



Albanian Political Science Association

**Political Science and Society.
Challenges of Democratization, Development, and European
Integration.**

19–20 November 2004

Abstracts of Conference Presentations

Pallati i Kongreseve
Tirana, Albania

LIST OF PRESENTATIONS

GEZIM ALPION (THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM, UK)	4
THE ROLE OF THE ALBANIAN MEDIA IN ENHANCING THE IMAGE OF ALBANIA IN THE WEST: FAILURES AND HOPES	4
ANGEL ANGELOV (SOFIA UNIVERSITY, BULGARIA)	5
THE NATO POLICY OF CONDITIONALITY AND THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE	5
ISA BLUMI (TRINITY COLLEGE, CT, USA)	6
HARBORING MISCONCEPTIONS AND INTRODUCING NEW PATHOLOGIES OF FAILURE IN THE BALKANS: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF EU/UN ADMINISTRATION IN KOSOVA AND HOW CAN WE TEACH IT.	6
JUDITH HOFFMANN (HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY, GERMANY)	7
INTEGRATING ALBANIA: THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS	7
ADRIAN BRISKU, GEORGE WELTON	8
AN INSIGHT AT THE IDEA OF EUROPE WITHIN THE ALBANIAN POLITICAL-INTELLECTUAL IMAGINARY	8
HENRI ÇILI (UNIVERSITY OF TIRANA, ALBANIA)	9
MBI HIBRIDIZIMIN E HAPSIRE POLITIKE. TRANSFORMIMI I HAPSIRE POLITIKE NE SHQIPERI NEN EFEKTIN E TENSIONIT MES LEGJITIMITETIT QE VJEN NGA JAShte DHE LEGJITIMITETIT TE BRENDESHEM.....	9
ZIDAS DASKALOVSKI, MARIJA RISTESKA	10
DECENTRALIZATION PROCESS AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN MACEDONIA	10
ETLEVA GERMENJI, LINDITA LATI	11
HOW CAN EMIGRATION HELP DEVELOPMENT IN ALBANIA: THOUGHTS ON POLICIES THAT ARE LACKING AND POLICIES THAT NEED TO BE ADJUSTED	11
KLARITA GËRXXHANI (UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS)	12
TAX EVASION IN TRANSITION: OUTCOME OF AN INSTITUTIONAL CLASH? TESTING FEIGE’S CONJECTURE IN ALBANIA	12
JEHONA GJURJEALA	13
MARRËDHËNIET TREGËTARE NË MES SHQIPËRISË DHE BASHKIMIT EUROPIAN	13
ALTIN ILIRJANI (UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL, USA)	14
POLITICAL ECONOMY OF EUROIZATION IN ALBANIA	14
BLENDI KAJSIU (ALBANIAN SCHOOL OF POLITICS, ALBANIA)	15
ALBANIAN POLITICAL PARTIES – AMIDST DILEMMAS AND CHALLENGES.....	15
IRENA MITRO (UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO, BIH)	16
INSTITUTIONAL FORMS OF TRANSITION IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE: OMBUDSMAN AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO DEMOCRACY	16

ELDA PAPA (ALBANIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION)	17
MARREDHENIET SHQIPTARO-GREKE DHE INVESTIMET GREKE NE SHQIPERI.....	17
RIDVAN PESHKOPIA (UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, USA)	18
CAN WE WELCOME THEM NOW? THE DIFFICULT PATH TOWARD ASYLUM CAPACITY BUILDING IN THE BALKANS.	18
BESNIK PULA (UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, USA)	19
THE RISE OF THE KOSOVAR PARALLEL STATE, 1988-92	19
SHINASI RAMA (NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, NY, USA)	20
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND NATION-BUILDING: SHAPING POLITICAL CLEAVAGES IN POST- CONFLICT KOSOVA.....	20
JOHANA SHAHINI (CHARLES UNIVERSITY, PRAGUE)	21
MBI SHKAQET E BRISHTESISE SE DEMOKRACISE NE SHQIPERI	21

Gezim Alpion (The University of Birmingham, UK)

The Role of the Albanian Media in Enhancing the Image of Albania in the West: Failures and Hopes

The collapse of communism in the early 1990s marked a new stage for the Albanian media. The process of democratization, however, proved more complicated than it was initially thought, partly because the Albanians, like other East Europeans, had some rather naive views about 'democracy' and 'free speech', and partly because, in spite of the positive steps made to integrate Albania into the EU, the process seems to be more complicated than it was anticipated.

The Albanian media, I argue, could and should have played a more effective role in promoting a more positive image of Albania in the West over the last fifteen years. The paper identifies some of the reasons - political, financial, cultural - why the Albanian media is still unable to advertise Albania abroad in a new light.

Albania continues to be portrayed in the European press (especially in the British broadsheets and tabloids) as a bandit country where drug-trafficking and social unrest are the norm. In spite of its apparent 'slow' progress, Albania deserves a fairer presentation in the West. In general, Western correspondents do not seem to be interested in writing about the positive aspects of Albania. Some of their reporting is biased, unfair and in many cases of a sensationalist nature.

Albania cannot depend only on its diplomats to improve its image. Indeed, from direct contacts I have made with many press offices at the Balkan embassies in London, it is obvious that the methods diplomats follow to promote their countries in the West remain limited, ineffective and old-fashioned.

The Albanian media could play a crucial role in advertising the achievements of the 1989-2004 period by establishing more direct contacts with press agencies in the West, and more importantly by training young and devoted reporters abroad.

Angel Angelov (Sofia University, Bulgaria)

The NATO Policy of Conditionality and the Process of Democratization in Southeastern Europe

For the last few decades the concept of conditionality became the core strategy of international organizations to induce non-member states to comply with their interests. NATO incorporated the concept of conditionality as an essential part of its post-Cold War enlargement. Many authors have been trying to adapt the concept of conditionality to the explanation of the policies of the IMF, WB and EU. However, the conditionality mechanisms applied in the process of NATO enlargement – have not been explored almost at all. There is necessity to revisit the body of transitology scholarship about the causes and mechanisms of political transformation in the Balkans. It will be useful to outline what role NATO can play in facilitating or hindering the process of democratization in the Balkan states that are candidates for membership. The paper will present a broader picture of where conditionality stands among other linkage mechanisms between international and domestic politics.

As a result of this research it is expected to be pointed out the ways, the motivation, the factors and conditions under which the external forces play a significant role in shaping the democratization processes in countries in transition and in this way motivating political reforms, resolution of conflicts and reconciliation. The detailed analysis of the impact of NATO's conditionality and the logic behind the behaviour of the main players in the process of enlargement will provide a useful know-how for future rounds of enlargement, including the next one when Albania, Macedonia and Croatia are expected to join the Alliance.

As a result of this research it is expected to be pointed out the ways, the motivation, the factors and conditions under which the external forces play a significant role in shaping the democratization processes in countries in transition and in this way motivating political reforms, resolution of conflicts and reconciliation. The detailed analysis of the impact of NATO's conditionality and the logic behind the behaviour of the main players in the process of enlargement will provide a useful know-how for future rounds of enlargement, including the next one when Albania, Macedonia and Croatia are expected to join the Alliance.

Isa Blumi (Trinity College, CT, USA)

Harboring Misconceptions and Introducing New Pathologies of Failure in the Balkans: A Critical Assessment of EU/UN administration in Kosova and How can we Teach it.

I would like to offer insight into how international participation in the Balkans has greatly distorted the range of democratic options initially available to Albanians, in particular Kosovar Albanians. Using the recent discussions of political, administrative and economic “decentralization” in Kosova as a case study, I will explore how a dangerous combination of a disregard for history, the uncritical use of universalist terminology and a fixation on the use of statistics in a society that has never been properly quantified, has created a serious disjuncture between theory and applicability.

I believe this expose of UNMIK and European Union failures in its development and haphazard implementation of “decentralization” has created new forms of economic and political conflict that has quickly spilled over into larger issues plaguing Kosovar society. As a result of the misapplication of political science tools and an unsophisticated distortion of the past, Kosova’s short and medium-term hopes for political and economic stability and the development of a democratic society are threatened.

This presentation will specifically seek to inspire debate about how Political Science as a practical tool of administration as well as a pedagogical tool has its pitfalls if not fully integrated in an interdisciplinary fashion with other disciplines that are far more skeptical. In the course of my power point presentation, I can highlight some of the strategies I have introduced to teaching my students both at New York University and Trinity College in comparative politics and international relations, with a heavy emphasis on the Balkans and Democratic theory.

Judith Hoffmann (Humboldt University, Germany)

Integrating Albania: The role of the European union in the democratization process

ABSTRACT

The Kosovo Crisis in 1999 was another climax of the war-torn 1990s in the region of South-East Europe. It had a major impact on the attitude of the European Union towards the region leading to a strong effort to enhance its stabilization and democratization. For the first time, the prospect of joining the EU was offered to the countries of the Western Balkans in 1999. With the Stabilization- and Association Agreement, an instrument was created to allow the countries of the region to further their contractual relations with the EU similarly to the European Agreements with Eastern Europe. Nonetheless, the pace of reform in these countries remains low. Taking the example of Albania, the author analyses the difficult process of giving the countries a strong incentive to undertake far reaching reforms without raising their expectations too high which inherits the danger of loosing the momentum of reform. In dealing with the political dialogue and negotiations as well as the financial assistance given by the EU to the country, a closer look at the instruments of integration will be taken and the prospect of success discussed.

Adrian Brisku, George Welton
(University of Tbilisi, Georgia)

An Insight at the Idea of Europe Within the Albanian Political-Intellectual Imaginary

ABSTRACT

Over the last fifteen years, the idea of being part of the European project has gained hegemonic status within the Albanian political and intellectual imaginary. Politicians of all spectrums and intellectuals of all spheres agree that Albanian identity is undoubtedly European, subscribe to the European values, therefore, require membership in the EU. Nevertheless, such a hegemonic discourse on Europe is a recent phenomenon and does not resonate with the behaviour of the Albanian political and intellectual imagery since its modern times. Based on recent IR theory where there has been an increasing tendency to invoke the concept of identity to explain the constant patterns of social behaviour and trajectories of change, this paper examines three main reasons why a connection between Europeanness and the EU membership might be problematic. Firstly, there seems to be an inherent conflict between European integration and national identity that might suggest that an Albanian identity will always have different rhetorical associations than those associated with the EU. Secondly, if one looks at the different ways in which European identity has been perceived over the years in Albania, one can see that it suggests no necessary direction for social change. Thirdly, in addition to the nationalistic rhetoric one can identify other trends in Albanian identity that have been antithetical to any suggested fundamental Europeanness. Hence, this paper argues that the Albanian political and intellectual imaginary has been constructing its own identity as essentially European; simultaneously the idea of Europe has not always been powerful; indicating that a prolonged impasse in Albania's bid for joining the EU could replace the hegemony of Europeanness with strong nationalistic discourses.

Henri Çili (University of Tirana, Albania)

Mbi Hibridizimin e Hapsires Politike. Transformimi i hapsires politike ne Shqiperi nen efektin e tensionit mes legjitimitetit qe vjen nga jashte dhe legjitimitetit te brendeshem.

ABSTRACT

Roli i nderkombetatareve ne vendimarrjen lokale ne Shqiperi eshte jashtezakonisht i madh. Duke filluar nga viti 1990, kur Shqiperia u hap me boten ai ka njohur vetem rritje, aq sot te flasesh per nje vendim politik te dites, per nje reforme deri tek legjitimiteti i zgjedhjeve eshte e pamundur pa marre parasysh ate qe thone "nderkombetaret". Si alternohet roli dhe aktoreve lokale dhe atyre nderkombetare ne ndertimin e hapsires politike ne demokracine e re shqiptare. Transformimi i haprires politike nen efektin e tensionit mes legjitimitetit te jashtem te pushtetit dhe legjitimitetit te brendshem. Hibridizimi i hapsires politike ne demokracite e reja, ku "lokalet votohen por nuk vendosin" dhe ku "nderkombetaret vendosin por nuk votohen". Nje paradigme per dinamiken "lokale - nderkombetare" ne Shqiperine e tranzicionit.

Zidas Daskalovski, Marija Risteska

(Center for Research and Policy Making, Macedonia)

Decentralization Process and democratization in Macedonia

ABSTRACT

What is the impact of decentralization on democratic institutions in Macedonia? On 3rd September 2004 the Macedonian parliament adopted a decision to hold a referendum on 7th November. The referendum, initiated by the World Macedonian Congress (WMC) earlier this year, would effectively require repeal of the newly passed Law on Territorial Organization, City of Skopje and Financing on Units of Local Self-Government, and a return to the status quo ante of 123 municipalities. The new Law has reduced the numbers of municipalities to 84. The calling of the referendum has also forced the postponement of local elections, previously delayed and rescheduled for 21st November, and now required by law to take place by 31st March 2005. A Law on Territorial Organization was part of the indispensable package of laws necessary to ensure the decentralization process, regarded as a crucial component of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) of 2001. The international community expressed widespread concern expressed about the potential impact of the referendum on the Ohrid process, and on inter ethnic relations generally. Our paper will analyze recent political developments in Macedonia in the light of its democratization efforts. Especial attention will be given to the potential effects of the Law on Territorial Organization on the consolidation of the multiethnic liberal regime in this country.

Etleva Germenji, Lindita Lati

(Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium)

How can Emigration Help Development in Albania: Thoughts on Policies that are Lacking and Policies that Need to be Adjusted

ABSTRACT

One of the poorest countries in Europe, Albania has been the transition country most intensively affected by emigration over the past decade (Brücker, 2002). The issue is then, how can Albania capitalize on emigration phenomenon to develop its economy.

Findings in literature as well as available evidence on emigration and economic situation in Albania suggest that there are several ways through which medium and long term national development can benefit from emigration. For example, one of the major economy-wide changes that occurred in the country with the onset of transition is a significant rise in the cost of capital, with an attendant fall in the price of labour. This change in factor prices implies the establishment of small and medium enterprises. Yet, the basic problem with these enterprises is the start-up capital. While the Albanian economy is characterised by a weak banking sector and unavailability of loanable investment funds, it is doubtful whether the growth of national economy can rely exclusively on FDI. It is precisely in this area where emigration and the attendant remittances can play a significant role in Albania. Policies could be designed with this overall objective in mind, namely to promote short term migration in order to break the short term capital constraints, but at the same time without losing the human capital owned by emigrants.

By highlighting issues and challenges that migration policies in Albania need to address, the aim of this paper is to suggest how the country can use emigration phenomenon to improve its medium and long term growth.

Klarita Gërxhani (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Tax Evasion in Transition: Outcome of an Institutional Clash? Testing Feige's Conjecture in Albania

ABSTRACT

To date, empirical studies of tax evasion have neglected the role of formal and informal institutions. This is in stark contrast with a considerable part of the theoretical literature, which stresses the link between the two types of institutions and evasion. The extensive survey used in this paper closes this gap.

A field survey of households was conducted in Tirana, Albania in 2000. A response rate of 89.3% yielded 1.340 valid questionnaires, allowing me to test Feige's (1997) conjecture that more tax evasion will be observed, when formal and informal institutions clash. Respondents' attitudes towards formal and informal institutions were obtained by applying factor analysis to their responses to a series of attitudinal questions. The theoretical importance of the interaction between formal and informal institutions in determining tax evasion finds empirical support in the data. When the two types of institutions are studied separately, the results can be ambiguous. Hence, for the study of noncompliant activities, one should consider both types of institutions simultaneously for a further comprehension of these phenomena. Since "the necessary institutional restructuring –both economic and political- has been a major obstacle to development and still is the major obstacle for transition economies" (North, 1997: 17), this research is important for a better understanding of the incentives driving predatory activities (e.g., tax evasion or corruption) in these countries.

Jehona Gjurgjeala

Marrëdhëniet tregëtare në mes Shqipërisë dhe Bashkimit European

ABSTRACT

Shqipëria momentalisht është shteti që eksporton më së paku në BE (matur me miliona euro), nga të gjitha shtetet e Ballkanit Perëndimor (BP), duke mos përfshirë këtu Kosovën. Në të njëjtën kohë, eksporti i Shqipërisë është më së ngushti i ndërlidhur me tregun e BE-së pasiqë, në përqindje, Shqipëria eksporton pjesën më të madhe të prodhimit të saj në BE (shtetet tjera në rajon eksportojnë më shumë brenda Ballkanit Perëndimor).

Disa hulumtime të fundit të biznesit shqiptar tregojnë se ato i japin më pak rëndësi mundësisë së rritjes së eksportit shqiptar në BE, në krahasim me shtetet e tjera në rajon. Një ndër pengesat kryesore në rritjen e eksportit shqiptar në BE është pamundësia e arritjes së standardeve të cilat BE-ja i kërkon nga produktet që i importon. Për zgjedhjen e këti problemi duhet një bashkëpunim i ngushtë në mes të përfaqësuesve të BE-së në Shqipëri, qeverisë shqiptare dhe komunitetit të biznesit në Shqipëri.

Marrëdhënia në mes të delegacionit të BE-së dhe qeverisë shqiptare është suboptimale, që pjesërisht ka rezultuar në harxhimin më të vogël të fondeve të BE-së, të cilat i janë alokuar Shqipërisë për projekte.

Altin Ilirjani (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA)

Political Economy of Euroization in Albania

ABSTRACT

The research question of this paper is that, given the current level of political and economic relations with the EU and the prospect of future membership, is it beneficial for Albania to pursue a policy of unilateral adoption of Euro as legal tender before formal membership into the Union? The focus of the research is on potential effects of Euroization on trade and national income.

Conventional wisdom, since the publication of Mundell's seminal work in 1961, has maintained that when policymakers consider decisions to enter a currency union or dollarize, they should try to determine if the common currency area to which they will belong is also an optimal currency area (OCA). However, OCA theories have been criticized for underestimating the advantages of sharing a common currency, and for lacking operational indicators.

In this paper, I use a Poisson pseudo-maximum likelihood (PMLE) regression model to estimate a gravity equation of bilateral trade. PMLE regression models have the required properties for this task given the functional form of the gravity equation, the heterogeneity problem of our data, and the large number of zero values in bilateral trade data. Poisson maximum likelihood regression results can also be generalized for all countries notwithstanding their sizes and levels of economic development, a major failing of previous studies on this subject. Then, I use coefficients estimated with the PMLE regression to estimate potential effects of Euroization on trade and national income of Albania. The data set that I use comes from World Trade Database for 1995, augmented by data from the United Nations International Trade Statistics Yearbook and the World Bank.

Blendi Kajsiu (Albanian School of Politics, Albania)

Albanian Political Parties – Amidst Dilemmas and Challenges

ABSTRACT

Politics in general and political parties in particular are highly unpopular with the Albanian electorate. The attitude of the public towards political parties is at best, indifferent and at worst hostile, as indicated by a number of surveys conducted in Albania. The largest number of voters does not sympathize with either of the major political parties, Socialist Party (SP) and Democratic Party (DP). This comes as no surprise given the unsympathetic attitude of Albanian citizens towards politicians in general. Political parties are viewed as highly corrupt and inefficient. The Human Security Survey shows that the majority of respondents (65.7%) think that politicians are above the law, while an even larger percentage (69.9%) think that political parties either serve public interest to a limited extent or not at all. Approval rates are even lower with urban youth amongst whom only 12% placed some trust in political parties.

The above attitude has mobilized the tendency to demonize politics as the source of all evil and to blame most of the country's problems on politics and political parties. This in turn reinforces and deepens the existing negative perceptions on political parties. The resulting vicious circle is also fed by the highly polarized and confrontational political climate between the two main political parties, the ruling Socialist Party (SP) on the one hand and the opposition Democratic Party (DP) on the other. The majority of people, 67%, think that Albania suffers a lot from political conflict. The situation has been further exacerbated by infighting within the ruling Socialist Party and a history of manipulative electoral processes within most political parties. Falling rates of participation in elections show the disenchantment with politics. During the last electoral elections only 49% of the electorate participated in the voting process. This marked the lowest turn out rate in Albania's post – communist elections history.

Irena Mitro (University of Sarajevo, BiH)

Institutional forms of transition in Southeast Europe: Ombudsman and its contribution to democracy

ABSTRACT

It is argued that the ombudsperson performs the role of a link between the civil society and the people, demonstrating the qualities of an institution that acts in accordance with the prerequisites to a civil society and finally, democracy in the Southeast European countries. The separation of the institutions and the people during the communist regime originated from a politicised life and organisations that were depending on the state. This created an urgent need to establish institutions in countries in transition that excluded the distance that was created between the people and the governing elites in the previous systems. Among such institutional responses, the establishing of the ombudspersons in Southeast Europe, is an institutional response that took place in countries in transition. This institution originates from the established Western democracies. The ombudsperson relies on the logic of constituting a link between the state and civil society, hence it focuses on solving the grievances of the people through a system that the people address directly their complaints to the Ombudsman. The Ombudsperson is a means toward civil society empowerment. In communism the civil society was guided by the party in the “goal setting” and “goal attainment”. A firm civil society is based on social organizations of all kinds that are independent of the state. The civil society is one of the primary arenas of democracy. In the meantime, there is international deliberate pressure for the introduction of alternative institutions of human rights protection. In this context, it is useful to refer to the Ombudsman as an institution that was “imported” and supported by the international community and in the due course adjusted to the needs of the region. The presentation will also expand on traits of the institution in the West and its nature in Southeast Europe as well as its particularities.

Elda Papa (Albanian Political Science Association)

Marredheniet Shqiptaro-Greke dhe Investimet Greke ne Shqiperi.

ABSTRACT

Greçia është një nga partneret kryesore të Shqipërisë. Megjithatë politika greke ndaj Shqipërisë vazhdon të shihet me dyshim nga qarqet shqiptare. Ndonese cilesia e marrëdhënieve dypaleshe është përmirësuar dukshëm që nga viti 1995, serish ferkimet mes dy vendeve nuk mungojnë të shfaqen here pas here. Nder faktorët që kanë shqetësuar mbarevajtjen e marrëdhënieve shqiptaro-greke gjatë dekadës së kaluar deri në të tashmen, mund të vecohen: rizgjimi i pretendimeve greke për jugun e Shqipërisë, respektimi i të drejtave të minoritetit grek në Shqipëri, trajtimi i emigrantëve shqiptarë në Greqi, çështja e ardhurisë dhe ajo e ligjit të luftës mes dy vendeve. Punimi përpiqet të analizojë dhe vlerësojë bazën, ndikimin e peshës së secilit prej këtyre faktorëve në cilësinë e marrëdhënieve dypaleshe gjatë këtyre viteve. Kështu mund të hidhet dritë edhe mbi bazën e dyshimeve ndaj politikës greke kundrejt Shqipërisë.

Vitet e fundit ka patur një rritje të konsiderueshme të investimeve greke në ekonominë shqiptare, një politikë të cilën Greqia e ka ndjekur edhe ndaj vendeve të tjera të rajonit. Këto investime janë shtrirë edhe në disa sektore strategjike si: telefonia celulare, industria e naftës e sektori bankar duke ngritur shqetësime për krijimin e pozicioneve monopol, të cilat fryhen edhe për shkak të mosbesimit me të cilin shihet politika greke ndaj vendit tonë. Në punim bëhet një vlerësim i shtrirjes së investimeve greke në Shqipëri, i faktorëve që kanë sjellë këtë shtrirje dhe i pasojave që ajo sjell në ekonominë shqiptare.

Ridvan Peshkopia (University of Kentucky, USA)

Can we welcome them now? The difficult path toward asylum capacity building in the Balkans.

ABSTRACT

After the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe, countries of this region unleashed a wide array of political, economic, legal, and social reforms, and even establishing new institutions that did not exist before. Asylum systems were among them. However, whereas these countries have noted remarkable achievements on their way to reforms, asylum systems' institution-building processes have journeyed through a long and faltering experience. Being mainly countries of origin and transit countries of illegal immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, Balkan countries' governments did not experience any domestic pressure to alleviate plights and resolve problems of cluttered asylum seekers from other regions of the world in their countries. Rather, they were compelled to establish such institutions by the EU.

Within the Europeanization framework of the EU asylum and immigration policies, the EU introduced the achieving of the EU acquis in asylum and immigration to all the candidate countries. Thus, the Balkan countries were submitted to this policy and, since most of them aspire (and Slovenia has already acquired) the EU membership, they undertook efforts to gradually move from some forms of asylum policies and institutions, to fully-fledge developed regimes. However, in some of the countries these regimes proved to be more stable, whereas in others they ended up being ineffective and unstable. On the other hand, in some countries, the process of establishing such regimes was quick and smooth, whereas in others it took years and attracted criticism.

I argue that the outcome of the process of asylum systems and institution-building in some of the Balkan countries is a function of the tug-of-war between the level of domestic need for such regimes, and the pressure that the EU is wielding to these countries. Another factor that should be taken into consideration is the eagerness of these countries to join the EU, and the lukewarm European public support for their admission. In order to unveil these relationships, I build several hypotheses, and find enough evidence to support them. However, in the conclusive part of the paper, I point out some limitations of this research and highlight some directions for immediate improvement. All in all, this paper creates a foundation in a little researched area, and opens avenues for new research.

Besnik Pula (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, USA)

The Rise of the Kosovar Parallel State, 1988-92

ABSTRACT

The paper outlines the historical emergence of the "parallel state" in Kosova, which underpinned Kosova Albanians' nonviolent resistance movement against the Serbian attack on Kosova's autonomy in the late 1980s and early 1990s. By applying the process oriented approach to the study of social movements, the paper examines political opportunities, institutional frameworks, mobilizing structures, and framing processes in the rise of the Albanian movement for Kosova's independence. The paper argues for the relevance of autonomy era institutions in shaping the response to Serbia's aggressive reform policies in Kosova in the period 1988-92.

Shinasi Rama (New York University, NY, USA)

International Institutions and Nation-Building: Shaping Political Cleavages in Post-Conflict Kosova

ABSTRACT

One of the hotly debated issues in comparative politics is the ability of democratic institutions to establish a civic nation whose fundamental and defining attribute would be the loyalty of the citizens to the legal-political community and the state. At the core of this enterprise, otherwise known as nation-building, stands the issue of political cleavages. The clearest indicators of the success or the failure of this enterprise are how people are politically mobilized, how they view their democratic institutions, how they determine their priorities and above all, how much loyal they are at critical junctures to the civic nation. When the goal is to evolve towards becoming a civic nation, then the fundamental indicator is the degree of loyalty they display to the legal political community defined by the institutions and the territorial-political exigencies. Political cleavages are best discernible at election time. At such times, the electorate decides which party or organization should control the institutions and why.

This problem has immensely important theoretical and practical policy implications. At the theoretical level, the importance of this key aspect to nation-building and democratization is closely tied to the issue of whether or not identities are frozen and whether certain cleavages, to use the words of Lipset and Rokkan, are frozen in time. If ethnic cleavages were to remain frozen and dominant, then this shortcoming would make nation-building, in all effects, an impossible enterprise. At the practical level, the ability of political institutions to shape political cleavages, regardless of whether the institutions are indigenously formed or superimposed from outside, remains central to the task of reshaping a society and molding a new nation. If we are to believe that institutions are utterly incapable of shaping societies controlled by them, then we will end up adopting a very pessimistic view of the future and the reconstruction of conflict torn regions. If, on the other hand, we assume that institutions could and do unilaterally shape societies they control, then we may tend become overly-optimistic and believe that we could become quick-fixers and shape nations to our own liking. In this paper, I argue that cleavage-shaping is a difficult process which may be steered in the right direction by political institutions. Yet, this may happen only if these institutions are effective and provide security to the people in the manner in which these people perceive security.

Johana Shahini (Charles University, Prague)

Mbi Shkaqet e Brishtesise se Demokracise ne Shqiperi

ABSTRACT

Pas renies se regjimit komunist Shqiperia nisi rrugen e saj drejt ndertimit te nje shteti demokratik dhe te nje ekonomie tregu. Tranzicioni i Shqiperise provoi te ishte nje eksperience shume me e veshtire dhe shume me e gjate sesa pritej. Qe ne fillim te procesit Shqiperia kaloi permes nje sere transformimesh politike, ekonomike, sociale dhe kulturore me qellim kryesor krijimin e nje shteti demokratik, i cili do mund te integrohej ne strukturat euro-atlantike. Megjithate edhe pas 14 vjetesh demokracia ne Shqiperi eshte ende larg konsolidimit te saj. Ne kete teme do perpiqem te argumentoj disa nga shkaqet kryesore te cilat kane penguar konsolidimin e sistemit demokratik ne Shqiperi si dhe do jap disa sugjerime se si mund te menjanohen keto pengesa.