

Title: Globalization and Albanian Civil Society during the Democratization Process

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Abstract

The present analysis is part of research on Albanian civil society in democratization process. This paper aims to identify the role of civil society on political behavior in Albanian case. In a context marked by the goals of civil society the principal aims are to examine how Civil Society in Albania is involved during the 'transition' and their influence on political behavior. The features of Albanian civil society will be also treated in this paper, followed by focusing on the main idea: "How globalization has influenced the philosophy and organization of Civil Society in Albania?". Normally, the role of Civil Society is to play a 'tutoring' role in building a democratic society. Analyzing Civil Society in Albania, one can easily note that the way civil society work \act and cooperate with different factors as financial, human and technical, affect the birth on extreme movements and extreme organization.

This paper will be based on qualitative research methods. 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 and political behavior. The second part examines Albanian civil society and its product during 'transition' in reference with the first normative part.

Keywords: Globalization, Civil Society, Governance, Protest, Albania.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide the global effect in relationships between societies. Today societies seem to live in globalization phenomenon. In a general overview the controversy over globalization seems to be, when it comes to a simple analysis on civil society. With globalization we can refer to a process or a variety of projects (Hamel & Lustingner, 2001, p. 20). Or we can say that globalization is a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power (Giddens, 1991, p. 75).

Others researchers see globalization as a process by which the world is interconnected through technology and robust infrastructure, so communication and resource of management. Globalization seems to be addressed a living phenomenon that provides two main components. First, they operate across national borders and

secondly, they result in higher involvement or interdependence of human societies (Civici, 2009, p. 91). It is therefore an aspect of development that affects the world at large scale. There are numerous ways in which globalization has impacted the world today. Some of these include modifying the environment around the world in investment, management, machinery, policy, economics, and social conditions, which aim to develop entrepreneurial initiatives with global trade speed.

Among the areas most prominently distinguished in the literature as currently being subject to particularly strong and/or relevant globalization processes are:

1- economy(exchange, production, capital flows), 2- communications(mobility of information, ideas, good and bad people), 3- ecology(environmental problems; global public issues), 4- culture(beliefs, values, behavioral patterns, moral/legal/social attitudes and institutions), 5-security(arms trade; conflict resolution, military interventions), 6- politics('global governance', inter-/supra-national organizations/law). In *all* these issue areas, globalization can be expected to operate in ways that may be potentially relevant for political democracy. But for the purpose of study we will focus only on political globalization and cultural globalization.

Andrew Heywood would agree that the most important theories as far as global politics is concerned have come out of the discipline of International Relations, which has spawned a rich and increasingly diverse range of theoretical traditions (Heywood, 2011, p. 53). Two most important perspectives on global politics are realism and liberalism, which as a discipline of international relations theories took shape after the World War I. To realist theories political globalization is seen as first and last about power and self-interest (Heywood, 2011, p. 56). This is often interpreted as 'power politic'. As Hans Morgenthau put it, 'Politics is a struggle for power over men, and whatever its ultimate aim may be, power is its immediate goal and the modes of acquiring, maintaining and demonstrating it determine the technique of political action(Morgenthau, 1948, p. 5). On the other hand liberal ideas and theories has a considerable impact on the international disciplines, a tradition based on Kant's 'ideal' concept believing in the possibility of 'universal and perceptual peace'.

The end of Cold War, the growing impact of globalization and new wave of democratization in the 1990s each give liberal theory additional impetus.(Heywood, 2011, p. 61). The aim of liberal theories is to make a balance in all its forms in the notion of harmony or balance amongst competing interest. Individuals, groups, interest groups or even states may follow self-interest but a natural equilibrium will tend to assert itself. With the support of local governments, large organizations and international organizations, entrepreneurial initiatives are able to benefit from globalization and economic liberalization, to advance their effectiveness in the international market and expand overall customer service as well as cultural aspects. As a result, it can be stated that many of us see globalization as an important process in human development and consider it as important to embrace it.

According to Putman social capital is defined as: 'connections among individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them' (Putnam, 1993, p. 83). But modern agencies which have evolved since the early 1960s are typified by the women's movement, anti-war coalitions and the environmental movement, as well as by diverse non-governmental organization and multinational

policy advocacy networks. These are usually characterized by more fluid boundaries, looser networked coalitions and decentralized organizational structures. The primary goals of new social movements often focus upon achieving social change through direct action strategies and community building, as well as by altering lifestyles and social identities, as much as through shaping formal policy-making processes and laws in government (Norris, 2005, p. 638).

2. Concept of civil society and its role on the interest balance

Theoretically, there is not a big difference on what the objective of the relationship between the individual and state identifies. It is important to understand the variations from what is clearly identified and what is implicated to the functions of the state and its collaboration with the social groups which operate in the public arena. But the concept of 'civil society' as we know it today comes by the French philosopher Adam Ferguson, in 1767. According to his view civil society, along with state and market economy is the third component of society (Ferguson, 1971, p. 26). On the contrary, other philosophers such as Hegel saw civil society as an important partition will be lost between the state and society.

Rephrase Antonio Gramsci on Buttigies would conceive civil society as part of the concept of continuity of state, namely the concept of state is: State © political society + civil society is a strong hegemony protected by a harness (Buttigieg, 2007, p. 11). Furthermore Habermas develops a new concept of civil society; as assessing communicative power and solidarity, as its resources more important that it develops and makes corrections critique on policy. To give a concrete form to the concept of 'civil society' different philosophers such as Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Tocqueville, etc., in different periods have contributed by theoretical and practical foundations, the government and its development.

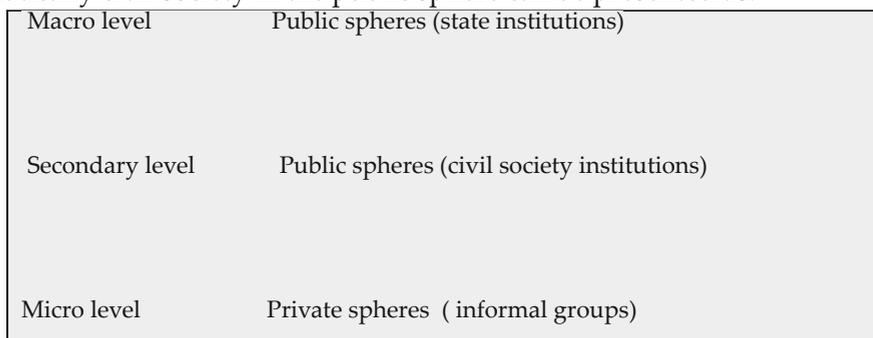
Specifically, researchers have classified four concepts on the history of civil society: a concept of protection from arbitrary state (Lock) b-the balance between state authority and civil society (Montesquieu) c-school concept of democracy (Tocqueville) and d - the concept of the role of its public and critical (Habermas). As the essential features of civil society today can be mentioned: knowledge bases and models of democratic civil societies, protection of human rights, tolerance to other opinions and views and the rule of law.

However, we can say that these concepts are general, researchers agree that to have a normative model of civil society and independent from the economy or the state must contain certain elements like; a- Wholesale, representing families, informal groups, voluntary unions, where multiplicity and their autonomy represents different forms of life or different social classes. B-Advertising, which represents institutions of culture and communication-Legality, which means the existence of a legal basis to ensure basic rights for a majority, democratic privacy (Russell, 2007, p. 533). All these provide the institutional structure for it in modern days which we conceive as the civil society. Meanwhile Tilly (2004) sees civil society in three different ways: firstly, in the most general sense, in a room where engagement is free and the state cannot interfere and secondly, in a more limited sense we will be able to refer to the term

'civil society' only in those situations where the society as a whole is able to organize and coordinate its activities without state supervision.

Finally, we can understand civil society organizations as a whole which are capable of influencing the policies of a state or state policies may differ in specific situations. So we can understand that in the first case can figure out some elements of civil society even more undemocratic societies. In the second case we refer to civil society in democratic countries and third case can demonstrate the potential effects of activities in relation to the state civil. Analytically, we can distinguish three models of relationship between the state and civil society: 1 - civil society has the role of opposition to the state, and then rejects. 2 - civil society is supplement state and 3 - the state of civil society as an appendix (Gellner, 1987, p. 166).

Schematically civil society in the public sphere can be presented as:



In short civil society is composed of non-state organizations and non-state organization or operating in the public area (Wagner, 2006, p. 22). State position is already established. We know that state is organized in public institution and responsible for mandating the order. Civil society requires, cohesion, order and civil virtue to maintain its axis, as a free and democratic society. Civil society organizations and movements through ideas make possible the creation of new opportunities. Alain Badiou would explain clearly position of civil society:

'To open a new situation, a new possibility, we must have something of a new creativity of time in time and a new creativity inside the situation. We must have something that is really an opening and I name this opening, event. What is an even? An event is simply that, which interrupts the law, the rules, the stature of the situation and creates a new possibility. So an event is not initially the creation of a new situation, the creation of a new world, which is not the same thing. In fact, the event takes place in a situation the remains the same but the same situation can be seen and can be transformed inside the new possibility (Badiou, 2012, p. 5)'

From a sociological perspective can define civil society as the organization of an association of people, who stand on a non-personal interest and aimed at achieving certain objectives (Giddens, 1997, pp. 79-80). As political society and civil society are also part of human society, which consist of political or non-political organization, built with free will, mergers interest, institutional groups, the media, religious communities, scientific institution etc. Political society itself holds political organizations, aimed at gaining political power and political institutions, which enable

the exercise of political power. Civil society groups representing social, initiative and diverse movement, which created and operate independently from state institutions, political parties, etc.

These elements of civil society and voluntary functioning democratic structures, having as objective the protection and realization of individual interests and the civic community, through the structures and actions of these organizations. German researchers Merkel will clarify the function of civil society in four objectives: 1 - protection from arbitrary state, 2 - observation and control of state power, 3 - democratic socialization of citizens and finally, 4 - creating a public sphere and determination actors, who will operate in the public sphere. The first function includes both autonomy and protection of private property, in a joint venture, in a conception Locke. The second function refers to Montesquieu philosophy control and balance. The third function, according to Merkel means that civil society operates as a kind of incubator where citizens promote different values, faith, tolerance, reciprocity, etc. And the fourth function - Merkel refers to the shaping of effective channels for advocacy and mobilization around common values and interests.

The researchers point out that the best method to describe the civil society is to participate in the decision making process. Another theory that distinction between political society and civil society is that civil society fills a vacancy and represents the current policy, being presented as a true form of de-politicization. Among its operation and free space that is available it seeks opportunities and ways to respond to the challenges and political developments. All authors joined in the opinion that the determination of its potential for democratization are strategically important, which includes protection of the private sphere from state interference, monitoring and control of state power, democratic socialization and participatory, democratic elites recruitment of state decision-making bodies, creation and strengthening of public service as a channel for downloading and articulation of social values.

3. Conventional and non-Conventional forms of participation: protest theory

Firstly, it is necessary to say that these represent non-conventional ways at the discretion of a government policy decisions. In fact, "social movements/civil society use persuasion to coercion that are often new, dramatic and legally questionable method (Porta, 2005, p. 131). 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.

Respecting the laws and decisions of thought not right or illegal, these citizens were driven forms of action are characterized by their extremis. According to an important research led by Samuel Barnes and Max Kaas, 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. 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. Actually we, by protest, mobilize various stakeholders.

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 Lipsethas 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 (Kaase & S.H, 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, 2007, 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.

As a rule, however, political protest is carried out by intermediary bodies that link citizens on the one hand and political power-holders on the other. Thus, the classical protest actors are loosely structured groups, campaigns, and social movements, and to a lesser extent interest groups and political parties. 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.

4. Albanian Civil Society after 1990s and the emergency participation on decision-making.

According ethnographic heritage, Albanian system of exchange that regulate social, political and economical relations is based on clan (fis) and brotherhood level which

is based on obligation and loyalty among male members, the 'moral code' (Prato, 2010, p. 6). In the past these two aspect concretized in to a system of government that can be described as true democracy, because it was a government of the people, for the people, by the people. Thus, it hinders the development of 'civil society' in the broader sense of 'a total society within which the non-political institutions are not dominated by the political one, and do not stifle the individual either.

Civil society in Albania history as a state can be seen in three phase. The history of associations, organizations and various non-governmental Albanian, also known as Non-Governmental Organizations, starts at the end of the nineteenth century. By 1912 Albania was under Ottoman rule and in terms of occupation and the elements of national identity were denial and have been no civil institutions or public debate.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, it can be said that the launch of the first born civil society institutions, such as foundations, schools, media outlets, religious organizations etc. All together these organizations have political leanings, religious, and cultural nationalist elements. The second phase coincides with the dictatorship period and the end of civil society in Albania did not come with Italian and German occupation but with the coming to power of Communists. 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 were adapted to the (new) Communist priorities, where by the party become the sole focus of loyalty in society. So civil society was 'protected' by the state (Prato, 2010, p. 9).

The third phase, coinciding with the period after the collapse of regime, in early 1990. The collapse of regime in Albania led to a situation, were developments and the situation were not the same with the other former communist countries of Eastern Europe. Only in March 1991 would be able to talk about civil society. Since at this point begin to establish requirements and strengthening civil society. But we must not forget that after all this was not yet clear on what need was and how it will be achieved. This fact is best illustrated by the first elections and electoral campaigns in 1991 where clearly see the difficulty of spreading new ideas. In these circumstances, there was no free and independent media, a lack of public debate, as it was expected chance of building a civil society were minimal (Rakipi, 2010, p. 7).

These changes combined with democratization process, led in new orientation about new social objectives, norms and values (Krasniqi, 2004, p. 7). But the lack of knowledge of the new reforms, such as tax reform, taxes, etc. will be noticed in the role and functioning of non-governmental groups as an element of civil society. On the other hand, these non-governmental organizations would not be able to respond to citizens' demands. Analyzing the time situation, with new developments and economic policy can be said that to increase the social and economic needs of people with disabilities faced state to fulfill them. In these conditions, the role of civil society and its individual institutions will remain limited. This led to a situation which prevented the creation of a new image and links between the state and civil society, the role of civil society and civil commitment defending the interests of their political parties initially played (Krasniqi, 2004, p. 38). Product and success of civil society is in relation to its beneficiary, then the population and therefore it is necessary to establish

a rapport with him.

Civil society organizations in Albania have not yet reached that stage of development and interaction with other aspects of public life. This has not to do just with their structure and functionality, but also with the environment in which they operate, with the spaces that politic allow, relation with other institutions and culture politics in Albania even the political pressure. This is seen from the fact that very few NGOs publicly expressed their attitude towards the implementation of the government's plans. Political parties have used civil society to renovate their image. Political parties recruit young professionals from organizations and include them in the party structures. More activist from civil society chose to become part of political parties. This was one of mutual exploitation, because on the one hand political parties can be renewed for electorate with new individual with the proper education and on the other hand these individuals use this opportunity to be part of politics. This practice began to spread widely in 2005 elections, when the Democratic Party created KOP structure, even in 2009 elections.

On other problem for civil society in our country is because most of non-profit organizations in our country have not established a stable relationship between the state and public sphere. (Picari, 2008, p. 13). This is because in countries like Albania civil society has a great support from donors and given that these civil society organizations are constantly in competition for funds, they are 'forced' to follow the plans and wishes of donors, who not always are in accordance with the actual needs of the country. So the way of acting is indicated and controlled by specific model, which is not always. This cannot be counted as the only problem on various organizations of civil society participated in our country. Numerous problems encountered within the structures of these organizations, for example, financial transparency, management of financial resources even if human boards where not infrequently seen clan models, where everything depends on a comprehensive legally and steering. These contradictions within these arrangements do not affect the functioning of civil society.

Conclusions

As we may argue community organization involve local initiatives. Traditional repertoires are focused primarily upon how citizens can influence representative democracy, either directly (through voting) or indirectly (through parties or elected officials). Verba, Nie, and Kim recognized this assumption when they defined political participation as "those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take". Civil Society Organizations often adopt mix-leading strategies which combine traditional repertoires, including lobbying elected representatives and contacting the news media, with a variety of alternative forms of political expression, including online networking, street protests, and consumer boycotts. Compared with citizen-oriented actions, the distinctive aspect of cause-oriented repertoires is that these are most commonly used to pursue specified issues and policy concerns among diverse targets, both within and also well beyond the electoral arena.

But globalization effect on Albanian civil society has also the 'negative' side as it can be mentioned, in Albanian case civil society is still developing and not yet established.

This for several reasons. Firstly, 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. 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.

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