LIMITED EFFICIENCY OF CIVIL SOCIETY DURING THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS OF ALBANIA

by

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Abstract

The present analysis is part of research on Albanian society after 1990 and their implications for democratic governance. This paper aims to identify the role of civil society on democratization process in Albania case. In a context marked by the goal of civil movements the principal aims are to examine how Civil Society in Albania is involved during the 'transition' and their limited influence on democratic governance building. The relationship between the concept of "civil society" and "democratization process" in Albania is viewed from three perspectives: a- in terms of the national, political and social contexts that conditioned the movement goals and strategies. b- in terms of previous efforts by non-elites to change social and political conditions and c- in terms of beings part of policy decision by protests. The features of Albanian civil society are also treated in this paper, followed by focusing on the debate: "Does the Civil Society function properly in Albania or not?" Normally, the function of Civil Society is to play an important and 'tutoring' role in building a democratic society. Analyzing civil society in Albania, one can easily note that the way civil society works, acts and cooperates with different factors as financial, human and technical, may affect negatively in this process, and the contribution of Civil Society to the democratization process was limited. For analytic purposes, the discussion is organized in two main parts. The first part, examines theoretical part and focusing on key issues that relate government, society, NGO on decision making to build a democratic governance. The second part examines Albanian civil society and its product during 'transition' in reference with the first normative part.

Keywords: *Democracy, Transition, Albania, Social Movements, Civil Society*

Abstrakt

Ky kërkim studimor ka për qëllim të identifikojë rolin e lëvizjeve sociale dhe shoqërisë civile në procesin e demokratizimit, në rastin e Shqipërisë. Në një konteskt ku focus janë lëvizjet sociale dhe shoqëria civile ku qëllimi kryesor është të identifikohet se si ajo është përfshirë gjatë 'tranzicionit' apo ndikim limituar i saj në ndërtimin e një qeverisje demokratike dhe në vendimmarrje. Marrëdhënia midis konceptit 'lëvizje sociale' dhe 'proces demokratizimi', në Shqipëri do të shihet nga tre këndvështrime: në kontekstinnacional, politikdhe social që kushtëzon qëllimin dhe strategjinë e shoqërisë civile. Në aspektin e për pjekjeve të eltitave të mëparshme për të ndryshua rkushtet sociale dhe politike, ndikimini kalon drejtë për drejtë tek organizimi social dhe kulturor, duke ndikuar në vendimmarrjen. Normalisht, funksioni i lëvizjeve sociale dhe shoqërisë civile është i rëndësishëm dhe element bazë në procesin e ndërtimit të një shoqërie demokratike. Duke analizuar shoqërinë civile në Shqipëri, lehtë mund të vihet re mënyra se si ajo vepron dhe bashkëvepron me faktorë të ndryshëm si finaciar, njerëzor dhe teknik, duke ndikuar negativisht në procesin e demokratizimit dhe kontributi i shoqërisë civile në procesin e demokratizimit ka qënë i limituar. Për qëllim analitik diskutimi është i organizuar në dy pjesë kryesore. Pjesa e parë, shqyrton anën teorike si dhe fokusimin në cështjet kryesore, që kanë të bëjnë me qeverinë, shoqërinë, në vendim-marrje për të ndërtuar një qeveri demokratike. Pjesa e dytë analizon shoqërinë civile shqiptar edhe produktin e saj gjatë 'tranzicionit'.

Fjalë kyce: *Demokraci, Tranzicion, Shqipëri, Lëvizje Sociale, Shoqëri Civile*

Dedication

I want to dedicate this work to my family, who has been supporting me all my life to reach this moment. Without their sacrifice I would not be studying at Epoka University.

I also want to dedicate this work to my friends, who have given their moral support, guidance and endless inspiration.

Gilda Hoxha

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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.

Gilda Hoxha

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List of Abbreviations

ACER:	Albanian Centre for Economic Research
ACHR:	Center for Human Rights
AFPA:	Albania Family Planning Association
AHC:	Albanian Helsinki Committee
AHRG:	The Albanian Human Rights Group
AMSHC:	Agjencisa për Mbështetjen e Shoqërisë Civile
ASCS:	The Agency for the Support of Civil Society
AYC:	Albanian Youth Council
CS:	Civil Society
CSI:	Civil Society Index
FPHRFF:	Forum for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
IFAW:	Independent Forum of Albanian Women
NGOs:	Non-governmental Organizations
OSFA:	Women's Programmer in the Open Society Foundation for Albania
REC:	Regional Environmental Centre
SDC:	Society for Democratic Culture
SM:	Social Movement
SMEs:	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
UAW:	Useful to Albanian Women
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund
U.S./U.S.A:	United States of America
WB:	World Bank

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

Social movements as a concept can be understood "as sustained and enduring challenges to political decision makers in order to achieve social change" (Hooghe, 2005, pp. 975-990). Although the outcome of social change usually comes from main contributory factors e.g. a movement or pressure group, some social changes have come from organizations. Some authors agree that social movements should not be only identified exclusively with organizations, because they are supported by other controlling factors that may derail the original intention of the movement, for example: "individual actions, cultural manifestations, opinion leaders and other elements of cultural change" (Hank, 2005, p. 135). However it could be argued that no matter what the social change, it is the movement itself that causes it and it can therefore be suggested that as long as the change is more democratic than before, social changes are crucial to making the change between past and future societies (Ferguson, 1971, p. 89).

It can be emphasized that important political and social changes "in the 19th and 20th centuries were brought by the actions of social movements" and contributions of civil society (Habermas, 2005, p. 24). Examples can be taken from the civil rights movement, women's organizations, the green movements or the protests against authoritarian regimes in Central and Eastern Europe during the'80s. Being part of social movements "is seen as a rational act and a form of participation that is congruent with the prevalence of a democratic political culture" (McAdam and Snow, 2009, p. 44). There are authors consider social movements as necessary tool of social changes and a further democratization. "Social movement participation is now fully accepted as an integrative part of the political action repertoire of ordinary citizens" (McAdam and Snow, 2009, p. 46).

Tarrow offers a concise and useful definition of social movements seeing it as "collective challenges, based on common purposes and solidarities in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities" (Tarrow, 1998, p. 4).

Social movements can be seen in different forms, such as civil rights movements, feminist movements, green movements etc. Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly (1999) lists some forms of protests as: "bus boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides, marches, demonstrations and many other protests and acts of civil disobedience, thousands of people attempted to reinstate a sense of justice in the country" (Giugni, McAdam and

Tilly, 1999, p. 65). This indicates that social movements don't only encourage democratization, they are also essential for it.

Roger Karapin describes and explains that:

> …a social movement is one or more protest groups that engage in sustained collective action against some common opponents and with some common goals. The protest groups in a movement may often act independently of one another and may mobilize different or overlapping constituencies (Karapin, 2007, p. 20).

The movements' issues have been various according to Pippa Norris:

> … including war, social policies, women's rights, civil rights, the natural environment, nuclear energy, ethnic rights, international economic policies, immigration etc. The nature of the protests and their outcomes were varied and complex. Protest rank represent new forms of political participation, raised new issues, enlivened public debates, and influenced policy reforms. Protesters also used violence, made anti-system demands, and provoked authorities to escalate their repressive responses (Norris, 2005, p. 21).

In Albanian case authors did not studied before social movement and civil society as an important element through democratization process. Which is also point of view for this study and for this reason, difficulties in lack of literature was faced working in this thesis. Protest against authoritarian regimes in Central and Eastern Europe and an active civil society made possible a safe way through democratization process, this is an example were civil society helped building democracy process.

On the other hand, as cited by Mcmahon (2001), Gordon White (1994) in his article claims that:

> …the rehabilitation of 'civil society' as a term of political and social scientific discourse can be traced to its role in explaining the crisis of the developmental state, providing an intellectual rationale for attacks on state power and identifying the political forces leading these struggles. The term came to prominence in the context of the rise of social movements against communist states in Eastern Europe in the late 1970s and early 1980s, most notably Solidarity in Poland and a variety of oppositional groups in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia(Mcmahon, 2001, p. 251).

Furthermore, Mcmahon analysis that:

> Indeed, there is a certain paradox in outsiders seeking to build or strengthen civil society in East Central Europe. As the voluntary associational realm that lies between the family and the state, civil society organizations, by definition, are created and sustained because of citizens' interests and support. Given the traditional grass-roots trajectory of civil society, external actors must take

great care to ensure that a domestic advocacy network is created. This network includes three main components: support among local elites, autonomous, contextually rooted organizations, and culturally specific ideas (Mcmahon, 2001, pp. 45-68).

Moreover, there are more literatures highlighting the important role of individuals as well as social movements within a society. For example, Ferguson says that "although advocacy groups are outside mainstream politics and activists are the political entrepreneurs pushing for change, shifts in domestic policy are most likely when activists create political opportunities for elites to support their cause" (Ferguson, 1971, p. 67).

Mcmahon concludes that "[a] domestic advocacy network, at the least, requires attempts by political entrepreneurs to create incentives for decision-makers to proclaim themselves supporters of women's issues and elevate this issue on the domestic agenda" (Mcmahon, 2001, pp. 45-68).

Normally there is an efficient connection between democratization process and social movements. As it was mentioned above in Easter Europe where social moments and efficiency of civil society were present during the democratization process, these countries were able to build a strong state institutions and including liberal democracy principles.

In Albania's case social movements did not have the same effect as in Western societies. There are small yet very important situations where Albanian society has become engaged with and related to social movements. Firstly, in 1990 students were mobilized to react against the government and eventually they achieved their goals, secondly in November 2013 so-called 'Second November' movement achieved an influence over government decision making. Detailed analysis for Albanian society will be explained in chapters three and four. Because of the limited inefficiency of civil society and social movements in Albania, the democratic transition it is facing problems and it is slow comparing with other Eastern countries.

Objectives of this research are:

1- To evaluate the role of social movements in the democratization process; new forms of participation in decision-making; file reports, legal measures guaranteeing non-conventional forms of participation, such as the Constitution of Albania, the Law on Use of Gathering (Ligji për Tubimet) No.8773, Date 23.4.2001.

2- To examine how the concept of protests in Albania is involved during the 'transition' and its influence on democratic governance building.

This research will be conducted predominantly in Albania, however in order to improve reliability as well as validity a theoretical approach will be considered first and various examples will be employed in order to compare Albania's case with other countries' experiences. The first part examines a theoretical approach and focuses on key issues that relate to the government, civil society and social movements. The second part examines Albanian society and its product during the 'transition' and its influence on decision-making, in reference to the first normative and theoretical part.

1.1 Research Question

The research question that will be raised is: What are the reasons for the limited influence of Civil Society and Social Movements during democratization process in Albania?

By answering this question, the main goal of this study will be achieved: To demonstrate the importance of social movements and civil society within the democratization process. To be clearer about the goal of this study, additional question will be addressed:

What are the factors that come together along with civil society in the democratization process, in Albania?

1.2 Literature Review

As generally being accepted social movements are considered as continuous and significant challenge to political apparatus aiming some form of social change. Current Western social movements came to be popular and a part of life within the education system and students alike and lead to increased mobility of labor due to the urbanization of 19th century societies. It could be argued that freedom of expression, education and comparative commercial autonomy prevalent in the present Western political sophistication are accountable for the unprecedented number and scope of present social movements. Whichever method, it is clear that there is a relationship between the history

of social movements and some of today's more open-minded governmental systems. Occasionally, social movements have been encompassed in the democratizing of states, but mostly they have flourished after democratization. Over the past 200 years, social movements have come to be an accepted form of expression, identifying possible political and global dissent due to the increase in social movements, either this or people are becoming more conscious of the society they live in. Current movements frequently use knowledge and the internet to mobilize people globally. Adapting to interactive trends is a public theme amid prosperous movements. This research study aims to discover how advocacy relates to social movements in Albania by the use of the mass media to enable civic assurance and collective action. The reason for this research study is due to the fascinating nature of social movements and the influence it has on politics. This research should establish how social movements operate in specific societies and their influencing factors as this seems an essential part of the studies of political science. Work and research of this nature should be helpful to academic studies and useful for future reference, as long as social movements are considered to be vital in policymaking, whether for a particular state or internationally. This thesis aims to comprehend the effects of social movements in the democratization process. This study will mainly focus on Albania as a case study in order to analyze effectively the relationship between social movements leading to and supporting the democratization process. The time period in which this scrutiny will be focused is specifically during 1990 and onwards, because in this specific period of time the so-called social movements played an important role in Eastern Europe, including Albania, societies' perceptions and political thoughts had a direct influence on the decision-making process. Social movements are particular forms of collective behavior whose motive is to act together in large groups for a main attitude and target, typically acting within a free organization framework (Crossley, 2002, p .4). This requirement of commitment may indicate why social movements can encourage democracy, if citizens need a social change in some way and their commitment is one of the most important contributory forces pushing for change, and then it is likely they will support the movement until it is implemented. Herbert Blumer defines social movements as:

> collective enterprise seeking to establish a new order of life because their inception is a condition
> of development towards their power of motive from dissatisfaction with the current form of life or
> from their wishes and hopes for a new system of living. In order to distinguish movements from
> forms of collective action, such as panics or mass hysteria, which react to conditions of collective

discontent but does not seek to rebuild social life in such a way as to resolve whatever is at the root of the problem (Blumer, 1957,p. 99).

He also describes main characteristics of these social movements as follows:

Members of such movements have a clear aim on the concerning to share beliefs and solidarity, they are characterized by a low degree of institutionalization, high heterogeneity, a lack of clearly defined boundaries and decision making structures, a volatility matched by few other phenomena (Blumer, 1957, p. 37).

The aim of social movements is to build a new system of living, creating change from collective actions rather than some political action where the aim is to gain power rather than actual change. Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani (2000) agree that social movements are:

a) Informal networks based on

b) Shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilize about,

c) Conflictual issues, through and

d) The frequent use of various forms of protest (Della Porta & Diani, 2000, pp. 279-281)

Modern social science sees social movements and political-citizenships as core concepts of social changes (Heijden, 2014, pp. 1-22). Most contemporary social movement scholars have taken the late 1960s as the starting point for their research endeavors (Tarrow, 1994; McAdam and Klandermans, 2012; Della Porta and Caiani, 2009). At that time students campaigned for university reforms, civil rights, gender equality, environmental issues and these issues were *center- stage* among the movements: That later would be called 'new social movements' and these movements would play a pivotal role in the further development of the concept of political citizenship (Dalton R, 2008, pp. 76-98). Besides, within the last 50 years concept of 'new social movements' and citizenship have become part of non-Western countries, including the former communist bloc. Those who focus on social movements have concentrated largely on how and why they engage, and on the dynamics within them, but not necessarily on their contribution to realizing substantive citizenship rights or to building and deepening responsive, more democratic forms of governance (Gaventa, 2010, pp. xi-xii). Until the 1960s social movements were seen as irrational forms and unorganized social behavior.

As Charles Tilly (2004) pointed out, political scientists became aware that the specific features of an individual political system decisively impinged on the action repertoires, forms of organization, as well as on the successes of these movements and non-conventional or even radical action could be effective in one political context, it could be counterproductive in another one (Tilly, 2004, p. 36). This suggests that depending on the state citizens are trying to change or possibly devolve away from may affect the methods and strategies that can be used by social movement groups. This is why it is important to do a case by case analysis and delve into the specifics of Albania's democratization process. From this point of view, social movements can be seen as a non-conventional form of participatory democracy and being part of decision-making. This case study will have an Albanian perspective and focus on evaluating the degree to which the specific social movements that occurred during the time period specified earlier affected the state and provided the necessary changes for Albanian citizens. This research seeks to investigate the causes and consequences of social movements based on previous studies, books and academic research of countries in central Europe, like Germany and Poland. Previous researches demonstrate that social movements have been part of a chain reaction or "cluster" effect on building a strong democratic tradition, but for countries like Albania, where social movements were fragile, appear to have difficulties building a democratic system. Based on various studies on the social movements, the changes caused by the social movements can be assessed on different stages of the decision-making process as it can be:

a) The emergence of new issues,

b) A draft of the new legislation,

c) The effects of public policies on improving the conditions of the social groups which supports social movements (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998, p. 220).

Civil society has an important role in supporting the implementation period of democratic laws which have been caused by social movements. What we understand by civil society is: "a sphere of social interaction between the household and the State, which is manifested in the norms of community cooperatives, structures of voluntary association and networks of public communication" (Ghaus-Pasha, 2006, p. 212). Civil society has been known as the 'third' sector (of society) and "is seen as an increasingly important agent for promoting features of good governance. The role of civil society includes identifying unaddressed problems and bringing them to public attention, protecting basic human rights, and giving a voice to a wide range of political, environmental, social and

community interests and concerns" (Ghaus-Pasha, 2006, p. 214). In this sense social movements and the wider civil society mostly share common goals. For the purposes of this study, in chapter three and four both of the concepts 'new social movements' and 'civil society' will be studied. Alongside this aspect it is important to define two key moments in Albania's political history, considering Western and Eastern perspectives. In some countries social movements was a key factor for the destruction of communist systems, as it was in Poland' case, but in other former communist countries, social movements and civil society played a minimal role. It can be asserted with confidence that social movements become essential only after the transition to the democratic systems. Civil society in Poland, in 1980 during the communist system worked alongside the opposition and in the early transition developments they would share common goals and share similar morals which lead to clear, shared objectives, collaborating with places that had shared interests and goals like Hungary, East Germany and former Czechoslovakia. It could be argued that one of the largest successes a social movement had was in 1989 with the fall of Berlin wall. Formative stages of civil society in Poland are important, as it became an example for neighboring countries. With this example it is clear that citizens actively participating in social movements can ultimately create change. The people of Poland were committed to making this change and as stated earlier, commitment is the necessary tool to create social and civil changes. "This process began in Poland with the emergence of Solidarity in 1980 and in Hungary it gained momentum in the late 1980s. These two societies are now in the process of building new social, political and economic systems" as Janina Zagorska stated in her analysis (Zagorska, J, 1990, pp. 579-777).

During the transition phase three important processes have been occurring in almost all former communist countries.

1. It was social pluralism that would challenge the old system
2. The democratization of the old society
3. The inclusion of various parts of society, thereby increasing the participation of civil society.

All this is reflected by today's society, where there is almost no difference in political, social and civic level between the majority of Western and Eastern countries in Europe. Poland, Hungary etc. are united with Western culture and are seen as Western models of

democracy to countries like Albania, Macedonia or Bosnia. There is no doubt that today's societies have undergone a major transformation. In Western democracies, under the impact of mass media, corporatization and political associations, the public sphere, as an arena of democratic legitimacy, has shrunk.

1.3 Methodology

The entire study will keep its political science stance and use relevant resources. With regards to the observed data there will be secondary sources including books and articles, which will be used throughout this thesis. These books, materials and scientific articles have been obtained in several ways, for example, intensive research in the archives of various institutions of government, the foreign ministry archives, interior ministry archives or Albanian State archives. The research problem is to investigate the causes and consequences of social movements on key study country. According to the studies, countries in Central Europe, like Germany, Poland shows to us that social movements and civil society have been a factor on building a strong tradition of democracy. But for the countries like Albania, where social movements were poor on their activities has a slow democratic transition. Research approach is quantitative and in the function for the research purpose the archival strategy is chosen based on one case study, Albania.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Approach to Civil Society and Social Movements

2.1 Introduction

This chapter's focus is on the general definition of civil society and social movement and the various uses of two concepts. In order to understand and analyze social movements and their role in the democratization process, this chapter will first examine the theoretical approach to social movements and how citizens understand them in today's modern society. This chapter will also evaluate the historical trajectory of the concept of civil society and social movements. Discussion will present required analysis to understand the society and politics, how social movements are related to the policy making and what is their relationship in modern society. This chapter will focus on three key points.

1. Estimating the position of the social movements as a challenge to institutional policy. Issues dividing lines that define 'political' and distinct it from the 'private' (moral or economic) is the main point while the role of social movement in this issue is based mostly on European countries.
2. The research deals with the identity of new social movements, based on economic, political and cultural changes.
3. To understand social movements as a public space and as a tool of participation. The last part will underline the new forms of participation in decision-making, conventional and non-conventional forms.

2.2 Modern Approach of Social Movements and Civil Society: Towards Institutional Policy

Political sociologists and many political scientists have analyzed the structures and dynamics of the changing policies in Western Europe. It is clear that during the 1970s the political sphere and non-political sphere of social life were mixed. Analytical usefulness of the relationships between the 'state' and 'civil society' was not defined properly. Thus, the process of interaction and fusion between these two groups were observed not only on the level of socio-political rules on a global scale, but also on a societal scale, as the first actors and element in policymaking. Issues separating the lines were defining the 'political' sphere from the 'private' one (moral or economic). It developed at least a

political model for Western societies which were very different and radical. Since, the mid-70s, a number of conservative analyses have described these actions as very dangerous cycles, which could lead to erosion of political authority or even by having the capacity to govern. To prevent this danger according to them they need to divide economic spheres from political interventions. In this sense, it can be argued that the basic cultural 'autonomy' and structural aesthetic, science and technology, family, religion and the labor market are eroded to a degree that only a specified political definition of rules and resource that could help 'civil society' to survive. This concept of politics takes a reflexive dimension even if politics is focused on what is considered political or not. The research seeks to challenge and redefine the restrictive conservative politics, the opposite of which is required to support the market, family and science. Despite a clear opposition made to the content of the neo-conservative projects, even new politics of social movements share more important remarks to supporters on any analytical level. This critical attitude is as follows: "conflicts and contradictions towards developing industrial society cannot be solved with meaningful and promising regularization of policy and increasingly inclusion of claims and issues in the agenda of bureaucratic authorities" (Popper, 1995, p. 98). However, despite the presence of analytical premise of the same neo-conservative policies the politics of social movements takes the opposite direction. The neo-conservative research seeks to restore the non-political foundations, civil society incontrovertible (as property, market, work ethics, and family), in order to provide a more limited space and therefore the stable sphere of political authority (Beetham, 2005, p. 72). The outcome of this goal is to re-establish civil society in order to allow no more dependency on the operation, control, regularization issues. In order to secede and be released from the state, civil society and its labor, production, distribution, family relationships, relationship with nature, will conclude its own standards of rationality and progress-will needs to be politicized through practices that belong to an intermediate realm between the only 'private' interests prosecution and institutional policy. The 'new' policy of so called new social movements can be analyzed as any other policy, in terms of its support given social issues, values and its important action mode. The term 'political paradigm' is a qualification comprising the issues mentioned below:

Firstly, must be distinguished from the 'old' paradigm that was dominant during the entire period after the Second World War with the 'new' paradigm based on the criteria

defined by Inglehart and Welzel (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, p. 20). *The second* issue explains the reasons people have the emergence of a new paradigm and what are the different interpretations and explanations presented today. This brief summary of values, actors and institutions of the 'old politics represents the right context to compare the issues of the 'new paradigm'. The literature deals with new movements emphasizing separations lack of continuity by using terms such as 'new protest movement', 'new policy', 'new populism' etc. or by describing the meaning of these movements operate as 'non-conventional' (Ross, 2002, p. 20). New movements politicized the topics which couldn't be easily adapted within the dual conceptions of the universe of social action that is supported by liberal theory. While the liberal theory implies that the actions are categorized as either 'private' or 'public', new social movements is part of the categorization of intermediate issues. Action space is the new space while non-institutional policy is not related to the doctrines and practices of liberal democracy of the state welfare (Rousseau, 2012, pp. 44-46). Only those social movements that have these two features carry a political dimension. The purpose of these social movements does not aim to gain recognition of their specific values to transform them into compelling for a broad community, but can simply be allowed to enjoy their rights and freedoms. Even in the case of any conflict between cultural values and emphasizing forms of life with those of different communities, these movements did not aim to overthrow the community values, but drown into the private sphere where they can practice their styles. Despite the private matters or private struggles, new social movements related to political institutions, aims to realize their objectives in order to affect the general society, not only narrow social groups. Some characteristics of the new social movements are launched by the criteria of values, issues, mode of action and actors. Prevailing issues of the new social movements are summarized in the problematic of territory, space action and concretely some are related to body, health, sexual identity, the city and surrounding environment, cultural heritage, ethnicities or national identity, cultural, and national physical conditions of life but mainly the survival of life and the survival of humanity as a whole (Johnston, 2004, p. 30). Even they may seem different and not a logical relation to each other, they have common roots, which will be treated later as the 'new' one but will be given a new importance and attention to the various issues of the new social movements (Della Porta & Caiani, 2009, p. 12). The other element of this new paradigm is the way of action and new social profits. This is mainly related to two aspects: the ways in which individuals act together to build a community of acting collectively (internal mode of action) and the

methods through which they face the outside world and their opponents (external mode of action). *The first* is explained by the social term which indicates ways through which majority of individuals are transformed into collective actress even it is quite informal and egalitarian, in the context of action and not being uniform. While studying these programs, platforms, official, staff, new social movements which are composed of participants, representative, volunteers and donors networks. Typical for their internal action are new social movements that are considered to be in contrast with traditional forms of political organization and for this reason the research does not rely on differing on leadership and members, person of internal and external position. In contrast, it seems to have a mixture between public and private roles, community cooperation and organization. With regard to the external mode of action, the research noticed the presence of tactics demonstration and other forms of usage of physical presence of a large number of people. These protesting tactics and mobilization aims to attract the attention of wider public through the legal means, although it is 'non-conventional'. Generally, groups of mobilized activists considers their-selves more as a group of protection and support of a single issue rather than as integrated group that leaves space for a variety of beliefs and legitimacy among the protesters. This approach also emphasizes the non-negotiable and the nature of their demands. Social movements interact with other political actors and opponents not through negotiation, compromise gradual reforms or improvements, but on behalf of what is qualified as desirable or tolerance, victory or loss, to be achieved now or should not happen ever. Such logic is unlikely to allow gradual tactics or political exchanges. Furthermore social movements do not possess whole ideological principles and overall interpretation of the world of which may emerge as image of a proper regulation and desirable society and therefore steps should be taken to achieve this transformation. Finally, regarding the actresses of new social movements, the most important aspect is that they do not rely on traditional dual politics codes (left/right, conservative/liberal)or in similar socioeconomic codes (working class/ middle class, poor/rich, rural/urban) (Lipset S, 1960, p. 89). Universe of political conflict or codified placed in separate categories derived from issues as gender, age, location, environmental or pacifist movement mostly human race in general. In order to be fair and accurate, lack of persistence is stated in terms of importance for socio-economic criteria (like class) and political (ideology), which is indicated in self-identification of new social movements, which is part of the 'cloud' that these movements (singling out the 'old' movements) do not imply in any way in the base form of social and political practices. These movements

are actually known as amorphous or heterogeneous. In terms of social-structural composition, the new social movements are carriers of the new paradigm; widely accepted social layer where roots have occupied the new social movements is known as the new middle class. The signifier of the new middle class is the fact that there seems to include structural determinant, clear terms of the individuals involved in these movements but the requirements are not specific to a particular class. Furthermore they have a universal character (like environment, peace, civil rights), but can display special features substantially for particular groups, mostly determined by location, age or the impact of certain practices and institutions of state.

2.3 Characteristics and Types of New Social Movements

Social and political movements during the '60s can be grouped into the following characteristics. Some of these characteristics have their continuity in the future, developed a genuine ideology of their own or blended smoothly into the new social movements of the '90s. Some other features remained the same as they were in that period; some die or will be incorporated into their original political purpose called transforming from social movement power to political objectives. According to Heywood (2013) "[t]he alternative system of classification is based on the status that groups have in relation to government and the strategies they adopt in order to exert pressure" (Heywood, 2013, p. 248). Nowadays the concept of interest groups deals directly with political process, linking the decision of public interest and preferences of individuals that consequently influence the society where these individuals live and operate as social agents. The relationship between social and political sphere is precisely happening because of the concept of social mobilization: individual preferences transformed into political interest only when interests are mobilized into interest groups. In the mobilization process, the functional group is quite different from that of the parties. If the parties involved in the aggregation of requirements aimed to convince people and getting power or public functions, aims at groups of interest articulation, formulation of policy requirements and aims to achieve the fulfillment of particular interested groups (Williams, 2008, p. 10). However, noting the difference between social movements, and other behavioral traits even collective interest groups will not overlap time after time. To illustrate this is indicated the relation of social movements and non-conventional actions of crowds. Crowds appear spontaneously and they are distributed spontaneously, but action of crowds can come due to a prior planning, organizing and bargaining. In such cases the crowds or the known gatherings are

organized by social movements as part of their repertoire of action to dramatize their repertoire of actions, sometimes even to dramatize their grievance and lobbying. In the same way, social movements and interest groups can be connected each other at the moment when they happen, in terms of who collaborate to advance a common interest. Moreover, more developed and lengthy social movements are more numerous with many changes that they can take an institutional of political parties or interest groups. As it happens, social movements tolerably overlap with some forms of collective behavior, which includes actors or collective action that can be reconciled with social movements. It is almost certain that interested groups like Christian Coalition or some social movements of Pro-life have similarities in relation with the interests and objectives, but on the other side there are quite distinct differences still. Primarily, interest groups are defined within a report or relations with government or institutional governance (Jack & Walker, 1991, p. 123) while the importance of social movements and interest groups goes beyond the governance system including institutional and other authorities. Flowingly, in many cases where social movements are centered to the ruling system as state-oriented their back positions attitude is different. In statement of Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly (1999): "Interest groups are generally embedded within the political arena and in most of the cases are seen as legitimate actors. Social movements, on the other side are generally outside governmental systems" (Giugni, McAdam, and Tilly, 1999, p. 145), by remaining outside the political system or overlapping quite fragile system of institutional governance, because the movement does not have the same access to opportunities for action and political system as interest groups have. Lastly, interest groups achieve their goals through institutional means, such as lobbying or trying to find supporters and sponsors, while social movements achieve their goals through non-institutional means as boycotts, marchers or other forms of protesting events. Thus, social movements can operate within a system authentically by institutional arena to influence the platforms of political parties, but generally their repertoires of actions are oriented towards extra-institutional lines of action. Quoting analysis of William Gamson that:

> interest groups and social movements are not clearly politically oriented or different types but they are part of the same type by having different position in relation to the system of government and state (Gamson, 1991, pp. 27-50).

This different attitude is enough with the produce a set of strategies and action different behavior and consequently different collective behavior. On the other side, an

organization of social movement is a structured organization which identifies its goal with the goal of social movements and tries to achieve these goals. These social organizations represented important interests within and different preferences or different purposes (Zalad & McArthur, 1977, p. 13). In all forms of manifestation of the collective behavior, despite overlapping or non-overlapping them, it remains an important element of mobilization. Mobilization process can be developed in different ways. In undeveloped political system doesn't have specialized structures of the mobilization of the groups of interest. Residents of small villages must express their concerns and their disinterests.

Four types of group interest:

1. Anomic group which measures disorganization, spontaneous expression of protest and complaints, which grow rapidly and is quickly extinguished.
2. Non-structured which are groups are based on common interest perceived as race, religion, language or profession.
3. Institutionalized groups which are based on party organizations, associations, legislative bodies, armed forces, etc. Formal organizations have a complex structure, but structured according to its functions and interest.
4. Associated interest groups (in the form of associations), are specialized structures which formulate the interests specifically designed and represents the interests of special group (Shively, 1993, p. 235).

Thus, one best example of social movements during '60s is feminist movements, which changed the world's politics. Before the modern history tell us that thought, social organization and establishment of a system of social values prevailing by God. So, in this period as historical documents attest system and the spread of knowledge was organized by religious institutions, primarily by Church. Only after years in Europe in 1300 when the term 'modern' label developments and changes of time separated from the previous structures. On one hand most radical feminist, see the feminist movements not simply gender equality, as a movement to gain civil rights, but that before it was understood as a movement for gender equality, it should show what means sexism (Hook, 2000, p. 17). Increasing awareness of feminist revolutionary stressed the importance of learning on patriarchy as a system dominating as it was institutionalized, as was gained and continued to be preserved. How male domination is seen in everyday life. This made it possible for women to be aware on how they prey, how they were used etc. Movements based on cultural character had an important role on social movement studies. In the '60s the whole world was experiencing a period of change, in music, in movies and in arts in general.

Although, in two completely opposite direction, with a cultural movements in this period the research found most prominent in U.S.A. and China, the first country (U.S.A.) to find a cultural movement which aims to create a break with tradition, whereas the second movement propagated top-down, with the creation of communist 'human hooked'. In U.S.A, the economic boom after the war has carried with them a desire for change, for breaking with traditions outside the framework of the youth or the baby-boom generation (Lifschin, 2003, p. 17). This kind of desire would be exemplified most clearly in those years hippie movement, a movement characterized by the ideal of brotherhood, peace and equality. The ideals of these movements coincide with those of other American movements like anti-racial discrimination and that the anti-Vietnam War which was increasingly being added until started living in communities. This movement combined with the current rock and roll of those periods, it had its symbols, its outfits, but there was not a clearly defined ideology. The term 'counterculture' used for these movements seems to be the best description. They were imposed against traditional of everything up to that time, but not the precise demonstrated an alternative way of living. In Europe, disenchantment about Marxism stimulated the development of perspective 'new social movement' (Dalton, 2008) which focused on the increasingly prominent structural bases of conflict. Studying social movements this period of time emerged concept like 'American' and 'European'. Although developed simultaneously and in same time, they are in close contrast with each-other. The student movements in the late '60s, in Europe and the other accompanied with the following (from the feminist movements and ecological ones) exhibit different characteristics on both continents. In the United States current organization arising from the protests had taken quickly a pragmatic shape, in most of the times structured as interested groups. In contrast in Europe, the social movements that were developed had received numerous characteristics of national labor movements, with strong levels of ideological and forms pronounced against the system, for example labor protest anti-Margaret Thatcher government policies, in the United Kingdom (Lee & McBride, 2007, p. 44). In a more specified way types of social movements can be like this: *Reform movement:* movements supporting changing a little norms or laws. *New movements*: movements that came to be strongly influential during the second half of the 20th century, such as the feminist movement, pro-choice movement, civil rights movement, environmental movement etc. They are normally concentrated on subjects that go beyond but are not distinct from class.

2.4 Conventional and non-Conventional Forms of Participation

In fact, "social movements/civil society use persuasion to coercion those are often new, dramatic and legally questionable method" (Gramsci, 2011). According to the principles of representative democracy, government decisions can be challenged inside in parliament by the opposition in a short period; or approved in subsequent elections, by the citizens themselves. Above all, ranging from the 70s, always groups representing broader citizens have added value to the other forms of pressure on governments. We respect the laws and decisions of thought not right, or illegal, these citizens were driven forms of action are characterized by their extremism. According to an important research led by Samuel Barnes and Max Kaase, above all starting from the 70s: "a new set of political activities is joining political repertoire of citizens" (Norris, 2005, p. 7). Conventional forms of participation, to lend services to a community, to develop activities for a party or a candidate, to develop works of obedience in society by directing the allocation of votes, participation in public meetings, contacting officials - a long list of non- conventional forms is attached, which includes petitions signatures, authorized participation in events, participation in boycotts, refusal to pay taxes or rents, online catching - in, blocking traffic and strikes participation. These new forms seem to be legitimate: In advanced industrial societies, the techniques of direct political action does not bring stigma of deviance. As Norris conclude: "Non-conventional forms of participation are seen as anti-systemic in their direction" (Norris, 2005, p. 638). The increase in political participation forms appear as a peculiar elongated democratic public opinion. Powering protests is a process with indirect impact, through the means of communication and some groups equipped with more power. As can be observed from the outside, they should not have power, if they want to pass policy in their favor, to mobilize solidarity groups equipped with more power. Protest constituency are based directly interested in public policy presents a leadership, which leads protest actions and maintains relationships with outside. Mass communication tools to spread messages that are directed above all, public reference to public decision-makers, where the latter are the real purpose of the protest. A second important characteristic defines, besides protest, in conjunction with other forms of intervention, the so-called decision-makers. As Lipset has observed the protest is a political resource for groups "without power" (Lipset, 1960, p. 30), i.e. free to share resources directly to those who take public decisions. Researcher may agree on that protest is a symbolic and/or physical expression of dissent to something or somebody

(Barnes, Kaase, & *et al*, 1979, p. 65). In political life, some groups exist for the very purpose of protesting, or they at least use protest as a key mechanism to get their voices heard (Dalton, 2008, p. 677). This, for example, applies to Greenpeace, which is, according to various surveys, one of the best-known and most trusted associations in contemporary societies. Other groups, for example an association of fishermen or an automobile club, typically rely on other means to pursue their interests. Yet they may use protest occasionally or as a last resort. Accordingly, the kinds of groups that protest vary greatly, ranging from an informal citizen initiative to a big, hierarchical association to a radical political party. Even a government may resort to protest, for example by sending a written critical note to another government. In addition to the kinds of actors, the content, aims, levels, and forms of political protest also vary extremely. Protest can refer to any political and social issue that is debated and contested, whether it is an utterance of a political leader, an administrative directive, or a political regime as a whole. The aim of protest can be narrow or broad, reformist or revolutionary, realistic or utopian etc.

2.5 Conclusion

As conclusion in this chapter is understandable that politics and political actions consist of many dynamic interactions between groups and structures to build and reinvent themselves in a process of creation and destruction. Fragmentation of a social structure goes parallel with the process of integration and dynamic growth of a new social structure. It can be seen as a conflict or confrontation between groups and social structures according to some views, while on other perspectives can be converted to the establishment of a community and brings social uniform. Conflicts created from antagonistic factions or groups are not only mechanisms which these grouping appear, but also appear by becoming consciously political groups and could create a new socio-political order (Popper, 1966, p. 67). Meanwhile, creation of a community, the approval, moral and intellectual exercise of a leadership within a particular group involved helps it to continue fight for power and benefits. The arrival of democratic revolution, in some cases, was not successful, predicted a significant difference in the forms of political organization and had a huge impact the way the concept of civil society was understood.

Chapter Three: Civil Society and Social Movements in Albania

3.1 Introduction

Chapter four evaluates social movements as an important factor in the democratization process in Albania. Albania's historical, economic and social conditions were not favorable for developing and encouraging social movements and for this reason, social movements have been weak in their activity and achieving their goals. Because of these conditions social movements in Albania took a lot longer to achieve their goals, and they were even influenced by regional political conditions. The most important movement was in 1990 and was the so-called 'Student movement' where the goal was initially to improve living conditions in their dormitories, however this initial concept progressed into the social movement that ultimately reformed and changed the regime. Suggesting that social movements no matter the amount of time they take, they will eventually affect the state. This notion also supports the concept mentioned earlier that it is necessary to be dedicated to the cause rather than have a formal membership, as this is the driving factor for change. As it may be known before 1990 Albania was under an authoritarian regime, everything was controlled by the state. So for this reason this chapter will focus on a specific period of Albanian society: After 1990 and until the present day. Even though Albania has been living for 24 years under a democratic regime, society still is not able to build a strong, informed reaction to the decisions being made. The general public still fails to hold the people in power accountable for their decisions that affect the country. This lack of accountability leads to a lack of transparency within the governing bodies and ultimately can lead to a corrupt government which is arguably the most undemocratic system. Ultimately this shows that if people were more interactive with social movements and more aware of the decision making process then this would lead to a more democratic government being held to account by the people that elect them as representatives. To understand all of these reasons this chapter will be divided into four parts, the first part will deal the historical background of Albanian society with a focus on social movements' point of view. The second part will explain the legal framework during the transition process. Thirdly, a detailed analysis will be given on political, economic and social conditions of Albania in the '90s and the last part will discuss the current situation of the Civil Society in Albania.

3.2 Historical Background

Based on Albanian political studies, the leading political analyst in Albania, Dr. Afrim Krasniqi, examined civil society in Albania in three different phases. The first phase coincides with the end of World War II, in 1944. The history of Albania's associations with various non-governmental, also known as Non-Governmental Organization, began in the late nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a handicraft was produced before the civil society, such as foundations, schools, media outlets, religious organizations etc. All together these organizations have political leaders, religious and cultural nationalists involved. Some of them were created outside the country, especially in the U.S.A, Great Britain, and France etc. All of their work focused on the organization of cultural and political activities and in some cases would open language courses and schools, as well as various newspaper publications. In this way, it can be suggested that the history of the first Albanian state is closely related to the existence of non-governmental organizations that became influential in civil society. The reason for their survival is due to numerous political crises during the period after the declaration of Independence, there was the benefit of their financial and cultural capacity increasing through help from the Albanian Diaspora, but the fact that those participating in these activities in many cases took on the role of the state and replacing it with its own institutions with their own motives could lead one to believe that the fact that these non-elected bodies were governing the progression of a newly independent Albania means that the democratization process was stunted from the beginning. Within official Albanian borders two 'Western' areas exist, Shkodra in the north, which was under the influence of Austrians and Italians, as well as in South Korça, which was temporarily named as 'French Autonomous Republic'. These Western influences played a major role in the development of these areas and consequently the development of some elements of the Albanian civil society (Krasniqi, 2004, p. 66). And enhanced the development time, despite authoritarian and non-democratic systems these Western (represent the best example of liberal democracies) influences have led to the development of some of the elements within civil society. The second phase takes place within the period 1945-1990, the communist period, and the third phase coincides with the change of the political system in 1991 and continues today. It should be kept in mind that studying the social movements must consider social, political and cultural conditions of their times. Elements of civil society theoretically existed, but in practice there was almost no free NGO as they

were under strict political control of the state party, PPSH. During communism, the party-state was the law, the supreme regulator of the country's affairs and of people's life. The leader relied on the 'moral code' of the Albanian system to construct and maintain a network of loyal supporters. In such a centralized system, the collective values of the *Fis* (kinship) were adapted to the (new) Communist priorities, where the party became the sole focus of loyalty in society. Civil society was 'protected' by the state (Prato, 2010, p. 9). All independent and intellectual organizations, liberal or opposition were imprisoned or exiled. Social organizations, intellectual or representation of society were allowed to operate only under strict government control. The impact of government control created a 'new man' model which meant that criticism for the leading political Party is not permitted; political decisions must be accepted unanimously. It is arguable that this suffocated all social movements, the lack of freedom of expression prevented the Albanian people from being allowed to create any political and social change therefore it could be suggested that a lack of social movements allows a government to centralize their power and become undemocratic. Nevertheless, 1967 marked the peak of control of society by the party-state, meaning religious institutions were not allowed. In this time the regime of the Soviet model created for newspaper and magazines for every group, profession or age. In these conditions it was difficult controlling the talk of civil society activity. The difference between the form of the dictatorship and one-party system regime is essential as regards the relations between state and society, than the social contract. A one-party state allows a 'kind of negotiation' contract between society and the state, whereas in the case of dictatorship and Albania was claimed and does not allow communication via social contract (Rakipi, 2010, p.5). During the communist regime when the participation of citizens in public debate was much weaker, the regime's intention was, not to allow self-organization without party-state control. After all, if people can't come together, they can't organize, and if they can't organize they definitely can't mobilize and create any change whatsoever. The third phase coincides with the period after the fall of communism, after 1990. The collapse of the communist system in Albania unlike in other former communist Eastern European countries did not benefit from a swift and effective democratization process due to a lack of politically active citizens encouraging social change. Unlike other former communist countries that embraced the notion and essence of 'civil society' in Albania it had little to no role or importance in the early stages of democracy in Albania. Firstly, Albanian opposition engages mostly Euro-Atlantic integration, protection of human rights and economic

reform. Only in March 1991 were civil rights thought about and discussed. This is best illustrated by the first elections and electoral campaigns in 1991 where you can see clearly the difficulty in trying to spread new ideas and encourage people to participate in change. In these circumstances, where there was no freedom and independence in thought and actions, a lack of public debate as previously claimed, ultimately lead to the expectations of changing and building a civil society to be minimal (Krasniqi, 2004, p. 38). However these minimal changes combined with democratization meant that society headed in a new direction with new social objectives, norms and values. Developments in Central and Eastern Europe resulted from constant attention and focus being placed on the countries leadership, which as a result created social movements against undemocratic governance bringing the governments' undemocratic methods to collapse. The most important consequences and rapid system change was the creation of a new report between state and individual. With the fall of the communist system a new era began and led to the withdrawal of the state from the lives of individuals and the public sphere become more transparent. Newspapers began to be published before the opposition political parties were formed, which although under the function of the respective parties, new media can be said to be characterized by the unlimited freedom. This change would be a more stressful process for everyone in Albania, more than in other former communist countries, due to the lack of trust, security and stability, in addition to the economic crisis. Only after 1992, did the institutions of the state begin to regain security due to the democratic methods used to develop said institutions. Confidence and optimism for the future of the estate institutions characterized Albania's years during this part of their democratization timeline, but a lack of knowledge of the new reforms, such as tax reforms, became noticeable and the role and functions of non-governmental organization and other groups, became the voice of civil society (Kocani, 2013). On the other hand, these non-governmental organizations would not be able to respond to citizens' demands and needs. Analyzing the situation of the time, with new developments and economic policy, it can be said that the growth of social and economic needs of citizens with disabilities created a challenge for the government and they were arguably forgotten, people with disabilities were considered a problem of the family not of the state. In these conditions, the role of civil society and its individual institutions would remain limited. This leads to a situation where the links between the state and civil society are extremely limited and strained due to the lack of care the state gives to its citizens, which can hinder progressive social change. It is arguable that the vulnerable in society have more

difficulty in gaining positive social change for their needs. The role of civil society and civil engagement leads to people pursuing their own interests and ignoring the needs of others (Krasniqi, 2004, p. 44).

3.3 The Legal Framework

Since 1991, when the old Constitution (party-state Constitution) was replaced, three changes have been made. Initially parliament approved a constitutional package which recognized and guaranteed the right of citizens to be organized freely. Based on constitutional package, NGOs will be considered as a legal person (Anastasi, 2004, p. 87). The real changes for the NGOs status and their activities were clearer in the new law approved on 1 November 1994 (Anastasi, 2004, p.88). Based on this law, the state had the right to observe the function and the goals achieved by the NGOs, but during this time the Albanian state did not practice this right in reality, because of the classic principle: the state doesn't intervene with the NGOs activity. The state was satisfied with just financial and tax payment control. Approved Law No.8788, dated 7.5.2001 'Për organizatat jo-fitimprurëse' (For non-profit organizations), from a legal point of view there were positive changes surrounding NGOs activities in Albania. The Albanian Assembly approved two new laws: 'Non -Governmental Organizations' law and the law 'For Registration of Non- Governmental Organization. Both these two new laws were formulated by the international NGOs' help. During approving these laws one of the most important factors to consider were the sanctions for changing the title by Non-Governmental Organization to Non-Profit Organization, because it was seen as necessary according to the critics by public opinion, for their role, image, working and their activities as NGOs. The most important strategic change in the law lies on the regulation of relations between the state and NGOs. The law prohibited the state right to control and monitor various purposes to NGOs and foundations. The most important elements of the law are: ensuring the independence of NGOs from the state, protection of NGOs mixing with public administration, the state is unwilling to support the NGOs. Specifically Article 1, 2 and 3 of the Law No.8788, dated 7.5.2001 'Për organizatat jo-fitimprurëse' (For non-profit organizations) stated:

> This law specifies the procedures for registering non-profit organizations, as well as rules for maintaining the registry.

The rules about the form of organization, of the establishment, of the activity and of the functioning of non-profit organizations are specified by law.

Associations, foundations, and other forms of non-profit organizations that can exercise their activity and acquire the quality of a legal person only after registration in court, are expressly designated by law.

Today in Albania Agency for the Support of Civil Societies established in order to watch and support the organization and functioning of civil society, based on Article 100 of the Constitution of the Republic of Albania, Law No. 10093 dated 03.09.2009. The object of this law is the organization and functioning of the Agency for the Support of Civil Society and determination following the procedures applicable to the distribution of funds to support civil society.

Objectives are defined in law as follows:

a. Promote cooperation with NGOs, who work overseeing object of fighting corruption, the fight against trafficking in human beings and treating its victims, against domestic violence and violence against children;
b. Promote citizens participation, the inclusion of their participation in community development;
c. The creation and consolidation of civil society skills;
d. Development of the intersectional collaboration and cooperation between NGOs;
e. Increase public influence and activity of NGOs;
f. The development of social entrepreneurship and employment in the nonprofit sector;
g. Increase the impact of civil society in the process of drafting and adopting public policies (http://www.amshc.gov.al, 2014).

The missions of the Agency for the Support of Civil Society (ASCS) are:

1. ASCS has a basic mission of promoting the sustainable development of civil society and creating favorable conditions for civil initiatives, in good and in the public interest.
2. To accomplish the mission, ASCS has offered financial assistance to programs that promote and strengthen the sustainability of nonprofit organizations, the intersectional collaboration international civil initiatives, philanthropy,

volunteerism and democratic institutions society, as well as other programs that facilitate the fulfillment of its mission.

3. In carrying out the activity, ASCS is guided by the strategic priorities of government development of civil society.

4. The above provisions are applicable to any other authority funding under this law (http://www.amshc.gov.al, 2014).

3.4 Student Movement and Birth of the New Civil Society (1990-2000)

The experience of other former communist countries, such as East Germany, Poland or Hungary showed that the best answer against a totalitarian regime is building and strengthening of civil courage and civil society institutions. Even Albania had to face this; the situation in Albania was not the same as in other former communist countries. In Albania the system changes and the beginning of democratization started in 1990 as the result of a student movement. Despite the bad economic and social conditions Albanian people were still under the authoritarian regime during 1990-1991, even in the other former communist countries regime changes started two years earlier. The student's reservations towards the one party-state were not only understood but also actively demonstrated at times. At the beginning of the 90s it was advertised that advance student facilities had been built and that the Universities were regulated in better ways. This propaganda was followed shortly after with some inaugurations of new buildings in the town "Studenti", built with state funds, but these inaugurations, although housing conditions eased somewhat, did not affect the opinions held by the students. What was seen as a problem by the state and party structures at the time were not the students' life problems, but the lectures of History of PPSH (Albanian Labor Party) at Tirana University, where students and some professors started to criticize the regime and economic conditions of society at that time, they understood the consequences of educated people teaching people how to think and not what to think was a potential problem. Complete isolation and extreme poverty had extinguished the hope of most Albanians and this ultimately became the driving force behind the social movement, the people's dire living situations pushed the people of Albania to react and this is how the chain of events leading to the democratization of Albania formed a cluster of actions as stated earlier. Difficult economic conditions, which were a direct contradiction with the so-called propaganda of a new economic mechanism, difficult conditions in dormitories,

made the reaction of student protests possible. Repeated calls alerted the state and organizational structures of the University, students were reminded of University regulations and warned of punitive measures for illegal actions for a few individuals. On December 8th, the Prime Minister decided to visit and talk to the students. The visit from the Prime Minister to the town "Student" was rare and unexpected for students, for PPSH authorities it expressed their serious concerns about the mobilizing events taking place. The Prime Minister had a meeting with a group of students. Allegedly the meeting began with a fearful atmosphere; the outlook was grim; the coldness of relations between students and the government and party were visible, this tense atmosphere encouraged a debate to take place which was considered a very shocking thing to do in the company of "top visitors". Some students, for the first time, spoke openly about the difficult economic situation of not only students, but also all Albanians; they expressed, also their frustration with state force and party leadership. The Prime Minister's mission failed to extinguish students' dissatisfaction: it was a warning that other uncomfortable events were yet to come. The number of protesters started to increase, students from all faculties started to come together and work as a collective force, this added both determination and enthusiasm. Many protesters quickly established big goals, and what they wanted from their governments. State authorities and the party believed that the protest had already gone far enough. Threats from the top were immediate. Ramiz Alia promised that he would accept their economic requirements and other requirements should be presented in writing; he also promised that no police violence would be used against students. In return for his cooperation he asked the students to interrupt the protest and return to university and lectures. Despite approving attitude and sometimes threats by Ramiz Alia, a compromise was reached between them. At the request of the students, they were promised another meeting with Alia to continue further dialogue in an appropriate time in the town of "Student". Students decided to continue with the protest until the next meeting with president Alia, students were together protesting on the streets of Tirana and now they were supported by the citizens. Protesters continued to march the streets, but were separated and surrounded by the police. But this did not stop their efforts to move forward, and it has been said that the protesters were shouting chants such as: "We want Albania like Europe!", "Do not shoot the students!", "Freedom, Democracy!" "No more violence!" 'Albania is with us!'. In that moment it became apparent that the student's requests were no longer only relevant to the conditions at the University, and their demands were now supported by intellectuals, students, teachers, youth workers, citizens

etc. In the largest square of the city "student", later renamed the square "Democracy", convened an extraordinary mass of people, before whom the petition was read first, which contained mainly political demands, among which: Adoption of political pluralism, as a higher degree of democracy; Finding ways to overcome the economic crisis, Freedom of the press and of speech without censorship, Publication of the UN Charter on Human Rights, the Helsinki Charter etc. Two days later, on 11 December 1990, the people's response at the rally was communicated with the Party and that afternoon Alia met with students in the Palace of Brigades. Three hours later he returned from the delegations and the students and rally supporters awaited victory, hitherto incredible political pluralism in Albania. For the first time after 45 years the new opposition party was born: the Democratic Party. Political commitment for civil society was expressed for the first time in March 1991. Demands for the establishment and strengthening of civil society dominated political discourse and diplomatic meetings between the opposition and the government. There was not a clear platform on how this would be achieved (Freedom House, 2002). Social crisis became apparent due to the fact that most of the intellectuals and political dissidents who were involved in the new Albanian politics demonstrated an old political mindset. Another negative effect during this time for Albania was personalization of political forces with the past. Personalization of political parties was a mistake and it even had a negative effect with the opposition or even for political institutions. This change in system during the early 90s cost too much for Albania. Besides the economic crises there was also major political loss. This unsecured situation and the lack of knowledge were also visible in the assessment of the role and function of NGOs or to other non-governmental groups, as essential elements of civil society. Uncertainty was to the point where people questioned the usefulness of the existence of NGOs and questioning: Are they necessary? NGOs themselves, trade unions and other organization were not able to respond to the increasing demands of citizens and other different groups. The new political developments can be said that the urgent social and economic needs of citizens, still faced with limited opportunity for the state to fulfill these needs. The role of civil society and its institutions remained more limited. The role of civil society and civil engagement was taken by the political parties, especially by the opposition. Throughout the protests the momentum for change grew, spread and evolved alongside the needs and demands of the people. Eventually people decided they needed social change and this decision effectively created the social and civil change needed for

Albania to become a democratic nation. In this point of view students represent political challenging, giving voice to those who have been excluded from the political system.

3.5 Conclusion

Historical, political, economic and cultural conditions in Albania did not help civil society and social movements to evolve and become an important role in the democratization process. The links between the government institutions and social spheres, makes it possible to suggest that decision-making, authority and power is owned by a group of people and not distributed to the respective institutions as democratic country should, it follows the undemocratic methodology of top-down power dynamic. It is arguable from taking into account how dire the Albanian people's situations were during communism that leads to their reactionary fight against the state that citizens become more complacent in regards to social movements when they are not forced to fight for their civil rights. Albanian civil society is still developing and not yet fully established. This is for several reasons: Firstly, Albania historically has faced many difficulties trying to build a democratic society and an established state, this means that political culture is still based on the 'moral code', creating a strong network in beliefs and loyalty within clans, in leadership and minimizing the power of structural and public institutions, even the role of civil society. State institutions in Albania are seen as untrustworthy. Absence of financial transparency and decision-making inside of NGOs remain the fundamental problem in their internal democratization and even more so it is misleading the democratic process. Copied and imported projects in developing countries have not been successful in Albania's case, because there is an absence of democratic society and a supportive political culture. This is due to the fact that civil society does not have a strong infrastructure that embodies the specific democratic values and behavior.

Chapter Four: Albanian Social Movements and Civil Society in the New Millennium (2001-2013)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter evaluates the case for civil society modeling and identifies important issues on building the third sector. Civil society as a concept has been an issue that inspired much debate between scholars. Different approaches define civil society and its role on democratization process in Albania. Key points in this chapter are: Government and Civil Society, trying to explain the engagement with government approach and developing concept of civil society. Based on this perspective this chapter will be divided in three parts:

First part will explore the developing role and concept of Civil Society in Albania;

Second part will attempt to find out what is Albanian Civil Society missing?

Third part will evaluate the 'Second November' movement case: Protest over Syria chemical weapons dismantling proposal.

4.2 Development of the Concept and Role of Civil Society in Albania

The first NGO that started its activity in Albania was the Forum for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. This organization was founded in 1991. Since there was neither political nor economic aim it can be said that the goal of the forum was not political. Given that Albania was in a situation of shifting political systems, from communism to pluralism the initial steps of this forum were related to human rights altogether with democratic changes. In 1992 Albania become a part of Helsinki Committee (AHC), previously known as Helsinki Federation of Human Rights. This important step for Albanian civil society was followed with the establishment of other organizations such as Albanian Center for Human Rights (ACHR), the Albanian Human Rights Group (AHRG), and Society for Democratic Culture (SDC) (Xhillari & Çabiri, 2008, p. 12). Another important development is the establishment of Independent Forum of Albanian Women (IFAW) which was established in 1991 and is the first woman organization. This organization had it primary goal to make possible the engagement of Albanian women in decision making process altogether with protecting women` rights,

and ensuring gender balance. In the follow years other women organizations were established. Among them we can mention "Refleksione", Albania Family Planning Association (AFPA), Useful to Albanian Women (UAW), Women's Programmer in the Open Society Foundation for Albania (OSFA), and Women's Centre founded between 1992-1995 (http://www.amshc.gov.al, 2014). The main focus of their activities was raising awareness and lobbying for women and human rights. A group of economists, bankers, and academics established in November 1992 Albanian Centre for Economic Research (ACER), which is known as the first think tank organization in Albania. Making researches, economic and social policy analysis altogether with the support or private sector and SMEs (Small-Medium sized Enterprises) were the initial steps of ACER`s activities. Moreover ACER published its own magazine titled "Economy in Transition". This magazine for years was the only medium in which researchers published their views on challenges and the needed reforms to create a proper market economy.

There are many other areas where Albanian NGOs focused. Below there is a list of these areas and the respective NGOs founded.

a) *Environment:* Regional Environmental Centre (REC) established in 1993
b) *Private sector development*: European Union Programmer supported the establishment Regional Business Agencies established in 1993
c) *Youth*: Albanian Youth Council (AYC) established in 1993 with the main focus on children activities and organizing youths and influencing policies of public institutions (SIDA, 2007).

These organizations (Human rights and women organizations) had their importance since they began to monitor the work of the government and its activities. For instance, the report of The Albanian CEDAW (wave-network.org, 2002) on women rights together with the reports provided by Human Rights Watch were among the advocacy instruments. These reports mostly resulted from the collaboration of NGOs among each other. Specialists and powerful people of media, who had the capacity to build the facilities and organize training activities, provided a suitable medium to increase professionalism in media. Considering the period of transition together with the lack of experience, media was not much developed and many times was the subject attacks by the political sphere. In order minimize or prevent this media associations and human rights NGOs consistently denounced the attacks of politics towards media.

Another important issue was the collapse of pyramid schemes in 1997 which resulted in financial crisis. The impact of this crisis was

> not only economic but at the same time it had a negative impact on public order, conditions of society, and decreased the level of trust that citizens had in state institutions. Moreover, Kosovo crisis was another difficult situation that Albania faced. Around one million of Albanian Kosovo citizens left their country due to the conflict and migrated to Albania in 1999. The situation precipitated and the need of civil society`s assistance was obvious. This situation influenced the development of the sector and changes occurred in many aspects such as: number, mission, activity goals, funding and engagement of volunteers, advocacy, public image, and governance methods (Freedom House, 2002, p. 23).

Illegal activity which caused problems for the state and the society increased and facilitated due to the lack of public order and the above-mentioned conditions. Albania also become a country of origin and a transit country of human being trafficking, especially of women and young girls who were the victims and forced into prostitution. Women and young girls who were forced to work against their will were afraid to ask for help from police and other institutions. Furthermore, the violence used against women in Albania affected negatively their lives too. Thus many organizations aiming to fight this phenomenon and focused on protecting women rights started to become Human Rights Watch World Report, 2001). The lack of education opportunities was another serious matter to be considered. Concerns regarding safety and other local obstacles (ex. young girls were not permitted to go to school with the reason of protecting their `honor`) were among the reasons why parents did not allow their girls to attend schools. For years the lack of policies implemented by Albanian Government to protect and support witnesses of human being traffic, and the failure to implement programs that tented to assist trafficking victims instead of treating them as criminals, become a serious issue. The situation affected children too. According to a report by Save Children 60% of trafficking victims were minors. According to UNICEF, "institutions providing education were damaged during the crisis year 1997, and children were under psychological pressure, and stressed because of the high presence of guns and the bad economic conditions" (http://www.unicef.org). In order to improve the current situation international organizations like Plan international, UNICEF, Save the Children and other institutions funded several children-oriented activities along Albania with the main concentration in provision of service. While these programs were organized, a serious problem was getting

bigger in the north part of Albania "the rivalries and clashes between clans" (Prato, 2010, p. 35).

Corruption was another problem for Albania during this period. According to a report published in August 1998 by World Bank (WB) "Albania was the most corrupted country in Europe (http://www.worldbank.org). Public official together with citizens admitted the problem of corruption and bribery and agreed on the fact that it was a common problem in Albania. Albanian Government started a wide initiative and drafted a program to fight this phenomenon as the response to this report". The problem of corruption was not seen yet as a very serious problem by international community even though there existed such problems. Between 1997 and 2002 state apparatus deteriorated and grand corruption cases, petty corruption appeared too. The period between 1997 and 2002 is known as the "period of weak state" (SIDA, 2007). The areas in which corruption and bribery occurred included many important fields. This occurred in customs, the system of justice, police, telecommunication industry, construction industry (mainly with construction permissions), taxation and crucial systems of the country such as health care.

Corruption occurred in many critical positions of government in the form of payoffs. Among these positions we would mention inspectors of taxation and customs, administrators of natural resources, policeman, judges and attorneys. Given the above situation as a result new NGOs, especially after 1998 focused on the advocacy against corruption and bribery. They also focused on transparency and issues regarding governance. Among important elements of the society that were not obvious during this period were social movements. This brings the question on how long would corruption be present, if Albanians would be monitoring these institutions and define their failures. We would suggest that if this happened, Albania would have made further improvements and would have taken more steps in fighting the financial abuse taking place, thus becoming more democratic country in this aspect.

4.3 What is Albanian Civil Society Missing?

According to 'Agjensia për mbrojtjen e Shoqërisë Civile' (Agency for the Support of Civil Society) only Tirana has 237 officially registered NGOs (Agency for the Support of Civil Society, 2014) but in other cities in Albania there are no more than 20 registered NGOs. There are many reasons why most NGOs base themselves in Tirana, mainly because it can benefit their economic situation, citizen's engagement or political situation.

Another factor for location of NGOs in Tirana is because the state institutions and other important international offices are located mostly in capital city. And of course Tirana is a metropolitan city, more than 40% of the Albanian population lives in the capital city or neighboring area. Even so, other large cities in Albania have active NGOs such as Durrës, Shkodër, Elbasan etc. Intermediary collaboration between the state and civil society is important. An active civil society helps the state and government in decision making and representation of group interests. Strong and independent relationships between civil societies are necessary for the consolidation of democracy in a country like Albania. Article 7 of the Law No.8788, date 7.5.2001 'Për organizatat jo-fitimprurëse' (For non-profit organization), defines the relationship between non-profit organizations. State authorities do not interfere with the activities of non-profit organizations. General opinion is that the state does not see NGOs as partners, and for this reason NGOs have not taken their rightful place during the formulation of policy process and state programs in Albania. Its absence is felt more specifically in the design of development strategies, the fight against crime and trafficking and other issues of concern for the whole society. NGOs agree with the statement that they are ready to build an open and honest dialogue with the government (Kocani, 2013). Report between NGOs and the state are based on two different factors: cooperation with state is a serious partnership and critical to the state if the difference between them is great. Experience shows that common cooperation has been tried and tested and has been proven to work. Although the Albanian civil society is strongly supported by international organizations and Western governments, it continues to be underestimated by the Albanian government (Picari, 2008). Albanian NGOs in general are in a paradoxical situation that, they still have a lack of power to influence the political decisions, although they have expanded the possibility of representation in state politics at the local, national and international level. Based on international reports civil society in Albania is not yet able to protect its interest and acting as a competitive actor in the decision-making process (Freedom House, 2002, p. 22). Civil society actors did not paid attention to inter-links between negative phenomena and their consequences. Moreover, based on the study of Soros foundation of 2008 Annual Report Albanian civil society "tend to focus on the consequences and not the root causes. The same approach can be identified among donors, who are more open to immediate results and not to actions that build a foundational ground for sustainable solutions by addressing the root causes" (http://www.soros.al, 2008). As Vurmo (2013) concludes "[t]he fact that civil society is fully project-based and relies only on short term

funding is often reflected in the lack of sustainability of the impact it helps create. The lack of coordination among state institutions often negatively reflects in NGOs efforts to improve policies" (Vurmo, 2013, p. 30), but what can be seen as improvement of civil society in Albania after 2000 are: NGOs are generally open to collaboration and exchange of experiences. Building networks and encouraging civil participation through organizations and civil society gives opportunities for active citizens. Civil society organizations have more content to influence policies and achieve strong impact.

4.4 'Second November' Movement Case: Protest over Syria Chemical Weapons Dismantling Proposal

Forms of action can be divided according to their use of logical action. In general, a protest places pressure on governors, because it is a display of the citizens' beliefs and what they are asking for. Especially in a democratic regime, the presence of non-institutional forms of mobilization during the decision-making process shows that a consensual resolution for conflict interests groups has not worked. Logic and forms of protest action will be explained below and illustrated by a practical example. Action of a protest can be seen in this way: a- *Power in Number* (DeNardo, 1985). As political parties seek to increase the number of their voters and mobilization groups of participants, therefore this should encourage a greater number of active demonstrators to participate in social movements. In this point of view the protests would be seen as 'replacement choice'. The main logic of these actions are coherent and similar with representative democratic principles: to influence political decision by public opinion. b- '*Material' damage logic*: In its most extreme form it is reflected in political violence, which tends to cause enemy losses. Nowadays often the basis of a form of widespread protest, as it can be seen in industry strikes. They challenge the political elite noting uncertainty and can produce a tangible damage, often material ones. c- *The evidence logic*: Goal of these actions is not often to convince public opinion or decision makers, but rather they want to show a strong commitment to their objective, which is a vital importance for humanity. People who protest tend to represent the majority, who pose a possible potential threat. In November 2013, several media reports (Gazeta Shqip 2013) have named Albania "as a potential destination for the weapons, which Syrian political elite has pledged to get rid of as he seeks to turn the tide of international opinion in a more than two-year civil war. The

protests followed smaller gatherings in the center of Elbasan and its nearby Mjekes weapons dismantling facility, where the chemicals could be headed. Some Albanians complain that dismantling the weapons there would damage the environment, along with efforts to market Albania as an emerging tourist destination" (Geoghegan, 2013, pp. 13-15). News Agency Press Reuters would express the situation: Socialist Prime Minister Edi Rama, who took office in September 2013, confirmed that he had discussed the matter over the phone with U.S. Secretary of the State John Kerry, but said no decision had been made. Prime Minister, Edi Rama declared at a news conference with visiting European Union enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fule, as follows:

> I have not met the protesters simply because our silence does not hide anything and we are not at the point when we need to take a decision and we might not get there. There is no doubt that were I not in my current office, I would have joined the protest upon hearing the experts painting such an apocalyptic scenario to Albanians, but in my office I do not see this apocalyptic scenario. On Tuesday, I will inform the public and parliament of the government's decision, pledging to uphold the interests of Albania (Nichols, 2013).

By day time protestors had turned out onto the main boulevard in Tirana, as well as in the cities of Korce, Elbasan, Shkoder, Lezhe and Gjirokaster. In Durres, they managed to block the main port entrance to the country's main harbor. This proposal of dismantling chemical weapons that was given to protestors was seen as a big threat to their life and to the country. Some of them declared:

"We don't have the infrastructure here to deal with chemical weapons", 19 year old architecture student Maria Pesha was quoted as saying by the Associated Press news agency. "We can't deal with our own stuff, let alone Syrian weapons. We have no duty to obey anyone on this, NATO or the US (BBC, 2013)". Possible reasons why this proposal was brought to Albania are: a- The ex-communist state declared possession of 16 tons of mustard gas to the OPCW (Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons), between them Albania. b- Albania, completed destruction of the declared weapons in July 2007, c- when further chemical agents were discovered in September 2001 and they were destroyed within a year. Other groups beyond the protestors gathered to rally including, hundreds students, famous Albanian journalists, civil society was involved during these days of protest. Never before in a democratic transition period has this mobilization happened. Besides this mobilization other citizens did not support the protest, the reason was simple; U.S.A is Albania's great and supportive ally and Albania cannot be against

anything America asks of them. However, protesters went for the first time to the U.S. Embassy protesting against this proposal. After five days of protesting the Prime Minister of Albania during a press conference communicated to the Albanian people the government's decision. Albania's response to these proposals was "no", the country is not able to cover the Syrian chemical weapons dismantling. This moment was specific and very important to the Albanian democratic transition, showing that the thoughts of the people of Albania are important and will be considered when the Albanian government is in the decision-making process. After the Albanian government U.S. Embassy declared that:

> We respect the Prime Minister's decision. The United States appreciates that the Government of Albania gave serious consideration to supporting the international effort to eliminate Syria's chemical warfare materials in a safe and secure manner. The United States will continue to work with Allies and partners as well as the OPCW and the United Nations to ensure the elimination of Syria's chemical weapons program. We remain confident that we will complete elimination of the program within the timeline agreed upon. The United States and Albania have a strong and enduring friendship. We continue to support the government and people of Albania as they work to build a more just and democratic society (http://tirana.usembassy.gov/, 2013).

This breakthrough is known as the 'Second November' in Albania because of the similarities between this decision and the period when students protested for a change in regime in 1990. This undoubtedly shows that social movements can impact on government decisions allowing democracy to nourish.

4.5 Conclusion

The relationship between the government institutions and social spheres ensures that decision-making, authority and power is owned by a group of people and not distributed to the respective institutions as democratic governance should distribute it. This absence in most of Western democracies is covered by active group interest or civil society and one of the methods to establish democratic governance is by protesting. In Albania's case, civil society is still developing and not yet established, even though some protests take place, it is arguable that there is not enough of a civil agenda and a lack of organization. This is for several reasons. Firstly, Albanian society is based on a materialist value system (Kocani, 2013, p. 24). Societies characterized by this profile value system find difficulties

in mass mobilization to protest and seeing protesting as a new form of participating in the decision-making process, it also allows corruption to be common place and it can go by unquestioned. Albania is a good example for this. During the transition period Albanian society has very few cases where protesters succeeded in the goals of their social movement and ultimately they did not have influence in the decision-making process. Besides this, NGOs have been active during the transition and 1997 crises in Albania; however these organizations' contributions to developing civil society have remained limited due to the poor relationship between themselves and the government.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

To conclude, it can be understood that social movements can play an important role in the democratization process. This is due to the notion that creating social movements allows the people to participate directly with the decision making process and ultimately political parties that want to remain in power should listen to what their voters want, evidence that supports this is the fall of communism in Albania, the people were ignored, their needs and opinions were overlooked and with time this pushed the citizens to take back their country from the minority in power. Different factors contribute to the need for social movements and their ability to achieve their goals, such as: political, economic or cultural conditions. Albania is one example where the lack of transparency with government institutions prevents civil society taking on their necessary role in the democratization process: the people holding their government to account for their decisions. Coming to this conclusion involved the analysis of Albania's progression comparative to other previous communist countries and the activity of civil society throughout Europe. To quickly review: Chapter one deals with an introduction to, methodology, research questions and a literature review. Chapter two focuses on the theoretical approach to specific political concepts: social movements, politics, democratization etc. The third chapter evaluates the concept of how social movements have developed the classification and types of social movements and new forms of participation in the decision-making process. The fourth chapter covers Albania's case: Its historical background explaining the social, economic and cultural conditions, focusing on important moments in Albania's political history where social movements had some form of role or involvement in the decision-making process. Thus, it can be stated that social movements have been influential and sometimes momentous in modern European history. These momentous social movements occurred in places such as France in the 1790's to Eastern Europe in the mid-twentieth century. Skocpol (1979) stated that:

> these social movements have transformed state organization, class structures and dominant ideologies. In some cases, social movements have given rise to models and ideas of enormous international impact and appeal-especially where the transformed societies have been large and geopolitically important. Social movements have not been the only forces for change in the modern area within the matrix of the 'Great Transformation' political upheavals and socioeconomic changes have happened in every country, but within this matrix of social movements some countries deserve special attention, not only because of their extraordinary

significance for the histories of other nations and the world; but also because of their distinctive pattern of sociopolitical change (Skocpol, 1979, p. 98).

Beside, Giugni, McAdam and Tilly (1999) concedes "Social movements tend to be rapid transformations of a society's state and class structures and they are accompanied and in part carried through by the majority of society" (Giugni, McAdam, & Tilly, 1999, p. 243). This is shown with the student protests in Albania, what started out as a student protest over University living conditions lead to the fall of the communist regime due to the entire Albanian society supporting the movement. Social movements are set apart from others sorts of transformative processes by the combination of two forces: the need for social change and the force of citizens' power which ultimately leads to social transformation (Calhoun, 1996, p. 89). In contrast, following Habermas:

> political movements transform state structures but not necessarily social structures and they are also not necessarily accomplished through social conflict or pressures. Processes such as industrialization, for example industrial revolution in United Kingdom, can transform social structures without necessarily bringing about or resulting from sudden political upheavals or basic political structural changes (Habermas, 1998, p.99).

What is unique for the social movements is that "basic changes in social structure and some cases political structure occur together in a mutually reinforcing fashion and these changes occur through intense sociopolitical conflicts in which society plays a key role" (Mcmahon, 2001, p. 145). This important process of industrialization, in Albania did not happen, because it was undeveloped in this sector. Based on this, all social changes do not happened as a necessity from society, but through politics. This is reflected even in now days in Albanian society, where social movements in few cases help social changes. Generally, Albanian citizens display "high levels of 'indifference' towards involvement in various social actions, which is a common feature of societies in transition or early stages of post-transition with a relatively unsettled middle class and high levels of inequities" (IDM, CIVICUS, UNDP, 2010, p. 17). Albanian Institute of Statistics finds that:

> Albanian citizens are less likely to dedicate time to voluntary work. This may be a consequence of the high percentage of the respondents describing themselves as 'lower middle class' or lower which It is linked to the continuing prevailing perception that 'volunteerism' is a phenomenon of the communist dictatorship (http://www.instat.gov.al, 2008).

IDM, CIVICUS and UNDP published a report titled "Civil Society Index for Albania in 2010', in that report they stated that "[t]he low levels of membership and volunteerism in

civic organizations signals indifference amongst Albanian citizens towards civic engagement and civil society in general. Despite the widespread 'apathy', political engagement fares slightly better compared to socially based engagement" (IDM, CIVICUS, UNDP, 2010, p. 15). The report continues its analyses and claims that "[a] prevailing feature of civic engagement -social or political- in Albania is that there are no distinctions in terms of the social and demographic categories of people that are active in social or political organizations" (IDM, CIVICUS, UNDP, 2010, p. 15). The report concludes that "this result needs to be considered in context of the fact that major efforts have been invested by the international partners, Albania civil society actors and the donor community targeting issues of democratization and good governance" (IDM, CIVICUS, UNDP, 2010, p. 15). Considering Western Democracy experiences the followings are seen as problems for the Albanian Civil Society:

> The low levels of membership and volunteerism in civic organizations signals indifference amongst Albanian citizens towards civic engagement and civil society in general. Despite the widespread 'apathy', political engagement fares slightly better compared to socially based engagement. The sector communication stares at the extent of communication information exchange and interaction among civil society organizations in the country that works on similar issues. Sustainability of human resources is viewed as an essential indicator of the level of organization of civil society (http://tirana.usembassy.gov/, 2013).

Blerta Picari a professional who had worked within the NGOs in Albania points another lack to the Albanian Civil Society:

> The cost and sustainability of human resources is one of the most problematic issues for a predominantly project-based civil society in Albania. Having built up the need infrastructure in the two paste decades of generous support from foreign donors, Albanian NGOs must adapt their strategies to an environment that is experiencing donor withdrawal (Picari, 2008, p. 33).

Even though, state institution in collaboration with international institution and NGOs are working on social inclusion for marginalized groups, as it can be violated women, children or Roma community. Based on annual progress report for 2013, "in the first two years of implementation, the Ministry of Social Welfare and Youth was the largest recipient of technical assistance founded by UN Agencies" (United Nation, 2013, p. 27). This reflects the importance the UN is giving to social inclusion and social protection as areas where the Government of Albania has a challenging agenda. The reform intends to expand the spectrum of social assistance beyond the existing system of residential

facilities such as orphanages and care homes for the elderly and the disabled. In recent years "case management" techniques have become the norm and many interventions that tested these more modern forms of social work did activate the capacity of NGOs. Currently, it is estimated that NGOs deliver up to 80 percent of social services in Albania (United Nation, 2013, p. 28). In order to improve social inclusion, third sector and civil activism, improvement of education system seems to be critical. Some efforts have occurred in the past two decades in order to improve the basic education system in Albania. Among these efforts we would mention revising of curricula, the introduction of ICT (Information and Communication Technology), restoration of excising schools and building new facilities. These changes had an impact and were reflected in the results of the "Program for International Student Assessment" survey. According to the survey (United Nation, 2013) "Albanian students since 2000 are among students demonstrating the highest rate of progress even though overall achievement scores are below the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) averages" (United Nation, 2013, p. 30). Given the development context the level of organizational dimension of NGOs in Albania is found to be satisfactory compared to other dimensions. According to United Nations Development Programme in Albania "[c]ivil society operates under a well-developed framework of resources and infrastructure. Albanian NGOs should particularly focus and give particular attention to improving transparency and accountability" (www.al.undp.org, 2005). Sustainability of human resources is one of the weakest points and this occurs due to a series of external factors. According to Civil Society Index (CSI) for Albania "local NGOs remain donor-driven and dependent and their activities are project-based" (IDM, CIVICUS, UNDP, 2010, p. 16). Due to the indifference of citizens towards NGOs and membership, there are a low number of membership-based NGOs. Following the Civil Society Index (CSI) "Given the low interest of private sector to support civil society, it can be said that donors' funding are the main source of activity for the majority of NGOs" (IDM, CIVICUS, UNDP, 2010, p. 17). These factors have conditioned the donors on the past have withdrawn from the region and have left the responsibility to support civil society to the EU programs and Government. Feraj (2011) argues that "not only the sustainability of human resources but also the sustainability of civil society actions has been influenced. On the other hand establishment of networks continues operating only during the period in which funding is available" (Feraj, 2011, p. 76). However funding for NGOs has been limited to periods of one year or less than one year. Vurmo (2013) stated that such "challenges require a

combined approach in order to facilitate access to EU funding, enhance the diversity of funding sources for NGOs and affecting positively on them to become self-sustainable" (Vurmo, 2013, p. 20). Consolidating the culture of philanthropic giving altogether with promoting it and raising the interest of businesses to support civil society should be included in this combined approach. Additionally governmental programs focused on services that can be offered by NGOs can be among founding ways. Albanian historically has found difficulties on building a democratic society and an established state, this means that political culture is still based on the 'moral code', creating a strong network in beliefs and loyalty on clans, on leadership and minimizing the power of structural and public institutions, even the role of civil society. Institutions in Albania are seen as not trustful (Hank, 2005, p. 56). Absence of financial transparency and decision-making inside of NGO remain the essential problem in their internal democratization and even more misleading the democratic process. Copied and imported projects in developing countries have not been successful in the Albania context, because there is absence in democratic society and in political culture, and where civil society is not with consolidated structures that are the product of democratic values and behavior. Concentration activity in Tirana for most of NGOs and finding difficulties on building networks cooperation with local NGOs is another absence on having a successfully Civil Society.

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