already spotted the car by the gas station, prior to Xhiko arriving at our location. His starting point for accommodation was his own hotel. Xhiko was brought up to the second floor and shown the room. As the negotiations of the price started, Xhiko was reluctant to stay, as they didn't want to use more than 15 euros' nightly in accommodation. Altin's price range was between 20 and 40 € depending on the size of the room. Xhiko thought the price was too high in reference to what he had budgeted prior to coming to Ksamil. As negotiations failed and Xhiko was on his way to leave for another location, Altin stopped him. Altin uttered that since he was here with his family and seemed like a nice person he would secure him a place. This place had the same standard as the rooms Xhiko was shown, but the location was a bit further from the beach. Xhiko agreed to check it out and accompanied Altin, who was driving his own car with me as an interpreter to the other location. We ended up at Altin's uncle, Avni who had prepared the rooms prior to our arrival. The negotiations did not take long, after viewing the room, which had 4 beds and a small kitchen for cooking. Xhiko's family seemed satisfied with the new location and the price and they ended up staying there for their vacation.

I later discovered that Altin had made contact with Avni prior to perusing the negotiations with Xhiko and informed him of a potential guest. The license plates of the car played an important role in the classification of the tourists. Using those car license plate and determining that the driver was from Macedonia, Altin had knew that prize would be an issue during negotiations, based on previous experiences. Avni was contacted as a secondary option. Avni would prepare a cheaper room, but a bit further away from the beach, in case Altin could not secure a room at his hotel for the tourist.

By giving him higher price for his own room first, with the same standard, the only difference being the location, Xhiko would only compare these two rooms and prizes. Location didn't really matter for Xhiko, since they had planned on driving to different destinations while visiting Ksamil. This type of action is repeated by the Daci *Vëllazëri* during *Behar*. I accompanied the different household in different location securing tourist from all social and economic groups. The rooms and hotels had the same standard everywhere in Ksamil. Size did vary, but there was also a variation within the *Shtëpi*. By having the different *shtëpi* waiting in different location they could secure a broader numbers of tourists for the different *Shtëpi*. The tourist were shown different locations and tossed back and forth between the different *Shtëpi* within the network securing a steady income through the *Behar*.

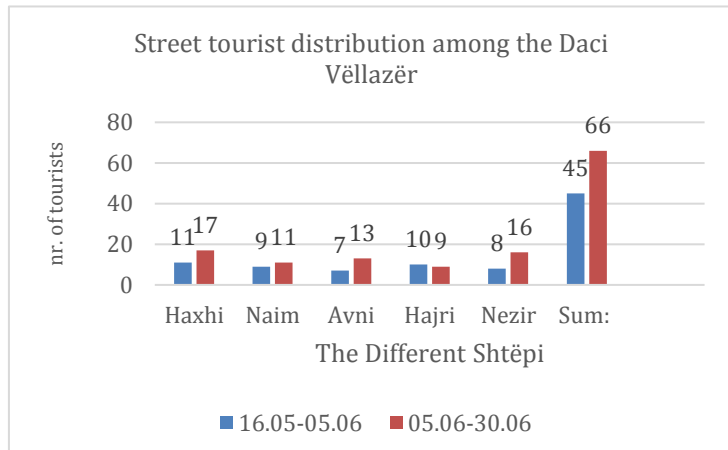
Repeating the same action over several years, they Daci have devised a system of classification of the tourists that arrive by cars, where the license plates of the cars are used as indicators of budget. The Daci divided the particular tourists into several categories. When the license plate or cars were out of reach, in the case of those who came with the buses from Kosovo, the dialect or language⁹⁶ is used in order to place the tourists in a price category. The Daci were able to make a calculated guess on how much money tourists would be willing to spend accommodation based on experience. When the negotiations started, the Daci would have several rooms prepared in different locations, in order to meet the expectations of the tourists. These locations gave the Daci network an opportunity of gathering more tourists combined as a group, than they would be able to do alone and trying to fill their rooms. Thus by filling rooms for each other during *Behar*, their income also increases severely compared to others who did not. The actual negotiations for the different rooms is done in relatively short amount of time. The negotiations on price and location with Xhiko tourist didn't take more than 15 minutes, which was common with other tourists as well. The daily flow of tourism ensured that the majority of the Ghegs were able to fill their rooms relatively quickly, despite their distance from the beaches. Several busses with packed with tourists usually came every day, not counting the other group who drove themselves to Ksamil. The Ksamiljot had already marked the bus schedules and greeted by the arriving tourists at the different locations. The distribution of the tourists was done according to the need of the different *Shtëpi*.

⁹⁶ Depending of if the tourists was Albanian speaker or foreign.

By utilizing the kinships roles that were already in place, the Gheg are able to efficiently communicate with each other. When disputes happened over the distribution of tourists, the kanun and the head of the Vëllazëri was consulted. Haxhi himself was never observed in the streets waiting for the tourists, this was left to the other brothers, and his son Altin. Being the head of the *Vëllazëri* he is expected to keep a distance to the gathering of the street tourists.

His engagement came when second strategy was implemented. This strategy was based on prior booking, as the street tourists wouldn't always give a predictable income, prior bookings were sometimes used in order to secure a minimum amount of income. However, this Daci in particular tried to avoid having to much of the rooms reserved for specific tourists.

This was due to the large amount of manpower this network had produced, it was easier to fill rooms every day during *Behar* by picking



The figure above shows the distribution of the 111 families who rented from the Daci brotherhood between 16.05.2014-30.06.2014.

Figure 29 Distribution of tourists

up tourists as described above. Haxhi remarked during an interview, that they used to have people who regularly came to the hotel, but after the amount of tourism increased it did not pay off in the long run. Because if you were to reserve the rooms, they would always be a gap between the days of the reservations. For example, someone could stay from the 22nd until the 29th, and then the next booking was from the 31st, creating a three-day vacancy. This could transfer directly into an economic loss for the different *Shtëpi*. The other part was also due to the distribution of the tourists.

The Vëllazëri, tries to distribute the tourists evenly with each other. Between the 16. of May and 30. June I observed 111 different families that rented rooms from the Daci *Vëllazëri*. These are distributed (shown above) quite evenly among the different *Shtëpi*. Haxhi, being the oldest and the one with most rooms, did have a larger take. While the rest of the *Vëllazëri* did have an even distribution among themselves. This however only applied to the tourists that are picked up in the street. Prior bookings where done on personal relationship between the *Shtëpi* and the individual tourists. One of these was Elena with her family who had stayed with Nezir several

times before and had developed a personal relationship with the family. Elena and her husband always rented from Nezir on the 14. until the 21. of June every year. The other *Shtëpi* had different relationships with different families who had stayed there before. In addition to the problem of vacant rooms, this created an uneven distribution among the brotherhood. In an effort to avoid that, the Daci⁹⁷ also tried to a large degree to avoid pre bookings. The rest of the individuals who wanted to reserve the same room for next year are usually turned down by the *Vëllazëri*. However, besides the personal relationship exceptions such as the one described above with Elena, there are some other expectation when it came to pre bookings. Individuals higher up in the political system of Albania or other state officials who had some ties with the Daci were the exception. A great deal of effort was put in securing their accommodation and ensuring these individuals had a trouble-free experience while staying in Ksamil.

On April 30th, Altin and Naim needed some supplies for the summer from Tirana, and I was asked to join them. When arriving at the capitol, Naim met with several individuals with high rank within the national police force. They took a couple of hours free from work in order to have lunch with us while we were visiting Tirana. These were mostly individuals who used to work with Naim while he was in the police force. As the summer was approaching, these individuals wanted to visit Ksamil. However, even if they were friends with Naim, they had been given rooms at Haxhi`s place. Their stay had contributed to a personal loss for Haxhi *Shtëpi* of around 740⁹⁸ €, as those particular rooms were vacant for two days prior to the guest`s arrival. Making it difficult to pick up the “street tourists” for only a period of two days. Haxhi was stated several times that he didn`t accept prior bookings, and almost all of those who asked for a reservation while I was present were turned down. However, these individuals were not only the exception, but also their rental price is significantly reduced.

Individuals who held higher political office⁹⁹ that were connected to other *Shtëpi* within the *Vëllazëri*, usually rented rooms from Haxhi`s *Shtëpi*. This action, served two purposes. By having these “important” guests stay with the head of the *Vëllazëri*, they would honor their guest, which was in line with the interpretation of the northern *Kanun*.

⁹⁷ I am referring to all of the Brothers within the Daci *Vëllazëri*

⁹⁸ 5 rooms where reserved in total and the prices for the room was reduced from 25 € to 15 € per room.

⁹⁹ or in other way high ranking officials within the Albanian government.

The second and more important purpose was the signal this would send to the rest of the Ksamil. During the entire *behar*, Haxhi's political connections were mentioned by the other Gheg speaking Ksamiljots. From my informants' perspective, having the higher political connections of the other brothers stay with the head, is looked upon as a prime example of how an Albanian brotherhood should function. This strong centralized leadership is also linked to strong financial success, by the Ghegs living in Ksamil. Even if, in the case of Haxhi's *Shtëpi*, the income that was portrayed outside didn't reflect the reality within¹⁰⁰. The unity of the brotherhood is linked to the political power of the *fis* described earlier. This political force is at times mobilized during local elections. A strong brotherhood, would also at times yield strong supporters during the election processes. Adem, the head of the Marku Vëllazëri frequently remarked that a head who could manage their own *fis* was also a sample of managing the rest of town. In reality this police force didn't yield much success however. Ksamil as a town had a larger population of Tosk speakers. The brotherhood, and the unity which is held in high regard by the Gheg, has little to no meaning for the Tosk speakers. Being the majority, they also set the norms for the public sphere. The emphasis the AWP had put on the nuclear family was clearly visible in the Tosk speaking part of Ksamil. The brotherhoods that made up the networks and social organization during the *behar* for the Ghegs, were non-existent in the Tosk *shtëpi*.

¹⁰⁰ The family's personal finances were in decline and they were even considering selling the hotel and moving back to the village in the north.

6.2 The Fis of the South

The Tosk can be divided into two categories. It is within the Tosk speaking populations that a distinction between the old and the new observed by Vietti (2012) is visible. The *Vendas* that are described in the previous chapter, have occupied the majority of the houses near the beaches. These individuals originate mainly from regions around Gjirokaštër, Saranda, Korça and Çamëri¹⁰¹. The second category of Tosk speakers that relocated to Ksamil after the fall of communism are from the villages around Delvine and Tepelenë. The only distinction between these two categories is however in the construction and location of the down. Most of the Tepelenas are located at the beginning of the town, known as “*Lagje e Tepelansit*”¹⁰². The Tepelenas have a better-organized neighborhood, but that neighborhood is located further from the beaches and the city centers. As it is the case with the Gheg speakers, the Tepelenas have difficulties attracting tourists here as well. Rooms and Houses can be rented for a cheaper price compared to the rooms of the *Vendas*. Access to the sea and the town centers, has made a large majority of the Tepelenas to seek other forms of income. Arty, who was from Tepelenë, was also one of the local butchers. While others worked in restaurants during behar. The rooms and houses they rented served as extra income during behar. Those who only income came from the rooms had formed a cooperation with the *Vendas*.

The *Vendas* being in Ksamil during the land distribution after the fall of communism, had almost taken over the entire beach region. Since this transition happened within short two years, from a totalitarian state to more or less free for all when it came to land, people grabbed what they could. Although property laws did exist, the general population did not follow these. The land distribution was solved by applying the rules of the *kanun* by the Gheg (Bardhoshi, 2012). However, only the Ghegs honored the *kanun*. Ksamil being unpopulated and the large amount of property being untouched, people started to take areas that were uncopied. With the government starting to take some control and regulation being enforced, these individuals started to build foundation for houses in order to get them approved by the government. The foundation as an important signal to the state.

According to my informants thus ensured a legitimacy for that particular piece of land, and by having the pillars of the house there, one could easier gain a license for the building of the rest

¹⁰¹ Greece, however, the northern region of Greece was referred to Çamëri by my informants

¹⁰² Ksamiljots not originating from Tepelenë also live there.

of the house. Almost all of the houses and restaurants near the sea are owned and operated by families that moved here prior to the 1990. Because of the AWP influence on the Tosk speakers, the role of the *fis* and the *Vëllazëri* has taken a different meaning. On a general basis the notion of *fis* among the Tosk is used to express the kinship relations, the very fact that they are related (De Rapper, 2012). Since the *fis* is exogamous, and blood relations only goes as far as the collective memory (De Rapper, 2012), the Tosk speaking Ksamiljot did not have the same organizational frames¹⁰³ for cooperation during *behar*.

This influence has a profound effect on the social organization in Ksamil. The Tosk interpreted the *fis* as a term to describe the *Vëllazëri* tracing back to the grandfather from ego. This became clear to me when my Tosk informants and I were organizing a surprise party for Ylli. During the planning I was told the entire Ylli's *fis* would gather. When we the preparations for the seating started, I noticed that there were only 27 seats. Having participating in similar events with the Ghegs I expected a larger group of people. As the event started, it turned out the only Ylli's brothers, and some of Eli's relatives came to the birthday party. When asked about the *fis*, Eli response was that they are already here, referring to Ylli's brother and his parents. The *fis* within the Tosk speakers was also flexible, in term of reference. It is used to refer to a distance cousin, or it could be used as with Eli to refer to the extended family. However, when referring to someone beyond that of the grandfather's lineage, the word *Farefis* is used. The word "far" meaning seed, is connected with the *fis* and refers to kin that existed outside the current memory. Eli remarked several time that she has *Farefis* still living in Korca. However, since she could not position them to a specific ancestor or in have a mutual references that is linked to herself, Eli referred to them as *Farefis*. Outside the scope of the interpretation of the *Fis* and *Vëllazëri*, the social and economic unit for the Tosk is also based around the *Shtëpi*. The difference from the Gheg speakers, is that the *Shtëpi* is independent in all aspects of social interaction from the rest of the *fis*.

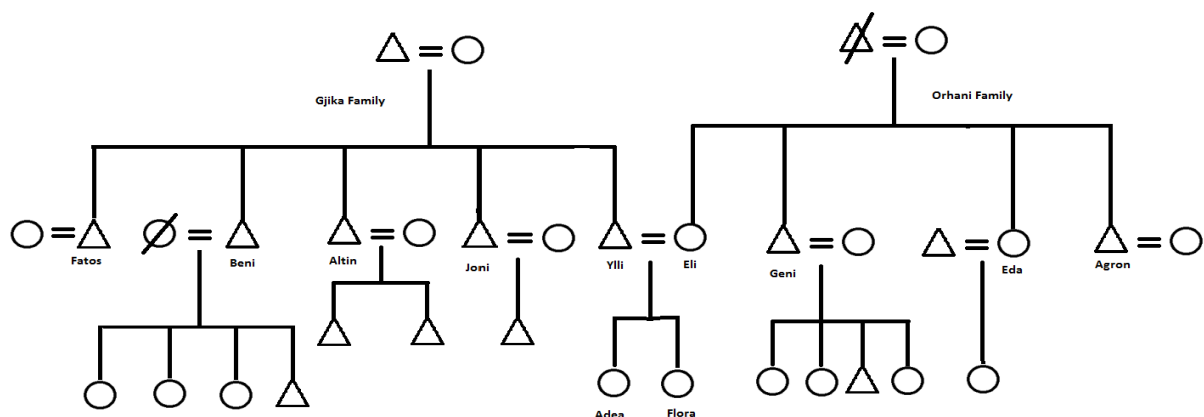
The idea of the *Vëllazëri* was still present in social gatherings, such as birthdays, wedding, engagement and deaths, but was rarely included in the economic sphere of the *Shtëpi*¹⁰⁴. A brother could be included in the larger family decisions, in an advisory manner. However, the

¹⁰³ This also includes the works force needed to operate a network such as the Ghegs.

¹⁰⁴ Some exceptions do exist. There were cases where brothers also had a combined household. Because of the restriction in building, some brothers had building houses with two separate entrances. This mostly applied to the Tepelenas, who came after 2004

final word rested upon the head of the *Shtëpi*. In contrast to the Ghegs, where the oldest brother assumes the position as the head of the *Vëllazëri*, there is no such position observable within my Tosk informants. During social gatherings, the older brother was respected by offering the finest piece of meat and seat.

My access point to the Tosk network came from Ylli and Eli Gjika¹⁰⁵. Ylli's origin was from Gjirokastër and Eli originated from Korça. They had been married since 2001. The couple were not only my property owners but they also function as my encyclopedia in the throughout my field of the fieldwork in relations to Ksamil, history and social dynamics with the Tosk. Both of their respective families had relocated here in the early days of the cooperative in the 1970's. Eli's family had also been living here prior to the fall of the communism. After the riots in 1997, both Ylli and Eli had immigrated to Greece as a young couple. Their stay in Greece was short and frequent stories about the hardship they experienced there, such as changing names and harassment from landlords and employers, were shared during family dinners. After coming back to Ksamil, the couple had taken over the current property and they started slowly to build their house, with some of the money saved from working abroad. This land claim is still being processed by the state. Ylli had worked as a repairperson in Greece, and gained expertise, which with some of the money they had saved up were able to build the first floors of the house. After the increase in tourism, they started to rent out the rooms and by doing small investment during the years, they were able to complete a two stories house with a



The *fis* members of Ylli Gjika on the left. While the *fis* members of Eli on the right, known as the Orhani

Figure 30 The Gjika and Orhani

¹⁰⁵ Her maiden name was Orhani.

total of 7 rooms that they rent out during *Behar*. As seen in the image below the roof is still left open. There is a current restriction from the government on building houses larger than two floors in Ksamil. Ylli hopes that someday t they are able to complete the house by adding a third and final floor.

The only income for the couple comes from the rooms they rent out. Ylli used to work as a security guard for brief period last year, but the company went bankrupt Ylli lost that income. The rest of the Gjika family has other professions in addition to renting houses. Beni is a police officer with a steady salary throughout the year. Altin owns a small café that operates all year. Fatos is involved in another profession near the City of Saranda, while the last brother, Joni was living in Germany working as a construction contractor. Of the five brothers, only three were still living in Ksamil, Ylli, Beni and Altin, and they interacted quite often during the spring and summer. Fatos was present once, during Ylli's birthday. None of the brothers lived in in the same neighborhood. Almost all of the Gjika family is comprised of mostly professional workers who, except for Ylli, do not rely directly on tourism. Altin, who had a café centered near the *Vallëtare*, one of the main centers, which is visited frequently by the locals. Beni lived deeper within the town, as he had a steady income as a police officer.

Figure 31 The house



Ylli's and Elis house as viewed when coming from the Town center

This way of settling was not common by the rest of the Tosk. Families who are deepened upon tourism bounded closer together. Since the Tosk had taken larger portions of the property closest to the shoreline this also meant the kin usually owned large portions side by side. Azdreni brothers originating from Korça own four of the five houses that were closets to the most popular beach. The most popular beaches are usually owned by the *Vendas*, this also includes the houses around the “*Sheshi I Miqësies*”.

The rest of the Tosk speaker Ksamiljots had established themselves around the shoreline in the beginning of the town. Their settlement patterns however did not affect their economic

cooperation. The Tosk speakers emphasized heavily on the independence of the *Shtëpi*. References are made to the late dictator of Albania, Enver Hoxha, as the pillar of light who had “Straighten¹⁰⁶” the Albanian into the right path. This view has created some complications with the Gheg speaking Ksamiljots. The Tosk, view themselves as superior in terms of education and culture. The ideal of the nuclear family started by the AWP was still maintain today in Ksamil. However, that same ideal had its drawback when the *Behar* came. The Tosk in contrast to their Gheg Ksamiljots did not have a *Vëllazëri* that they could utilized in order to the take advantage of the *Behar*. In the case of Eli and Ylli were the household comprised of only two adult individuals, the filling of the rooms was difficult to achieve alone. This was the case for the majority of the Tosk Ksamiljots that rented rooms to tourists. The Tosk, being less in workforce had adopted to strategies for securing the income during *Behar*.

The main strategy for most of the Tosk speaking *Shtëpi* was to try to keep clients form the previous summer. This is done by establishing a personal connection with their guests from the moment they arrive. In contrast to the Ghegs, Eli¹⁰⁷ and the rest of the Tosk went to greater effort to ensure the guest had a pleasant stay during their vacation. The Tosk would hire a housekeeper, who would also clean the rooms for those who desired without any extra charge¹⁰⁸, this also ensure that Eli had spare time that she could use on the guests. She frequently arranged larger dinner parties and other activities to keep the tourists entertained. Ylli was an eager fisher; he usually went fishing during the summer. When the catch was good, he would share his spoils with the guest staying at their rooms. The guests are invited to other events outside the compounds of the house. One popular activity fort the Ksamiljots during *Behar* was the local folkdance “disco”. Eli would frequently invite her guests for a beer at this popular evening entertainment. These activities were possible due to the ability Eli has gained to differentiate the tourists prior to agreeing on the letting them rent. She would filter about potential clients based on their origin and dialect. The same system that is used by the Ghegs is also in place here. However, Eli would actually conduct interviews, prior to showing them the rooms vacant. If an individual or family is not to her liking, she would turn them down. This is done regardless of the need Eli may have in filling her room. I was able to observe several individuals that were turned down in the beginning of June, despite the all of the rooms being

¹⁰⁶ A direct quote from one of my older Tosk speaking informants. “*Enveri na ka drejtuar dhe mirmbajt si popullë*” – “Enver has straighten and maintained us as people”

¹⁰⁷ I’m using Eli to refer to Eli’s and Ylli household.

¹⁰⁸ This service as far as I could understand was not offer by Haxhi or any member of his brotherhood.

vacant. Eli remarked that by filtering out the unwanted individuals, she would only have proper individuals in the house. This would be the first in securing, or at least trying to secure the same individuals for the next summer. Eli put great pride and effort in her hospitality when newly arrived individuals came to Ksamil. In addition to the activities and dinners that the guest were invited to, gifts such as olive oil, made from the families tries were given to guest as a departing



Figure 32 Local Disco

The Local disco in Ksamil was a popular evening activity where the locals could dance to traditional folk music. The music was a mix of both Gheg and Tosk. The majority however, were of the southern Albanian folk songs. Children were also a large part of this evening entertainment.

gift. The combination of filtering the guests and the amount of effort that was put in securing their wellbeing by Eli and Ylli payed off in the long run. 37 of 62 families that stayed with the Shtëpi the summer I was there had stayed here the previous summer. The reservations for the summer started as early as March. Her phone would ring almost hourly as the summer was approaching for individuals that either wanted to come back to Ksamil, or had been given Eli`s phone numbers by previous guests. The in contrast to the Ghegs, the Tosk *Shtëpi* usually had the women as the main contact for the tourists. At first I thought this was only the case for Eli and Ylli. Ylli, being more of a handy man, tried to avoid contact with the tourist as much as possible. I observed several occasions where Ylli would shy away from individuals trying to book a room prior to the start of Behar. This belief was enhanced one afternoon in April when I was having lunch with Argjend at the

bakery.

As we were eating, a SUV stopped by and they were asking for houses closer to the beach they could rent for 15-27 of June. I knew that Eli hadn`t booked anyone during that particular period. I decided to send her a text message informing that there was an individual looking for rooms for that particular date. Eli was on her way from Saranda, and stopped by the bakery to have a talk with this potential guest. Tourists Leka, who was from northern Albanian, was surprised to se Eli leading the initial talk. Being a Gheg, Leka hoped to talk to the household head.

Eli and I knew that Ylli was still in the house. However, after calling for him several times, we thought that he had gone somewhere. Leka ended up conducting the negotiations with Eli. After viewing the rooms and rehearing on agreement on price, Leka went back to his car, and drove on. When the car had left the property, Ylli suddenly appeared. He had been “hiding”, in the room that the family used as a residence during the winter, with Qabe his mother in-law. This was a normal behavior when tourists approached. At first I thought that Ylli was shy and avoided contact with individuals. However, I learned that the majority of the Tosk women did conduct negotiation with tourists. These women also keep extensive information and details about every individuals and family that had stayed with them. Eli`s booking keeping became an important tool in the negotiations of future tourists, but also with the guest that had stayed there previous summer. A physical book is kept in close proximity at all times. The book used during negotiation with potential guests over the phone, which helped Eli in understanding the expectation the guests may have¹⁰⁹. The book is also used in order to make a prediction about where the potential guest should be placed this year. Some who had already been coming here with years had a specific room they wanted to rent. The Gjika¹¹⁰ *Shtëpi* has seven rooms for rent during *behar*, each of different sizes and prices¹¹¹. The smallest room were 20 m² with the largest being 40 m². The rooms were larger than the other houses in the neighborhood, making them quite popular. In contrast, Vasili who`s residence was at the same distance from the beach had 9 rooms but significantly smaller in size, with 15m². The location of the residence was also a large plus. The house was in the first row of private residence in reference to the distance from the beach¹¹². The combination of room sizes and proximity gave the Eli an advantage when it came to setting the prize. The prize varied from 30 euros to 100 € depending on the time and the size of the room. The Tosk, who have established themselves near the shoreline, had usually fewer rooms to rent in comparison with the Ghegs¹¹³. However, these Tosk have a higher price a bit higher than the rest of Ksamil¹¹⁴. One could rent an entire house near the Tepelenas neighborhood for the same amount that Eli and her neighbors charged for the medium rooms. These high prices served as an insurance for the times the rooms are left vacant as well. In

¹⁰⁹ I am here referring to phone conversations Eli had with guests who had stayed here residence the previous summer.

¹¹⁰ Eli and Ylli`s household

¹¹¹ This figure is including my room. I paid 200 € per month, because I was renting from the family particular *behar* only six rooms were rented out to Tourists.

¹¹² The house, was 75 meters from the most popular beaches in Ksamil

¹¹³ The Marku and Daci *Shtëpi* had 12-15 rooms

¹¹⁴ Rooms were usually between 15 and 50 €, depending on the time and the location of the house.

contrast to the Ghegs, who would lose a smaller amount from having rooms vacant several days, the Tosk could lose several hundred euros a day. Because of the potential of having their rooms vacant, and the fact that not all of the previous summers tourists returned, the Tosk had also used a street pickup as a strategy for filling their rooms. This street pickup was not popular among the Tosk speakers. Vasili *shtëpi*, including other Tosk speakers in the neighborhood, had contracts with different travel agencies for not having to be on the “street” for pickup. Although these contracts provided Vasili with more tourists, they did not fill the gap that is left between the dates. Thus, the most efficient strategy is to apply the same as the Gheg. By “picking” the newly arrived tourists from the streets, they Tosk could ensure at a minimum that one room is filled, ensuring some income. The street pickup required a large amount of workforce, and networks in the same matter as the Ghegs in order to be effective. The majority of the Tosk household had two, maybe three individuals who would do the actual pickup. In the case of Eli they were only two individuals, and splitting up in the same manner as the Ghegs, would also mean that there wasn't anyone at the house in case something happened. This was the reality for several *shtëpi*.

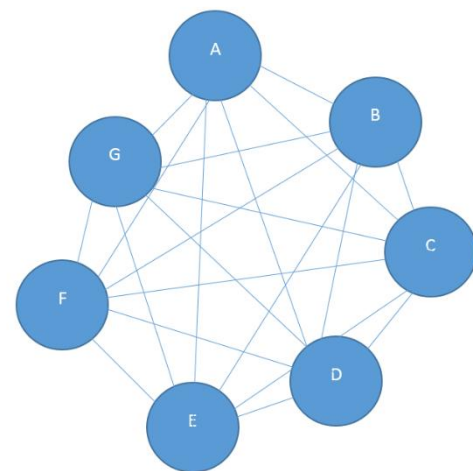
6.2.1 Reciprocity as a mechanism for cooperation

Lacking the formal organization of the *vëllazëri*, the Tosk have formed a network of exchange with other Tosk *shtëpi* in Ksamil. Not having the kanun as an organizational frame, the Tosk networks was fluent, in the sense that the cooperation *shtëpi* could join and leave according to their need. These Tosk networks did not have any centralized decision maker, as was the case with the Ghegs. The system was maintained thru the act of reciprocity on an individual bases. The network is formed by having two *shtëpi* exchanging tourists back and forth. The first observable exchange was between *shtëpi* of Eli and Vasil. Being neighbor their interaction started prior to the arrival of the tourists. As Eli and I were sitting on the rooftop of the house talking on a sunny day in May, Edita¹¹⁵ dropped by for a chat. Through my stay in Ksamil, she never came by, even though they were neighbor. After Edita left, I asked Eli why she suddenly came by¹¹⁶. Eli's answer was: “*Po vjen Behari*” that is translated to “*Summer is coming*”,

¹¹⁵ Vasili's wife

¹¹⁶ Throughout my stay in Ksamil, Edita or Vasili never dropped by, Smalltalk was conducted when Eli or Ylli met them in the street.

hinting to the arrival of the tourists. That day, Edita wanted to know of Eli is willing to engage in an exchange of street tourists and the prices for this particular summer. The Vasili *shtëpi* having smaller rooms has a slightly lower price¹¹⁷ than the *shtëpi* of Eli. As the *Behar* came and the tourists started to arrive, these two houses started to pick up street tourists in order to fill the gap between the bookings. By positioning themselves on different locations these two *shtëpi* would take advantage of their difference in price and send tourists to one another. Eli having larger rooms would receive potential guest that comprised of three or more individuals, while Vasili¹¹⁸ would gain those who comprised of three or less. In the same manner as Altin and Avni maintain contact with each other throughout the “fishing” of the tourists, so did Eli and Edita. By communicating through telephone, they would inform one another of potential guests that is send their way. However, in contrast to the Gheg Ksamiljots, the Tosk did not have a centralized decision system who would direct their actions. Thus, every times a tourists is sent to Eli, Edita was expecting one in return. Eli, would position herself in the crossroads leading to the main beaches, while Edita was usually closer to the town center. This way they would spread and attract more tourists. When a potential client was in sight, negotiations with that particular tourists would start would start. In the case of Edita and Eli, they would primarily try to fill their own rooms; they would meet the tourists budgeted expectations by sending them somewhere else.



The blue circles marked with the letters A-G represent the different *Shtëpi* participating on the exchange. The lines going from and to these represent the communication and exchange of tourists within the network.
Figure 33 the Tosk network

As *behar* came, and more tourists started to arrive more houses started to join the households of Eli and Edita. Seven *shtëpi* would participate in this exchange in *Behar*, creating a system that is maintained by the act of reciprocity. Although the *shtëpi* of Eli and Vasili are related, the other participating houses did not have any relations with each other. Expect that they were Tosk speakers. All of the *shtëpi* would maintain contact with each other, and know at any given point

¹¹⁷ 5 euros under Eli

¹¹⁸ I'm using Vasili and Edita to refer to the same *Shtëpi*

one another prices and room situation. The *shtëpi* would also make note of how many tourists have been sent to a particular house at any given time. Edita, and Eli in particular had an extensive record of how many tourists they have received from the other household. As the network grew larger, the *shtëpi* would be able to attract more tourists combined than they would on their own. Within a period of six weeks, 278 tourists were sent back and forth within the network comprised of seven *shtëpi*. In average, a *shtëpi* in Ksamil would maybe attract three or four tourists during a week that was interested in staying at their location. By cooperation with each other, the network of Eli would be able to attract at average six tourists a week. This doubled their chance of filling their rooms. When the *shtëpi* had filled their room, they would still go to their location and try to attract tourists for the other household. This was the case with



Figure 34 Adem and Eli waiting for tourists

Adem, who already had filled his rooms with tourists for the next 10 days. The daily maintenance of the rooms is left to the housekeeper, giving Adem the opportunity to attract tourists for the other households. This was the norm within the network. If a *shtëpi* had their rooms filled, they would try to attract that particular tourist for the other houses involved in the exchange. There were frequent times when both Edita and Eli had their rooms filled and they would still be on the street at their particular location trying to send as much tourists as possible to the other houses. This is done in order to ensure that when the time came, where their rooms were

vacant, they would get tourists in return. The absence of the *Vëllazëri* as a cooperative force within the Tosk Ksamiljots, makes cooperating with other households a difficult process. The Behar being short and competition for tourists running high, not all *shtëpi* would be accepted in the network of Eli. If a particular *shtëpi* want to join, they start by gathering information about that particular network then start sending tourists to that particular house, and thus hoping that the action would be reimbursed. This was made obvious when Benedikt, who originated from Delvinë, wanted to join Eli's network. Benedikt started by finding out which of the *Shtëpi* was cooperating with each other. After establishing an overview, he sent three tourists to Adem. Upon receiving the third tourists, Adem recompensed Benedikt with one tourist. Based on this trade an exchange relationship is formed between the *Shtëpi* of Benedikt and Adem. During a

three-week period, this exchange had grown and exchanges were conducted daily¹¹⁹. Benedikt was eagerly sending more tourists to Adem in hopes of gaining a foothold within the cooperative network of Eli. As it was still early in Behar, Benedikt wanted to take advantage of the few tourists that were available. However, being alone with twelve rooms to fill was difficult. Upon learning that both Vasili and Eli had vacant rooms¹²⁰, Benedikt decided to send them two tourists. This action is conducted even though Benedikt has two rooms vacant himself. Benedikt stated during conversations that the prospect of gaining access to Eli's network was more appealing than trying to fill his rooms. Having his house a bit further from the popular beaches¹²¹ was an extra disadvantage for him. This by cooperating with other Shtëpi, this disadvantage would be turned into a strategy, as those tourists that found Eli's or Edita's prices too high, would be sent to Benedikt. Upon receiving the tourists, Eli decided to send a tourist in return the following day, as her rooms were filled because of the action taken by Benedikt. After a couple of weeks, Benedikt was incorporated into the network.

The cooperative network becomes an important factor of daily life during *behar* since involvement in these networks could have an impact on the relationship with other *shtëpi*, regardless of kinship relations. Such is the case with one of Eli's neighbors. Ada, is married to Eli's cousin and the rest of her household were not included in the cooperative network. The explanation, when I asked Eli, was that they did not give anything back to the others. This resentment reached its peak in *Behar*, which resulted in a fight between Eli and Ada. The fight triggered by the fact that Ada had forced an individual selling snack to move from the street. The individual selling was part of Eli's and Ylli's network, and although Ada was part of Eli's extended family, Eli still chose to defend the person selling the fruits, and going against her kin. This was not an isolated incident, and there were several times when Eli had to go against her kin for the sake of the individuals who were part of her network.

The distress of exclusion from the network was high among all the households. Exclusion from a network would not only have a large impact of the household economy but also the prospect of establishing new relations with other *shtëpi* in Ksamil. Teulant, a Tosk speaker originating

¹¹⁹ Adem and Benedikt had twelve rooms available for rent. Usually one or two were always vacant in the beginning of June.

¹²⁰ Ksamil being a small place, information like this spread quickly among the Tosk.

¹²¹ Although Benedikt's rooms are located close to the shoreline, they are still not in the most popular beach region.

from a village near the outskirts of Saranda, owned a three stories house near “*Sheshi I Miqësies*”. As the flux of tourism was gaining momentum, Teulant had received several guests in his direction. However, Eli and Adem soon realized that he had not send any back. When approaching Teulant, he responded that having 13 rooms, he and the Mrs. needed to be available for the tourists at any given time. This availability required for the entertainment and service of the tourists was according to Eli just an excuse gain the benefits of the networks, without contributing to it. There were times were Eli had secured her rooms for the next couple of weeks, she was still in the street trying to fill other houses.

The reaction from Eli and Adem was to exclude Teulant. As word spread quickly, the other *shtëpi* followed in the same steps as Eli and Adem. After a while, rumors spread among the Tosk in Ksamil that Teulant had not returned tourists to the households of Adem and Eli, and that they had excluded him from future cooperation. This exclusion had a large economic impact on the *Shtëpi* of Teulant who had difficulties joining another network as a consequence of not cooperating¹²². At the end of august, Teulant had 5000, - €¹²³ less in earnings compared to last year. While Eli and the other households within the network had, a slightly higher income compared to last year¹²⁴. By not sending tourists back, Teulant was viewed as being dishonest. This is common among other cooperating networks throughout Ksamil. Several Tosk speaking households are excluded from networks based on their ability to not reciprocate. The use of exclusion is not used when someone wanted to change networks. Robert, a Tosk speaker from Gjirokastër, has been cooperating with Eli and her network for the last two summers. His house is however located not far away from Eli and Edita. Robert, had this year upgraded his rooms, and was in the same price range as Eli. In order to avoid a conflict of interested within the same network, Robert started to cooperate with a *Shtëpi* linked to a Tepelenas network.

By communicating with Eli and the rest of the network, Robert was able to reduce the amount of tourists send and received within the network. This ensured a smooth transition to the

¹²² In an economy with the average monthly salary of 200, - €, losing 5000,-€ would have a large impact on the family economy throughout the year.

¹²³ This number derived during conversation i had with Teulant prior to leaving Ksamil when asked about this years vs last years profit.

¹²⁴ Eli with her 6 rooms had an income of 26 440,- € during *Behar*. This however excludes the early individuals that came during May, and the tourists that came after 1. September (which was the date i left).

Tepelenas network for Robert without the fear of exclusion. Changing cooperative networks was common among the Tosk according to the amount of tourists that is available and the amount of interaction within that specific network.

A factor, which influences the *shtëpi`s* decision to change their network, was the size of the network. As the network grew, it was difficult for the Shtëpi to keep track of the reciprocal action of every individual cooperation. Most of the households kept a record of which Shtëpi send tourist to whom. This was easier to do as long as the reciprocity between the *shtëpi* was direct. However, when the tourists were send through others, maintaining a control of all the tourists being send back and forth was difficult¹²⁵. This seem to be the norm in groups where reciprocity is used as a mechanism of cooperation (Boyd and Richerson, 1988). As the networks in Ksamil grew, people started to look elsewhere for cooperation, because of the difficulty in maintaining the exchange relations. This made the Tosk networks less stable with time. Although their size was larger than the Ghegs, in the sense that a network there was only comprised of brothers. This instability however, was also one of the reason why individuals like Eli and Edita prefer prior bookings, rather than fishing for tourists.

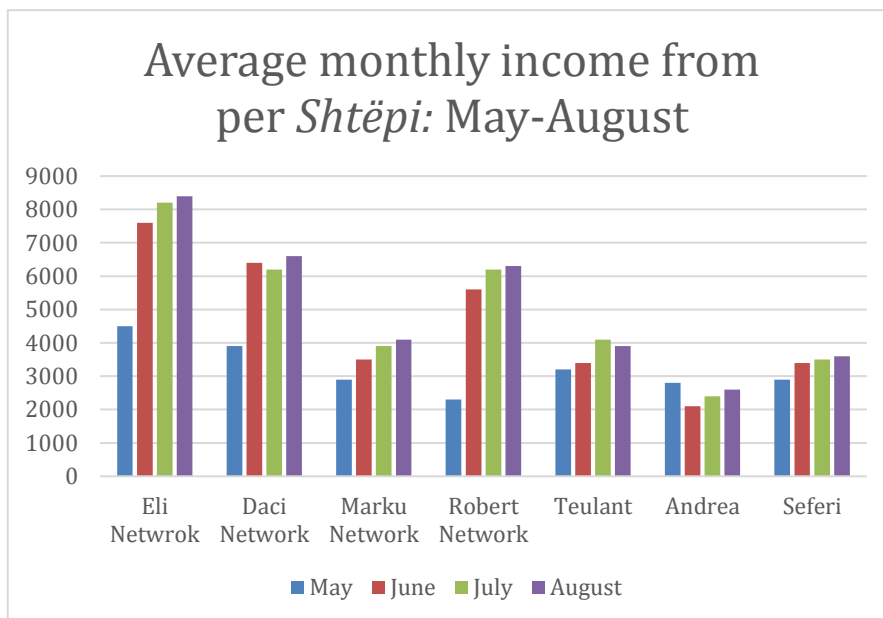
¹²⁵ Most *shtëpi* avoided indirect reciprocity within the network, because of the time needed in order to keep record of the exchange. Although it happened, it was rather on a rare instance, and usually done when trying to gain access to a network.

7 Cooperation, Signal and Status

By coordinating their actions for the mutual benefit, the locals of Ksamil are able to gain more resources together,

than they would by trying to achieve this alone. The differences between those who were part of a cooperative network vs those who were not, was between 2000-3000, - € per month depending on the rooms the individuals

house had. The average income for a those *shtëpi* regardless of origin was around 5000,-€ per month. In contrast to the *shtëpi* who did not participate



As shown in the chart above the average income for the Tosk *Shtëpi* participating in a network (Eli, Daci, Marku & Robert) was between 5000-7000 € per month. The average Gheg *shtëpi* made somewhere between 3000-5000,-€.

While those *Shtëpi* that did not participate in any form of cooperation (Teulant, Andrea & Seferi) with others would gain between 2400-3400,-€ per month.

Figure 35 Average income

in any cooperative network who's average income per month was around 3000, - €. Joining a cooperative network, regards if it was kin related or not, was beneficial to all Ksamiljot *shtëpi*. The majority of the *shtëpi* had some sort of cooperation with other during behar. The *shtëpi* that had an already existing social organization based around kinship would take advantage of this when cooperation's. This is not unique to Ksamil, and seems to correlate with other studies of cooperation conducted by Chagnon and Bugos (1979) Næss et al. (2010) Alvard (2011). Kin selection theory seems as a plausible explanation for the evolution of cooperation within the Gheg communities. Being already linked through the norms of the *kanun*, the Gheg are able to adapt to the changes that have occurred in Albania. The establishment of cooperative networks was easy for all Ghegs, as not all *shtëpi* could join a network. Especially those Ghegs that moved to Ksamil without their *Vëllazëri*.

These household had difficulties cooperating with others. Such was the case with Seferi who had moved to Ksamil from Mirditë. Seferi was the only one from five brothers who had moved to Ksamil. The rest were living in Greece. With the help of his brothers, Seferi had built an apartment complex with 15 rooms in the beginning of the town. As a side income he owned a small shop near “*Vallëtare*” that was open during the winter as well. Being close to the one of the main centers, Seferi was able to attract tourists. However, filling all of the rooms and maintain them was difficult. Not having any brothers in Ksamil, he resulted into sending tourists to one of the Tosk *shtëpi*. As stated in the previous chapter, daily interaction between the Gheg and Tosk was “normal”. However, gaining access to the cooperative networks was a difficult process. After attempting several times to send a tourist to different *shtëpi*, he would not receive any back. After asking the Tosk who received the tourists, *shtëpi* why they had not send one back. The reply was: “*Ai është Malësor*” –he is a highlander”.

The term *Malësor* (highlander) referring to that individual as being from the mountain, is a common way of referring to the Ghegs in Ksamil. However, I observed that the word had negative connotations to it. It implies that an individuals was backward, someone who did not master the current social norms. Since the Gheg are the ones who migrated to the south, most of the Tosk view them as foreign. The Ghegs where according to my Tosk informants people out of their natural habitat.

A comparison can be drawn to Grønhaug (1979) and his description of the immigrants interaction in the public sphere in Norway. Although Grønhaug talks about ethnicity and class as two different premises for social participation. His example still illustrates, to a degree, the same social division that is in Ksamil. According to Grønhaug (1979) we tend to carry our ethnic identity with us during almost all social situations, in a society with different ethnic groups. Similar than social class, which Grønhaug (1979) defines as control over means of production, ethnicity is another form of social difference, that cannot be reduced like class with education or other forms of societal participation. Immigrant workers in Norway have low-class stamp on them. The immigrant worker has what is considered low-status professions, low income and tight living conditions, and little contact with Norwegians. This contributes to the immigrant worker having no power position in Norway and thus having a passive role in the Norwegian society. When these two groups encounter one another in a concrete situation, both play out their respective rules of engagement that they both master. If the immigrant worker

tries to use the Norwegian rules of engagement, he will fall short because of lack mastery of these rules.

The same will happen if the Norwegian tries to use the immigrant worker's rules. This makes it difficult to interact in a conversation because of their different definition of the social situation at hand. Although both parties are masters of their own cultural behaviors rules, they fall short when those two rules meet. It is here that the Norwegian can use own rules that he has collected throughout years of support from friends, family, economic and political influence in Norway. Because of this, he will be the cultural majority and defines the social situation, thus being the dominant part of the cultural mastery that the immigrant worker will fail to master (Grønhaug 1979). Grønhaug (1979) also adds that this is not on individuals attributes, but rather part of a larger social context. The difference between this description and Ksamil is that Grønhaug (1979) is describing an ethnic division. In Ksamil, the differences are not ethnic, rather regional based on social organization of the family, origin and dialect. However, ethnicity in its simplest form can be interpreted as collective identification (Jenkins, 2008). Which makes identities such as being Norwegian or being non-Norwegian (i.e. immigrant) group identities as well.

My argument is that this illustration¹²⁶ is not about the different labels used, such as Norwegian or immigrant. It is about group dynamics and the power relations between these groups. The group that can define the social situation has more power, which makes it the majority¹²⁷. Thus, when the Tosk encounter a Gheg speaker in a concrete situation, both will use their own rules of conduct. As the Tosk defines the social situation, the Gheg will fall short in his mastery of the Tosk social norms. By referring to the Gheg as *Malësor*, they are actually creating a social stigma were the Gheg are judged as lacking social norms and cultural knowledge. The Tosk hold the power within the public sphere. During *behar*, this meant that access to the Tosk networks is denied. Those Tosk who tried to incorporate Ghegs, lost their social status with other Tosk, and were thus excluded from further cooperation.

The Tosk, not having the organizational unit of the *Vëllazëri* have adapted to this by employing reciprocal exchange as mechanism for cooperation. Reciprocity is a powerful mechanism in the development of cooperative behavior in the absence of kin (Alexander, 1974, Nettle and Dunbar, 1997).

¹²⁶ As I understand Grønhaug

¹²⁷ Regardless of their numbers

Signals, in the form of trustworthiness and honesty as with Robert when wanted to change networks became important factor that determines one status in Ksamil. The concept of status implies that an individual is privileged or its access to resources are controlled in part by how other collectively think of him (Alexander, 1987: 94). Status within a group can also determine the expansion factor of that group. This is someone was to incorporate Teulant in their networks, the individuals within the networks would lose their social standing. This would make it difficult for them to change networks. This would distort the communication between individuals, refusing them access to the sphere of economic prosperity.

Eidheim (1969) gives a description of how status can affect communication of Saami-Norwegian¹²⁸ relations in a small town. He shows how ethnic groups¹²⁹ provide an insight in how interethnic relations are organized in reference to either Norwegian or Saami status. Eidheim (1969) states that the Saami closed stage can only be understood in relation to the public sphere. In the routine of establishment of public stage versus ethnically closed stages, that the organizational significance of identity emerges most clearly. Maintaining a successful relationship with a cooperating partner often requires having the status as a trustworthy individual. Although Eidheim's intention was not related to cooperation, the example still helps to illustrate how communication between cooperative partners may work. A Norwegian interacting with Saami may have yielded a negative association, thus discourage other Norwegians to cooperate with the one who interacted with the Saami. When interacting with others, individuals gather as much information about that individual as possible, or use the information already know (Goffman, 1959).

This information according to Goffman (1959) contributes to grasp the social situation at hand, making it able to predict what is to be expected from both parties. Because of the different social situations, we enter a social role that is attributed to a specific status. These social statuses are a combination of different individual roles. When these roles are perceived in a negative way, they can lead to a social stigma (Goffman, 1963). This stigma can have a profound impact on cooperation, as individuals classify each other according to their own expectations, which

¹²⁸ My point with this is to illustrate how one's status can have a profound effect on other private spheres as well, such as economy.

¹²⁹ Being a social category

has been described above when Ghegs try to establish relations with Tosk. Language knowledge can be such an example, as linguistic communication, can provide a vehicle for very low-cost signaling according to (Smith, 2003). Language can also be a social stigma, depending on its level of articulation. A subject, who does not master all of the connotations of a specific language, may be perceived as a lesser individual in relations to the public. These perceptions are strengthened with the use of terms such as *Malësor*, *Greek and etc.* This creates a category of individuals one does not want to cooperate with.

The status and reputation attributed to that category of individuals play an important role in establishing cooperative relations with others. When pairs of individuals interact over a course of time, cooperation will form on their basis of interaction (Boyd and Richerson, 1988). When the motivation for cooperation is internal, groups may form because of a mutual resemblance. Reciprocity likely evolved based on these small groups (Boyd and Richerson, 1988), such as with Eli, Adem and Eita in the bringing. As the exchanges increase, so will probably the group. This would send out a signal to others that this is a successful cooperative network. This will attract more individuals who will join that particular group in hopes of increasing their own prosperity such as with Benedikt who tried to join Eli's network.

This paves the way for freeriders trying to take advantage of the system. The cooperative effort of the individuals is being measured according to a moral system defined by the group internally. Those who do not comply with the group's norms, or in some manner try to cheat, will either be rejected, or cast out from the group, such as we have seen with Teulant in the previous chapter. As different groups form, different sets of moral systems evolve, individuals will exhibit different statuses according to their group belonging. When these statuses and reputation are played out in the public sphere, categorization can become the main classificatory system for an entire region. This is because to define the criteria for membership of any set of objects is, according to Jenkins (2008) also to create a boundary. Thus, when defining the others, one also defines oneself in that same process.

Within the Albanian sphere, the definition of oneself is a direct result of the heavy influence the AWP had on the Albanian population. The Tosk, who felt underappreciated and helped start the Albanian communist revolution, while the Ghegs, who had been put in power by the Ottomans for a period of 500 years, had lost their cultural heritage during the period 1945-1990.

After the fall of the AWP and the reclaiming of the power, the division between these two groups has started to grow.

This has a direct impact on the local economy. In a small town such as Ksamil, the division is visible as soon as different *shtëpi* start to compete for the tourists. The Ghegs, using their already existing social origination have adapted the new ecological changes in Ksamil and formed a network of cooperation based solely on kinship relations. While the Tosk not having the same social unit of the Vëllazëri, have adapted by creating a new group, based solely on reciprocity in order to accommodate the changes in Ksamil. These two networks are put to use during the flux of tourism in order to ensure some income for the Ksamiljots. As the summer is over, and the tourists leave, the Ksamiljot dismantle their networks. The rest of the year is spent waiting. Waiting for that tranquility, the locals call *Behar*.

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Appendix A Butrint

Butrint, or Buthrotum as it was known in the past, is located approximately 4 kilometers from Ksamil. Now an archaeological site, Butrint has been a subject of national interpretations by both the communist Albania in connection with Illyria, and after the fall of communism. Greece proposed an alternative interpretation of Butrint as a Greek colony. The topographic history, as described by Hansen et al. (2013), seem to tell a different story. Butrint was a Roman colony and the political structure seem to suggest that it was a city. After the fall of the Roman Empire



A historical reconstruction of Butrint

the city changed hands from one empire to the next, going through the Byzantine, Venetian and lastly the Ottomans. The City was then abandoned until its rediscovery in the 1920 by Italian archeologists. The area was appointed to Albania in August 1913. This was after the great powers succumbed to aggressive Italian diplomatic pressure and agreed that the Straits of Corfu, being of such crucial

strategic importance, should not be controlled by one nation state alone, but by two, Greece on the Corfiot side and Albania on the Epirote Side (Hansen, Hodges, & Leppard, 2013). Butrint is still being excavated and new discoveries are emerging with every excavation. The Butrint Foundation from 1994 until 2009 led these excavations. During the time I spend in Ksamil, the University of Notre Dame¹³⁰ together with colleagues from other institutions including the University of Tirana were doing both the excavations and restorations in Butrint. Butrint National park was created in 2000 by the Albanian government. The park covers around 95 square km outside the municipality of Ksamil¹³¹, including the archaeological site of Butrint. Butrint itself is large, and it usually takes an hour or more to go through the entire site, which includes; a theater, baptistery, castle, public baths, and several residential buildings.

¹³⁰ Under Albanian supervision.

¹³¹ Ksamil's waterfront is included in this

The idea behind the national park was to create a sustainable cultural heritage resource involving the local communities. For some of the locals the park is a source of employment during the tourist season. Employees come from all over around Ksamil and Saranda. The work included everything from ticket sales at the gates, to maintenance of the tourist's part of the park and guarding the area. Those who have different language skills are employed as tour guides. These guided tours are offered in many different languages and Butrint is packed with tourists during *behar*. Others found employment by selling local jewelry, and different items displaying Albanian tradition. A hotel is located next to the entrance of the archeological park. This privately owned hotel tries to lure tourists over, by feeding the masses with different



The Amphitheater of Butrint, probably the most photographed location in the region (except the beach). Concerts and other festivities are sometimes organized and held here.

Albanian songs and dances.

In the winter, the site is deserted. Even the hotel was closed and abandoned. A handful of individuals guard the park from time to time, but one could easily walk around the site without being disturbed. The locals used it as a fishing ground all year, as it was so close to the lake, it made access to the brackish waters of Lake Butrint easier.

These fishermen could be spotted all year sitting by the lakeside. With their fishing line attached to either a fishing pole, or for those who could not afford one, or it was attached to their fingers, so that if they fell asleep during fishing, they could still feel the fish dragging on the line and thus be able to catch it.