

EMERGENCE OF ALBANIAN ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

by

Birol İnaltekin

Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Science (MSc)

Department of Political Science and International Relations

Epoka University

February 2016

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Approval Page

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the legal requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science (MSc)

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I certify that I have read this study that is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science (MSc).

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Exam Board of Thesis

Thesis Title

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Abstract

Environmental movements emerged in Albania is a relatively underexplored topic. This

thesis discusses how and when the environmental movements started in Albania, what

incidents or occurrences triggered these movements, and the characteristics of these

movements. The research was carried out through thirteen structural interviews.

Therefore, the collected data was mainly from primary sources. Interviews were

conducted with individuals who were actually involved in environmental affairs.

Respondents answered the interview questions either via email or via face-to-face

interviews. Face-to-face interviews were recorded on audiotapes. The research is

exploratory and qualitative. It is a case study and its sampling technique is judgmental

(purposive).

The thesis starts with a conceptual and theoretical background of social movements.

Later, origins of environmental movements in the World are introduced. After discussing

the Albanian case for environment, the Albanian legislation on environmental protection

and political alignments of Albanian environmental movements are introduced.

The results show that Albanian environmental movements emerged as a reaction to cruel

exploitation of natural heritage of Albania. In the first decade of democratization, the

movements were relatively weak due to post-communist turmoil period. In the second

decade, the movements have grown simultaneously as civil society grew in Albania. The

results also suggest that among many sporadic cases of environmentalism, two cases are

more prominent: "Vlora Industrial and Energy Park" and "Alliance Against Waste

Import" cases. In this study, it was concluded that the two mentioned cases of Albanian

environmental movements have several characteristics of modern social movements. Both

of them can be categorized as successful in terms of the effects and consequences they

created. Even though they have lasted for several years, they can be considered as

temporary movements. That is because, these movements have not been institutionalized

although more than a hundred environmental NGOs existed in Albania.

Keywords: Albania, Environment, Environmental Movements

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Abstrakti

Shfaqja e lëvizjeve ambientaliste në Shqipëri është një dukuri relativisht e pashqyrtuar.

Kjo tezë trajton në gjerësi, si dhe kur filluan lëvizjet mjedisore në Shqipëri, çfarë rastësish

dhe dukurish i nxitën ato, si edhe tiparet dalluese të këtyre lëvizjeve. Kjo punë kërkimore

është realizuar nëpërmjet trembëdhjetë intervistave të stukturuara, prandaj, të dhënat e

mbledhura janë marrë nga burime parësore. Intervistat janë kryer me persona të cilët janë

të përfshirë në çështjet ambientaliste. Ata u janë përgjigjur pyetjeve me anë të e-mailit ose

intervistave të marra në mënyrë personale. Intervistat e kryera ballë për ballë, u

regjistruan në kaseta audio. Ky studim cilësohet si kërkimor, ashtu edhe sasior. Ky është

studim i një rasti konkret, ndaj edhe sjellja e shembujve është e hapur kundrejt gjykimeve

të ndryshme.

Teza fillon me një sfond teorik të lëvizjeve ambientaliste. Më tej paraqitet zanafilla e

ambientalizmit në botë. Pasi prezantohet rasti i Shqipërisë në lidhje me çështjet

ambientaliste dhe ambientalizmi në tërësi, paraqitet gjithashtu legjislacioni shqiptar për

mbrojtjen e mjedisit, grupimet politike në mbështetje të lëvizjeve ambientaliste shqiptare

dhe qëndrimet e partive politike ndaj çështjeve ambientaliste.

Përfundimet tregojnë se lëvizjet ambientaliste shqiptare u shfaqën si rezultat i një reagimi

ndaj shfrytëzimit të pamëshirshëm të natyrës dhe të trashëgimisë natyrore të Shqipërisë.

Gjatë dhjetëvjeçarit të parë të periudhës demokratike, lëvizjet ishin relativisht të dobëta

për shkak të periudhës së tranzicionit post-komunist. Gjatë dhjetëvjeçarit të dytë, lëvizjet

janë rritur njëkohësisht me zhvillimin e shoqërisë civile. Përfundimet gjithashtu tregojnë

se midis disa rasteve të veçanta të shfaqjes së ambientalizmit, dy janë rastet më të

rëndësishme: "Parku Industrial dhe Energjetik i Vlorës" dhe "Aleanca kundër Importimit

të Mbeturinave". Në këtë studim është arritur në përfundimin se dy rastet e

lartpërmendura të lëvizjeve ambientaliste shqiptare gëzojnë shumicën e karakteristikave

të lëvizjeve shoqërore moderne. Të dyja këto raste mund të cilësohen si të suksesshme

përsa i përket efekteve dhe pasojave që ato shkaktuan. Edhe pse këto lëvizje kanë një

jetëgjatësi në kohë, përsëri ato nuk janë institucionalizuar, ndaj ato mund të konsiderohen

si lëvizje të përkohshme, pavarësisht se gjenden më shumë se njëqind NGO mjedisore në

Shqipëri.

Fjalet Kyçe: Shqipëri, Mjedisi, Lëvizje Ambientaliste

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Declaration Statement

- 1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.
- 2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:
 - i. Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
 - ii. Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Albania and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

Birol Inaltekin

9 February 2016

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List of Abbreviations

EEA: European Environment Agency

ENGOs: Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations

EU: European Union

GOs: Governmental Organizations

IPCC: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations

RQ: Research Question

UN: The United Nations

UNECE: The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

UNEP: The United Nations Environment Program

WNO: World Nature Organization (WNO)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study researches the emergence of environmental movements in Albania. The first chapter introduces the research objectives and presents the literature review. After presenting the literature review, conceptual and theoretical information is given about social movements. The methodology used is discussed in the last section.

German sociologist Lorenz von Stein was the first who used the term "social movement". Since then, many scholars have used the term "social movement" in their scholarly articles and have defined it differently.

A prominent scientist in political science and sociology Sidney Tarrow defines social movements as "collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities" (1994). Another definition of social movements is given as "it is not a political party or interest group, which are stable political entities that have regular access to political power and political elites; nor is it a mass fad or trend, which are unorganized, fleeting and without goals. Instead they are somewhere in between" (Christiansen, 2011). For Craig Jenkins, a social movement is "a series of collective actions conducted to bring about change in social structures" and is modelled by "a vision, however dimly articulated, of the alternative order desired and of the basic measures necessary to put into effect" (1981, 82). According to Ernesto Zirakzadeh, "participants in a social movement not only challenge decisions made by authorities and make demands on authorities but also try to make lasting, large-scale, and significant changes in the texture of society" (2006, 4).

An adequate definition of social movements with contemporary understanding is given by Hanspeter Kriesi as follows: "a group of people involved in a conflict with clearly identified opponents, sharing a common identity, a unifying belief or common program, and acting collectively" (2011, 292). As mentioned in this definition, the supporters of Albanian environmental movements have been in a conflict with governments who want to make harmful changes in the environment. The supporters have clearly identified their goals and shared the common identity of "let us protect of what we already have". Kriesi's definition for social movements is explanatory, sufficient and particularly useful to understand Albanian environmental movements' case. Therefore, it is used to define social movements in this study.

Social movements try to create humanitarian and social identities that are free from the state and market. However, this is not the ultimate goal of the movements. The ultimate goal is to make changes in the political and economic institutions in order to avoid power abuses even if it creates conflicts with existing values and norms. This is expected to achieve with a lawful, non-violent and active resistance within the political systems. Environmental movements, carrying similar characteristics to the social movements, started to emerge when environmental issues mounted and resulted with catastrophes which were direct consequences of industrialisation. In this study, environmental movements are considered as social movements based upon Kriesi's definition (2011).

During the Cold War, the real dimensions and figures of the environmental issues within the former socialist-communist countries were unknown. Along with other former communist countries, Albania's environmental issues started to become apparent after 1989. The environmental problems that Albania faces, include air and water pollution, biodiversity, soil contamination, deforestation, waste management, and fisheries.

As environmental problems have become more serious and dangerous, environmental movements have started to initiate in Albania. The primary goal of this research is to find out how environmental movements emerged in Albania after the communism, as social

movements were prohibited in Albania before¹. The secondary goal is to determine the "types and characteristics" of these movements. Therefore, the research questions of this study are;

RQ1: How and when did the environmental movements start in Albania? What incidents or occurrences triggered these movements?

RQ2: Do the environmental movements in Albania have a permanent or temporary character? In other words, are they continuous movements or episodic events?

To reach the goals of this research, the literature review done and methodology used are introduced in the next three sections of this chapter.

1.2 Literature Review

When social movements and their theories are investigated in English language, it is clear that there is a vast quantity of books, articles and web sites. Regarding social movements, there are a few translated books in Albanian language. When "Social Movements in Albania" is researched, a researcher may merely find a few scholarly articles written in Albanian and English languages.

When it comes to environmental movements, there are plenty of books and articles written in English on the environmental or green movements in general, as well as on certain countries. However, "Albanian Environmental Movements" is a relatively underexplored field. There are almost no resources available except a few booklets and brochures published in the worldwide web. Among them, Ardian Klosi's book of "Utilizing Legal Tools to Raise Environmental Awareness" (2010) is one of the rare books on environmental awareness. The book is a compilation of Albanian environmental

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¹ The communist regimes of the "Iron Curtain" did not approve the institutions of civil society. The Catholic Church in Poland (during the communist rule) is an example for a "civil society" behind the iron curtain with contemporary understanding.

protection laws with very few comments. It is translated from Albanian to English and gives an insight how legal tools should take measures on environment. Another important source on environmental movements in Albania is the booklet written by Jerphaas Donner and Valbona Mazreku. Its title is "Albanian Environmental Movement in European Context" (no date available, can be found at http://milieukontakt.net/en/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Environmental-movement-albania.pdf) and published by Milieukontakt International (an environmental, non-profit organization located in the Netherlands). The booklet is composed of descriptions and shared experiences on how an environmental movement is started and maintained. The booklet has the following sections: civil society for environment, building networks, strategies, capacity building for civil society, how to finance an environmental movement, future of Albanian civil society on environment and essential aspects of an effective civil society for the environment. Preparing such a booklet shows that a stable environmental movement still was not established in Albania as of 2011 (estimated time of publication).

Also, the reports on environmental issues published by both national and international institutions is worth to mention as part of the literature. However, almost all of them are the researches on how the nature is exploited and present the alarming scientific figures.

The literature review of this research is followed with the definitions of social movements, and then the characteristics of social movements are discussed. After introducing the traditional and modern social movements, features of modern social movements are analysed.

1.3 Conceptual and Theoretical Approach

1.3.1 Social Movements

Social movements have developed under different circumstances in different countries and regions. Therefore, no definition of social movements has a scholarly consensus although there are substantial similarities.

Scholars propose six main categories for the "Theories of Social Movements" as deprivation theory, mass-society theory, structural-strain theory, resource-mobilization theory, political process theory and culture theory. Moreover, cultural anthropologist David Aberle classifies social movements in four types as alternative, redemptive, reformative and revolutionary as Flynn cites (2011). He does his classification based on two questions: a) Who is the movement attempting to change? b) How much change is being advocated?

In Kriesi's definition of social movements, one of the key expressions is "clearly identified opponents" (2011). In many different definitions of the social movements, there is one thing in common: "having opponents". According to Cornel West, the people that join a social movement have often been "culturally degraded, politically oppressed, and economically exploited" (1993, 29). They are concerned, either discontent with some situation and therefore protesting it, or believe that the situation will get better with "this movement" and therefore contributing. However, the most important aspect of the social movements seems to be the "collective action" as Kriesi emphasizes (2011). This idea is expressed as "collective challenge" by Tarrow (1994).

Social movements may employ either "reformation" or "revolution" method to pursue their goals (to make a change for their purposes). Therefore, even moderate groups are sometimes seen as a threat to the stability of the political structures of a state (Klein and Walk, 2004).

The boundaries of the social movements may be defined (or may be anticipated) only if the case is given. The social movements range from a neighbourhood protest to a global political movement. They may be local, regional, national or transnational. They may be "episodic events" (single campaigns) or the ones enduring decades.

Social movements are mostly initiated by the people who do not have access to the decision—making processes. Therefore, going to the "public" and legitimating itself in the media is a very important tool for social movements to succeed.

Social movements have action repertoires that are different than political entities (Kriesi, 2011). It is known that no decisions are made in the public sphere. However, the politicians and bureaucrats somehow need to take public opinion into consideration. Going to the public may be of two types: "Protest Politics" and "Information Politics" (Kriesi, 2011). Direct protests (e.g., a strike) with media support may dramatically change (increase the support of) the public opinion on a certain issue. Gathering credible information and publicizing it on websites, on social and printed media or on television channels may also provide public support. Today, with ultimately increased communications tools, gathering credible information is much easier than ever before. Many activists enjoy this partial transparency provided by the means of communication.

According to literature, there are various ways of classifying social movements based on their sizes, targets, organizational structures, tactics, etc. However, a more useful and widely used simpler classification of social movements is to divide them into two groups as traditional and modern social movements.

1.3.2 Traditional (Old) Social Movements

Traditional social movements include the "Marxist Theory" and "Classical Theory" (Çalı 2006). It is difficult to make sharp distinctions between the Marxist theory and classical theory. The Marxist theory is focused on "collective action". It may be said that the classical theory starts where the collective action turns into "collective behaviour."

For decades, Marxist theorists focused on urbanization conflicts, urban consumption, collective consumption, and urban social movements in order to explain the social movements that originate from labour movements.

Marx's principal concerns were "labour" and "capital" which caused the "class struggle" (Marx and Engels, 1888). They dealt with social, political and economic transformations that lead to the movements of societies due to social conflicts. The ultimate consequence would be the proletarian victory over the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the Marxist understanding has always encouraged "worker movements".

The Marxist understanding of collective action had shifted towards "collective behaviour" in 1950s. Early European theorists were mostly from Marxist tradition and were concerned that the Marxist analysis of these new social movements was insufficient to explain them. Because Marxism emphasized that there had to be consciousness, ideology, and solidarity against bourgeoisie to win the social struggle. Even though early European theorists agreed with some aspects of the North American theories of resource mobilization and political process, they believed that the movements covered issues of social and physical living environment, and identity. They took place "in the realm of civil society" rather than "in the realm of politics" (Phongpaichit, 1999).

As stated above, Marx's principal concerns were labour, capital, and class struggle. Therefore, the Marxist explanation of traditional social movements is barely sufficient for the traditional movements. For new social movements, his concerns seem to be unexplanatory.

1.3.3 Modern (New) Social Movements

New social movements is a term that is used to describe various social movements emerged in Western societies after 1960s. The term "new social movements" is given to these "new waves" as they are significantly different than traditional paradigms. New social movements emerged as mass protests and demonstrations and continued for about two decades. The demonstrations were for "new demands", such as changes in the governments' global policies, women's liberation and movement, peace, anti-nuclear activities, disarmaments, citizen initiatives, ecology and environment, accepting different sexual choices such as homosexuality, etc.

Prominent political scientist Ronald Inglehart's argument on emergence of new social movements is the change in values (Brooks and Manza, 1994). Younger generations are more concerned about life quality, environment, human rights, etc. This group of people is called "post-materialists", where the ones who care more about economic growth and security are called "materialists". Inglehart argues that "It is post-materialists who are primarily active in new social movements and other types of non-institutional protests" (Brooks and Manza, 1994).

On the contrary, the Albanian environmental movements can be best described by "resource mobilization" theory. The name "resource mobilization" was introduced because it was believed that the success of a movement relied on the amount of available resources. Resources are "material resources", "political opportunities", and "human resources" which are leadership, internal organization, and third party involvements. A strong network and also trust and reciprocity within the network could increase the level

of mobilization and likelihood of success of the movement. The developmental process of the resource mobilization theory mostly focused on "how the movement was organized", not "why the movements happened". Because the reasons why the movements took place were clear: The society was in a change and was sensitive about the issues around them. At this point, it is important to mention that Melucci and Avritzer see "resource mobilization model" as "the best-established theory on social movements" (2000). However, the resource mobilization theory is criticized as it ignores the role of culture, ideas and identity (Van Der Veen, 2002). In particular, Albanian environmental movements depends totally on the amount of available resources (material, human and political opportunities) as Albania is still in development both politically and economically. Therefore, resource mobilization theory seems to be the most proper explanation for the emergence and maintenance of environmental movements in Albania. In regard with resource mobilization theory, debates in Europe were dissimilar than debates in the North America. Although the subjects or topics debated were essentially the same, focus was from an entirely different angle: "why were such non-class based movements happening?" The European theorists were once more showing the difference of political tradition between the United States and Europe. The European debates paved the way for the "new social movement theory" (Van Der Veen, 2002). With some differences, theorists stressed that the new social movements emerged from deficiencies in operating the democratic system in regard with the satisfaction of different choices of life styles of people.

According to Alain Touraine (as cited in Lim and Kann, 2008), "the state (strict state control), the market (very large corporations), and the domain of communications and media (advance in communications technology) are gradually diminishing the liberty of the individual, failing to guarantee individual freedom, equality and fraternity" in post-

modern society. The "new social actors" are not the working class anymore, rather they are the intellectuals, artists, professionals and students.

The reason that the American and European theorists developed two different approaches is the social and historical differences between two traditions. Both societies (North American and Western European) are industrialized, have consolidated democratic systems, and have high welfare levels. However, Western Europe developed the current standards of the modern life gradually throughout the history; such as, social democratic consensus and trade unions. Thus, new social movements are due to "changes in society and culture" according to European theorists. On the other hand, the United States of American neither had a social democracy tradition nor trade union corporatism. Labour movements were minimal. Hence, new social movements were not formed by huge societal changes according to American theorists (Phongpaichit, 1999).

1.3.4 Fundamental Features of New Social Movements

First of all, "new social movements" are "new" movements. Although they initially appeared locally in the Western countries, eventually spread out to many others. New social movements try to constitute an alternative life style against the existing social values which produces a struggle to make a social change in the society. New social movements aim to place pressure upon the administrators and politicians for the issues they struggle for.

A fundamental difference between the "traditional" and "new" social movements is that new social movements do not provide material benefit to its members, supporters, or sympathizers. New social movements have structural similarities. Firstly, new social movements have a "natural organization" rather than a very structural one. They have a minimum level organization. They are usually somewhere between a small homogeneous

group and a structural organization. Secondly, new social movements have active actors. Mobility is the most important element of a new social movement. It serves more than other elements to the objectives of the movement. Thirdly, new social movements aim to reach their goals in time. But "in time" should mean a significant duration for the supporters of the social movement. Fourthly, the members of a new social movement must have a "we" feeling or consciousness. The "We" and "Others" identify and define the boundaries between who are for and who are against the movement. Fifthly, new social movements have many different action repertoires. They use various efficient tactics starting from filing a petition to occupying a building at extreme. Lastly, new social movements aim to make structural changes in the state or society. They do not aim to initiate a revolution, i.e., to change the system totally. Their goal is partial change which will meet their demands. New social movements may sometimes pave the way for other political movements. That is, the common identity may lead to a structural organization or a political party. The German Green Party was set up in the end of such a procedure.

The literature review of this study may be concluded as follows: when the literature on social movements is researched, it is seen that non-state actors have increasingly become important and have been shaping the internal and foreign affairs of the states in the Western World for the past fifty years. This duration may be reduced to twenty years for the former iron curtain countries. In this study, based upon the theoretical aspects explained above, the emergence of environmental social movements in Albania are investigated whether they have similar characteristics of other common social movements.

1.4 Methodology

As mentioned in the literature review section, to the best knowledge, there are no available books, articles, etc. on Albanian environmental movements. The available resources are usually information leaflets and information brochures throughout the worldwide web, reports of international organizations on environmental issues, and newspaper articles on environmental problems and catastrophes. Among sources, "BBC News" has always been an important one for publicizing Albanian environmental issues. However, primary information sources are more important in scientific studies since they have higher validity. Therefore, direct interviews are preferred to collect the data in this study. The target group was made of individuals who actually were involved in environmental affairs in Albania. A total of thirteen interviews were conducted with activists, government officials, journalists and social scientists.

This research is exploratory because it seeks insights, aims to figure out what has happened and clarifies the understanding of environmental movements in Albania. The research is qualitative because it looks for deeper understanding. It is a case study and -to some extent- a history reveal because it seeks information by asking "how", "when", and "what" questions. Its sampling technique depends upon non-probability or judgmental (purposive) sampling because it is impossible to answer the research questions of this study by randomized sampling. Data collection was scarcely done by documentation due to the fact that there are not many resources available. Data are mainly collected by interviews. Therefore, almost all data come from primary sources. However, all data are verified with secondary sources such as news and articles, this is because it is difficult to gather reliable up-to-date data from the authorities.

The interviews are structural interviews. As mentioned above, a total of thirteen interviews were conducted with respondents. Twelve interviewees were asked sixteen

open-ended questions. Although sixteen questions were asked to interviewees, some other points of the topic were, too, discussed as context allowed. The thirteenth interviewee is a sociologist. He was asked additional questions to comprehend the cultural roots of the social movements in Albania.

Prior to the interviews, the interview questions were mostly sent via email to interviewees. Six interviewees have preferred to answer the questions via email, three of them have answered in English while the other three preferred to answer in Albanian. The remaining seven interviewees have chosen to have a face-to-face interview. Among them, one answered the questions in Albanian, other six answered in English. All seven interviews were recorded with a recording device. Each interview lasted about 40 to 50 minutes. The recorded interviews were all transcribed. Seven transcribed interviews, six emailed interviews and newspaper articles were uploaded to "Nvivo 10" qualitative data analysis software.

As there are no clear guidelines how to carry out analyses for case studies, the collected data is compared with existing theories by relying on theoretical propositions and consideration for rival explanations. That means the analysis of this study is a so-called "within-case" analysis. Visual data is extracted by making use of Nvivo 10.

Validity is an important issue for interview-based research. To increase the validity and to ensure the accuracy of the information, other documentation such as news and articles were searched as well. Also, a tape recorder (and also a video camera when necessary) was used to record the interviews.

Reliability is associated with the consistency, accuracy and predictability of research findings (Westgerd and Osman, 2005). That is, does another investigator reach the same findings and conclusions if s/he researches the same issue? To increase the reliability in

this study, the procedures followed are explained. Secondly, structural interview questions are used. Thirdly, the interviewees' profiles were searched before conducting the interviews in a professional manner. Fourthly, Nvivo 10 software is used to analyse and visualize the quantitative data.

The following chapter (the second chapter) provides information about fundamental environmental issues, environmentalism, ecologism, and the green movement. The second chapter also discusses the environmental problems observed in Albania after the collapse of communism, Albanian legislation on environmental protection and the political alignments of Albanian environmental movements. The third chapter starts with findings, and cluster and content analyses. It carries upon with other findings such as perceptions of people, perceptions of media and pioneers of environmentalism in Albania. The third chapter continues with the external influence on Albania's environmental issues. It goes on the selected cases of Albanian environmentalism. In sum, this chapter discusses the findings of the structured interviews by making use of Nvivo 10 visuals. Finally, a conclusion is placed.

Chapter 2: Environmental Movements and Albania

2.1 Introduction

Environmental problems are such issues that occupy the agenda of the governments, NGOs and people worldwide. Fundamental environmental problems include air pollution, noise pollution, water pollution with regards to the quality of drinking water, underground water quality and the pollution of surface waters, threatened biodiversity, soil contamination, deforestation, erosion and soil landslides, industrial and household wastes, and radioactive pollution.

The majority of environmental problems are anthropogenic. Among the greatest anthropogenic environmental disasters, it is worth mentioning the London Smog Disaster in 1952, the Chernobyl nuclear power plant explosion in 1986 and the major oil spills of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Enzler, 2006).

In this chapter, firstly, origins of environmentalism, traditional and new environmental movements, and some conceptual terms such as environmentalism, ecologism and the green movement are introduced. Secondly, the Albanian case on environmentalism is discussed with the following subheadings: environmental problems observed in Albania after the communist period, the Albanian legislation on environmental protection and political alignments of Albanian environmental movements. Finally, conclusion of the chapter is given.

2.2 Environmental Movements

Historically, environmental movements date back to the 1850s. In the nineteenth century, similar to realism, romanticism, expressionism, etc., naturalism had also become a movement (or a school) that affected art, literature, and landscape painting. Many

biologists, artists, noblemen, industrialists supported naturalism to preserve nature. Although the actions were not very sharp or fundamental, they could be considered as important first steps (Donner, and Mazreku, n.d.).

As decades passed, environmental movements have been (are today) among the most significant parts of social movements. They can also be divided into different groups based on the criteria of their sizes, organizations, ideological divisions, political orientations, etc. As the social movements are classified above, environmental movements, too, are commonly divided into two groups as traditional (old) and modern (new) movements. Traditional (old) environmental movements are known as "conservationist" and "preservationist" movements whereas modern (new) environmental movements are the second wave movements which started to initiate towards the end of 1960s.

2.2.1 Traditional (Old) Environmental Movements

By the second half of the nineteenth century, industrialization was perceived as the symbol of development and modernity by the peoples and states. Industrialization eased the lives of people in many aspects providing them with jobs and income. It created an immense "working class" who served the "bourgeoisie" in that time.

Before industrialization or the so-called "Industrial Revolution", environmental problems existed in the form of natural disasters. However, with industrialization, the environment was polluted systematically on a large scales. For decades, almost none of the states had effective, functional and sustainable environmental policies. This caused concerned people to react. Therefore, conservationist and preservationist movements started to appear.

Conservationism is "An approach to land management that emphasises the efficient conservation of natural resources so that they can later be developed for the benefit of society" (Carter, 2007, 4). Preservationism is "an approach based on an attitude of reverence towards nature, especially wilderness, that advocates the protection of a resource from any form of development" (Carter, 2007, 5). These movements created the firm bases of environmentalist approaches until the 1960s as countries saw the effect of policies on environmental issues from reducing industrial pollution to preserving national parks (Carter, 2007). "Sierra Club" in the United States (established in 1892), the "Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB)" in the United Kingdom (established in 1889), and the "Naturschutzbund Deutschland" in Germany (German Nature Conservation Union, established in 1899) are among the first organizations that were established to conserve and preserve the nature. National Trust is one of the best examples of conservation organizations which is established in the United Kingdom in 1895. The National Trust is truly dedicated to preserve natural landscapes and national parks and also to protect historical monuments.

2.2.2 Modern (New) Environmental Movements and Related Concepts

In 1962, Rachel Carson published her book "Silent Spring". Carson's intention was to demonstrate the dangers of pesticide use. Instead, it created a storm. The book had many cases that had carefully documented the harms of chemical pesticides on the environment, not only plants and animals but also humans (Baker, 2003). Also, the action of Canadian environmentalists (latter Greenpeace activists) sailing their small boat into the U.S. atomic test zone near Alaska was a milestone for environmentalism in 1971 (Brown and May, 1992). Other publications raised the environmental consciousness as a result and environmental awareness spread globally. The new wave of environmentalism started to materialize by the 1970s.

Environmentalism is "a concern with protecting or conserving nature, ultimately for the benefit of humankind" (Heywood, 2007, 448). It is basically a social movement. The goal of environmentalism is to protect the environment for the benefit of current and future generations and to minimize the harmful effects of human activities on habitats. This requires raising the standards of living by finding more sustainable ways to industrialize.

Ecology is an academic discipline which requires the study of several other disciplines such as physics, chemistry, geology, biology, etc. It is concerned with how organisms interact with their surroundings and one another. Ecologism is "an ideology based on the belief that there is an essential link between humankind and the natural world, and that the health of the ecosystem has priority over human interests" (Heywood, 2007, 448).

"Green Movement" or "Green Politics" is a political ideology which aims to have a sustainable society by placing nature at the centre of attention. It has been shaped mainly in Western countries, especially in West Germany in the 1970s. Green Movements not only address ecological issues but also expand into other sensitive issues such as women's liberation, civil liberties, social injustices and environmental issues all of which support each other. They examine presupposed human–nature relations, and ecologically irrational and unsustainable delusions of grandeur (of luxury life) as well as immediate environmental concerns.

Green movements are usually considered to be leftist movements. However, they claim that they are neither "right" nor "left" but "in the front" (against USSR or Western indiscrimination).

2.3 The Albanian Case for Environment and Environmentalism

In this section, the Albanian case for environmentalism will be discussed. It is necessary to start this section with a summary of the environmental issues observed after the communist period in order to show the dimensions of environmental problems in Albania.

2.3.1 Environmental Problems Observed in Albania after the Communist Period

In forty years of power, Enver Hoxha²'s regime wanted to prove that Albania developed tremendously under the communist rule. According to the regime, the best sign of development was industrialism. The figures were phenomenal: industrial production increased more than 150 times, while agricultural production increased 5 times in forty years (Prifti, 1999). Albania's industry was able to produce the whole output of 1938 (before the Italian invasion) in two days in 1984. The entire country had electricity in 1970 (Prifti, 1999). Obviously, such substantial industrialization and development would require environment-friendly policies in order to maintain a sustainable environment. However, the environment was not on the agenda. The policy was basically "development of heavy industry at all costs".

Among several problematic industrial sites, the factory complex of "Elbasan Metallurgical" was the most critical. It had become operational in 1966. Even in 1966, its technology was out of date (Sudetic, 1994). According to 2004 figures which were given by Kirby, the Elbasan Factory Complex poisoned the land with heavy metals around Elbasan City up to 220 metres high, to a depth of more than 30 centimetres (2004).

Another severe environmental problem has been deforestation. Albanian people used to heat their homes with wood during the communist period. Despite the existence of a reforestation policy, the cut/plant rate did not meet the standards. After 1991, the usage of

² Enver Hoxha was the communist leader who ruled Albania with an iron fist from 1944 to 1985.

wood to heat homes has been very common due to acute power outages. By 2007, 30% of Albanian forests had already been destroyed since the end of communism (Walton, 2007). Deforestation is cause for erosion of arable land. Together, with the melting of mountain ice due to climate change, deforestation has been one of the main causes for several deadly successive floods that Albania has experienced within the past seven years (as of February 2016). Moreover, hunting and fishing with explosives has damaged fauna and flora more than ever. Untreated industrial and urban discharges have seriously damaged rivers, and ecosystems in lakes.

A third dreadful environmental issue has been the very-high-degree of air pollution. Private cars were banned in communist Albania. Only about 5,300 cars were inherited from the communist period. This figure had increased to 120,000 by the end of 1993 (Hamilton, 1994). A World Bank statistics below shows the increase of motor vehicles (cars, buses, freight vehicles) per 1,000 people from 2000 to 2011 (World Bank, 2015). As already mentioned, it is difficult to gather reliable up-to-date data. It should be pointed out that 2016 figures are expected to be considerably more than 2011 figures.

Table 2.1: The Number of Motor Vehicles per 1000 People in Albania

Year	Cars/1000 People
2000	58
2001	67
2002	73
2003	84
2004	86
2005	88
2006	98
2007	106
2008	113

2009	118
2010	121
2011	118

Roads were insufficient and infrastructure was inadequate. Many vehicles were old. They were literally dumped on the Albanian market because they did not meet European emission standards. The cars were poorly maintained, too. There was no vehicle testing for emission of pollutants until 2005. Usage of leaded gasoline was common because unleaded gasoline was expensive. Import of leaded petrol was banned in July 2005 (UNEP, 2012).

The fourth harrowing issue is solid wastes. In the communist period, urban and rural demographics were more or less balanced. After communism fell, large demographic movements from rural areas transformed cities into unplanned constructions sites. Uncontrolled urbanism lacked infrastructure like sewers, especially in the new suburbs. Green areas disappeared. Mass consumption generated a lot more rubbish than infrastructure could cope with (Feuersenger, 2012). Dumping solid wastes in or near urban areas and the lack of sewers in the suburbs boosted infectious diseases and allergies. Burning garbage was a common disposal practise. This made air quality even worse (BBC, 2001). Air quality in larger cities is still hazardously low due to exhaust fumes, construction dust and poisonous gases released while burning solid wastes. On the other hand, scientific capacities of the institutions which were supposed to monitor the environmental issues have either decreased or have become not operational. Consequently, there is no adequate information about the quality of air, water, etc. In a newspaper interview Eco-Movement leader Xhemal Mato argues that "the alarming figures do not bother the authorities at all" (Murati, 2001).

2.3.2 Albanian Legislation on Environmental Protection

In the communist era, legislation on environment existed in the form of articles of other laws such as sanitation, hunting, agriculture, etc. (Respondent-07 2013). According to Respondent-12, the legislation of the communist regime for nature protection was not a clear and detailed legislation. However, during this period, the authority was very strong. When communists decided to protect something, they protected it very well. When they decided to destroy something, they destroyed everything without any opponents or conflicts. Both contrary cases happened at different times (2013).

Albania's modern environmental legislation dates back to the law of 1993 titled "On Environment Protection" (MoE, 2004). Until 2002, environmental protection was based upon this law (MoE, 2004). In the "Criminal Code of 1995", a chapter of environmental crimes is written. According to Article 56 of the new Albanian Constitution of 1998, "to be informed about the status of the environment and its protection" is the right of every citizen. Despite having constitutional norms and ratification of the Aarhus Convention in 2001, a proper legislation on environmental protection was lacking until 2002 (MoE, 2004). With the creation of the Ministry of the Environment in 2002, the Ministry began drafting a series of environmental legislation that aimed to create the legal framework in the environmental field with particular emphasis on approximation to "Acquis Communautaire". In this period, Albania signed many international conventions and ratified them. Almost all environmental legislation was designed between 2003 and 2007 (Respondent-11, 2013). Nowadays, "Albanian Legislation on Environmental Protection" is a modern legislation according to thirteen interviewees and many government officials.

According to Lani, the Albanian laws are written at European Standards, but they are applied at Balkan standards (1999). The problem regarding the environmental legislation is, too, its implementation. There are a few reasons for the failure of the implementation

of environmental laws. Firstly, the State's capability to apply the environmental legislation is insufficient (Respondent-02, 2013) due to financial and administrative difficulties (Respondent-01, 2013). For instance, the Albanian Parliament approved a law on the "Integrated Waste Management" on September 22, 2011. The law requires the separation of wastes for recycling. Although it was approved in 2011, the law was not put into effect properly (Respondent-06, 2013) due to the fact that it requires local administrations to invest in infrastructures which would allow separation of wastes. Secondly, law enforcement requires infrastructure, manpower, necessary funding, institutions (Respondent-08, 2013) and also cooperation between government institutions. A law on a certain issue might have medical, environmental and economic dimensions at the same time. Therefore, projects, programs, policies and laws must be joint and inclusive (Respondent-08, 2013). For example, the "Tirana Outer Ring Road Project" would demolish about 25% of the botanical garden (EDEN, 2011). Many organizations such as "Environmental Centre for Development, Education and Networking" protested this project. The project also lacked the "Environmental Permit" and a clear "Environmental Impact Assessment". The "General Road Directorate" under the "Ministry of Transport and Public Affairs" started the project without the "Environmental Permit" and the final version of "Environmental Impact Assessment" (EDEN, 2011). That is, government institutions –themselves- had violated the laws (Respondent-11, 2013). The third problem of implementation is frequent amendments of the law. Having frequent amendments shows that the laws are either made in rush or not really presenting the dynamics of the country (Respondent-07, 2013). According to Respondent-07, being part of international conventions and approximating the legal framework to "Acquis

Communautaire" is a driving force for the country. However, country specifics must be

considered for a better implementation while preparing the laws (2013). Respondent-05

argues that having lower standards of laws and lesser requirements are better for a strict implementation of laws. Otherwise, a big gap occurs between high standards of modern legislation and lack of implementation (2013). He also argues when laws are not enforced, violating them becomes a rule or a usual practice (Respondent-05, 2013).

Lastly, Respondents 07, 09 and 11 point out the judicial cases on environmental problems (2013). The number of the cases that are addressed to courts regarding the environmental crimes or violations is minimal compared to what actually happens to the environment in Albania. This means the judicial system does not strictly implement or enforce rules, regulations or laws pertaining to the environment (Respondent-07, 2013).

2.3.3 Political Alignments of Albanian Environmental Movements

In the Western World, environmental movements are usually leftist-aligned. In this section, the alignments of Albanian environmental movements and the attitudes of political parties on environmental issues are investigated.

First of all, Respondent-02 argues that there is a huge gap between politics and people in Albania. True concerns of environmental protection arise from the people only (2013). Respondents 01 and 11 agree with this idea and also add that the environmental movements in Albania have originated from two main concerns: to protect the environment and to attract the public opinion towards the environmental issues (2013). Furthermore, Respondent-02's point brings another dimension to the discussion. He exemplifies the "waste import issue" and expresses that "importing wastes or banning it" is a practical issue which is a "question of national interest" (2013). In practice, there is a high risk of transforming Albania into the waste bin of developed European countries (Respondent-02, 2013) as more developed industries produce more hazardous wastes (Respondent-13, 2013).

As environmental movements started to protect the environment and influence public opinion regarding environmental issues, political parties tried to interfere and take advantage of the situation in many cases (Respondent-04, 2013). Nevertheless, the environmental movements in Albania tried to remain neutral and not to be used or to be associated with any political parties (Respondent-11, 2013). As Respondent-01 argues, ideological issues were never in the forefront of the environmental movements, the focus was on the protection of the environment per se (2013). Respondent-06 supports this argument by stating that no political wing showed any real concerns for the environment (2013). In most cases, movements have been against the government's environmental policies, no matter who is in power (Respondent-07, 2013). When environmental movements took action, they found immediate support from opposition parties (Respondent-04, 2013).

Regarding the political alignments of the movement, the interviewees all argued that the movements themselves did not have any clear alignments to any political ideologies. Many different people from far left to far right participated in the protests and actions (Respondent-02, 2013). Respondent-03 argues that the Albanian environmental movement is in respect of the right to live as Albanians come from a communist past and therefore, the movements have no roots of any particular political affiliations (2013). Respondents 01, 06 and 07 argue that the movements are not leftist movements. This argument shows that Albanian environmental movements contradict with the general characteristics of Western environmental movements. However, the supporters and activists, that is, the individual participants are usually leftist people (2013). Because the supporters and activists are more from the middle class of Albania and in general, Albanian middle class tends to be closer to the left (Respondent-01, 2013). Respondent-

05's argument supports this idea and he also adds that the movements are more of a "citizen reaction" (2013).

Two environmentalist parties were established in the early 1990s (the Ecology Party and the Environmentalist Agrarian Party), that is, a decade before the establishment of the Ministry of Environment (Respondent-10, 2013). Also, the Green Party of Albania was established in 2001. Respondent-08 argues that these parties are centrally located in the political rainbow and none of them are at extreme ends (2013). For instance, the Environmentalist Agrarian Party was in coalition with Socialist Party and later with Democratic Party in two different legislative periods (Respondent-10, 2013), (Respondent-08, 2013).

Today, all main stream political parties have a particular chapter on the environment in their party programs (Respondent-08, 2013). However, Respondent-01 points out that the political parties pay lip service to environmental concerns in their party programs, but when in government, environmental priorities play limited roles (2013). Respondent-02 takes this issue to another step. He argues that party programs do not have anything to do with reality. They are written because it is a perceived obligation for a political party (2013). However, having a particular chapter in party programs at least shows that the environmental problems and concerns are in the agenda of public (Respondent-05, 2013).

2.4 Conclusion

The magnitudes of the environmental issues in Albania are explained in Section 2.3.1. The interview questions of number 14, 15 and 16 are asked to reveal the details of the legislation on environmental protection. As it is detailed in Section 2.3.2, the legislation process started as of 1993. Completing the legislation took fifteen years roughly, and it shows that the governments have played proactive roles to reduce the impacts of the

environmental degradation by passing and ratifying modern laws. However, the implementation still stands as an issue because modern laws require higher technical standards and sufficient funding to implement. In sum, the turmoil period after communism was very difficult and it had negative influences on every single societal situation including environmental degradation. Governmental efforts are obvious to resolve the environmental issues, yet the efforts have not become as effective as they had to be.

Section 2.3.3 studied the political alignments of the movements in the light of interview questions number 11, 12 and 13. The section may be concluded that the Albanian environmental movements emerged from the genuine concerns of alarming environment. The movements did not have explicit close ties with any political ideologies or political parties.

Chapter 3: Findings and Discussions

3.1 Introduction

The third chapter starts with the discussions of people's perceptions on environmental issues, perceptions of media and prominent names in Albanian environmental movements. Then, the external influence on Albanian environmentalism is examined. The selected cases of environmental movements such as Botanical Gardens Case, Vlora Industrial and Energy Park Case and Alliance against Waste Import Case are presented. And then, their characteristics are explored. All these are done through structured interviews which had been conducted with 13 people for this study. Their responses have been analysed by making use of Nvivo 10 software. All interview answers were entered into the software and nodes were created. With parental and child nodes, the data were coded and visualized. In order to understand the commonalities and differences of the respondents, content analyses were conducted.

3.2 Findings

The findings about perceptions of the people, about perceptions of the media and about pioneers of environmental movements are discussed below. To do this, it may be helpful to give the profiles of the respondents.

Respondent 01 – Political analyst, male, about thirty five years old.

Respondent 02 – Journalist, male, about forty five years old.

Respondent 03 – Human rights activist, female, at her late sixties.

Respondent 04 – Government official, female, about forty years old.

Respondent 05 – Environmental activist, male, at his sixties.

Respondent 06 – Journalist and environmental activist, male, about fifty years old.

Respondent 07 – Albania Office Director of an ENGO, male, about fifty years old.

Respondent 08 – Government official, male, about fifty years old.

Respondent 09 – Academician and environmental activist, male, about fifty five years old.

Respondent 10 – Journalist, male, about forty five years old.

Respondent 11 – General Manager of an ENGO, female, about forty five years old.

Respondent 12 – Environmental activist and journalist, male, about sixty five years old.

Respondent 13 – Academician (sociologist), male, about sixty years old.

Figure 3.1 below shows the most frequent 100 words in the interviews. The most common words are environment, Albania, issue and people. When these four words are put together, a good summary can be given: "Environment is an issue to the people of Albania". The next group of words that are particularly emphasized is media, movement, legislation, waste, government, political, party and news.

Figure 3.1: The Tree Map for the Most Frequent 100 Words used in the interviews

two urba organiz progranumbercountroursedevelosince activistscamp opinidstill mean tirana 2004 nemnu commu period power work rights uestio start area civil right create local group nealth | done year europeajust areas really even mportan kind /lora different ngos aws WB to social know part organizati protectionetc started society pood see pollution problem country parties news years issue many much Nov governmentalbanian <u>e</u> waste time Irst movements legislation political one novement media also environment issues environmental

Word Frequency Query

Figure 3.2: The Sources Clustered by Word Similarity

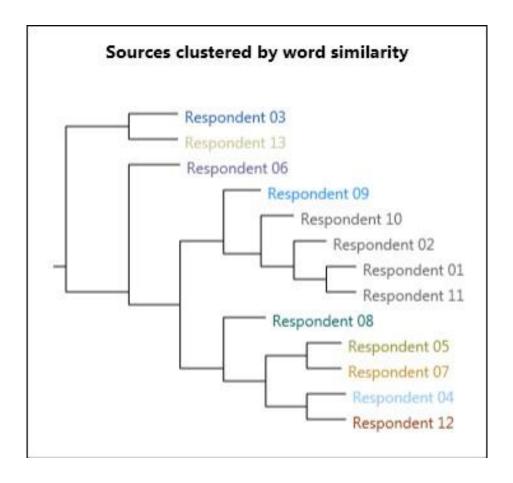
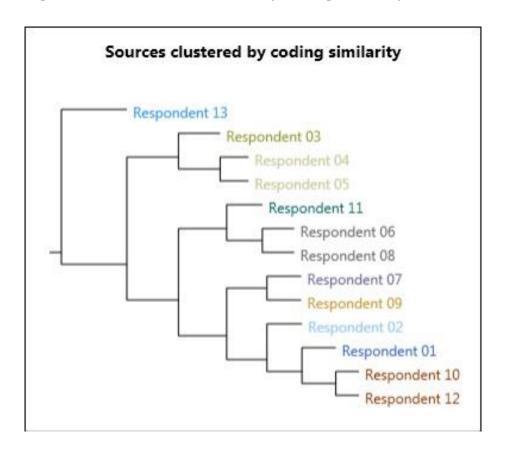


Figure 3.2 above groups the sources according to word similarity. The cluster shows that there are four different groups of answers in terms of word similarity. Respondent-03 is a human rights activists and Respondent-13 is a sociologist. They have coding and word similarities among themselves. Also, they are different from the rest of the interviewees as their viewpoints are usually different than others. Respondent-06 is a journalist who had initiated and led a group of environmental activists in early 2000s. Respondent-08 is a government official and he has probably used a more diplomatic language than others as seen in the cluster.

Figure 3.3 below groups the sources according to coding similarity. Respondents 10, 12, 01 and 02 are journalists and their coding cluster is similar. Respondents 07 and 09 are both activists and administrators at environmental centres. Their coding cluster is similar,

too. Respondent-11 is an administrator at an environmental centre and she is one of two authors of a unique booklet published on environmental movements in Albania. Respondent-05 works more on agricultural issues and GMOs (genetically modified organisms) and his coding is relatively close to Respondent-04, who is a government official and has similar concerns. Respondent-03 is a human rights activist, not an environmental activist whereas Respondent-13 is a sociologist. Therefore, their codings are expected to be different than others. As it is seen, the clusters are in accordance with the conclusions drawn.

Figure 3.3: The Sources Clustered by Coding Similarity



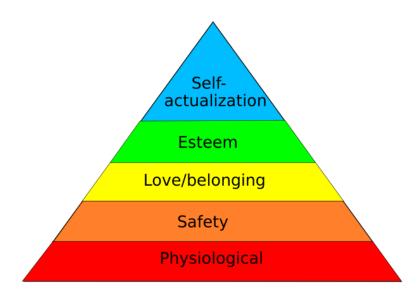
3.2.1 Public Perceptions on Environmental Issues

To investigate the perceptions of people on environmental issues, the interviewees are asked the following question:

What do you think about the sensitivity of local people on environmental issues (Both in urban and rural areas of Albania)? Did any protests at large scales ever take place?

In 1992, the economic decline was about 50% whereas unemployment was 60%. An average Albanian made 29 USD per month according to official statistics (Hamilton, 1994). Most of the citizens, having so many issues with poverty and basic survival, simply could not worry about ecology. "Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs" foresees this situation.

Figure 3.4: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (McLeod, 2014)



Maslow's theory of "Hierarchy of Needs" defines, humans' needs are in the following order: physiological needs, safety needs, the need to be loved or to belong, esteem needs and self-actualization needs (McLeod, 2014). When physiological and safety needs are not satisfied, other concerns hardly ever find a place in the agendas of people. As the

theory anticipates, the environmental movements in Albania did not have a wide public support during the first decade of the democratization, because Albanian people could not satisfy or relieve their physiological and safety needs for a long time in the turmoil period after 1989.

Figure 3.5 below shows the word tree for the word "sensitivity". The word tree depicts the words that are related to sensitivity in various ways. Among all, the words; growing, local people and issue may be highlighted.

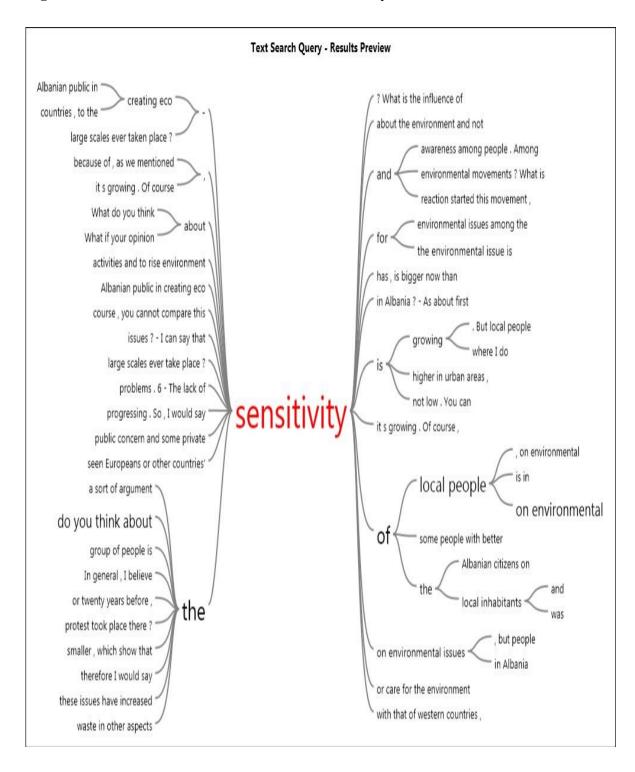
More concretely, respondent-07 claims that the people who belong to middle-upper classes of the society have been more sensitive on environmental issues (2013). Those people are relatively well-educated and they form the urban intellectuals. Some of them are inspired and affected by Western environmental movements. The sensitivity of these people comes from real concerns for environmental degradation because they have somehow secured their economic survival. "Securing economic survival" feature characterizes this group of people (Respondent-01, 2013).

Respondent-06 argues that Albania has a poor tradition in social organization and in public reaction due to vestiges of the communist regime (2013). People are hesitant and reluctant to come forward and protest (Respondent-02, 2013). Respondent-03 adds that "people think that environmental issues are political issues", therefore they avoid talking about them (2013). Respondents 06 and 11 argue that a "lack of culture and education on environmental issues" is another reason for low sensitivity (2013).

As the rise of civil society accelerated by the end of the first decade of democratic transition, sensitivity towards social issues including environment have started to increase (Respondent-06, 2013). This is also because of the fact that there were evident and visible impacts of environmental degradation (Respondent-05, 2013). Respondent-09 argues that

the sensitivity of the inhabitants of the affected areas were not as high as it had to be. Only later did people understand and realize that wrong decisions endangered their lives such as the wrong location choices of the cement plants (2013). Nicholas Walton from the BBC News wrote a news article titled "Albania Wakes up to Green Issues" that supports these claims (2007).

Figure 3.5: The Word Tree for the Word "Sensitivity"



Today, it may be concluded that the sensitivity of society towards environmental issues is truly high. Massive engagements in the referendum campaign show this fact. Respondent-07 alleges that if you make some sort of a poll on the problems of Albania, people would

mention environmental problems among the priorities of the country (2013). However, the main problems of today are not related to sensitivity anymore, but lies on the capacity to mobilize. Respondent-01 claims that the Albanian politics has a "protectionist" style which means every social attempt is done under the auspices of party politics. That is, one needs to receive support from political parties in order to foster new ideas which in turn makes the movements of independent citizens very difficult (2013).

3.2.2 Perceptions of Media on Environmental Issues

Media is a 'soft' power in today's societies. The ideologies and positions of media and the way that media present news or issues have serious influences on the perceptions of the population. Therefore, early and modern perceptions of Albanian media on environmental issues are investigated through interview questions of number 1, 2, 3 and 4. The findings are discussed as follows.

News regarding environmental problems appeared in the Socialist Albanian media before the 1990s. These were rather expert ideas on nature protection. Experts were accredited to some extent and the issues were taken into consideration by the Socialist government (Respondent-12, 2013). Following the collapse of communism, environmental issues have never been high on the agenda of the Albanian media. The two major focuses of media have always been politics and chronicle (Respondent-01, 2013). In other words, issues of political conflicts, corruption and crime, (un)employment, accidents and tragedies, poverty and economic survival seemed to be more important and newsworthy than environmental issues. In this context, environmental issues had become important or relevant only when there were severe or catastrophic incidents which created immediate and imminent threats to lives and property (Respondent-01, 2013). For instance, the size of damage that deforestation can create, is clearly seen when deadly floods happened as Prime Minister Edi Rama told "The Guardian". Prime Minister Rama stated that "We

have an organic problem that is inherited because of soil erosion, deforestation and bad management of rivers" (Neslen, 2015).

According to Respondent-12, research shows that the frequency of environmental news publications is about 10% among other news since the 1990s (2013). Respondent-11 adds that the media coverage on environmental issues has always been discontinuous. Furthermore, in the first decade of democratization, most information regarding the environment was provided by various environmental organizations' foreign experts who were specialized on environmental sciences (2013).

Another discussion pertains to the freedom of media. Respondent-04 sees the media as an instrument for the politicians (2013). Respondent-01's ideas support this argument. He says the Albanian media lacks independent financial resources to conduct free investigations or reports. Therefore, the media works as an instrument which serves primarily to the businesses that finance the media (Respondent-01, 2013). Additionally, Respondent-12 mentions that the consequences of environmental pollution are deeply felt by journalists because they live in the capital city. He argues that neither televisions channels or networks (public and private) nor press are totally free. Journalists may be concerned about the environmental problems in the country but they are unable to publish every issue (2013). This finding is in line with general theoretical approaches and practices around the world. Even in many advanced countries, the media has strong relations with politicians and economic powers who always filter news before it is released to public.

Respondents 04 and 07 claim that a few journalists are equipped to analyse and present environmental issues deeply (2013). Respondent-01 agrees with this idea by stating that there are almost no journalists who specialize in environmental issues (2013). Respondent-05 adds that many in-depth analyses are conducted for political, social and

economic issues but almost never for environmental issues (2013). These claims show that one weakness of media coverage to environmental issues stems from rarity of qualified journalists in this field.

As stated above, having no independent financial resources and being poorly staffed make it difficult to conduct free investigations in regards with environmental issues. However, environmental organizations had developed significantly after 1997 as Respondent-11 states. By 2000, they had reached even higher organization levels. In the process, there were some projects to train journalists to raise their environmental awareness and also to deal with environmental issues more accurately in various daily newspapers (2013).

Environmental news started to find more place in media as a result of the growth of massive environmental issues, development of civil society and its institutions. By 2004, environmental issues were broadcasted more frequently on television channels due to the "Waste Import" and "Industrial Park" cases. Since 2010, many topical television programs on environment are broadcasted very frequently (Respondent-09, 2013).

As time passes, media pays more attention to the environment and environmental topics. However, environmental news in media does not still appear as journalistic scoop, not on the front page, which bypasses people's attention (Respondent-07, 2013).

3.2.3 Pioneers of Environmentalism in Albania

The fifth and eighth questions of the interviews investigate the individuals and institutions that have been in the forefront of environmental struggles in Albania. This section summarizes the findings. However, investigating the pioneers and activists is a very difficult task. There are many people who have not appeared in the media but struggled behind the curtain by working on different projects and advocating for environmental protection. Thus, there is a high risk of disregarding some people or institutions that

deserve to be credited. On a side note, it is worth to mention the modesty of the interviewees. Eight of the interviewees are either among the leading activists of Albanian environmental movements or have ambitiously supported the movements. While conducting the interviews, almost none of the interviewees have identified her/himself as a pioneer of environmental movements in Albania.

Respondent-11 states that the first pioneer of the Albanian environmental movement was Prof. Dr. Leke Gjiknuri (2013). He was a famous biologist and environmental activist. He and his colleagues, together with many other pedagogues, professors, biologists and botanists, created the first Albanian environmental organization called "Protection and Preservation of Natural Environment in Albania (PPNEA)" which was officially established in Albania on 5 June 1991 (PPNEA, n.d.). Dr. Gjiknuri had a leading role in the creation of PPNEA and played a role of traditional preservationist. He also organized the first public demonstrations for protection of environmental values. Furthermore, he served as a parliamentarian and repeatedly raised his voice in Albanian parliamentary sessions for environmental issues. Respondent-12 argues that the PPNEA had been a 'school-like' structure for environmental protection and for civil society creation with many trainings, studies and projects. Furthermore, it also helped to create the leaders of latter NGOs (2013). He adds "I, as a journalist, was working in the field of scientific and natural problems for ecology for many years before the 1990s. I was very engaged and active in the board and committee of the PPNEA. I learned a lot not only on environment and ecology, but also on civil society movement" (Respondent-12, 2013). All these clearly indicate that Dr. Leke Gjiknuri is commonly appreciated for bringing environmental issues to the attention of Albanian people and to the agenda of Albanian Parliament. He had a significant influence on environmentalist awareness. Therefore, he truly deserves to be marked as a pioneer on Albanian environmentalism.

The second leading name in Albanian environmentalism is Xhemal Mato. Mato studied physics in Tirana University and worked as a journalist for a long time before and after the 1990s. His expertise is natural heritage. He broadcasted many television programs and documentaries about nature protection on the national television channel (TVSH). He wrote two books titled "Universe Around Us" and "Mysteries" and published many newspaper articles. In 1995, he created an NGO with his colleagues, named "Mass-Media and Environment" (Respondent-12, 2013). In 2004, an umbrella organization for environmental NGOs was created under the name of "Eco-Movement". It is a network of many environmental NGOs which work on biodiversity, agriculture, energy, chemicals, waste and recycling, air pollution, climate change, forests and erosion, health and environment, and water. It was legally registered in September 2005. Mato has been the Executive Director of Eco-Movement since 2006.

A new stage of Albanian environmentalism had started with the new millennium. Other pioneers have included Lavdosh Ferruni, Sazan Guri, Ardian Klosi, Mihallaq Qirio, Mentor Kikia, Kozara Kati and Valbona Mazreku.

Blendi Kajsiu, Romeo Hanxhari, Lirim Selfo, Dhimiter Haxhimihali, Arjan Gace, Ardian Vaso, Arber Malltezi, Taulant Bino, Zamir Dedei, Dezdemona Stefa, Liri Dinga, Perikli Qirjazi, Alqi Cullaj and Yllka Hida are other names that have been mentioned by interviewees during the interview process. It should be noted that some of the above mentioned names are acknowledged by several interviewees repeatedly.

From an institutional aspect, the "Ecology Party" was one of the first political parties formed after 1990. A large number of NGOs were established inside and outside of Tirana due to acute environmental problems after 1991. The number of environmental NGOs reached 52 by 1995 (Donner and Mazreku, n.d.). The number reached over 160 at its peak between 1997 and 2001 (Donner and Mazreku, n.d.). Respondent-04 argues that

most environmental NGOs have not been successful in raising public awareness, even though they had worked on many different projects for a long time and were supported by many donors (2013). Respondent-02 adds that civil society exists in Albania as long as foreign donors exist (2013). In the next section, we elaborate on the external influence.

3.3 External Influence on Albania's Environmental Issues and

Movements

3.3.1 International Support

Environmental issues sometimes surpass the borders of a country or exceed the powers of a country to deal with the problem appropriately. Therefore, it is necessary to establish environmental institutions among states to promote partnership. These international organizations might be international agencies or intergovernmental bodies. They might be regional or worldwide. International organizations might work under auspices of the United Nations (UN) or the European Union (EU), or another supra–national entity. The most important international organizations on environmental issues include Earth System Governance Project, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), World Nature Organization (WNO) and European Environment Agency (EEA).

After 1991, there have been obvious international influences on Albania's issues as pluralism was declared. The most important international influence (contribution) to Albanian public sphere has been the attempts to build the civil society. Struggles in creating the civil society have been in all areas of society, including environmentalism. Respondent-12 says that there was a lot of support given by Western Governments and Western donors for the civil society and environmental movements in the first decade of democracy. This is the main reason why many environmental NGOs were created in such

a short time (2013). He also argues that international donors believed that, in time, Albania would have become self-sufficient with regards to its own society, politics and government. For that reason, Western donors did not offer much financial support during the second decade of democracy (Respondent-12, 2013). The SACSIE project (Strengthening Albanian Civil Society for an Improved Environment) conducted in Albania between 2007 and 2010 supports this idea (Donner and Mazreku, n.d.).

3.3.2 Albanian Immigrants to Western Countries

Albania riveted its borders for about half a century. It was a totally closed society. Since 1991, about a third of Albanian population immigrated to Western countries. Although they work and live in Western Countries, the immigrants have always kept close ties to the fatherland.

There are some discussions on the influence of Albanian immigrants on the Albanian society. This is an incontrovertible fact. The degree of the influence may be argued. Walton says the environmental awareness is one of the influences that Albanian immigrants bring when they visit or return to Albania (2007). However, as Respondent-13 (2013) stated and I agree with that the influence of Albanian immigrants is not more than raising awareness on environmental issues in a live television program or on the forums of social media.

3.4 Selected Important Cases of Albanian Environmental Movement

The research questions of this study are as follows:

RQ1: How and when did the environmental movements start in Albania? What incidents or occurrences triggered these movements?

RQ2: Do the environmental movements in Albania have a permanent or temporary character? In other words, are they continuous movements or episodic events?

As stated before, there are many environmental issues in Albania. Many protests, struggles and much resistance have taken place against illegal constructions, waste imports, projects that would harm nature and natural heritage, dismantling Syria's chemical weapons, etc. To find answers to the two research questions, two main cases are investigated: "Vlora Industrial and Energy Park" and "Alliance Against Waste Import". These two cases have been chosen because all interviewees pointed them as the most important environmental protests in Albania. The seventh and ninth questions of the interviews are asked to reveal the rallies and movements of environment in Albania. A third case, "The Botanical Garden Case", is mentioned in beforehand due to its historical importance.

3.4.1 Botanical Gardens Case

The Botanical Gardens campaign is the first massive experience of environmentalism in Albania. The PPNEA (Protection and Preservation of Natural Environment in Albania) organized the campaign in 1993. As previous owners made land claims for the property on which rests the Botanical Gardens, there was a high risk that the property would be returned to these people (Respondent-07, 2013). A campaign was organized to protect the Botanical Gardens, which is unique in Albania. Several NGOs established in the early 1990s also supported the campaign. In the end, the Botanical Garden was given a special status by the government which blocked its destruction. The campaign became successful. It also stopped illegal constructions on the property where the botanical gardens are currently located (Respondent-11, 2013). It helped to raise awareness about environmental issues for the first time on such a large scale (Donner and Mazreku, n.d.).

3.4.2 Vlora Industrial and Energy Park Case

"Vlora Industrial and Energy Park" protests and movement is one of the two greatest and longest-lasting environmental protests ever to have taken place in Albania. According to the majority of the interviewees of this study, it is the milestone of environmentalist movements in Albania. Respondent-09 says it was "unlike any time before" (2013).

Due to the severe energy crisis, the Albanian government planned the construction of an "Industrial and Energy Park" in Vlora in 2001. The park would host a thermo-power plant, an oil pipeline outpost and other components of the oil industry. The park would be very close to the residential area of Vlora City and to the Narta Lagoon which is a protected area. Three institutions expressed their interest on financing the thermal-power plant: the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank and the European Investment Bank.

The inhabitants of Vlora, with many other supporters such as environmental NGOs, other NGOs, scientists and some opposition political parties, stood up against the projects. They claimed and argued that they had been excluded from discussions and the decision-making process. The initiative was also supported and even partially financed by a number of local businesses (hotels and restaurants) that feared the transformation of Vlora into an industrial hub (Respondent-01, 2013).

The movement collected over 14,000 signatures against the construction of the industrial park and requested a referendum twice. The first request was submitted to the National Election Committee in 2005 while the second request was in 2007 (Donner and Mazreku, n.d.). Both requests were denied on formal grounds. The movement appealed to the Aarhus Convention in April 2005. The movement accused the Albanian Government for violation of several articles of the Aarhus Convention.

An official document written by the Ministry of Environment, Forests and Water Administration, that addressed Mr. Jeremy Wates, Secretary to the Aarhus Convention, stated that the environmental impact assessment meeting (based upon local legislation requirements and Aarhus Convention) was held on 2 April 2003. Then, on 23 July 2003, three English copies of the draft study of the environmental impact assessment and twenty copies of Albanian translation were delivered to the local authorities of Vlora to exhibit at the Vlora City Library for two months. Also, to fulfill the legislative requirements and to ensure the public access to environmental impact assessment, a press release was published in five main newspapers of Albania (Zegali, 2006). However, the United Nations Aarhus Convention Compliance Committee carried out an investigation in 2007 and concluded that Vlora inhabitants were not provided with adequate opportunity to participate in the process and also public consultations were minimal (Ciobanu, 2007). That is, the judgment of the committee was opposing government's claim. In June 2008, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (one of the investors for Vlora Industrial Park) withdrew from the project. Then, the advancement of the project was deadlocked.

The Vlora Environmental Protest against the "Industrial and Energy Park" can be characterized as follows: it may be assumed as the first proper environmental movement because this movement mobilized citizens, organized protests, produced publications, and attracted media attention. For the first time, all media paid serious and systematic attention (Respondent-01, 2013) with true environmental concerns in the first row. Secondly, citizen initiative and protests were occurring. Thirdly, all legal tools were used, such as the collection of over 14,000 signatures for the referendum and appealing to the Aarhus Convention.

Figure 3.6: The Word Tree for the Word "Vlora"

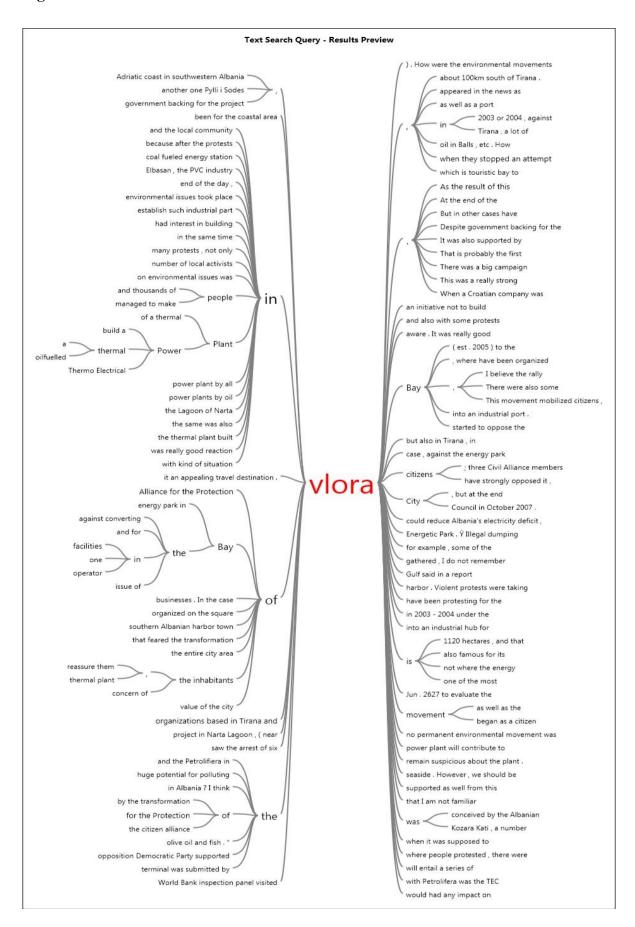


Figure 3.6 above shows the word tree for the word "Vlora". The word tree is composed of word groups that respondents say for "Vlora". The most remarkable point is that everyone has something to say about "Vlora Campaign".

As a consequence, there is no clear consensus among the interviewees whether "Vlora Campaign" has been successful or not. According to Respondent-04 (2013) this case can be considered neither a success nor a failure as the campaign could not stop the project totally. Nevertheless, the campaign did not allow the project to be completed either (Respondent-05, 2013). From a different point of view, it was a very successful campaign because legal tools were utilized and the campaign raised public awareness on environmental issues at an utmost level (Respondent-10, 2013). Despite lasting for about four years, the Vlora Movement cannot be described as a permanent environmental movement because it did not give a birth of firmly established movement (Respondent-01, 2013). With agreeing above mentioned judgements, I consider that the "Vlora Campaign" had been a successful one as it stopped the damage that would be done in the vicinity of Vlora.

3.4.3 Alliance against Waste Import

Another great and long-lasting environmental movement is "Alliance Against Waste Import". This movement has two components: one, against the construction of incinerators for the purpose of incinerating imported waste and second, against waste import for industrial recycling purposes.

The debates and confrontations started when the Albanian Government decided to allow an Italian company build an incinerator near Tirana (in 2004) and import urban waste from Italy. The decision of the government faced intense protests by a coalition of environmental and human rights NGOs. Eco-Movement was a leading force in the

resistance. The campaign succeeded. The government changed its decision and cancelled the project (Donner and Mazreku, n.d.). However, importing waste for industrial recycling continued, the reason being that the government had argued that the growing recycling industry of Albania would not survive on domestic waste alone (Likmeta, 2013a). For example, Kurum (the owner of Elbasan Metallurgical Factory Complex) representatives stated that only 10% of the material that Kurum recycled came from Albanian soil (Rukaj, 2012).

In November 2011, a bill was approved by the government to import some non-hazardous waste for recycling. The bill had a "green list" that composed of 55 different materials. Several protests occurred and a huge movement started. The movement was named as "Alliance Against Waste Import". The Alliance was formed by activists, organizations and many NGOs working in different areas. The Alliance argued that customs and check points of Albanian borders were not capable to properly check or control the imported wastes, whether they were hazardous or not (Respondent-03, 2013). According to Rukaj, activist Lavdosh Ferruni argues that most of the imported metals contain mercury and radioactive materials (2012).

After an extensive and tiring struggle, the Alliance collected more than 64,000 signatures to seek a referendum (Likmeta, 2013a). After following legal procedures, such as certification by the Central Electoral Commission, President Bujar Nishani set 22 December 2013 as the date of the referendum. The referendum did not take place as planned because the new Prime Minister, Edi Rama, banned waste imports in his first cabinet meeting (Likmeta, 2013a) on 15 September 2013, as pledged before the June 2013 elections (Respondent-10, 2013). If it has happened, it would have been the first national referendum of this kind (Respondent-07, 2013).

Figure 3.7: The Word Tree for the Word "Waste"

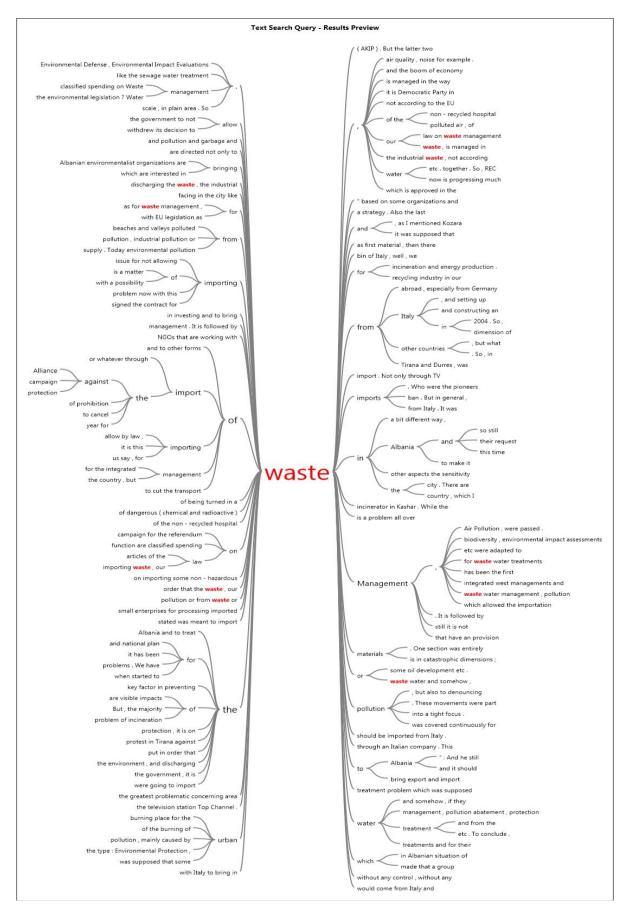


Figure 3.7 above shows the word tree for the word "waste". As for the word tree "Vlora", everyone has something to say about "waste import" with one difference with respect to "Vlora Campaign". The word tree "waste" is the most "crowded" word tree. This is the most remarkable point which may be a proof of the wide support and participation in the campaign.

The "Alliance Against Waste Import" can be characterized as follows: it was a proper environmental movement because it mobilized citizens, organized protests, produced publications, and attracted media attention. Secondly, all legal tools were used. Collecting over 64,000 signatures for referendum and having a presidential decree for referendum are undeniable successes. The movement heavily depended upon the true concerns of environment, aside from growing security concerns. The campaign was obviously successful, because it made the new government ban the waste import. The Alliance movement cannot be described as a permanent environmental movement, because people were relieved with the ban on waste import and also activists did not carry on engaging for future endeavours.

3.5 Conclusion

As the cluster analyses, the content analysis, word trees and answers of the respondents to the interview questions reveal, Albanian environmental movements have the characteristics of social movements as theories anticipate. Although the movements have been discontinuous, they have achieved to create "common identity" and have raised the awareness. They were change-oriented, non-political formations that used direct action strategies with loose and informal organizational structures.

The two sample cases may be evaluated as successful movements. Yet, environmental consciousness and mobility in Albania are still not at the level of European movements.

Lastly, it should be noted that "Botanical Gardens Case" is mentioned in this study due to its historical importance.

Chapter 4: Conclusions

First of all, it is difficult to assess the impact of other social movements on environmental movements in Albania as social movements were not allowed before the 1990s. Building the civil society started with the crucial efforts and financial support of the Western organizations and governments after the 1990s. Also, the public sphere in Albania is usually occupied by political parties, rather than the civil society. Therefore, other social movements have almost no effect on the emergence of environmental movements in Albania although they supported the environmental protests or initiatives when happened.

The first political parties were established by the declaration of pluralism. Among these political parties, two environmentalist parties existed. Compared to environmental movements in Albania, environmentalist political parties could not be a strong voice in the public sphere throughout the democratization period.

The interview questions reveal that the environmental movements in Albania were usually initiated by a few intellectuals of the country in the first place. These intellectuals had travelled to the Western countries before the communist regime collapsed. So, they knew what it was like in the Western countries. When the movements were initiated by these intellectuals, they found immediate support from the citizens as a social reaction that already existed to the exploitation of natural resources. The health and safety concerns supported the public opinion.

The influence of international organizations is indisputable on the creation and development of the civil society. However, the waste exporters to Albania would be mostly Western countries if the waste import was not banned. Therefore, there are rival ideas to the concerns of the Western countries in Albanian environment.

The role of immigrants in environmental movements did not go further than bringing Western style of behaviours such as not littering and supporting the movements through TV channels and social media. The environmental movements initiated and stabilized by individuals who actually live in Albania. However, the support through social media increased the motivation of the activists and therefore, it is important. From theoretical aspect, support through social media and TV channels helped creating the "we" identity and braced the collective action.

The role of the NGOs is crucial. They organized many protests and followed the legal procedures. The protests depended heavily on the motivation and willingness of citizens to contribute. Governments did not support the environmental NGOs as they were seen opponents to certain government policies. Opposition political parties tended to support environmental movements against the governments without taking the ideology to the first place. Other NGOs such as human rights NGOs and gender equity NGOs supported the environmental NGOs.

Making laws, adopting the legislation to country specifics and implementation of law all are different processes. The most problematic process is the strengthening of structures that deal with implementation of the laws and coordination between various governmental institutions. The law implementation depends also upon the industrial companies' capacities. Therefore, implementation may require some time as Albania develops as a whole country.

The two great and long-lasting environmental movements in Albania are the "Vlora Industrial and Energy Park" movement and "Alliance Against Waste Import" movement. The two sample cases of Albanian environmental movements have the characteristics of social movements as defined in the theory. First, they are "conscious processes" to protect the environment. To reach their goals, the movements have created a common identity or

"we" consciousness among the people who have similar concerns. Common identity has triggered the "joint action". Common identity and joint action together have created continuity of the movements (for a few years) to reach the movements' ultimate goals. Public awareness campaigns and mobilizing individuals have been staged. In the end, campaigns reach their goals. However, none of the sample movements have been permanent because developing capacities and maintaining civil society organizations require many skills. Love for nature, environmental awareness and security concerns are not sufficient. Movements, civil society organizations and NGOs may disappear in time if capacity developments and maintenance are not carried out properly as resource mobilization model foresees.

Financial sustainability is a serious issue for movements. Most of the NGOs in Albania are fragile and are not very well structured. They usually depend upon the foreign grants and donations. To sustain organizations and networking, membership does not have a strong tradition in Albania. But, having no tradition may also be an opportunity if necessary publicity is done.

Albanian environmental movements can be classified as conservationist and preservationist movements. That is, "Let us protect what we already have". The main reason for conservationist movements is that the people have already seen the exploitation of the nature in the country and therefore they resist making any changes due to trust issues. The movements are not styled as Western environmental movements that try to adopt the best technologies to have environmental friendly developments. Obviously, this is directly linked to the standards of the country. That is, when standards are lower, people look for the protection of nature.

Both "Vlora Industrial and Energy Park" movement and "Alliance Against Waste Import" movement may be assumed to be successful movements. In the former case, the

movement stopped the project and caused a deadlock which in turn protected Vlora City and Narta Lagoon. In the latter case, the movement caused waste import to be banned totally. Both of the movements raised significant environmental consciousness.

Finally, the dimensions of the environmental degradation in Albania are enormous even though Albania is relatively a small country. That is, the people are living in unhealthy conditions to some extent. Therefore, they would be expected to organize and to protest seriously and continuously. However, Albanian environmental movements have been temporary although some of them lasted for a considerable time. Consequently, there is a long way to establish a sustainable environmental movement in Albania.

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- Respondent-08 (21 May 2013) Government Official, (Interviewer: B. Inaltekin), Tirana.
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- Respondent-10 (14 May 2013) *Journalist*, (Interviewer: B. Inaltekin), Tirana.
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Appendix A: Interview Questions

- 1. When did environmental issues firstly start to appear on news? On what incident(s)?
- 2. How often did the media publish/broadcast the environmental problems?
- 3. What was the perception of media on environmental issues among many other problems that occupied Albanian people's everyday lives?
- 4. How important were the environmental news among journalists?
- 5. Who (group of people) do you think cared more on environmental issues?
- 6. What do you think about the sensitivity of local people on environmental issues (Both in urban and rural areas of Albania)? Did any protests at large scales ever take place?
- 7. When was the first rally organized to attract the public opinion on environmental issues? Did it reach its goal?
- 8. Who were the pioneers of the environmental movements in Albania?
- 9. How did the environmental movements start in Albania?
- 10. How were the environmental movements affected by other social movements?
- 11. Did the environmental movements emerge purely to protect the environment and/or attract the public opinion to the environmental issues? Or, were they in the party programs of certain political parties?
- 12. Environmental movements generally have leftist alignments. Did the environmental activists belong to the same/similar political alignments? If so, what political views did they have?
- 13. Environmental movements generally have leftist alignments. Do the current environmental activists belong to the same/similar political alignments? If so, what political views do they have?
- 14. When did the legislation process start on environmental issues?
- 15. How modern do you find the Albanian environmental legislation?
- 16. How much is the environmental legislation applied?

Appendix B: Definitions of Key Terms

Aarhus Convention: The UNECE Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters

Acquis Communautaire: It is a comprehensive concept which includes entire treaties, agreements, standards and legislation in the European Union. It is basically the law of European Union.

Association: "Any group of people who have joined together for a particular purpose, ranging from social to business, and usually meant to be a continuing organization. It can be formal, with rules and/or bylaws, membership requirements and other trappings of an organization, or it can be a collection of people without structure. An association is not a legally established corporation or a partnership. To make this distinction, the term "unincorporated association" is often used although technically redundant" (Hill and Hill, 2012).

Civil Society: "The set of intermediate associations which are neither the state nor the (extended) family; civil society therefore includes voluntary associations and firms and other corporate bodies" (McLean and McMillan, 2009, 81).

Collective Consumption (Urban Consumption): "A concept that refers to the many goods and services that are produced and consumed on a collective level, such as in cities. These include schools, libraries, roads, bridges, public transportation, health care, welfare, fire and police protection, etc." (Crossman, 2014).

Ecology: The study of relations between living organisms and their surroundings.

Environment: "The air, water, minerals, organisms, and all other external factors surrounding and affecting a given organism at any time" or "The external surroundings in which a plant or animal lives, which tend to influence its development and behaviour" (Howe, 2012).

Foundation: "An institution supported by an endowment, often one that provides funds for charities, research, etc." (Howe, 2012).

New Social Movements: "Loosely knit organizations ('networks of networks') that try to influence government policy on broad issues, including the environment, nuclear energy and

nuclear weapons, economic development, peace, women and minorities" (Newton and Van Deth, 2008, 356).

Non-Governmental Organization: "A non-governmental organization (NGO) is a non-profit making, non-violent private organization that is independent of government and seeks to influence or control government policy without actually seeking government office" (Newton and Van Deth, 2008, 356).

Union (Trade Union): "Collective organizations of workers whose purpose is to substitute a collective bargain for separate individual bargaining and thereby maintain and improve the standard of living of their members. They act as defensive organizations set up to counteract the economic weakness of propertyless wage-earners as unorganized individuals" (Burnham, 2009).

Urbanization: "The process whereby ever larger numbers of people migrate to and establish residence in relatively dense areas of population. It is a phenomenon that has existed throughout the ages, from ancient times to the present" (Orum, 2011).