Restoring Pasts and Enriching Futures in Albania

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ABSTRACT

Complaints about the uncertainty and instability of everyday life often emanate from mainstream Albanian society, but a small number of local social entrepreneurs are seeking to overcome this prevailing thought matrix. In postulating their entrepreneurial tactics and goals, they see the mobilisation and transformation of the passive mindset (mentaliteti) of the majority of Albanians as the core prerequisite for their own economic success, as well as general well-being in the country. The paper explores mentaliteti and how it relates to entrepreneurial subjectivities, tactics, and plans. In their aim to mobilize the predominant mentaliteti, local entrepreneurs aspire to revitalize certain traditional moral norms such as responsibility. They do this by redeploying already familiar structural processes like remittances that have been important to the country's history and economy. Through their entrepreneurial plans and endeavors, this small group of individuals aims to bring back and remit specific, once important, ethical and moral values to ensure a better future for all. Both entrepreneurship and remittances are important drivers of economic and social enrichment and general prosperity in Albania today and in the future. [Keywords: future, *mentaliteti*, responsibility, enrichment, remittances, social entrepreneurship, Albania]

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Introduction

On a late March morning, I found myself standing in front of a relatively newly built, warehouse-like factory in one of the villages adjacent to the Albanian capital, Tirana. Due to its location on the outskirts of the village and its relatively new appearance and scale, this garment-producing social enterprise stands out architecturally from the rural landscape. It is owned by Taulant,[1] a 53-year-old return migrant and businessman who opened it in 2016 with the microcredit provided by Yunus Social Business (YSB).[2] Taulant met me at the entrance to the building, then took me on a short detour through the sewing workshop, where, as he later explained, 70 women workers make shirts and jackets that are sold to the Italian army. Afterwards we went to a spacious office on the second floor overlooking the workshop. During our "introductory conversation," his colleague, management director Blerta, entered the room and, in rather upset tones, quickly rattled off details of a recent interview with a female job applicant. Apparently, it had gone well, and the "girl" had both skills and experience in sewing, as well as coming from the village. The only thing Blerta disliked was the way the "girl" introduced herself as a cousin of Mayor Mukaj. As if accustomed to this presentation of family relationships in order to show off social network, position, and power, Taulant sighed in a rather tired manner and said, "Oh, another Mukaj," as if this applicant was one of many.

After this conversation, Taulant presented me to Blerta. He explained that despite the struggle with high unemployment in the rural area, leading to migration by many of many men, there are still problems finding employees. "It is not a matter of their lacking professional dressmaking qualifications—we can deal with that by offering them short courses—but people here are *fanatike,*" meaning highly conservative and chauvinist. "It is part of their *mentaliteti,*" he continued, adding that many men in the village do not allow their wives to work in the factory. When the garment factory opened they had 100 female employees, but after some months many had to leave because of their husbands' jealousy. "But this is their psychosis (*Psikoza e tyre*)," he said, by which he meant their conservative behavior; as they expect their women to be good daughters, sisters, and later wives or daughters-in-law, taking care of their in-laws, husbands, and children. They are not expected to have their own incomes and be financially independent of their husbands. Taulant continued to expound on

various problems with this mentaliteti, which he sees as the main obstacle to achieving greater social and entrepreneurial well-being.

Our discussion was interrupted by a woman of around 25 years of age, a postal officer, who brought in an official letter that needed to be signed for. When she introduced herself as Mirela Mukaj, Taulant noted in a mocking way, "Oh, another Mukaj," while Blerta tried to hide her amusement. In the resulting awkwardness, Mirela approached them politely but defensively, but then confidently spoke about her educational background, knowledge, and skills in order to improve her status and position in their eyes; after all, Taulant and Blerta were the director and manager of the garment enterprise and at least 20 years older than she. Taulant then offered Mirela a job but she refused him in a polite but obviously superficial way, explaining that, in her experience of working in a garment factory in Tirana, salaries in the trade are very low. After half an hour of this "theatrical performance," the postal officer left, and Taulant mockingly noted, "That girl has gone into retirement! Into slightly active retirement," meaning that she had chosen a public-sector job where, instead of making something of her life professionally, she would passively be guided by the values of her kinship line, adopt a "traditional" gender role and inhabit what can be considered a typical Albanian *mindset*. Or, as Taulant explained, "The Albanian state is like my father, you can walk but not alone." "And she is a Mukaj," added Blerta, meaning that she is a relative of the mayor and part of an extended patriline that has considerable social and political capital in the rural area where the garment company is located. Taulant continued, "It's like protons and neutrons. If they are together they have a charge, but if not, they don't function at all."

Taulant's words resonate with those of other social entrepreneurs, self-declared businessmen, and visionary dreamers. Indeed, as they exemplify, the core value of entrepreneurship is the ability to galvanize the predominant mindset (mentaliteti) of the majority of the population so that their entrepreneurial acts and plans are better received and apprehended.

Why do contemporary entrepreneurs in Albania regard the prevalent, passive mindset as the main obstacle to planning their individual and collective futures? How does the mobilization and transformation of this mentality relate to and become part of their entrepreneurial tactics and plans? To answer these questions, the article focuses on the entrepreneurial activities, ideas, and projections of a small group of individuals,[3] who often perceive themselves as somewhat apart from their immediate

surroundings and different to the majority of the population (cf. Petrović-Šteger 2018). They are very few in number, and they feel they have to take a moral part in the process of mobilizing the predominant social and cultural ways of thinking, acting, and perceiving.

The ethnographic focus is on six individual entrepreneurs[4] of different generational, individual, and social backgrounds, whose work often pertains to so-called social entrepreneurship (*sipërmarrje/ndërrmarrje sociale*),[5] a term I use only as an entry point. Rather than examining its legal definition,[6] I refer to the Dictionary of Contemporary Albanian Language (1984:1090), where it indicates social and economic enrichment, and to the daily parlance where it refers to "taking responsibility for something" (*marr për sipër*).[7] The professional or/and personal plans and actions of these few individuals are based on moral and ethical stances. They could be recognized as agents of "moral economies" (cf. Simoni 2016) who, through their entrepreneurial activities and plans, bring together the realms of the economy, the moral system and the future.

I begin this article with a brief theoretical overview of the anthropology of the future, with a particular focus on the scholarly work on Southeast Europe. I then juxtapose the temporality and value system that are important for understanding the concept of entrepreneurship/sipërmarrje, which in Albania is associated with both responsibility and future enrichment. Indeed, a certain group of individual entrepreneurs in the country—whom I will discuss at greater length throughout the article—sees this act of taking responsibility as a prerequisite for overcoming the prevailing passive mindset of the majority of Albanians. This is followed by an explanation of the particular historical, political, and social context in which this passive mindset should be understood. As I discuss, this passivity is exacerbated by the advent of the neoliberal market economy with its erosion of once important traditional moral values, such as responsibility. I then explain how the entrepreneurial tactics and plans of the profiled group turn to already familiar traditional structural processes, such as remittances, because both entrepreneurial tactics and remittances aim to revive and restore responsibility for the distribution of wealth in order to secure a better future. Finally, I conclude by arguing that certain structural resemblances to the past still linger in Albanian space-time, as energetic entrepreneurs strive to overcome prevailing passive mindsets by reviving the traditional values, such as responsibility, and creating a better future for all.

Enriching the future

In recent decades, the global fiscal and economic crisis of 2008 (Dalakoglou 2013, Graeber 2011), accelerated climate and ecological changes (Hastrup 2011, Eriksen 2018), and the COVID-19 pandemic and related public health and social uncertainties (Higgins and Vesperi 2020) have given rise to a series of questions related to present and future time dimensions. The future has been approached from a range of angles: precarity, uncertainty, doubt, despair (Ferguson 1999); stagnation (Jansen 2014, Musaraj 2012); waiting (Čelebčić 2016, Narotzky and Besnier 2014); destiny (Elliot 2016); migration (Pine 2014); hope (Crapanzano 2003, Miyazaki 2004, Zournazi 2002); expectation (Ferguson 1999); potentiality (Bryant and Knight 2019); dreams (Stewart 2017); border dynamics (Green 2012); morality and ethics (Mattingly 2012, Matza 2012, Simoni 2016); entrepreneurship (Kanna 2010, Steiner 2020); religion and economy (Guyer 2007, High 2019, Fomina 2020); social entrepreneurship and visions (Petrović-Šteger 2018, 2020 a, b); youth (Ulturgasheva 2012); climate uncertainties (Mathews and Barnes 2016, Granjou, Walker, and Salazar 2017; Ulturgasheva and Bodenhorn 2022); and the COVID-19 pandemic (Manderson, Burke, Wahlberg 2021; Singer and Rylko-Bauer 2021).

In her article on temporality and the future Marilyn Strathern focuses on "radical transitions," questioning what happens when these transitions are "reinvented in the future" (2019:58). Revisiting her ethnographic data on Papua New Guinea, she examines the presentisms that are experienced and lived and the futures to be made when diverse ontologies "emerge under specific, situated social circumstances" across spaces. Instead of seeking similarities and dissimilarities between them in order to discuss the ontologies as cultures in a strong sense, she advocates apprehending them as "gathered fields" in the making or, in another words, as "ecologies on their own" (2019:71-72). In terms of temporality, this means that in some social circumstances, time sequences can merge into one another, blurring ruptures and ontological clashes. The latter does not necessarily lead to conflict that exacerbates differences; rather, they might entail "some mutuality of comprehension," allowing communication between different views (2019:71).

In postsocialist research, the time dimension is approached through the political, economic, and social transitions that followed the fall of the socialist system. Thus, Katherine Verdery's (1996) work on socialist and postsocialist Romania focuses on temporal "ruptures," associated

with the fall of the socialist regime, which led to significant political and economic changes that have influenced everyday life in Romania and elsewhere in South Eastern Europe. Verdery introduces the concept of the "etatisation of time" whereby, in contrast to capitalism, time was not utilized to produce capitalist profit but, rather, the subjection of citizens and their immobilization within the "grip" of the communist regime. Time in socialist Romania "stood still" (Verdery 1996).[8] Daphne Berdahl (2009, 2010), who focuses on nostalgia and longing in East Germany after the fall of the iron curtain, approaches the subject somewhat differently. Rather than ruptures, she accentuates similarities or, as she terms it, the continuity built on nostalgia and longing for the past. The contrast between past socialist stability and present conditions has generated postsocialist insecurity, which has imbued people with the notion that the present has no future.

Despite rising interest in temporal horizons in the Balkans, Maja Petrović-Šteger argues that "most scholarship has found itself compelled to reinscribe the cliché of the Balkans as a "powder keg always about to blow" (2020a:165, fn.3). She adds that these "representations are biased and—crucially—leave little or no theoretical space for consideration of the region's future" (Petrović-Šteger 2020a:165, fn.3). In trying to surpass this parlance, Petrović-Šteger (2018, 2020a, 2020b) questions how immediate presents are lived and what futures are seized in an environment that is often perceived as precarious, treacherous, and stagnant. Departing from her long-standing ethnographic research in Serbia, she focuses on the small group of individuals or "visionary strategists" who in the midst of a precarious everyday imagine, shape, and craft "alternative scenarios" that reach out for a better future of collective well-being (Petrović-Šteger 2018:24, 2020a:167). The visionary practices and strategies of these individuals thus offer "cognitive tools" that escape "the usual etiquettes of mainstream," and are engaged in the process of creating "parallel systems in both intellectual and practical space" (Petrović-Šteger 2020a:167). The visionary strategists stand out of "the cultural script of presentism," in "tapping into" a distant but selected past that has the capacity to (re)open and ennoble the future (Petrović-Šteger 2020a:167). Petrović-Šteger concurs that the future is not only carved from the present vantage point but largely departs from "a (selected) past" (Petrović-Šteger 2020a:175).

A similar argument is apprehended by Dimitris Tsintjilonis (2018), whose work focuses on present-day Greece, which is recovering from the fiscal

and economic crisis that struck the country's economy and social system after 2008. He concurs that people think about the crisis as part of their Christian heritage, one that teaches them that "Christians are in constant crisis" (Tsintjilonis 2018:1). The "crisis," therefore, is not a time rupture but rather continuity with the past that is "a promise to the future" (Tsintjilonis 2018:1). On a similar note, Charles Stewart (2017), shows that the visionary dreams of the local population of Naxos are projected into the future and create previously unknown episodes of the past. He continues that the future has the capacity to change the past (see also Petrović-Šteger 2020a, 2020b; Tsintjilonis 2018).

Differing from anthropological findings in Serbia and Greece, scholarly work pertaining to Albania still seems to be predominantly fixated on the past, apparently continuing the premises on which Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer (2002) grounded their seminal volume *Albanian Identities*. The volume discusses various ways in which nationalist politics and ideology were reconstructed during the period of the communist regime and after its demise. It argues that the mythohistories or "archetypal structures" (2002:7) grounded in the past permeate the processes of building a post-communist national identity and its territory. The authors thus highlight the continual tendency among Albanians to return to structures resembling the past, which seem to be important in building their individual, collective, and national futures. I see this tendency to return to and restore the structural terrain as a "symptom" of the state of Albanian society. Following ethnographic research in Albania (Gregorič Bon 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2018), I contend that different regimes of power (e.g., Ottoman domination, the communist regime, the neoliberal economy) and ensuing political, economic, and social changes have, in Strathern's (2019) terms, merged time sequences into one another, blurring the differences and ruptures between them.

Sipërmarrje / Entrepreneurship

On May 18th, 2018, the Albanian Enterprise Institute and the Student Economic Forum, in collaboration with the American Entrepreneurial Association, organized a panel titled, "What are the social values in the period of populism?" Amongst the invited speakers were seven Albanian and two American entrepreneurs who discussed the social values they are trying to introduce, restore, and revive through their business ideas and

products—material as well as intellectual. The event, which took place in the conference hall of one of the hotels situated in the capital, Tirana, was well attended, mainly by business and economics students and some young entrepreneurs. One of the event organizers, Alban, opened the panel with a reference to a recent survey about the role of politics and political parties in people's daily lives. To one of the survey's questions—"Do you think Albanian politicians are committed to resolving peoples' issues and problems?"—a great majority, 72 percent answered that Albanian politicians were not committed to resolving their problems at all. The content of this question and its findings, Alban emphasized, represented a core symptom of Albanian society, which revolves around the idea that the political elite, which people often designate "the state" (*shteti*), "is a source of their problems as well as the source for their solutions." As Alban explained, "externalizing responsibility and always ascribing it to the other is a massive collective epidemy." It "is a general tendency to politicize everything," he added, highlighting that precisely because of this issue, there is a need to shape "individual responsibility," which is, amongst other elements, also the "engine of economic development."

In a slightly less neoliberal tone, the second invited speaker, CEO of the consulting company, founder of the first online entrepreneurial magazine, and Startup Grind co-director, Besar, emphasized the role of entrepreneurship, which he sees as an important value in the social and economic development of today's Albania. In order to find a solution to the current problems, such as unemployment, emigration,[9] and the predominant passive mindset, entrepreneurs must be innovative and creative in bringing about changes and generating values that can pave the way to developing entrepreneurial ideas and goals. As Besar, born in the late 1970s, often claims, education, inspiration, and connection are the key values leading to entrepreneurial success, which no longer lies merely in fiscal benefit but (mainly) in social and economic enrichment. In one of our early conversations in November 2017, Besar spoke about himself, his education, and his family. Although his professional activities are based in Albania, where he studied economics, he lived for a time in Holland and Finland for a time because of his partner's educational path. Our conversation revolved around an upcoming activity that he was organizing as co-director of Startup Grind in Tirana in collaboration with YSB. To address the main social and economic problems facing Albania today, they organized an entrepreneurial event in one of its rural areas. Its main objective was to

present and promote a good practice, or a "role model," of a particular social enterprise that employs vulnerable groups and contributes to the economic and social well-being of that particular rural community and Albania in general. Unlike Taulant, who criticizes the predominant conservative mindset, Besar sees a solution to it. In his words, the entrepreneur (*sipërrmarsit*) must "critically evolve with the world, identify key issues and find possible solutions," thereby enriching and taking responsibility for (*marr për sipër*) society and its environment. As Besar concludes, "entrepreneurship is not only business but a way of thinking and living."

Although Besar's words might in many ways resonate with contemporary neoliberal ideas, generating neoliberal subjectivities (Kanna 2010, Freeman 2014), his words should be attuned to the specific "cultural vocabulary" (cf. Fomina 2020) of the economic, political, and social environment in Albania. In recent decades, there has been increasing interest in the relations between the neoliberal market economy and sociocultural processes (Freeman 2007, Feher 2009, Cook 2016, Reich 2016). Neoliberal ways of thinking have extended to myriad levels of social life, including that of the individual (Burchell 1993, McNay 2009, Scharff 2016), who has been perceived as an "enterprise" that should be accountable, responsible, autonomous, and self-fulfilled (Rose 1998, 1992; Du Gay 1996). In this light, neoliberal subjectivities have been considered from many vantage points—both theoretical and regional—highlighting various emphases, including temporality and conceptualization of the near future (Guyer 2007); flexibility and its relation to cultural values (Freeman 2007, 2014); psychic life (Scharff 2016); migration and remittances (Fioratta 2015); self-branding and tension between flexibility and legibility (Gershon 2016); neoliberal ideas (Graeber 2009, Steiner 2020); and moral economies (Daswani 2015, Kanna 2010, Muelenbach 2013, Simoni 2016, High 2019, Fomina 2020). Most of these studies concur that the meaning of neoliberal subjects should transcend the contours of the sheer neoliberal global economy and be understood in their specific historical and sociocultural environment.

Following this, I argue that Besar's speech, which was full of global market-oriented concepts such as responsibility, inspiration, education, connection, and enrichment, should be understood in connection with Albanian socio-cultural processes like remittances. While the role and meaning of remittances will be explained later in this text, I focus here on the meaning of entrepreneurship (sipërmarrës) as the act of taking

responsibility for something (marrë për sipër), which should be understood in a particular genealogical context in Albania.

The concept of social entrepreneurship was introduced to Albanian political, legal, and economic discourse after 2011. Initially, it was familiarized through three terms: *ndërmarrje*, *sipërmarrje,* and *biznesi social*. Whereas the term ndërmarrje is used only rarely, sipërmarrje or biznesi social are often present in public media, economic and political discourse. One of the reasons for this is that ndërmarrje was mainly in use during the period of the communist regime (1945–1991) when it referred to cooperatives, state companies, and other social work that was directed towards the common good of the "state" and its citizens. Biznesi is relatively new term that entered Albanian colloquial language after the collapse of the communist regime, with the emergence of the liberal economy. The term sipërmarrje is different due to its etymology; translating as taking responsibility (marr për sipër), it was already in use before the period of the communist regime. Thus, its meaning has been mainly related to the notion of responsibility which is nowadays associated with the promotion and expansion of entrepreneurial activities – both in economic as well as social terms. Hence, sipërmarrje is less linked to fiscal gain than it is conditioned by the added social value of enriching society in order to secure a more stable present, leading to a better future (Broka 2016). It is a kind of "future-venture" whose role and meaning should be understood within a specific historical, social, and cultural context.

Mentaliteti

In the period before the Ottoman domination (1503–1912), Albanian sociality was regulated by unwritten customary laws or Kanun (Hasluck 1954). These laws generated the core principles of patrigroups (*fis*)—their social and spatial organization, normative and ethical codes—which have deeply affected peoples' daily lives in terms of their practices and predominant ways of thinking (*mendesi*). Although the general norms of the Kanun were widely known and accepted amongst the patrigroups, their particular content was constantly changing and being adapted according to the social relations based on the kinship system (*sistemi fisnorë*). In this period, the principal agents of social organization were thus the patrigroups whose most prominent representatives were the so-called big men.

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Under the autocratic communist regime, a planned and systematic uprooting of the Kanun laws from everyday life and the collective consciousness commenced. This was supported by rhetoric shaped by the ideology of building a new "nation" and "New Man" with a "new" mentaliteti (Bardoshi 2016, Lelaj 2015). The communist system aimed to uncouple the social mindset from the patriline, its location, and Kanun laws, and promote the "equality" of all citizens, who would be highly responsible and bound to their nation-state, the Communist Party, and the whole community. Nonetheless, although the ideology of the regime tried to eradicate the social power of the Kanun, the kinship system and the mentality pertaining to them managed to survive due to its fit with the value system that was promulgated by the autocrat. In contrast to the mode of governance, however, which retained the role of the sovereign (personified by the communist leader), other vital social and moral institutions of Albanian society, such as responsibility (përgjegjësia; or taking responsibility for something, marr për sipër) honor (nder) and promise-keeping (besa), were gradually eroded by the fear and paranoia resulting from the surveillance of the communist secret service, Sigurimi. Its system of bugging gradually entrenched itself in every part of the individual and collective psyche. This Foucauldian (1995) model of control and surveillance implanted feelings of mistrust towards the other (non-kin) and the state; promise-keeping, honor, and responsibility—important social and moral institutions of Kanun—along with traditional ways of thinking (mentaliteti), were labelled "primitive" or backward moral categories. The centrally planned economy managed to abolish any kind of private or individual mode of entrepreneurship, which became highly stigmatized and persecuted. Yet, unlike the etatization of time in socialist Romania—which Verdery (1996) maintains caused a rupture with the previous system—the etatization of time in communist Albania brought a kind of a fit between the traditional and communist structures of values, both of which acknowledged the power of authority, either patriarchal or autocratic. Thus, the transformed political-economic system did not deepen the ruptures between the different time sequences; rather, it blurred their boundaries and enmeshed them in terms of values. In line with Strathern, these seemingly different time sequences could be understood as "gathered fields in the making" or as "ecologies on their own" (2019:71-72).

As Strathern (2019) notes, with the passage of time and the ensuing social and political changes, some things reach accord while some result in

discordance or even divergence. In Albania, accord inhered to the power of authority (the patriarch or autocrat), whereas discord was instigated by the erosion of traditional ways of thinking and related responsibility towards the kin and patrigroup. After the fall of the regime and the attendant economic, political and social crises and concomitant massive migrations (Vullnetari 2007, 2012), the mistrust remained, although its primary agent changed. It no longer pertained only to the social domain but also to the state and its political leadership. The value hierarchies and relationships between value spheres did not collapse (cf. Robbins 2013); rather, they shifted again and led people to revive and re-establish the old hierarchies. In other words, similarities, dissimilarities, and divergences between different political and social systems have reintroduced and revitalized selected traditional values (such as responsibility) and related ways of thinking—now described as mentaliteti—although they operate in different ways than in the past. Along with the process of democratization, the need to restore and revalue the kinship system also reappeared, and it again became the core agent of social organization and central to conceptualizations of society and the individual.

After 1990, due to the overall crisis in the country, a number of foreign governmental and non-governmental organizations were established in Albania with missions to "stabilize" the economic and social conditions of the country (de Waal 2005). The first of these, including USAID and the World Bank, came from the USA, with policies that aimed to introduce and implement a liberal market economy in an area that was previously unfamiliar with it. After 1998, the first small-scale Albanian private businesses[10] emerged. Most of them were built on family ties which were, in the light of the neoliberal economy, recognized as "informal" and as strengthening the system of so-called "informal business" (Kera and Hysa 2020, Muceku and Muça 2014). Whereas in the period before the communist regime, family ties and family business had been the key to success, proponents of the neoliberal economy considered them non-transparent and "illegal." These political and economic transitions have again endorsed the relationships between the shifting value spheres. This time, however, the differences and similarities between these value spheres became enmeshed with the new values of the liberal market economy, enhancing the rise of informal business practices on the one hand and carving the space for enforcing social entrepreneurship on the other.

As many of my interlocutors pointed out, a large number of influential companies operate on the basis of these informal links and relations, which is causing that the political system, or more precisely the political elite, often referred to as the "state," is deeply enmeshed with that of the family (Gregorič Bon 2018). This has enhanced the erosion of the traditional values such as mendesi—now referred to as mentaliteti—and responsibility, which the self-described businessmen, start-up entrepreneurs, and visionary dreamers are seeking to mobilize and restore.

Restoring Responsibility

The state is "plagued by the family system," said 30-year-old Emil, a self-declared aspirer or visionary dreamer (someone with inspiration, visionary dreams/*vegime*), when referring to the obstacles that he encounters in his environmental clean-up initiative. Emil is the initiator and founder of this ecological and environmental civil society movement which, since 2011, has been organizing clean-ups and related activities in order to create and preserve a green environment in Albania and beyond. His social movement is part of a larger global movement, which aims to "clean up the world," reduce waste and contribute to environmental sustainability.

In one of our conversations in 2016, Emil and his colleague Andrea, who have been working together for several years, described their approach to changing the mindset of the citizens. Both Emil and Andrea grew up in Tirana whence they migrated to Italy after the fall of the communist regime. There they finished their university degrees before returning to Tirana. Used to activist student life in Italy, they became frustrated with the students in Tirana who were, in comparison, very passive and careless about environment. Many were "just hanging out in the coffee shops, chatting and doing nothing while their environment was gradually decaying," noted Emil. Thus, Emil and Andrea decided to "remit" the knowledge and experience they gained during their migrant life in Italy in order to enrich the Albanian environment. As they explain, people in Albania lack a sense of responsibility towards their social, individual, and physical environment. In order to overcome this, they decided to organize the first clean-up activities in Albania, trying to motivate predominantly young people as the core agents of future change. Emil explains that initially these actions provoked negative associations, as people related them to the communal initiatives of the communist era in which they were obliged

to participate. Many of them complained that it was not their responsibility to clean up the streets as the "state" and the political elite should take care of that. "This is our mentality (mentaliteti)," noted Emil in reference to the prevailing thought matrix which, in his opinion, lacks the core traditional values of responsibility, promise-keeping, and honor. The main goal of these clean-up and related activities is not only to "clean" the environment but, as Emil explains, also to clean people's mindset, which has been injured by the trauma of the communist past. The latter seems to be holding the people back, making them passive with regard to paving the way to their own futures. Emil thus strives to mobilize the so-called "slow, slow mindset" (*avash, avash mentaliteti*),[11] grounded in the pervasive structure of the authoritarian continuity, which, with shifts in its active agents, has operated throughout history. As noted in the sections above, in the period before the communist regime this authority was relatively dispersed but deeply ingrained in the family system and the individual patriarchs, but, with the introduction of communism, was concentrated in the single person of the autocrat Enver Hoxha. With the fall of the regime the powerful figure of authority has shifted again and settled its sovereignty in the "state" or political elite, which, according to Alban, is often a "source of peoples' problems as well as their solutions."

In order to mobilize the passive mindset dictated by the power of the authority figure, Emil and Andrea have been organizing annual "green bus tours" whose aim is to raise people's sense of responsibility for their wider environment. Like Besar, Emil and Andrea also think that this will be a long process, as it requires the organization of a series of initiatives, such as startup events showing and promoting successful Albanian entrepreneurs, encouraging people to volunteer in clean-up activities, introducing the subject of environmental care to the school curriculum and inviting the younger generations to become active trustees of their environment. Here they see the personal approach as crucial to communicating with people in whom they are trying to evoke greater individual responsibility for the physical and social environment, which needs constant care and attention.

Thus, much like Taulant and Besar, Emil and Andrea see their entrepreneurial mission as one of revitalizing individual responsibility—not so much in terms of the individual profit goals of the neoliberal market economy but, rather, linked to social well-being and a sustainable environment. "Guilt is always an orphan (*Faji është jetim*)," as Emil once remarked when

describing the irresponsibility of the majority of the population who, as Alban pointed out, largely rely on the state and grant it the authority to improve the social and economic situation in the country. Yet, as Emil and Andrea insist, the individual should reject the passive mindset, the avash, avash mentaliteti, which is grounded in the belief that the "authorities," whether patriarch, autocrat, or the "state," should be responsible for taking care of individual and social issues. On the contrary, the individual should galvanize this mindset, actively and responsibly take part in collective acts in order to overcome the past collective trauma caused by the communist regime.

In line with this aim, my interlocutors believe that they should be in constant communication with the people among and with whom they work. As Emil, Andrea, and Besar observe, the personal approach is crucial in enacting their mission as it enables them to assess the degree to which their ideas resonate and gain a response (*përgjigje*) in the wider environment, and how the wider environment can respond to their mission. Much like the English term, responsibility (*përgjegjësia*) derives from the word response (*përgje*), which my interlocutors seek from the society or group of people with whom they work, and vice versa. In order to energize passive ways of thinking, the entrepreneurs must, as Besar, Emil, and Andrea accentuate, come closer to the people with whom they work, as well as maintain distance from them. There should be a resonance between them, which they can attain only by seeking and generating constant response. But what do these individual entrepreneurs do to generate a response, how do they go about it, and what tactics or processes do they deploy?

Remitting and Enriching

When reading one of the articles in the online entrepreneurial magazine, owned by Besar, the author Klodian, one of Besar's students, explained social entrepreneurship (sipërmarrje) as the process of creating and enriching a particular business idea.[12] Besides fiscal profit, entrepreneurship engenders freedom, independence, creativity, and social benefit (Buisness Magazine Albania 2016), which are among the core entrepreneurial values that help to "enrich and implement" (marrë për sipër) society. In the article Klodian accentuates that the business opportunity is, amongst other things, also a "social activity" as social entrepreneurs strive to overcome

"unemployment, poverty, ignorance, and sickness" (Buisness Magazine Albania 2016).

Although the gist of this passage is similar to that of many articles that appear in numerous business magazines and related media around the world, I regard it as a meaningful point of entry to this section. As the article in the entrepreneurial magazine points out, entrepreneurship should lead to social implementation and the entrepreneur should therefore, address the issues that are relevant in the particular environment in which he or she works. One of these issues, as many of my interlocutors accentuate, is unemployment resulting in emigration, which has increased again in the last decade.

According to scholarly research (Vullnetari 2007, 2012; Vullnetari and King 2011), as well as various statistical and other governmental and non-governmental reports, Albania is one of the most migratory countries in Europe, with a concomitant high level of remittances: a financial inflow which has characterized this area for centuries, apart from a hiatus during the communist era. In line with its etymological Latin roots—*re*/back and *mittere*/send—remittances aim to replace something that has gone, died or been taken away. They have the capacity to revitalize and enrich the migrants' social worlds in their places of origin. Thus, remittances should be read in the wider social and historical frame, which in Albania goes back to the period of Ottoman domination.

The Ottoman era has been characterized by a high level of migration, when a predominantly male population left the country in what was called *kurbet* (an archaic Albanian term that is synonymous with migration). *Kurbet*, as argued elsewhere (Pistrick 2015; Gregorič Bon 2017a, 2018), is a traditional mobility practice which considers the migrant a hero for making personal sacrifices for the family left behind, as well as sending them remittances which bestow both fiscal and social capital.

In the period of the communist regime (1945-1990), emigration was strictly forbidden and the flow of remittances abruptly stopped.[13] After the fall of the communist regime, political, economic and social crises led to a resumption of massive migration, resulting in almost one third of the Albanian population living abroad, mostly in other European countries. The scale of migration grew rapidly for more than a decade but gradually stabilized between 2000 and 2007. In this period the percentage of remittances and other material flows to the migrants' country of origin have gained an important role for they were often the main source of income for certain

households and economies in Albania (Gregorič Bon 2018). According to the World Bank, remittances are essential to Albanian households in surmounting their economic difficulties (De Soto et al. 2002:xiv). Between 2004 and 2005, remittances amounted to about 1.1 million US Dollars and generated about 14 percent of the Albanian gross domestic product (GDP) (Vullnetari and King 2011:55). In 2009, due to the economic crisis across Europe and the United States, the scale of remittances decreased to 9 percent of the GDP in Albania (Vullnetari and King 2011:55). Still, in the same period, they were three times greater than the value of foreign exports and covered a relatively large part of the trade deficit (Vullnetari and King 2011:55).

Remittances have been significant for the country's economy and its society in general. They restore and reify relations between past and present social and spatial structures that are often encapsulated in the meaning of the kinship (past ancestors and present kin) and migrants' locations of origin (either a particular place or the country as a whole) (Gregorič Bon 2016). Thus, remittances reaffirm the continuity of relations between migrants and their kin (and their ancestors) and the country of their origin. They bestow social capital and have the capacity to marrë për sipër, take responsibility for and enrich the migrants' and the migrants' families' futures and augment general well-being.

Especially in the past, remittances were part of the moral obligation or responsibility of the migrant and his family to return and distribute part of the wealth acquired during the life in *kurbet*. Although this moral obligation is gradually becoming less important nowadays, the process of remittance is still often popularly considered part of the migrants' responsibility. Thus, remittances as the process of bringing back (*re-mittere*) and restoring particular structural remnants of the past are still an important mechanism that permeates and make sense of the contemporary social and economic processes in Albania.

Remittances transgress the temporal differences and spatial distances between the migrant's destination and place of origin, past and present, and have the capacity to revive and restore space-time. From this perspective, their value transcends the merely fiscal. The role and the meaning of migrants' remittances have parallels with the role and meaning of the entrepreneurial plans and aspirations of my interlocutors who all share migration experience. Both remittances and entrepreneurial plans aim to revive and restore the responsibility to distribute wealth in order to secure

a better future for society. By taking care of vulnerable groups and overcoming current social issues, these socially responsible individuals strive to improve the current economic situation in the country and ensure its well-being.

As mentioned earlier, all six socially responsible individuals discussed here share the migration experience, having all lived abroad for a number of years, either for work or educational purposes. While living as émigrés, they experienced the temporal and spatial differences between their migrant destination country and their home country. As Emil and Andrea explain, they were frustrated with the social and economic situation in their home country and felt a moral obligation to pass on the wealth and knowledge they had acquired while living abroad through their entrepreneurial mission. Emil, Andrea, and Taulant, like some other returned migrants, used their migration experience as a (re)source for developing new skills, which they brought back and introduced them into the Albanian economy to enrich the wider society in Albania. But how do the businessmen, start-up entrepreneurs, and visionary dreamers know that their aims and mission are heading towards social enrichment and general well-being?

Entrepreneurial Skills and Tactics

Many of my interlocutors pointed out that communicating with the public, educating a specific group of people, and presenting best practices are important methods and ways to get feedback and response so they can develop further plans and take on further tactics for their entrepreneurial ventures. As Besar, Emil, and Andrea, each in his own way, emphasized, the entrepreneur must communicate with people while maintaining a certain distance in order to preserve his mission and have the strength to mobilize the prevailing mentality. To return to Besar's talk at the panel on social values in the era of populism: he explained that "entrepreneurship"

> … is not just a trade or a [type of] business management, but a way of living, a way of thinking. When we published the first issue of the magazine [entrepreneurial magazine owned by Besar], we realized that it was important to write about what was happening in the world and to demonstrate good practices and examples of successful entrepreneurs. But then we asked ourselves, do we [in Albania] have such role models? How many are there, and if so, how many are

> known? ... What did we do? We communicated and promoted these local stories of success and since then we have been writing about them and promoting them to inspire, teach and connect people working in the entrepreneurial ecosystem. Let me come back to the definition of entrepreneur, who is neither a tradesman nor a businessman, but someone who seeks solutions to the problems of our time through innovative and creative ways of thinking and working, in order to bring about change and restore values that should not be turned into a business. Entrepreneurship ... is therefore something more. It is a way of thinking and living. It evolves critical thinking and action, not (just) expectations. So I agree with Alban who said that most people think that the state is the source of their problems and the source for their solutions. ... When facing various problems in our everyday we often think, "We cannot do it, because the state and politicians should and will take care of it and us, so we have nothing to do." People often raise their hands and "back off" because they think the government should take care of them and the problems they face. Why is that? Because we have the wrong attitude, a non-entrepreneurial attitude. The entrepreneurial attitude means that someone who sees a problem will look for solutions to it. This means that we do not need to solve macroeconomic problems, but start solving small problems that affect our lives and the way we live.

As described above, Besar, Emil, Andrea and partly also Taulant are in some ways different from the majority of entrepreneurs who either work in business or promote the neoliberal ideas that have become relevant to the Albanian market economy. Unlike the majority of small or large entrepreneurs who give priority to the fiscal benefits of their business, and the majority of the population who complain about uncertainty and precariousness in their daily lives, my interlocutors pointed to a kind of solution to this problem, which they see as changing the passive mentality (Emil's "avash, avash mentaliteti") of the people, regarding it as a prerequisite for social implementation and general well-being. In their entrepreneurial tactics and plans, they redeploy already known structural mechanisms like remittances that bring back and/or remit specific traditional moral values, such as responsibility.

In one of our private conversations, Besar remarked that this kind of entrepreneurial attitude is still very rare in Albania.

> Starting a business is not just a short-term move—it takes longer and involves a lot of risk. If you promote entrepreneurship, people will start to act and take a risk, so they will take the first step towards changing their [passive] mindset, because entrepreneurship today does not only mean owning a business. It also means changing the mindset.
>
> ...This can take years, because it takes generations to change. Our recent research on the subject has shown, for example, that people whose parents or grandparents had a business [before the communist regime]—not a business like the ones we can see today, but a small private business—are more motivated and successful in their business. Because they already have the culture, the mentality to work for themselves. The others who work in the public sector are not so interested in entrepreneurship. So I think promoting entrepreneurship is necessary because people need to change, not just wait for something to happen but take things into their own hands and make it happen. Being an entrepreneur does not just mean selling things to make a profit. It also means creating something for society and for yourself, which means you are in control of your own destiny [*fati*]... Do not wait for things to happen, an entrepreneur is someone who makes things happen.

Similar issues, albeit in a different discourse, were conveyed by Emil, whose entrepreneurial goals are distanced from the market economy and focused on social and environmental well-being. Instead of the "entrepreneurial mindset," he spoke of mission or, as he often calls it, "visionary dreams." In one of our intimate conversations, Emil went back to the genealogy of his ideas, how he got started, the risks he had to take and the courage he needed to fulfil his mission:

> I depart from a vision…actually not a vision but from dreams (*vegim*/ visionary dreams) that I can change or achieve something. Whenever I feel that, I don't hesitate, I just go for it…It is like Mozart, I don't question my ability to play, I just play. I know I can do it. Even if I don't have the experience...I've been like this since my childhood; dreaming big.

Emil's visionary dreams (vegim), which are based on sustainable social and environmental changes, have genealogical roots. As he further explains, they originate in the family "genes" of his mother's patriline. According to Emil, his mother's ancestors had an essential role in the formation of the Albanian nation in the nineteenth century; they were important members of the Albanian renaissance and significant revolutionary awakeners and visionaries. His capacity as a visionary dreamer, Emil says, is stored in his family "genes" and can be inherited by future generations. Since his childhood, he has had various ideas on how to change a range of social issues and problems in his nearer and wider environment. Whenever he gets such an idea, he knows that he can enact it, even though, as he explains, "everybody thinks that it is impossible." His family pedigree reassures him that he has the strength to instigate changes that will enrich the environment.

Besar's student Klodian, who writes regularly for the entrepreneurial magazine owned by Besar, described similar genealogical roots for his entrepreneurial ideas. When discussing his plans for his start-up business, his confidence and determination also draw on a family tradition of successful entrepreneurs. As Klodian explained, his great-grandfather was an early entrepreneur in the northern part of Albania. Back in the 1930s he was one of the first Albanians to collaborate with the German company Bayer in introducing their pharmaceutical products to rural areas. His entrepreneurial knowledge and skills helped to improve health and ensure well-being in the region. Although Klodian did not refer to genes as a "common substance" shared with his mother's patriline, he too discussed entrepreneurship in terms of the skill and capacity inherited from his kin group and then passed on. According to Besar's, Emil's, and Klodian's viewpoints, entrepreneurial mission and skills are "naturalized" within the kinship system, whereby the kinship system is "socialized" through its entrepreneurial skills; this then generates cultural capital, which has a propensity to bring back and remit specific moral values such as responsibility, restoring and implementing them across the coming generations.

The role of the kinship system is thus important for understanding the meaning of the individual in Albania. Individuals are defined by their patriline, which includes both ancestors and descendants. In terms of temporality this means that the individual's future path is, on the one hand, somehow predestined by the kin's line and its destiny (*fati*) while, on the other, it is gripped in the "jaws" of the state (cf. Navaro-Yashin 2002). As

pointed out above, entrepreneurial skills have their own agentive power to enrich the role of the individual. Yet, as Besar observed, such enrichment depends on individual abilities and capacities, which are preconditioned by the family genes and revitalized in line with present and future needs. To return to Besar's presentation at the Tirana entrepreneurial event:

> [I]nstead of waiting for things to happen, you [the entrepreneur] must take things into your own hands and make them happen… Entrepreneurship is not just about making a profit but also about holding your destiny (*fati*) in your own hands.

Like Besar, other entrepreneurs, and visionary dreamers also highlight enrichment as a major entrepreneurial skill which has the capacity to enable them to hold destiny in their "own hands," thus possessing its agentive power. The latter is reflected in the capacity to alter destiny which is described as the "*tu pa, tu bo*" temporal modality in the following section.

"*Tu pa, tu bo*" / "We shall see"

Instead of the more usual phrase, "*u krye,*" meaning "it's done," many business deals in Albania today are sealed with the comment, "tu pa, tu bo" (*duke parë, duke berë*; lit. to see, to do), meaning something like "*inshallah*, *kismet*" (if Allah wills it), as Besar told me when we were discussing ways of concluding business deals between two parties. The difference between the two phrases lies in their relation to *besa*, a promise or moral word of honor. "*U krye*/it's done" is part of *besa*; it is the promise or sealed agreement that announces that something is already completed although, in actuality, it has not yet been carried out. "U krye" is thus a promise that something will be enacted regardless of the circumstances that might enable or hinder this enactment. The phrase expresses the past tense although performance will be enacted in the future; thus, it pertains to the future's past, wherein the act and the subject enacting it are bound by, and responsible for fulfilling, the promise. The promise and the responsibility are, therefore, stronger than the act itself, and both are related to social, religious and other pagan (or supernatural) structures. The phrase u krye incorporates *besa* which is synonymous with the Latin *fides* or faith (*fati*), or belief (*feja*), and belongs to an ethical and juridical realm.

Yet, as Besar puts it, instead of applying the u krye principle, many contemporary business deals and tactics are more often performed in the tu pa, tu bo/we shall see modality. Tu pa, tu bo is commonly invoked in the daily lives of Albanians when any planning for the future is bound to an already known destiny (fati).[14] Destiny (fati) is grounded in a set of traditional social (kinship) structures, supernatural powers (the evil eye), the power of dreams and religious authority. In line with the traditional Kanun, destiny often leads to an already predestined, closed future, one that is conditioned by the past. In that way tu pa, tu bo is rooted in the past(s) and generates modes of apprehending a future that is determined by destiny.

To return to Besar and his statement about taking destiny into one's own hands. While my interlocutors do not clash with traditional value systems (cf. Robbins 2004) in order to establish a new moral economy, they have a propensity to slip away from the predestined future. When the interlocutors presented here take destiny into their own hands, it is no longer bound by the "fatalistic passivity" that is also embedded in relations with authority. As explained by a start-up entrepreneur and visionary dreamer, this destiny should be transgressed although not completely transformed by individual agency (cf.Graeber 2012). This means that destiny can slightly shift its destination and open up an unknown future that, in the sense of Bryant and Knight (2019), holds the potential for possible alterations. As Besar, Emil, and Andrea accentuate, they make this alteration by changing the tu pa, tu bo or avash, avash mentaliteti of the majority of the population whose temporalities are entrapped in a predestined future. Instead, their aim is to mobilize this passive mindset which is spatially and temporally locked into past structures and move it towards more open, long-term futures.

Differing from the majority, who leave things to tu pa, tu bo contingencies with predestined and known outcomes, my interlocutors seek to take *fati* "into their own hands." In this way they are able to enrich it and navigate towards a destination that accords with their mission, one which is deeply embedded in their kinship system and bound to the set of social and moral values which they uphold. In terms of temporality, it is perhaps their émigré experience that allows them to return to the traditional moral norms that no longer tie the future to fati/destiny nor bind it by the state's clientelism, but open it to a new potentiality "as the future's capacity to become future" (Bryant and Knight 2019:107).

Conclusion

The economic, social, and environmental plans and aspirations of the small group of individual entrepreneurs have the goal of mobilizing Albanian society, which is, in their view, grounded in a passive and irresponsible mindset (mentaliteti). Mentaliteti is a set of conservative everyday practices that encapsulates the still prevalent structures of traditional thinking in contemporary Albanian society. Drawing from this the individual is conceptualized in collective terms, largely dependent on the authority of either patrilinear kin or the state. In the past, individual and collective relationships with authority were very much imbricated with responsibility, which was mutual and relational; nowadays, due to historical, political and economic changes, this has eroded. Thus, Taulant, Besar, Emil, and Andrea see responsibility as one of the key economic and moral drivers that can lead society to a better and more prosperous future. Responsibility is not only a neoliberal endeavor; rather, it is always attuned to the specific sociocultural environment (cf. Fomina 2020; Steiner 2020). Once an important traditional moral value in Albania that has almost lost its original meaning due to blurring of different time sequences and enmeshment of value systems, responsibility is re-emerging in today's rising neoliberal market economy under the auspices of individual entrepreneurs who are trying to restore and remit it. In this process of remitting, it seems that past (traditional) and present (neoliberal) meanings of responsibility have found "some mutuality of comprehension" (cf. Strathern 2019), blurring the differences in their meanings. These few socially responsible individuals are striving both to mobilize the prevailing mentality and revive responsibility, which they see as two of the main tasks of their entrepreneurial mission with its goal of a better future. As they explain, this mission is rooted in their genealogy or kinship system, thus resurrecting ancestors who were important revolutionaries and heroes in history. It is a perspective that seems to generate a semantic space within which the past spills over into the future and the future flows back into the past.

Echoing Petrović-Šteger's work in Serbia, where her interlocutors, the "visionary strategists," are tapping on the selected past in carving the future through which they change the past, my socially responsible interlocutors lean on the selected, traditional moral values that they see as crucial to shaping their futures. More than changing the past (cf. Stewart 2017; Petrović-Šteger 2018, 2020a, 2020b; Tsintjilonis 2018), in the context of Albanian socially responsible entrepreneurs, I could speak of reviving and

restoring the past by learning (or relearning) responsibility and remitting it in space and time (i.e., from abroad to their homeland and from the past to the future and vice versa).

Start-up entrepreneurs, businessmen, and visionary dreamers aim to reverse the direction of the future by overcoming its predestined path and opening it up to the long term. They aim to revive feelings of personal responsibility, a task that is still largely surrendered to authority figures—whether patriarch or the state. In order to do this, they promote specific past moral values—such as responsibility—which they are striving to revitalize in the contemporary context of neoliberal democracy. They no longer consider the "individual" a passive subject subjugated to state authority; rather, they advocate that everyone should be an active agent of their own destiny. Individuals have the agentive power to hold on to, change or overcome destiny and to responsibly enact their own mission. Besar, Emil, Andrea and partly also Taulant are thus driving the future in a more open direction, one detached from the kinship ties that are strongly perpetuated by the political elite. Their entrepreneurial mission has the capacity to unlock future possibilities and improve well-being in the country.

The plans and aspirations of my interlocutors strive to remit specific remnants of the past into the present, enriching it in order to pave the way to a better future. The process of social remitting is crucial here as it revives specific social values, such as responsibility, that have been left behind or eroded. Along with entrepreneurship/sipërmarje - whose meaning relates to taking responsibility/marr për sipër, as well as enriching and taking something higher- remittances too, are also important socio-economic drivers that lead to individual economic success and general well-being.

Remitting specific traditional values and enriching the individual and social mindset seem to be the core prerequisites for stepping out of established paths and opening up the currently eroded "structural terrain" (cf. Wilf 2015). My interlocutors aim to "remit" to the present the core moral values that have—due to historical transitions, ruptures and continuities—become eroded. Hence, the process of remitting in its wider, spatio-temporal and social meaning is crucial here as it carries the capacity to restore and enrich something that has the potential to bring a better present and future and assure wellbeing. ■

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Endnotes:

[1]To retain the anonymity of my interlocutors, I use pseudonyms.

[2]YSB is a global non-profit venture owned by Muhamed Yunus, a Bangladeshi social entrepreneur who finances and credits sustainable social businesses in Albania, Asia, South America, and Africa.

[3]During my research I had the opportunity to speak to people with a range of different profiles, such as environmental activists, directors of different NGOs, social entrepreneurs, representatives of various local associations, university rectors, start-up entrepreneurs, etc.

[4]While I present only male entrepreneurs here, I would like to note that the female population also engages in entrepreneurial activities and plans for their well-being. During my research, I had the opportunity to speak to and accompany people with a range of different profiles, such as environmental activists, directors of different NGOs, social entrepreneurs, representatives of various local associations, university rectors, start-up entrepreneurs, etc. Although they are of different gender, age and have different émigré experience they all shared a critique of the prevailing passive mentality, due to the state's clientelism which they sought to overcome through their entrepreneurial ventures. The latter are not only business-oriented, but primarily aim to revitalise the passive mentality. While I present and discuss both female and male entrepreneurial tactics, expectations, inspirations, and activities elsewhere (Gregorič Bon 2018), in this article I focus only on those individuals whose tactics most thickly describe their efforts to restore and revitalize responsibility as one of the central prerequisites for a better future.

[5]Most of the ethnographic material presented in this article was gathered during the project "Seizing the Future," PI-ed by Maja Petrović-Šteger. The project questioned how people seize and shape their futures in their precarious and uncertain everyday lives. Due to its comparative approach—covering Serbia, Slovenia and Albania—and for methodological reasons, the core focus was on social entrepreneurs whose entrepreneurial plans were systematically oriented towards a better future.

[6]The agency for the Promotion of Social Business was founded in 2011.

[7]In everyday speech, marr për sipër also means "to take responsibility for something." This expression has been used before the introduction of the liberal economy and primarily accentuates responsibility for a task. After 1991, this expression also came to be used in business (Smoki Musaraj, personal communication).

[8]I am grateful to Sarah Green for drawing my attention to Verdery's (1996) conceptualisation of time under the communist regime.

[9]According to IMF reports, Albania is considered to be a low-income country by Western European standards, with a GDP per capita lower than in most EU countries (IMF 2020).

[10]Most of them were retail, import, and export companies, dealing with the oil business (Trading Economics n.d.).

[11]The expression, "slow, slow mindset," relates to the common saying "take it easy."

[12]Çfarë është Sipërmarrja?, Accessed from https://businessmag.al/category/business-pulse/sipermarrje/, on Jan 14, 2016.

[13]During this time there was considerable in-country movement and resettlement, all of which was highly controlled and directed by the autocratic leader, Enver Hoxha.

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Foreign Language Translations:

Restoring Pasts and Enriching Futures in Albania
Keywords: future, *mentaliteti*, responsibility, enrichment, remittances, social entrepreneurship, Albania.

Restaurando Passados e Enriquecendo Futuros na Albânia
[**Palavras-chave**: futuro, mentaliteti, responsabilidade, enriquecimento, remessas, empreendedorismo social, Albânia]

Restaurime të së kaluarës dhe marrja për sipër e së ardhmes ne Shqipëri
Fjalë kyçe: e ardhmja, mentaliteti, përgjegjësia, remitancat, sipërmarrja / marr për sipër, pasurimi, Shqipëria.

修复过去以富集未来—以阿尔巴尼亚为例
[**关键词**: 未来, 门他里特提, 责任, 富集, 汇款, 公益创业, 阿尔巴尼亚]

استعادة الماضي وإثراء المستقبل في ألبانيا
كلمات البحث: المستقبل، العقلية، المسؤولية، الإثراء، التحويلات، الريادية الاجتماعية، ألبانيا