Óbuda University

Ph.D. Thesis Booklet

Disentangling the Impact of Social Capital on Safety and Security:
Responsibility and Consequences

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Table of Contents

Summary

The appropriate composition of roles and responsibilities shared between the actors of social capital can give impetus to the establishment and development of non-governmental organizations that guarantee the participation of the public in public affairs and the maintenance of their interest in order to increase the sense of security. In the light of international literature, strong social capital and effective civil society can accelerate democratization as well as increase the degree of security and stability of the political, economic and social system.

The primary principle of present thesis is that the Albanian civil society does not participate properly in social discourses, so their actions do not achieve the desired effect, nor do they take proper responsibility for the impact they have triggered. This situation results in uncertainty at both the social and individual levels. The poor performance of the civil society in Albania can be explained by the lack of consolidated social capital. The development of social capital is therefore a precondition for Albania's democratization process and for increasing the perceived level of safety and security.

In my thesis, in accordance with the basic assumption, I explored the state of Albanian social capital, developed an index suitable for quantifying social capital, and also addressed the limitations of Putnam's theory. With the help of my research, I have highlighted the connections between social capital and security. Analysis of the research results showed a very low social capital index in Albania. In order to shed light on the roots of this phenomenon, in this dissertation I examined the legacy of the past by applying the quantitative (factor analysis) and qualitative approaches (documentary research) in parallel. The main findings of the research are:

1. Social capital as a phenomenon can be explored along the following questions: (i) Why is it important to build social capital? (ii) Who benefits from it? (iii) To whom does social capital belong?

2. There is a need for a new theory that can explain the phenomena of social capital in emerging democracies.

3. Albanian civil society is unable to achieve its main goals and do not take responsibility for the factors that cause their inability. Albanian civil society therefore faces a number of challenges to be accepted by citizens and other institutions. The role of NGOs in the security sector can be particularly important.

4. The legacy of the past is a major contributor to unconsolidated social capital in Albania.

5. Social capital has developed differently in large / medium cities and small towns / villages, which is strongly correlated with the perceived security of individuals living in various places.

6. Albanian civil society did not exist before the transition period, so it had to start from scratch after the fall of the communist regime.

Summary in Hungarian Language – Magyar nyelvű összefoglaló

A társadalmi tőke szereplői között megosztott szerepek és felelősségek megfelelő összetétele lendületet adhat olyan civil szervezetek létrejöttének és fejlődésének, amelyek garantálják a közügyek kapcsán a közvélemény részvételét, érdeklődésének fenntartását a biztonság érzetének növelése érdekében. A szakirodalom tükrében az erős társadalmi tőke és a hatékony civil szervezetek gyorsíthatják a demokratizálódást, valamint növelhetik a biztonság fokát és a politikai, gazdasági és társadalmi rendszer stabilitását is.

Jelen tézis elsődleges alapvetése, hogy az albániai civil szervezetek nem vesznek részt megfelelő módon a társadalmi diskurzusokban, így sem akcióik nem érik el a kívánt hatást, sem pedig az azok által elért hatásért nem vállalják megfelelően a felelősséget. Ez a helyzet társadalmi és egyéni szinten is bizonytalanságot eredményez. A civil szervezetek gyenge teljesítménye Albániában, a konszolidált társadalmi tőke hiányával magyarázható. A társadalmi tőke fejlesztése tehát előfeltétele Albánia demokratizálódási folyamatának, valamint a biztonság észlelt szintjének növelésének.

Az értekezésben az alapfeltevésnek megfelelően feltártam Albánia társadalmi tőkéjének állapotát, kialakítottam egy a társadalmi tőke kvantifikálására alkalmas indexet, és kitértem Putnam elméletének korlátaira is. Kutatásom segítségével rávilágítottam a társadalmi tőke és a biztonság közötti összefüggésekre.

A kutatási eredmények elemzése nagyon alacsony társadalmi tőkeindexet mutatott Albániában. Annak érdekében, hogy rávilágítsak ennek a jelenségnek a gyökereire, a dolgozatban a múlt örökségét a kvantitatív (faktoranalízis) és a kvalitatív megközelítést (dokumentáció kutatás) párhuzamos alkalmazásával vizsgáltam.

A kutatás főbb megállapításai:

1. A társadalmai tőke, mint jelenség feltárható az alábbi kérdések mentén: (i) Miért fontos a társadalmi tőke kiépítése? (ii) Ki profitál belőle? (iii) Kihez tartozik a társadalmi tőke?

2. Szükség van egy új elméletre, amely megmagyarázhatja a feltörekvő demokráciákban a társadalmi tőke jelenségeit.

3. Az albániai civil szervezetek nem képesek megvalósítani fő céljaikat, és nem vállalnak felelősséget az alkalmatlanságukat előidéző tényezőkért. Az albániai civil szervezeteknek ezért számos kihívást kell leküzdeniük, hogy a polgárok és más intézmények elfogadják őket. Különösen fontos lehet a civil szervezetek szerepe a biztonsági szektorban.

4. A múlt öröksége nagyban hozzájárul a konszolidálatlan társadalmi tőkéhez Albániában.

5. A társadalmi tőke eltérő módon fejlődött a nagy/közepes városokban és a kisvárosokban/falvakban, amely szoros korrelációt mutat az adott helyen élő egyének észlelt biztonságával.

6. *Albánia civil társadalma az átmeneti időszak előtt nem létezett, ezért a nulláról kellett kezdeni a kommunista rendszer bukása után.*

1 Introduction

'In the political domain, civil society development is now deemed crucial to stimulating the public pressure and participation necessary to force poorly functioning state institutions to become more responsive and accountable'

***T**homas **C**arothers, 2004.*

This thesis paradigms an absence or presence of safety feelings among citizens in the post-communist countries around the presence or absence of social capital, and its capability to reach planned objectives to prevent undesirable consequences. In doing this, the thesis reveals the power of civil society in shaping safety and security and the limits that come out from the legacy of the past. Great research is conducted in exposing the main determinants that contribute to the feelings of unsafety. Most of them are focused on the impact of crime [18]. Late research seems to find a poor understanding of the role of social capital and the feelings of unsafety, especially in post-communist societies. On the other hand, there is a lack of understanding of the role of active participation in civic activities and its link with the feelings of safety [5].

After the fall of the communist regime, the Eastern European countries adopted western examples that parachuted in the eastern part of Europe. The history testified that the transition period did not follow the same steps in these countries. At this point, seems to be very important in emphasizing that the post-communist countries experienced different levels of communist legacies. Therefore, safety and security concept in such countries developed differently, carrying out non-predicted consequences for society. The lack of democratic experience for some countries made it difficult to perform in a democratic environment and much difficult to establish trustful democratic government institutions [15]. Literature suggests that a low level of trust towards government institutions increased the absence of the safety feelings in between citizens [8].

On the other hand, the adaptation of western experiences carried out a major debate on whether civil society can be 'purchased' through outside assistance [1] [14]. Civil society is perceived as the perfect ground for the social interaction independent from the state that articulates public demands aiming to protect citizens' interests and increase their sense of security. Thus, after the fall of the communist regime, the rise of civic engagement and the establishment of civil society to increase the feelings of safety among citizens (and not only), was an emergency for

the democratization of the countries. Therefore, western donors have been one of the main contributors that stimulated the development of civil society in post-communist countries [9]. Nowadays, the USAID contributes over $1 billion annually to programs aimed at strengthening democratic institutions, law and justice, elections and civil society development[1].

Although the vital activism of civil society is one of the most vigorous instruments for a government to successfully fulfil objectives set in favour of public interest making them feel safe in their home country, the underdeveloped sector of civil society undermines a *weak social capital body* in Albania. One of the most important compliance mechanisms of social capital seems to be the development of the civil society sector. In Albania, the society seems to be prone to an environment where the civil society is absent, and the only form of representation is through voting [7]. Parties and their candidates endeavour to use a vocabulary that articulates likeness with the potential voters and through these supports the creation of the trust. The promises made during the electoral campaign also serve the same purpose, creating trust through inducing future expectancies in the potential supporters [6]. Thus, for emerging democracies like Albania, the development of civil society lies behind regarding effectiveness.

Deriving from these anomalies of democratization process, one of the most important challenges remains the assessment and evaluation of the long-term impact and effectiveness of social capital praxis. The impact and long- term consequences of the lack of social capital under the safety and security spectrum has been ignored. This raises several puzzling questions. Why it is important to explore social capital consequence sunder the safety and security lenses? Do the government institutions have a clear understanding of the potential long-term unintentional and unexpected consequences of their decisions and actions? It remains puzzling why the lack of social capital consequences of the safety and security spectrum is rarely studied. These are some key questions that this thesis seeks answers to better enhance and analyse the empirical understanding of the long-term influence and consequences of a lack of social capital in post-communist societies.

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[1] See USAID's website for information on aid and programs
at: http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/technical_areas/dg_office/evaluation.htm

Problem Statement

The democratization process and the function of state institutions cannot be understood without the analysis of its main indicators, such as: (i) the electoral process; (ii) the civil society; (iii) the independent media; (iv) the local democratic governance; (v) the judicial framework and independence; (vi) the corruption (Freedom House). The last report of the Freedom House reported Albania as one of the countries that did not progress towards democracy in different categories [10]. In particular, one category did not change in almost a decade: *civil society.* Thus, Albania lacks some degree regarding the effectiveness of civil society. However, to have a consolidated civil society, one of the pre-conditions is the presence of 'abundant stock of social capital'

On the other hand, the work of the civil society sector should be subject to accountability as a check and a balance system. Thus, the overall argument is that the existent civil organizations in Albania, do not fit with their purpose. They do not engage sufficiently with the consequences in the safety and security spectrum. They are not capable of reaching intended goals, anticipating and preventing the consequences of their actions, and take responsibility for their consequences. Considering this situation and the continued unsuccessful attempts to consolidate the civil society, this study explores the misuse of civil society for (un) known gain disfavouring the democratization process in Albania.

Main working concepts

Social capital is a determinant feature of both, modern economies and stable liberal democracies. The development of social capital is not an easy task. To cultivate social capital, it has to be explored its economic and political functions, as well as its origins [11]. Based on the definition of Fukuyama, social capital implies concepts such as: *trust, networks, and civil society.* While trust and network are two of the main elements of social capital, *civil society expresses the political function of social capital.* The existence of *Civil Society* is a pre-condition for modern liberal democracies. The absence of civil society is a sign that shows a lack of democracy in the country, therefore, citizens tend to sense a lack of safety [12].

However, social capital and civil society as notions present a great number of different understandings. The understanding of civil society can start with the work of Locke, Smith, Gramsci, and Hegel [4] [16]. In their point of view, civil society is an *entity autonomous* from the state and from the market lobbying for the interests of the interest groups they represent. Thus, the current thesis uses this definition to frame the concept of civil society in modern democracies. The members of civil society share *coordinated actions* of individuals equally engaged in processes of negotiation, conflict, or alliance with each other and with institutions. Based on the definition of civil society it is important to understand the role of *the network* and *the trust* that members of the group give to each other to *act collectively* for their interests.

The argument of the thesis

This thesis argues that before the institutionalization process of several civic organizations, a complex process of social construction occurs, during which actors create an understanding of the problem and the best way to address it. Thus, to understand how civil society consolidates, the scholars have to explain how problems are perceived, how history is understood, how preferences are created, and then analyze their effect on the institutionalization of civil society. Therefore, I propose the historical institutionalism theory to account for the institutionalization of civil society in emerging democracies. It is important to note that the thesis considers institutionalization as a matter of degree. New institutions that lack experience, resources, and political support are under-institutionalized [13].

By analyzing the institutionalization of civil society in Albania, I aim to understand how the civil society perceives the political and social environment, how they shape their interests in the highly unstable transition period, and how such interests in turn affect the development of social capital. Besides accounting for this puzzle, I aim to: (i) engage the social capital with the emerging democracies, (ii) initiate a new research debate within institutionalist theories, and (iii) provide a framework for conducting empirical research.

2 Research Questions, Hypotheses and Methodology

2.1 The Research Question

This thesis investigates why Albania did not succeed in establishing healthy civil society organizations after the fall of the communist regime to contribute to the democratization process of the country. This undertaking is significant not just for shedding light on an understudied case, but also because it illuminates the mechanism(s) that enable the CSOs during the transition period, under approaching *ceteris paribus* conditions, to produce insufficient outcomes towards democratization. I ground my study on two main objectives:

    (i)   To find out why the civil society organizations in Albania failed towards the democratization process after the fall of the communist regime?

    (ii)   Why the civil society organizations in Albania do not find a favorable ground that stimulates their development?

The analysis of the study is composed of two stages. In the first stage, the study hypothesizes about a proposed relationship between variables*: trust; network; reciprocity.* The first stage of the analysis is relying on the assumptions that:

Hypothesis 1: The Civil Society Organizations in Albania cannot be developed as far as Albania faces the absence of Social Capital.

Hypothesis 2: The absence of Social Capital comes as a consequence of a low level of trust among citizens.

The second stage of analysis is strongly linked with the results of the first stage. The study shows significant results regarding the absence of the social capital in Albania; thus, I explore the reasons behind this absence. The second stage of the study is grounded on the institutionalist approach, claiming that:

Hypothesis 3: The civil society organizations in Albania failed because of *the legacy of the past*.

Thus, first, I measure social capital in Albania, generating the Social Capital Index. Second, I explain the absence of social capital in Albania through the *legacy of the past*.

2.2 Conceptualization – The research design

Civil Society organizations are one of the most vital instruments to check whether the government successfully fulfils its objectives set for the public interest. The literature on the civil society organizations uses social capital as a proxy to estimate the establishment and performance of such organizations during the transition periods and their contribution towards democratization. For this reason, at the first stage of the analysis, I generated the Social Capital Index in Albania. On the other hand, the historical institutionalism approach is usually used in the literature to understand the performance of the civil society organizations during the transition periods using as a proxy the legacy of the past. In this view, the thesis investigates (i) the establishment of the civil society organizations in Albania after the fall of the communist regime; (ii) the performance of the civil society organizations in Albania during the transition period by assessing how variables of the legacy of the past thrive within the civil society organizations. This thesis relies on a single country case study research design, which is proportionate to its main objectives. According to Yin, where the RQ focuses on *'why'* questions, the case study strategy looks the most appropriate one to investigate the contemporary events [20].

2.3 The case selection – Why Albania?

It is reported by several international reports that the only indicator of democracy that did not change at any moment in thirteen years in Albania, is *civil society* [10]. On the other side, in the National Court of Tirana are registered more than ten thousand CSOs. These two very contradictory findings have been motivated by the current thesis. The role of the CSOs is to represent all the groups of interest in a democratic society and to raise public concerns. If the CSOs cannot fulfil this very crucial goal, thus the development of democracy is questionable.

Another reason for choosing Albania is related to the research design of the thesis. Since one of the main goals of this thesis is to test the theoretical proposition, it seems that Albania is presenting an appropriate choice because it provides a controlled environment in which to test the plausibility of the theory. Also, Albanian case provides a suitable environment for undertaking an empirical analysis of the effects the ideational variables have on the development of the CSOs. Several studies that have been using the social capital, the legacy of the past, or other similar explanatory mechanisms, are criticized for either not being convincing

enough or being just another story. To avoid such criticism, I pay attention to undertaking empirical and replicable research.

2.4 The Depended Variable

The dependent variable is the civil society organizations in Albania from 1991-2019. It is important to conduct a deep analysis of the CSOs in Albania to understand their output towards (i) the democratization process after the fall of the communist regime; (ii) their role in engaging citizens for public concerns; (iii) the relationship they establish with the state to support or to be supported by it. I use social capital as the indicator of the rise and the development of the CSOs in Albania. From the theoretical point of view, civil society occurs only where the country has a developed social capital.

2.5 The Independent Variables

In *the first stage,* the explanatory variable is *the social capital* and in the second stage, the second explanatory variable is the *legacy of the past.* By social capital it is understood the effect that might have the level of *trust, reciprocity, and the degree of network among citizens.* By legacy of the past, it is understood how the communist legacy influenced the establishment of the new CSOs during the transition period.

2.5.1   Independent Variable 1 - Social Capital

The measurement of social capital through its three main three indicators:

Indicator 1.1. Measuring the development of the Social Capital with Trust

According to the literature when people feel a positive attachment with individuals of their neighbourhoods they feel safer as they perceive the place warm, familiar, and safe places [2]. Thus, it is important to understand that the bonding with the neighbourhood seems to be a significant prognosticator of feelings of unsafety [3][5]. The institutional trust helps the study to investigate the insights of the CSOs dynamics in Albania. This level of trust helps the study to analyze and understand whether the citizens trust the civil society organizations. The lack of institutional trust can be a significant factor in producing weak social capital; therefore, weak civil society organizations, unable to satisfy the safety feelings among citizens.

14

Indicator 1.2. Measuring the development of Social Capital with Reciprocity

Reciprocity norms are one of the key prerequisites for social capital. Reciprocity aims to establish relations among people through an exchange of shared privileges. Reciprocity is considered an asset for developing correlations between people and institutions by generally increasing the level of solidarity.

Indicator 1.3. Measuring the development of Social Capital with Network and social support

Social support can be provided based on the types of relationships that people create among them. Such as it was explained through the theories of social capital, individuals organize their interaction within informal and formal networks. Through this indicator (network) of social capital, the questionnaire tried to shed light on how the community functions and deals with problems.

2.5.2 Independent variable 2 – Legacy of the past

I investigate the legacy of the past as the main indicator that could not provide a favorable political and economic environment to stimulate the social capital and consequently the CSOs in Albania. More precisely the second independent variable is the political legacy that the communist system left in the re-establishment of the institutions and how it has been reflected during the transition period. To measure the political past, I used the historical institutionalism approach.

The unit of analysis of the second stage

At this stage the units of analysis are two:

- the national and international reports to explore the influence of the legacy of the past towards the establishment of CSOs during the state transition period;

-the members of the CSOs in Albania to understand the opposing findings

2.6 Methods and Data Collection

2.6.1   Methods used

This study employs mixed methods- quantitative and qualitative approach when it comes to the methods used for data collection and analysis. The first goal of the thesis was to identify the

poor performance of the CSOs in Albania. To do so, the social capital approach is applied looking for the development of social capital. The study uses the questionnaire by Anirudh Krishna and Norman Uphoff looking into the effect of trust, network, and reciprocity on the development of social capital [17]. To do so, two different statistical analyses have been applied.

In the first analysis, there are used the responses of six separate questions which have been combined to measure the social capital and to construct an index of social capital in Albania. At the second stage of the analysis, I test the explanatory variables that can explain the results of the first stage of the analysis (SCIndex)/ Second, I analyze the degree of effectives of the civil society organization in Albania during the state transition and its role towards the democratization process, focusing on two main indicators, such as: (i) the Complications in establishing a participatory civil society and (ii) the failure of civil society to act as an intermediary actor. To apply the PT method in measuring the performance and the role of the CSOs during the state transition period, documentary research is conducted as it fits properly with the aim of the study. The Official documents such as the newspapers, the national and international report on the dynamics of the CSOs in Albania during the transition period, allow for a systematic collection of data and provide a good baseline for the researcher to study the phenomenon. Discourse analysis of such documents has been used to extract the main information [21].

2.6.2   Stage 1 – The questionnaire

I use the questionnaire composed by Anirudh Krishna and Norman Uphoff [17]. The questionnaire is filled by three hundred ninety-two (392) respondents covering all the geographical areas of Albania. I am confident that the questionnaire has been distributed properly meeting the internal and external validity of the study. The sample size of the study meets the criteria concerning the level of validity for generalizable conclusions. According to the last results of INSTAT 2019[2], in Albania are 162,835 active enterprises. I recall that the respondents belong to the group of citizens who have their business activities. Thus, calculating

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[2] Active enterprises: http://www.instat.gov.al/, last access: 2nd October 2019

the representativeness of my 392 filled questionnaires, I can say with 95% confidence and with 5% of margin error, that my sample size exceeds the level of validity.

Three analysis of the first stage of the thesis:

Analysis 1: The measurement of social capital

Analysis 2: The Social Capital Index in Albania- Factor analysis: Trust factor

Analysis 3*: The correlation between the Social Capital Index and the determinants of social capital. To do so, I transformed the values of social capital in a rage from 0 to 100.

The questions of the survey are divided into two categories:

-*The Structural Social capital and The Cognitive Social capital* are measured by a point scale starting from 1 until 5. 1 means low-level of social capital and 5 means high-level of social capital. Meanwhile, values such as 8 and 9 correspond to the answers: 'don't know' and 'no answer'. The answers that scored 8 and 9 were not taken into consideration during the analysis. Each category is composed by three questions that corresponds to the three main domains of social capital (Trust; reciprocity; collective actions).

The structure of the questionnaire

Social capital is measured through these six questions:

- (Informal networking and mutual support)

Q.1. If your neighborhood would be polluted affecting the entire environment of your village/town/city, then who do you think would come forward to deal with this situation?

- (Collective actions)

Q.2. Who in this village/town/city has historically looked after the common public spaces?

Q.3. Suppose two people in this village/town/city argued with each other. Who do you think would resolve this dispute?

-(Solidarity)

Q.4. Suppose some children of the village/town/city are disrespectful to elders, they disobey their parents, etc. Who in this village/town/city feels right to correct other people's children?

Q.5. Which among the following is the most important reason why people in this village/town/city take care of public space?

- (Trust and cooperation)

Q.6. Suppose someone from the village/town/city had to go away for a while, along with their family. In whose responsibility could they leave "their house"?

2.6.3 Stage 2 –Documentary research method

A. Documentary research method

To apply a rigorous PT approach, I was careful in the selection of the documents I used for the discourse analysis to generate generalizable findings [21]. I have to underline that this method is used as a complementary method of the questionnaire, as it tries to explain the mechanisms that operate in producing a weak social capital. The sample of the documents was not selected randomly. The types of documents I used for this thesis meet all the quality control criteria. The source of the documents is authentic, credible, and representative [19].

However, the study tries to cover a very long period, from 1990-2018, thus the documents chosen to be analyzed provide a representative sample, but the study does not cover all the documents that have been published. I focused on selecting the reports that have been published by rigorous agencies and well-known experts in the field. For the selection, I tried not to be biased as I was involved in the study reports by agencies that operate at least for twenty years, showing high-level of credibility (example: the USAID; the World Bank; the OSFA, etc). Thus, the study provides credible and meaningful data for the thesis.

3 Hypothesis Tests

Hypothesis 1: The Civil Society Organizations in Albania cannot be developed as far as Albania faces the absence of Social Capital.

The unit of analysis of the first stage - *the citizens.*

The number of respondents for each region is as in the table below:

Table 1. The number of respondents by cities' categories

Size of area	No. of Respondents
Large city	115
Medium town	148
Small village	129

3.1 Measuring Social Capital in Large cities

The social capital level for the large cities in Albania is shown in the table below:

Table 2. The social capital level in large Albanian cities

Large Cities						
	Structural Social Capital			Cognitive Social Capital		
Question	**Q.1**	**Q.2**	**Q.3**	**Q.4**	**Q.5**	**Q.6**
	1.9	2.1	1.9	2.1	2.4	**1.1**
Scores			**1.9**			**1.86**
Score						**1.9**
No. of Respondents						115

Based in the literature, a consolidated social capital can be found in those societies where there is a high level of mutual support, collective actions, effective informal networks, a high level of trust and, a high level of solidarity. According to the results of this study, ***big cities in Albania lack a consolidated social capital.*** Every separated value showed that Albanian society in the big cities did not develop notions such as: solidarity, networking, or trust. Considering the results carried out from each indicator and the two main structures of the social capital, I conclude that the Social Capital Albania in big cities is not well defined.

3.2 Measuring Social Capital in Medium Cities and Towns

The social capital index for medium cities in Albania is shown in the table below:

Table 3. The social capital level in medium Albanian cities

Medium Cities/Towns						
	Structural Social Capital			Cognitive Social Capital		
Question	Q.1	Q.2	Q.3	Q.4	Q.5	Q.6
	1.7	1.9	2.6	1.9	2.2	**1.7**
Scores			**2**			1.9
Score						1.95
No. of Respondents						148

According to the results of this study, ***medium cities and towns in Albania lack a consolidated social capital.*** Considering the results carried out from each indicator and the two main structures of social capital, I conclude that Social Capital Albania in medium cities is below the average.

3.3 Measuring Social Capital in Small Towns and Villages

Table 4. The social capital level in small Albanian cities

Small Towns/Villages						
	Structural Social Capital			Cognitive Social Capital		
Question	Q.1	Q.2	Q.3	Q.4	Q.5	Q.6
	2.3	2.6	2.4	2.7	2.4	2.6
Scores			**2.4**			**2.5**
Score						**2.45**
No. of Respondents						129

According to the results of this study, the ***small towns and villages in Albania have established a slight level of social capital.*** Considering the results carried out from each indicator and the two main structures of the social capital, I conclude that the Social Capital in Albania in the small towns and villages is developed at a certain point.

3.4 The integrated results of Social Capital in Albania

The current section of the thesis provides information regarding the level of development of the Social Capital in Albania. This categorization gives a paramount picture on the level the variables are developed, such as: trust, solidarity, collective actions, mutual support, etc. (as main determinants of social capital). The integrated table helps to further discuss the differences between big, medium, and small cities in Albania, it also helps to measure the Social Capital in Albania from a point scale from 1 to 5.

Table 5. The social capital level in Albania

Social Capital in Albania						
	Structural Social Capital			Cognitive Social Capital		
Question	**Q.1-Scores**	**Q.2-Scores**	**Q.3-Scores**	**Q.4-Scores**	**Q.5-Scores**	**Q.6-Scores**
Big Cities	1.9	2.1	1.9	2.1	2.4	1.1
Medium Cities/Towns	1.7	1.9	2.6	1.9	2.2	1.7
Small Towns/Villages	2.1	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.4	2.6
			2.1			2
Sore						2.05
Tot. No. of Respondents						392

According to the results of the table, I did not find great differences between different areas of Albania regarding the development of social capital. Literature suggests that when a high level of each of these variables is found in a certain society, these societies are more likely to show a high level of consolidated social capital. Q.1 → the level of mutual support; Q.2 and 3 → the level of collective actions; Q.4 and 5 → the level of solidarity and Q.6 → the level of trust.

The results in the integrated table show that there is a significant difference between the big and the medium cities regarding the level of collective actions. In the medium towns, the citizens seem to be more collaborative regarding certain issues that belong to the community. Meanwhile, trust seems *to be the most problematic issue in large and medium cities.* According to the results, the Albanian citizens in big cities *do not trust* each other. An opposite finding is found in the small villages of Albania, where people are more likely to trust each other. Based on the results, I find that such social capital variables are related negatively to the

size of the city/town/village. It means that the bigger the city, the less trust is established between citizens.

Based on such results I recall the sixth question, to operationalize in practical terms, *the factor of trust* that is commonly included in most treatments of social capital. This way I test the second Hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: The absence of Social Capital comes as a consequence of a low level of trust among citizens.

Based on the results of Table 5, I calculated the average response *that* indicates the level of trust among the Albanian citizens in the big/medium cities and small towns and villages. *The average response was 1.8*. According to the current value, trust seems to be problematic in Albania. It means that it does not contribute in the development of social capital.
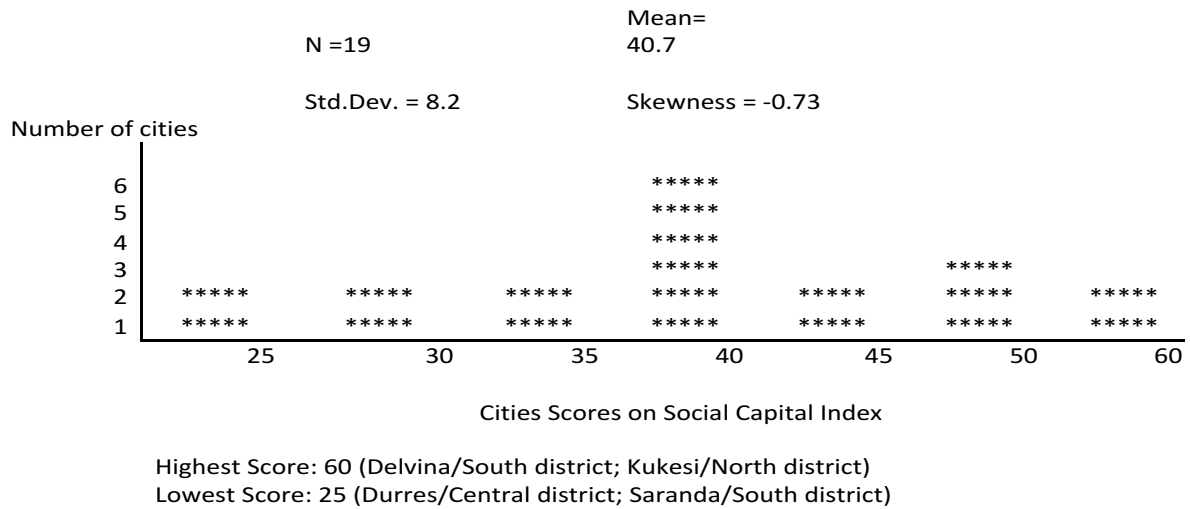
Table 6. Trust level value in Albania

Question	Q.6-Scores
Big Cities	1.1
Medium Cities/Towns	1.7
Small Towns/Villages	2.6
Sore	**1.8**

The six separate questions/variables presented in the table above were merged into a Social Capital Index. I transformed the results in a second stage, into an index has a range from zero to hundred. This transformation is useful for the interpretation of the results generated by the regression analysis. The Albanian scores on the Social Capital Index are portrayed in Figure 1. To calculate the social capital index in Albania, I used the number of cities from where the respondents come. After working with the data, I found out that 392 respondents that participated in the study come from 19 cities/towns and villages in Albania.

Likewise, it is shown in the graph below, in a rage from 0 to 100, **14 cities scored below 50, while the other part scored above the 50 but below the 70**. The combined index is highly correlated with its constituent parts[3]

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[3] Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha = 0.855. Individual correlations with the index are all 0.75 or higher.

Figure 1. Albanian scores on the social capital index

```
                                      Mean=
                        N =19         40.7

                        Std.Dev. = 8.2    Skewness = -0.73
Number of cities
      6│                              *****
      5│                              *****
      4│                              *****
      3│                              *****              *****
      2│   *****    *****    *****    *****    *****    *****    *****
      1│   *****    *****    *****    *****    *****    *****    *****
       └──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────
           25       30       35       40       45       50       60

                    Cities Scores on Social Capital Index
```

Highest Score: 60 (Delvina/South district; Kukesi/North district)
Lowest Score: 25 (Durres/Central district; Saranda/South district)

After transforming the results in the second stage (aiming to generate the Social Capital Index) the new results present almost the same results. Small towns such as Delvina and Kukesi scored the highest score compared with Durres which is one of the biggest cities in Albania that scored the lowest score. Again, based on the results, I find out that social capital variables are related negatively with the size of the city/town/village.

After the fall of communism, a large number of the Albanians coming from the small towns/villages, drooped in the big cities where they did know nobody. According to the literature, in a state where the institutions are weak, as they are in the Albanian case, there is found a very low level of trust among citizens of a country/city and the foreign citizens who come to live there [8]. This situation grows the feelings of unsafety, meaning that in the big cities, citizens feel more unsafe as not all of them feel attached to the place. Thereby, "others" or "strangers" are perceived as intruders into a warm and safe community [8].

On the other hand, results suggest that in small towns/villages there is a higher level of trust among individuals. This might be explained by the place attachment. In small communities, it is found a higher feeling of safety. The findings on small towns/villages where 'all know all', suggest that the more people feel attached to their neighbourhoods, the less they feel unsafe [5]. Furthermore, the studies on the social composition of the neighbourhood, suggest that the

perception of too many foreigners in the neighbourhood is positively related to feelings of unsafety.

3.5 The correlation between SCIndex in Albania and informal networking, solidarity, and trust

Measuring the correlation between the Social Capital Index and the variables of the social capital is very relevant, as it can be empirically supported the theory of social capital. The section below will show all the significant correlations between the Social Capital Index and Social Capital variables.

**All the reported coefficients are significant at 0.01 level.

- Indicator. 1. Informal networking and mutual support- '*If your neighbourhood would be polluted affecting the entire environment of your village/town/city, then who do you think would come forward to deal with this situation?* (The entire village/town/city).
*(correlation = 0.68)

- Indicator. 2. Trust- *Suppose someone from the village/town/city had to go away for a while, along with their family. In whose responsibility could they leave "their house"?* (Can only close relatives be trusted, or a larger group of cities?)
*(correlation = 0.657)

- Indicator. 3. Solidarity- *Which among the following is the most important reason why people in this village/town/city take care of public space?* (The activity keeps the citizens united).
*(correlation = 0.54)

3.6 The hypothesis- Stage 2 of the analysis

As the second stage of the analysis, the Albanian civil society dynamics were analyzed during the transition period. To do so, I used the post-Communist normative approach that assumes the civil society to act as an intermediary actor, to promote a dialogue between the state and the public; and to provide expertise for a non-professional and politicized bureaucracy inherited from the previous regime. Based on such assumptions, the second stage of the study is grounded on the institutionalist approach, claiming that:

Hypothesis 3: The civil society organizations in Albania failed because of *the legacy of the past*.

To achieve the main goal, I focused in two moments: (i) The development of the civil society in Albania during the early transition period; (ii) The failure of the civil society in Albania as an intermediary actor between the state and the public. After analysing the documents collected in the framework of the current thesis, it resulted: 1. With a low level of professional preparedness and difficulties in understanding its role during the transition process, neither the public nor the state helped the civil society to increase its capacity. Lack of interest and participation from the public, complemented by a politicization process, impeded the civil society in taking up its role as an intermediary actor that is to promote a dialogue between the state and the public. 2. A civil society that was excluded from the policy processes, concentrated on pursuing economic interests, and failed to demand the institutionalization of its relationship with the state, lost the support from the public. 3. The absence of support by the public made the civil society unable to demonstrate to the policymakers its potential role. 4. Limited interest in making human resource development a strategic objective, insufficient financial resources, and the absence of appropriate fundraising strategies can be considered major impeding factors that left the civil society unable to strengthen the state, as well as to provide assistance and feedback to the state institutions of assistance and feedback to state institutions. However, it has been under-evaluated that a weak civil society, unable to strength the state involves the security sector.

4 The Use of New Scientific Achievements

Thesis 1 – Institutionalization of social capital in post-communist countries is different from that of the western countries.

Published in: Çabiri, Danaj; 2017, Danaj, 2016

As scholars of post-communist systems would point out 'the stronger the compulsory membership in state-controlled organizations, the less the public tend to participate in the CSOs' Thus, (i) the degree of communist oppression during the communism played a significant role in the participation of the citizens towards civil society. (2) During the communism, citizens have been forced to be active members of the Albanian party-state organizations. Because of this process, citizens started to lose the sense of their civic engagement. As a result, in 1998, Albania only eleven percent of the population participated in civil society organizations. (3) The Albanian communist regime, differently from other former communist countries, abandoned the religion in 1967 and it took 23 years. Religion played a significant role in organizing different forms of independent CSOs in countries such as: The German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, and other CEEC. Such an action has been considered as another reason why civil society organizations did not succeed during the transition in Albania. (4) In the first years of transition, Albanian citizens did not develop trust feelings towards the state and between each other. They refused to collaborate, refused to hold elections, refused to participate in the polls, contributing to the underdevelopment of social capital, and increasing the feelings of insecurity at the same time.

Thesis 2 - The level of institutionalization and the efficacy of existing institutions can be explored with the help of the Process tracing approach using one study case.

Published in: Lami, Danaj, 2017; Çabiri, Danaj, 2017; Danaj, Lazányi, Lami, 2017.

One study case, because: (1) it illuminates the mechanism(s) that enable the CSOs during the transition period, under approaching *ceteris paribus* conditions, to produce insufficient outcomes towards democratization; (2) of the research design of the thesis- to test the theoretical proposition. Albania presents an appropriate choice because it provides a controlled environment in which to test the plausibility of the theory; (3) this research design enables me

to lay the ground for theory development. If the theoretical proposition is validated, then it opens the possibilities for further research, covering similar cases. The study merges several methods (mixed methods) to explain all the variables that affect the poor performance of the CSOs in Albania and it is also divided into two different stages of analyses.

Thesis 3: The Civil Society Organizations in Albania cannot be developed as far as Albania faces the absence of Social Capital.

Published in: Çabiri, Danaj, 2017

The transition period manifested several challenges in the political, social, and economic context in Albania. To check the democratization degree of Albania, I checked the last report of Freedom House and I investigated the main indicators that Freedom House uses for the measurement of democracy. I realized that all the indicators changed over time, but it was only one indicator that scored the same in the last thirteen years, it was civil society. Thus, to understand why the good practices of Western countries on the civil society in Albania did not succeed I started to investigate the literature to identify the conditions under which civil society rises. I found out that the pre-condition for the existence of civil society was Social Capital. Civil Society occurs where there is a developed social capital. Therefore, I measured the degree of social capital that Albania has developed nowadays and the index I generated was too low, showing a lack of social capital. On the other side, I found some opposing findings. Freedom house reports the failure of civil society in Albania, meanwhile, in the court of Tirana are registered more than 10.000 CSOs. USAID reported that it has been donated billion dollars to increase the awareness of civil society, but still Albania is facing difficulties in that. Based on these two contradictory findings, my second question was: Why CSOs in Albania are not manifesting success? The second question is elaborated and explained through the legacy of the past as the main feature that did not allow the success of a developed social capital.

Thesis 4: The absence of Social Capital comes as a consequence of a low level of trust among citizens producing a sense of insecurity.

Published in: Danaj, Lazanyi, Bilan 2018; Danaj, Lazanyi, Bilan, Lami, 2017

The empirical findings of the thesis suggest that the development of social capital in Big/Medium Cities and Small Towns/Villages, varies from one other. The results show that in small towns can be found a higher developed social capital compared with the bigger cities in Albania. Thus, in the Albanian case, social capital variables are related negatively with the size of the city/town/village. Such results seem to be explained by the social cohesion spectrum. After the fall of communism, a large number of the Albanians coming from the small towns/villages, drooped in the big cities. On the other hand, the Albanian citizens who lived in the big cities perceived the newcomers as foreigners. Under such conditions was difficult to establish bridges of trust between them. Thereby, "others" or "strangers" were perceived as intruders into a warm and safe community. On the other hand, results suggest that in small towns/villages there is a higher level of trust among individuals. This was explained by the place attachment. In small communities, it is found higher feelings of safety. The findings on small towns/villages where 'all know all', suggest that the more people feel attached to their neighborhoods, the less they feel unsafe. All these empirical results are grounded in the theory also, where trust, as one of the main determinants of social capital, is understood as an Institutional domain function, covering spectrums such as: a-Problem Solving: (i)Trust and Confidence; (ii) Conflict Resolution, b-Microeconomic efficiency, c-Social Policies.

Thesis 5: The civil society organizations in Albania failed because of *the legacy of the past*. Published in: Çabiri, Danaj, 2017

The Civil society in Albania did not exist before the transition, thus, it had to start from scratch after the fall of the communist regime. With (1) a low level of professional preparedness and difficulties in understanding its role during the transition process, neither the public, nor the state helped the civil society to increase its capacity. (2) Lack of interest and participation from the public, complemented by a politicization process, impeded the civil society in taking up its role as an intermediary actor that is to promote a dialogue between the state and the public. (3) A civil society that was excluded from the policy processes, concentrated on pursuing economic interests and failed to demand the institutionalization of its relationship with the state, lost the support of the public. The absence of support from the public made the civil society unable to demonstrate to the policymakers its potential role. It is also marginalized its position to the point where the civil society remained a distant actor unprepared to find its role in a participatory democracy. (4) Limited interest in making human resource development a strategic objective,

insufficient financial resources and the absence of appropriate fundraising strategies can be considered major impeding factors that left the civil society unable to strengthen the state, as well as to provide assistance and feedback to the state institutions of assistance and feedback to state institutions. However, it has been under-evaluated that a weak civil society, unable to strength the state involves the security sector.

5 Conclusions

Albania is considered as a political unique case because of the political and economic challenges over time. Albania is a country that lacks several degrees of democratization, especially in the development of civil society organizations, even though it had all the potential and conditions to develop a strong civil society. However, as it is reported, Albania lacks the development of civil society. Starting from this point of view, I investigated the literature to identify the domestic conditions of a country under which civil society organizations develop. Based on the literature, for the development of civil society, it is a pre-condition for the development of social capital.

Deriving from the anomalies of the democratization process in Albania, one of the most important challenges remains the assessment and evaluation of the long-term impact and effectiveness of social capital praxis. So far, the measurement of the wider impact remains elusive and is inadequate for capturing and tracing long-term consequences. The impact and long- term consequences of the lack of social capital under the safety and security spectrum have been ignored and outshined. Thus, the thesis took an analytical and critical explanatory approach to disentangle the impact of social capital on the safety and the security spectrum in Albania. This thesis showed an absence of safety feelings among citizens in Albania around the absence of social capital. Such a finding revealed the power of both, the civil society and the trust in shaping safety and security and the limits that come out from the legacy of the past.

6 Recommendations

According to the results of the thesis and experts' consultations, the following recommendations are necessary to promote the role of civil society in Albania and make their presence useful.

- Safety and security issues should be involved in CSOs agenda in Albania. As far as trust issues result as a big problem between Albanian citizens and they fear to trust their relevant/friends/community, is the duty of CSOs to increase their role and power in protecting citizens by decreasing the feelings and unsafety. To fulfil such a duty, CSOs in Albania should take steps, such as:
- CSOs in Albania should organize several seminars and workshops to increase their credibility among citizens. First, they should conduct a survey which can show them the Albanian regions that do not trust at all the CSOs or do not have information regarding the CSOs. In such regions, the workshops seem to be a must.
- CSOs in Albania should organize campaigns that increase the awareness of their role in general and their role in the safety and security sphere in particular.

- As CSOs in Albania face a low level of trust among citizens, they must take concrete action during delicate periods in the country, such as: during elections, civic war, scandals, etc.
- CSOs in Albania should develop awareness policies on their role in protecting citizens, increasing the feeling of safety. To do so, the CSOs members need to be trained by experts in the safety and security field. Such actions were never undertaking in Albania.
- CSOs in Albania should develop practices that reduce the role of the legacy of the past in nowadays life. It can be made through a high pressing that CSOs can make towards the governance, through accountability and transparency requirements.

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