

**CITIZENSHIP: A HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF THE  
ALBANIAN AND TURKISH CITIZENSHIP IN THE 20<sup>th</sup>  
CENTURY**

The Institute of Economic and Social Sciences  
of  
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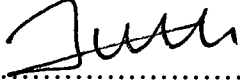
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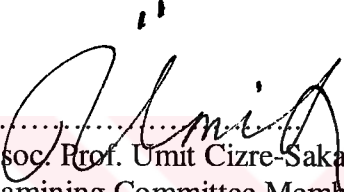
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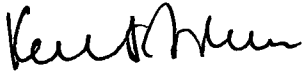
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## **ABSTRACT**

# **CITIZENSHIP: A HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF THE ALBANIAN AND TURKISH CITIZENSHIP IN THE 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY**

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This study aims to compare the Albanian and Turkish citizenship from the early 20s to the present day. The comparison will focus the Albanian and Turkish understandings of citizenship by looking at the way they are defined, that is the legal status of citizenship; the way it is practiced, which implies civic virtue in terms of participation in the political and social community; and the way it is perceived, that is identity or the way one expresses one's membership in the community. Therefore this study is an attempt in the understanding of the common grounds and differences between the building, the application and perception of the notion citizenship in Albania and Turkey.

This study provides an intra and inter comparison of Albanian and Turkish citizenship during three periods of the Twentieth century, therefore it allows for a self comparison and comparison between both

countries. Albanian and Turkish citizenship are both constructed on the basis of Western understanding of citizenship, be this civic republican or liberal democratic, however, the most common problem throughout the time-period chosen is the difference in what is allowed de jure and what is practiced de facto.

Key Words: Citizenship, civic virtue, identity, legal status, liberal democratic, civic communitarian.



## ÖZET

### 20. YÜZYILDA ARNAVUT VE TÜRK VATANDAŞLIĞININ TARİHSEL BAĞLAMDA KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

Etrit Shkreli

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Bu çalışma, 1920'lerin başlangıcından günümüze kadar, Arnavutluk'taki ve Türkiye'deki vatandaşlık kavramlarını karşılaştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, daha çok Türkiye ve Arnavutlukta vatandaşlığın nasıl anlaşıldığı ve uygulandığına odaklanmaktadır. Temel olarak, bu çalışmada vatandaşlık; vatandaşlığın uygulanma biçimi olan yasal konum, toplumsal ve siyasal yaşama katılımı içeren vatandaşlık erdemleri ve vatandaşların topluma üyeliğilik algısı anlamına gelen kimlik boyutlarıyla ele alınmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, çalışmanın ana amacı, Arnavutluk ve Türkiye'de vatandaşlığın nasıl algılandığı ve uygulandığını anlamaktır.

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de ve Arnavutlukta vatandaşlığın 20 yüzyılın üç dönemi süresince, hem birbirleriyle karşılaştırarak hemde içsel özellikleri belirleyerek, karşılaştırılmasını ve incelenmesini içermektedir. İster cumhuriyetçi isterse liberal demokratik vatandaşlık anlayışları ele alınsın, hem Arnavutlukta hem de Türkiye'de

vatandaşlık kavramı Batı temelli tanımlara dayanmaktadır. Nitekim, bu olguya koşut olarak, seçilen dönemler boyunca, her iki ülkede de vatandaşlık kavramsallaştırmasındaki en büyük sorun, de jure ve de facto uygulamalar arasındaki farklılıklarda yatmaktadır.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Vatandaşlık, vatandaşın erdemi, kimlik, yasal konum, liberal demokratik, sivil cumhuriyetçilik.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## INTRODUCTION

Scholars are in common agreement that citizenship has been a hot topic, some argue for a revival of citizenship, in the last two decades (Isin and Wood, 1999; van Steenberg, 1994; Kymlicka and Wayne, 1994; Turner, 1993; Falk, 1994). Kymlicka and Wayne (1994:352) argue that the reasons behind this interest in citizenship are not only the new developments that were going on in the world, like the fall of the communist regimes, but also the awareness that a proper-working democracy is not based only healthy institutions but also healthy citizens.

van Steenberg (1994:2) sustains that since Marshall, the notion of citizenship has broadened, and therefore citizenship is about participation in the public life, which means that there is a move beyond the strict political definition of the citizen in relation to the state and there is an increased stress on the citizen and her relations with the community, with other fellow citizens.

For Marshall social citizenship, a certain material well-being of the individual is guaranteed and it facilitates her to participation in the community, was the last stage in the development of modern citizenship (Isin and Wood,

1999). However in the present, not only is social citizenship rejected as the final stage but also there is an augmentation of passionate debates on new kinds of citizenship like cultural citizenship (Turner, 1994 and 2000), active citizenship (Oldfield, 1990; Adriaansens, 1994), gender-neutral citizenship (Mouffe, 1992; Vogel, 1994) or global citizenship (Falk 1994; Dower, 2000) and ecological citizenship (van Steenberg, 1994; Isin and Wood, 1999). Therefore, besides the classical debates between citizenship as legal status, i.e. a full membership in a particular political community- the approach espoused by liberal democratic tradition, and citizenship as civic virtue, i.e. the quality of one's citizenship depends on the participation in that community- the approach espoused by civic republican and communitarian tradition; there is an increased awareness in citizenship as identity, i.e. an expression of one's membership in a political community (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:369).

The debates mentioned above have become common not only in the Western academia but in Turkish academia as well (Üstel, 1996; İçduygu and Keyman 1999; İçduygu, Çolak and Soyarık, 2000; Kadıoğlu, 2002). For example İçduygu et. al (2000:203) argue that the Turkish citizenship is based on a mixture of democratic-liberal and civic republican understanding. This understanding of citizenship however has been challenged during the last fifteen years by different identities such as the Kurds, Alevis or Islamists. Therefore İçduygu et. al argue for the need for a constitutional citizenship, a citizenship that can and does accommodate these challenges.

Kadioglu (2002:66) alternatively sustains that there is need for a democratic citizenship, because it provides a critique of the notion of citizenship defined in terms of “the rights and the responsibilities of atomized rational individuals within the public realm” and also because it promotes not only negative liberties but also positive ones. She argues that the principle of democratic citizenship is to “make democracy a living entity” and “a means for public and private happiness”.

In Albania, on the other hand the debates on different practices of citizenship have not begun yet. Pano (1997:286) argues that the Albanian political culture, which has been characterized by a low level of popular participation in the political activity has produced a society in which the concept of democratic government, the rule of law, accountability of the public officials and the expression and toleration of diverse opinions are not firmly rooted or fully understood by both masses and the post-communist ruling elite. Nevertheless this does not mean that things will continue in the same fashion. There already exist signs of a fragile civil society which started out based on economic interests but is moving to cover other fields, like religion and the questions of youth and women (Stutzman, 1999)

This thesis aims to provide a comparison between the Albanian and Turkish understandings of citizenship by looking at the way they are defined, that is the legal status of citizenship; the way it is practiced, which implies civic virtue in terms of participation in the political and social community; and the way it is perceived, that is identity or the way one expresses one’s membership in

the community. Therefore this study is an attempt in the understanding of the common grounds and differences between the building, the application and perception of the notion citizenship in Albania and Turkey.

The reason for the presence of a Western understanding of citizenship, despite of the fact that none of the countries considered in the study is Western, is that both Albania and Turkey have chosen as their political ideal the Western liberal democracy and as it is common knowledge the conscientious citizens are the demos. Furthermore, citizenship as we know it is a modern phenomenon (Dahrendorf, 1974:673; Isin and Wood, 1999:5; Faulks, 2000:31) and it has its roots in Europe; therefore I believe it is justifiable to begin the study with a consideration of the debates on citizenship in the West. However, this does not mean that the Western understanding of citizenship<sup>1</sup> is taken as a yardstick against which the Albanian and Turkish citizenships are measured.

There are several reasons that make Albania and Turkey comparable. First of all they are both the successors of what once was the great Ottoman Empire, therefore they share five centuries of common history. Secondly, both Albania and Turkey were initiated on their road to modernization by the second decade of the twentieth century. It is true that the Ottoman Empire decided for a Western modernization in it began to implement reforms during the period that was known as the Tanzimat. However, after strives for independence (Albania, 1912 and Turkey 1923) and the First World War the leaders of both nations had

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<sup>1</sup> Stating that there is a Western understanding of citizenship is rather dangerous because it means that we are taking the West as a monolith, therefore by using this expression it may sound as if I am Occidentalizing the West. However as the following chapter(s) will show I tried to

to begin almost from the scratch. And thirdly, despite the fact that Albania chose the socialist path to modernization while Turkey chose the Western one, both countries have in common the fact that Enlightenment thinking guided its leaders and the policies that they issued from them. And the last but not the least, both countries are now striving to gain acceptance to the European 'family'.

The flow of the thesis is as follows: in the first chapter I trace the development and the debates on citizenship in the Western World. I begin by looking at the civic republican-communitarian tradition of citizenship and the stress it puts on the responsibility of the citizens towards the community and the interests it takes on everyone's participation and contribution to the community where one belongs. Then I shift to the liberal democratic tradition and focus on its understanding of citizenship as a legal status. In citizenship as a legal status I focus on the citizenship and the freedom of the individual as well as on the debates on the welfare state and its relevance for a more conscientious citizen. And then I move to citizenship as identity where I discuss the recent challenges to the traditional practices of citizenship including the debates on global citizenship as well as the debates on group and individual rights.

In the second chapter I consider the Albanian citizenship. Starting from the period of King Zog Albanian citizenship has been clearly stated in the constitution; however the popular participation was discouraged. Then I move to the communist period where the citizens, now called shtetas- that is members of the state, were given rights and freedoms but as Davidson (cited in Ahluwalia,

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contextualize the different practices of citizenship in the West in order to avoid both historicism and totalizing.

1999: 313) “the ruling party-or rather the ruling bureaucracy, for the concept of the political partying every legitimate sense has ceased to apply-was itself the state; and this state had ceased to have any citizens...citizens remain present as existential phenomena; they are absent as participating actors.” Then I move to the post communist regime and the economic and social problems that both the state and the citizens have to deal with in a time when a fragile democracy is being built.

In the third chapter I discuss Turkey and the relation between the Turkish citizens and their state. I start with the early republican period and its understanding of the Turkish citizen. Then I move to the sixties that gave priority to the individual over the society, that encouraged participation but that also resulted in street fights and a state of terror for the whole country. Then I move to the present days where the definition of citizenship in the constitution tried to ignore difference but was challenged by the different rising identities that were part of different modernities from the one espoused by the state.

In the last chapter I compare and contrast the Albanian and Turkish citizenships and show what these to definitions and practices have in common and where they differ. Than I move on to a comparison of Albanian, Turkish and Western understanding and give possible explanations for the similarities and differences. And the last part of this chapter includes the conclusion and several remarks on the strengths and weaknesses of this study as well as its significance.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **CITIZENSHIP IN THE WEST**

Scholars (cf. Pierson, 1996:36) argue that the modern world with its varying levels of complexity emerged somewhere between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century and it contrasted with the established order that preceded it. Modernity extends across centuries and expresses a profound and rapid transformation almost revolutions of the human condition.

Modernity emerged not only at a particular time but also in a distinctive place, that is Western Europe, and Pierson (1996:38-39) argues that it was basically through the intricate diffusion of this European development that modernity became true global phenomenon. This means that modernity is not a permanent present but a contingent product of a particular time and place. Therefore considering that citizenship as we know it is a modern phenomenon (Dahrendorf, 1974:673; Isin and Wood, 1999:5; Faulks, 2000:31) it justifies the starting of the study of citizenship in the Europe. However, regardless of its Western origins citizenship has been implemented in almost every nation-state in the world, no matter the form of government and constitution (Isin and Wood, 1999:5). This means that



citizenship is no longer only a uniquely Western institution, and at the same time it means that at some other time in some other place something different than the Western citizenship may and can develop as the cases of Albania and Turkey show.

The definitions of citizenship are various. Janoski (1998:9) defines citizenship as the “passive and active membership of individuals in a nation state with certain universalistic rights and obligations at a specific level of equality”. For Faulks (2000:5) citizenship is the idea that at once recognizes individual’s entitlement to rights and civic responsibilities on which stable governance rests. Heater (1990:182) on the other hand emphasizes virtue and identity dimension in citizenship by arguing that citizenship entails loyalty duties and rights not only to the other human beings in community but also to the abstract concept of the state and “therefore it derives its power from identity and virtue.” Oldfield (1990:181) argues for the practice of citizenship and sustains that it entails a “shared responsibility for the identity and continuity of a certain community”, hence stressing both identity and virtue of a participating citizen. Turner’s definition (1994:158) stresses legal status and competent membership by arguing that citizenship can be defined as a legal and political status from the legal perspective and it can be defined as a competent membership in a community from a sociological point of view.

Isin and Wood (2000:13) following Mouffe, Young and Kymlicka emphasize the identity part of citizenship and argue that to discuss citizenship means to critically explore the claims of fragmented, decentered subjects as well as group rights and identities. Mouffe (1992:5-6) argues that to assert that citizenship should be given a certain priority among our different identities

and that it is the excellent example of democratic political identity, does not imply that we should deny the importance of other forms of membership. Further on Walzer (1992) argues that the understanding of citizenship as one among our many commitments is very important because it enables us to mediate among the others and to act across them.

Cohen (1999:248) sustains that three distinctive components of citizenship have been identified in the literature: citizenship as civic virtue involves participation in deliberating and decision making by political equals for a body politic; citizenship as a legal status, which means that the person carries a set of legally defined rights including the claim to state's protection; and citizenship as a form of membership and also identity, which allows for the development of special ties and is an important pole of identification. As I tried to show above what all these definitions of citizenship have in common is that they stress more or less three points: legal status, civic virtue and identity. Therefore in the rest of the chapter I will continue my discussion of the citizenship debates in the West under the headings of points made above.

## **2.1 Citizenship as Civic Virtue**

The civic republican approach is the approach that stresses the civic virtue side of citizenship over the legal status and identity. It has its roots in the Greek political philosophy nevertheless we should be aware that the affinities that exists between that historical form and the modern concept is not self evident. (Isin, 1997; cited in Isin and Wood, 1999:6). In the civic republican

perspective citizenship is not a status but a practice, an activity. This understanding is mainly inspired from Aristotle who defined the citizen as the individual who participates in the civic life of ruling and being ruled in turn.

Ruling is a good in itself because “as intelligent and purposive beings we desire to direct that which can be directed towards some purpose; to do so is not just an operational good, but the expression of that which is good in us, namely the ability to pursue operational good” (Pocock, 1995:30-31). This means that ruling is not a means to other instrumental goods. When you rule over something it means that you are better than the ruled. And when a person rules over his equals (ruling happens in turn, it rotates meaning that some time the others will rule you also) it means that one has become even better than one’s equals, and therefore is even better than oneself. Dominating, ruling oneself is freedom, and for Aristotle, citizenship (one important component of it being: rule and be ruled in turn) is not a means to freedom, but freedom itself. And it is for this reason that citizenship is a crucial element of the ancient Greece.

Again because politics (rule and be ruled in turn, in Aristotle’s terms) is a good in itself, what matters is the freedom to take part in the public decision making, not the content of the decision taken. If we recall Socratic dialogues, it is not important the result we come up with in the end of the dialogue, but the dialogue itself, the process of debating thoughts and opinions is important. The reason I am emphasizing the good in itself of politics and citizenship is that when we turn to citizenship as a legal status we see that politics and citizenship become means to an end that is the means to rights and entitlements.

To be a citizen in ancient Greece meant that one could exist among others as a political being. Not to be among men was not to be as a human (Clarke, 1994:7). An illustration of the importance of being a citizen and therefore of political participation is death of Socrates. When faced with the option of living as a non-citizen or death he chose death because life without the right of active participation in the political community was not a life at all (Clarke, 1994:6).

There is a great stress put on citizenship as a practice because it is when people act that they show that they are citizens (Oldfield, 1990:180). The activity is distinguished by its civic virtue character, that is “the cultural disposition apposite citizenship which involves a willingness to step forward and assume the burden of the public office and a willingness to subordinate private interests to the requirements of public obedience” Ignantieff (1995: 56). Thereby the civic virtue of the citizen in this understanding consists in not only being ready to undertake his role in a public office when required, but at the same time the ability to sacrifice his particular interests for the common good of the society.

For Rousseau, one of the representatives of the civic republican approach, the civic virtues of the citizen, can be developed only by living as a citizen and participating in decision making (cited in Heater, 1990:39). Therefore we have a cycle here, the more one participates, the more one develops civic virtues and the more civic virtues are developed the more one participates in the political life. As Van Gunsteren (1994:40) puts it “civic mindness will not develop by being called for. It is the by-product of other activities and events”.

In Rousseau's political thought, just as in the ancient Greek conceptualization we find again the theme of freedom related to civic participation. In Rousseau's own words: "the theory and practice of citizenship takes men as they are and seeks to achieve laws as they might be in order not only that justice and utility may in no case be divided, but that man's faculties will be stimulated and developed, his ideas so extended, his feelings so ennobled, and his whole soul so up-lifted that he attains a moral liberty." (Rousseau, cited in Flathman, 1995:135) However we see a difference here when compared to ancient times because while for Aristotle citizenship is not a means to freedom but freedom itself, for Rousseau citizenship becomes a means freedom, a tool to moral freedom.

Contrary to the liberal understanding, which places the individual at the core, civic republican understanding emphasizes the community. The individual is not prior to the community because the individual is born, shaped and socialized into the community. Thereby the individual does gladly sacrifice his personal interest for the common good of the community. Moreover, Rousseau (1994 p. 101) maintains that the undertakings that bind the individuals to the social body are not only obligatory but at the same time they are reciprocal. Besides, in working for others we cannot help working for ourselves, because the individual and the community are a whole. Rousseau argues that: "each of us puts into the community his person and all his powers under the supreme direction of the general will; and as a body, we incorporate every individual member as an indivisible part of the whole." (Rousseau, cited in Heater, 1990:9). Hence, everything that the citizen does for the sake of the community comes back to him in the last instance.

Habermas (1993:5) sustains that in the civic republican understanding citizenship is conceived in “analogy to the model of achieved membership in a self-determining ethical community.” This means that the citizens are consciously sovereign and active. Moreover, because the political culture is based on freedom the citizens identify themselves with their particular form of life and this is the basis for active civic participation.

Habermas (1998:240) suggests that while in the liberal understanding the social bonds are based on a contract, in the civic republican understanding the social bonds are based on the communal sharing of life an individual becomes a citizen when she performs the duties of citizenship. Therefore there is a stress on duties and responsibilities because it is in the exercise of the responsibilities, like political participation, taxes that the individual becomes and remains a citizen (Oldfield, 1990:81).

Further examples of the kind of acts that individuals as citizen perform are: establishing and sustaining a political community with other fellow citizens, doing the military service, paying the taxes, rearing of the young in appropriate ways etc. If a person is what he is he owes a great deal to the community, therefore the community has the right to make claims on the person’s time resources and even his life.

Again when we contrast the civic republican approach with the liberal approach to citizenship, we see that in the civic republican view liberties are positive ones, like the right to political participation and communication (Habermas, 1998:240). They guarantee the possibility of participating into a common practice, and it is through this practice that individuals are transformed into political responsible citizens. In the liberal understanding, as

we will see below, liberties are negative ones, because the individual is free to do the activities that the law does not prohibit.

Kymlicka and Norman (1994:356) sustain that classical liberals believed that liberal democracy could survive even in the absence of a virtuous citizenry and that the existence of checks and balances and means of institutional devices like separation of powers would be enough. On the same line of thought it was assumed that even though each individual pursued its own self-interest, one set of private interests could check on the other. However, it is understood that institutional mechanisms are not enough to balance self-interest and some kind of civic virtue is needed (Galston, cited in Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:362).

Therefore we should keep in mind that agent and structure go hand in hand and as scholars (cf. Kymlicka and Norman 1994:359; Habermas, 1993: 25; Oldfield, 1990:184) argue modern democracies in order to be healthy do not need only rule of law but at the same time conscious citizens. In other words guaranteeing the conditions for the practice of citizenship does not mean that the people will actually engage in the practice. Kymlicka and Norman (1994:366) suggest that “we no longer seek gratification in politics because our personal and social life is so much richer than the Greeks’ ”. Citizens can not be forced to participate actively in the political life of the community because if this were done there would be no difference between a democratic and a totalitarian regime. It is for this reason that the civic qualities, attributes of the citizen are a matter of concern.

Certain scholars (cf. Walzer, 1992:104; Oldfield, 1990:184) points out that civic virtue can be learnt through participation in associations and

organizations. However, Kymlicka and Norman (1994:367) ask us to be cautious when thinking that the *raison d'être* of the associations is teaching civic virtue. They affirm that “the reason why people join churches, families or ethnic organizations is not to learn civic virtue but rather to honor certain values, and these motives may have little to do with the promotion of citizenship.”

Finally I want to discuss the possible critiques to the civic republican approach. The first criticism argues that because the state has grown, partly in response to the engaged citizens' demand, the rule of the people is illusory (Walzer, 1995:156). Therefore effective direct participation is difficult in our days. However, protests like those in Seattle and Genoa show that when there is a will there is a way and people can affect the decisions being taken by state representatives, even at the supra-state levels.

The second criticism is that ideally citizens should not have to work and so they could realize themselves in the realm of the politics. This again is far from reality because people have to work for a living. Moreover, there are people who feel more realized in doing other things like arts or sports, rather than discussing and debating ideas with other fellow citizens.

The third criticism is that civic republicanism is directed towards the enhancement of the public good. But a serious problem that arises is whose public good that is, public good for whom and according to whom? The huge diversity that exists in the society makes it very difficult, almost impossible to set a “common” public good for all. The experiences of the 20<sup>th</sup> century like fascism and communism did clearly show us the consequences of the



imposition of one group's common good understanding over all the segments of the society (Prior et. al, 1995).

And the fourth criticism to civic republicanism comes from the feminists (Dietz, 1992:68), who argue that by saying that we are all equal citizens and let's ignore differences we are in fact only creating a ask of equality under which discrimination persists. We are not equal but everyone deserves to be treated fairly.

In conclusion I can say that although civic virtue and civic republican discourse have their positive sides, in our society we can not come up with only one truth. As Shotter (1993:134) all idioms are partial, as such they hide as much as they reveal; and other idioms although partial themselves, may be much useful to us at this time.

## **2.2 Citizenship as a legal status**

Citizenship viewed as a legal status goes back to the times of Roman Empire. According to Pocock (1995:36) the Roman citizen is "someone free to act by laws, free to ask and expect law's protection, a citizen of such and such legal standing in such and such community". Therefore in ancient Rome the citizens enjoyed freedom, even though this was in the negative sense of freedom, however we see that there is no reference to any kind active participation in politics.

Further on discussing the shift from the Greek understanding of citizenship to the Roman one Pocock (1995:36) argues that in Roman times

citizenship comes to signify a legal status, which is not quite the same as political status as was the case in Greece, and which will in due time change the meaning of the term 'political' itself. There is a drastic change from the "political man" in Greece to the "legal man" in Roman Empire.

In Rome there existed two strata of people, the patricians and the plebeians. To the patricians the Roman citizenship meant status and political participation, so at least with the upper classes we can see some continuation of citizenship as a civic virtue, and consequently a continuation of the Greek understanding of citizenship. However for the vast majority of the population this citizenship was a mere status, an important one though. A good illustration of the importance of the Roman citizenship is a fragment from the life of St Paul, who was a citizen of Tarsus and Rome. When brought with his hands bound in front of the governor of Jerusalem he declared that he was born a citizen of Rome and he requested to be judged by the court in Rome (Clarke, 1994:8). Thus Roman citizenship was a precious status because it provided protection when it was challenged. It provided free movement of people and it stimulated trade however it didn't bestow on all free men the right to participate in the republic's affairs (Clarke, 1994:9). While in the Greek city citizenship was not a means to be free but an end in itself, in the Roman Empire citizenship is a means to freedom as defined by law, therefore there is a negative understanding of freedom. One is free to do what the law does not prohibit.

The understanding of citizenship as a legal status is adopted by the liberal democratic tradition. In the liberal understanding of citizenship, because the liberal democratic school conceives citizenship as a status that

arises from the contract between the state and the citizen and among citizens themselves. This contract between the state and the individual is based on the state's role as protector of the rights of the sovereign and autonomous citizen.

For Hobbes, as well as for the other contractarians, the essence of creation of the state is need for a protector and a fair arbiter. However, it is because the individuals decide on the creation of the state that the individual is regarded as prior to the state and community. As Oldfield (1990:179) puts it, the individual's rights are inherent in him and thus the individual is prior to society.

Moreover, Oldfield (1990:78) argues that in the liberal understanding of citizenship the citizen is an autonomous and sovereign being, because he is free to choose whether or not to exert the right given to him by his status and by law to participate in the political arena.

However, the liberal citizen, the citizen that considers his citizenship as a legal status seems to be rather passive when it comes to community participation. Yet the citizen is active, when it comes to claiming the rights that the laws give him. Almond and Verba (1991:120) argue that in the liberal approach the citizen is not active in the process during which decisions are made. The citizen is much more interested in the close, family problems and not in how laws are passed or elections carried on. As far as politics is concerned the citizen will not try to influence the government. However, once the laws are passed, he will see to it that he is treated fairly within the boundaries of those laws.

This approach's concern is rights with rather than duties. The status does not imply or impose duties; therefore the citizen doesn't feel any

responsibility towards the other citizens rather than respecting their rights. van Gunsteren (1994: 40) suggests that in the liberal understanding the duties and the obligations of the citizen towards the community are quite limited. On the same line of thought, Almond and Verba (1991:118) argue that the citizen has obligations but these obligations are passive, for instance he should be loyal and respectful to authority.

Citizenship as legal status is emphasized again by the work of Marshall. He argues that citizenship as status brings with it certain rights to the welfare state and there is recognition of certain civil, political and social rights that extend to all the members of the society. Therefore, he proposes a typology of the rights of the citizenship in an evolutionist way (Turner, 1993: 6-7). Different kinds of citizenship rights are achieved within the western state in a temporal continuum. The political rights constitute the first step, meaning rights to political participation. These rights were achieved through great events like the French revolution. Secondly, civil rights were attained by the time of the industrial revolution. They constitute the legal rights to fair trial, free speech and the right to own property. Lastly the, social rights were obtained. They are in short welfare rights of the individuals (Dahrendorf, 1994:13).

Saunders (1993:61) argues that for Marshall to be a citizen means to enjoy equal treatment under law, equal voting rights and equal entitlements to the basic necessities of life like housing, health insurance and education. Therefore he says that in this conceptualization the citizen is a passive member of the society, as the definition does not include any reference to the duties of the citizen.

Moreover, the welfare state generated a huge bureaucracy only partially accountable to elected officials. Therefore, instead of confirming citizen's membership in a common engagement, the experience of any form of public aid was often a lesson in bureaucratic arbitrariness and incapability (Ignantieff, 1995:71).

This welfare understanding which Kymlicka and Norman (1994:355) call postwar orthodoxy, because the welfare state came to life in the postwar period in western Europe and to some degree in the United States, came under severe critiques of the New Right during the 80s. The welfarist citizenship was not reconcilable with the restructuring that was going on in the economy and therefore there is a need for a redefinition of the relationship between the individual and the state.

According to Prior and colleagues (1995:14) New Right critics of the welfare state see the passive citizen as overprotected by the institutions and therefore the citizen is prevented from asserting individual needs and aspirations. Furthermore, the citizen is made incapable of achieving self-sufficiency because s/he is continuously dependent on the state.

The citizen is empowered by being given specific rights like: to receive information on the standards and performance of services, to have individual need assessed, to affirm choices and preferences, to complain and receive compensation (Prior et. al, 1995:15). Therefore the citizen in the New Right understanding is a conscious consumer.

With the New Right the "legal man" of the liberal tradition who is free to do whatever the law does not prohibit, becomes the "economic man". Ignantieff (1995:61) defines the economic man as some one who "may be a

citizen, but he need not be.” In addition he argues that if the state leaves the individual in possession of his property and his legal rights, the person need not participate in politics in any way. Far from being obliged to support and help others, the individuals are in competition with one another in their different consumer identities and for the quality of the services provided (Prior et. al, 1995:15).

Nonetheless, when it comes to people who may not be property owners and are really in need of the welfare provisions the New Right propose a shift in the liberal understanding of citizenship from the emphasis on entitlements to the emphasis of responsibilities. The New Right argues that there is a need to go beyond entitlements because the welfare state discourages people to be self-reliant individuals. And therefore they fail to meet the obligations of supporting themselves and long term unemployment is a shame on the society (Mead, cited in Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:361).

This conceptualization of citizenship has been criticized on the grounds that the countries with the most extensive welfare system have the lowest rate of unemployment, an example of this being the Scandinavian countries. Furthermore, the cutting of welfare benefits far from helping the economic and social recuperation of the disadvantaged, it has expanded the stratum of the poor for whom economic participation has become almost impossible. It is for this reason that Kymlicka and Norman (1994:358) argue that “the New Right program was not an alternative account of citizenship but an assault on the very principle of citizenship”.

### **2.3 Citizenship as identity**

At the time period we are living in it seems like institutions, events and people are coming together and closer than ever before and at the same time other institutions and beliefs are falling apart. World wide integration in economics, technology, information, communication, armament goes hand in hand with the disintegration of nations-states (an example could be ex-Yugoslavia) and resurgence of ethnic, nationalistic, religious, and linguistic separatism (Benhabib, 1999).

The welfare state is in decline and together with it the notion of citizenship has been going through changes. The great waves of migration caused by the disintegration of the communist block and the Soviet Union and the increasing number of ethnic wars have produced more heterogeneous societies than ever before. Thus when we consider the identity part of the concept of citizenship we see that it has changed also. Traditional approaches to citizenship where identity was strictly linked to national identity are being challenged by sub-national group identities, supra-national and transnational organizations.

Held (1995:325) argues for a shift of the idea of citizenship from its traditional vision to a more complex and cosmopolitan understanding. There exist several points that are pointed to by promoters of the cosmopolitan, global understanding. 1) the growing power of international finance capital and the corresponding lack of power of national governments to influence the welfare of their citizens; 2) the growth in international treaties which may

affect national sovereignty; 3) to the increase in international migration. Large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers live and work in the Western democracies. Many do not have legal citizenship and yet they pay their taxes and enjoy most of the rights of citizens.

From this perspective, rights are more and more based on international concepts of human rights rather than on national concepts of formal citizenship. Indeed, most people who look forward to global citizenship applaud dual or multiple citizenships as a step towards a non-national model of citizenship.

Heater (1990:280) argues that in a cosmopolitan citizenship identity does not just involved an appreciation of similarities we have with other people but at the same time of the dissimilarities which mark us off as different identities. A cosmopolitan citizenship has the ability to comprehend other identities and in this way it can reduce their potential of being sources of animosity. Therefore, it can be considered as the ultimate identity, which incorporates state citizenship as well as other groups and cultural sentiments. The world (cosmopolitan) citizenship is dependent on global perspectives of historical understanding and this would mean that nation states have to let go of their xenophobic attitudes and their “invented”, “imagined” nationalistic pasts.

However, the global perspective has little to say about duties and is unclear about the institutional arrangements, which will guarantee the rights it outlines. A second problem with this model is that it is weak on a theory of motivation. As I explained in the section on civic virtue, chances and motivation for active participation at the national level are already



problematic. Nevertheless, with national citizenship, people may want to contribute to the wellbeing of their fellow citizens because they feel that they are part of the one people, and for those who lack this feeling, there are laws, which insist that they contribute. The global cosmopolitan approach cannot explain why individuals, except for an altruistic few, should want to observe the duties necessary to underpin the rights of strangers on the other side of the globe. And if they do not want to there is no institution to make them do so. Therefore, if a workable cosmopolitan citizenship is desirable we need a greater global consciousness.

However, there are critics who oppose the very idea of a global, cosmopolitan citizenship. One of the major critiques that come to the global, cosmopolitan citizenship discourse is from Iris Young. Young (1995:175) argues that the global ideal of citizenship carries two meanings in its attempt of extension of citizenship to everyone. a) universality defined as general in opposition to the particular; what citizens have in common is contrasted with how they differ. b) universality in the sense of rules and laws that say the same for all and apply to all in the same way; laws and rules that are blind to individual and group differences.

One problem with these two meanings is that although they may sound all inclusive in theory, in practice they are quite hegemonic and even exclusive. Young (1995:178- 179) suggest that some modern republicans in the name universality and humanity excluded groups with the excuse that they could not embrace the general point of view and that their inclusion would create cleavages in the public.

A second problem with this understanding is that the rules and laws that should be abided are derived from the white, protestant male experience and are exhibited as universal rules. We should also consider that we are dealing with a two- fold attempt to homogeneity. Firstly, the idea of citizenship as expressing general will has tended to enforce homogeneity of citizens (Young:176-177). This means that other groups like racially different, ethnically different, religiously different, sexually different people are either not considered at all or are made somehow to fit the existing roles and positions. The important point is that their voices are not heard and they are not taken into consideration when the rules are made. Secondly, there is the homogeneity created by the illusion of one common good for all. It assumes that everyone wants the same thing because everyone is living in the same conditions and going through the same experiences. Moreover, Young (1995:178) argues that the ideal of a common good, a general will, a shared public life leads to pressures for a homogenized citizenry.

For over a decade now there is talk about the new politics of identity. As Shotter (1993:131) puts it “what is at issue is not the possession of property as such, but the opportunities to give shape and form to one’s own life, with access to ontological resources, which afford one’s personal development.” People are saying “Enough!” to the dominant others who try to control everyone’s life in the name of universal laws and humanity and are asking for a real direct participation in decision making.

Amy Gutman (cited in Young, 1995:184) maintains that participatory democratic structures tend to silence disadvantaged groups. More privileged and eloquent whites promote their perceived interests against the blacks’ fair

demand for equal treatment in an integrated system. Therefore, Young (1995:190-191) suggests that the rules of the game must change. She argues that group representation best institutionalizes justice in the circumstances of social oppression and domination. In her own words “the existence of social groups implies different, but not necessarily exclusive histories, experiences, and perspectives on social life that people have, and it implies that no one group does fully understand the experiences and perspective of other groups” (Young, 1995:190). It is for this reason that no one can claim to speak in the general interest. Differences exist and citizenship should not try to surmount such differences but should recognize and accept them as “irreducible” (Young, 1995:186).

Young maintains that it is possible for persons to keep their group identity and to be influenced by their perception of social events derived from their group specific behavior and experience. But at the same time they can be public spirited in the sense of being open to listen to the claims of others and not being concerned with their own gain alone (Young, 1995:184).

However, Lacoste (1992) opposes this perspective because she argues that pluralism is a form of monism. She sustains that although on the surface group pluralism looks inclusive and open to diversity, in fact it is monistic because the individual is forced to take a position in order for her/his interests to be represented. The individual is forced to associate her/himself with a group. And as long as the individual is forced to enter a group this means that her/his individuality and difference is reduces.

Lacoste’s point is well taken. It is true that once the individuals enter a group her/his individuality is changed, but we should bear in mind that in

even if human beings were not social animals, in a world of six billion human beings it is impossible to speak if grouping does not exist. Lacoste's critique is not feasible in reality, so to use an Arab proverb "between two evils we have to choose the minor". Therefore when faced with the option of choosing a type of participation as formulated by the white dominant minority or the type of participation that Young suggests, I opt for the latter.

Moreover, Shotter (1993:120) argues that human individuality does not reside in people's separateness from others. Rather it is the ability to act in relation with others that makes individually different.

Heater (1990:285) states that "he who has no sense of civic bond with his fellows or of some responsibility for civic welfare is not a true citizen what ever his legal status." In the same line of thought Shotter (1995:130) argues that "if the free individual can be sustained only in a community of a certain kind then the individual has to be concerned about it, that is actively involve in regulating and sustaining the shape of that community."

In other words, we are all different and we are aware of our differences. We can not talk about *one* identity. We can not make claims of either common goals or common methods of pursuing our goals. And yet there is something that we all have in common and that is the knowledge that only in a democratic system we, as human beings together with our identities, can live and survive in peace.

Yet in order to think like this requires us to assume a critical reflexive self awareness, a consciousness of what we are "doing" in talking while we talk, and a readiness, to recognize that all our cultural statements are

constructed in this contradictory, ambivalent slippery social surface (Shotter, 1993:134-135).

#### **1.4 Concluding Remarks**

Throughout this chapter I tried to portray the major debates on citizenship that have been going on in the West. I began by describing the state of affairs from the civic republican understanding that put an emphasis on citizenship as a civic virtue and the priority of the community to the individual. The strong point of this approach is that it views the citizen as an active agent instead of a passive executor of duties and responsibilities but at the same time it is possible to raise several critiques to this approach.

The first criticism is due to the actual size of the state, which makes the rule of the people is illusionary (Walzer, 1995:156). Therefore effective direct participation is difficult in our days and secondly more serious problem is whose public good that is, public good for whom and according to whom are we trying to enhance? The huge diversity that exists in the society makes it very difficult, almost impossible to set a “common” public good for all.

The second perspective to citizenship was from the liberal democratic approach. The main argument here was that the individual is the sole bearer of rights and the function of the political realm is to serve the individual interests, to protect the citizens in exercising their rights and to let them free to pursuit the individual or collective goals (Oldfield, 1990:179). This

approach has been criticized because it defines freedom in negative terms, and makes little place for positive liberties either as individuals or as a group (Isin and Wood, 1999:8).

The third perspective of citizenship in the West is that of identity. The central argument here was that in the globalization era citizenship can be an overarching identity that brings all humans together despite of all difference. However this perspective has been criticized especially by the feminist theorist on the grounds that covering difference is not the solution because this is exactly the way the world of politics has been managed ever since. They argue that it is time for the unheard voices to be paid attention to, be this in the form of individuals or groups.

In the next chapter I will turn to the debates of citizenship in Albania. However it is crucial to bear in mind that although there may be a certain degree of similarity between some aspects of Western citizenship and Albanian citizenship (later on with Turkish citizenship); the Western debates are not presented here either as models or guidelines for Albania or for Turkey. This means that in this triple comparison, none of the paths to citizenship followed is superior or serve as a model to the other two. What I am trying to is to compare and contrast three species of citizenship, if you will, each with its own originality and distinctiveness.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **CITIZENSHIP IN ALBANIA**

In the previous chapter I discussed some of the debates that have been going on in relation to the Western conceptualization of citizenship. In this chapter I will look at the relations between the Albanians and their state and at the same time I will compare and contrast the Albanian citizenship with the Turkish and Western one.

Since independence three regimes have caused drastic changes in the life of Albanians. The first regime was that of King Zog, the initiator of the project of modernization and of nation building in the Western sense. The communist regime furthered the first steps initiated by Zog in modernization but it suppressed the individual freedom and despite its efforts for nation building the citizens remained partly subjects to the whims and wills of the leadership. Finally the post communist regime gave freedom to the individual but has to try hard in order not to let the nation state fall apart.

## 2.1 King Zog' s Regime

Albania proclaimed its independence from the Ottoman Empire on November 28, 1912 in a time when the Balkan Wars were going on. Skendi (1967: 259) sustains that the independence was declared not because Albania was ready but because a group of intellectual patriots recognized that the alternative to independence would be the partition of Albania between Greece, Montenegro and Serbia. The first years of independence were anarchic and therefore politically, socially and economically little changed. It was with the arrival on the scene of Ahmet Zog in 1924 that some progress was made in any front (Hutchings, 1992: 118). Zog was the personality that dominated the political scene in Albania in the interwar period. He transformed the westernized parliamentary principality that the Great powers had seen fit for Albania but which unfortunately turned out to be ill suited due to the primitive state of political development and the Ottoman heritage of beys and the tribal chieftains into an authoritarian republic (Fischer 1999:286).

On January 31, 1925 Zog was elected the first President of the Albanian Republic for a period of seven years. Zog declared that his goal was to civilize the people and make them adopt Western habits and customs. In order to this goal, Albania like other Balkan states had to reject the Ottoman legacy and strive to catch up with the rest of Europe (Tomes, 2001:46). Zog's first priority was to create a political structure that would be strong enough to withstand the inevitable strains of rapid modernization. Immediately after coming to power he set about consolidating his power and liquidating or exiling the more difficult of his former



opponents (Vickers 1995:117). Zog's regime was authoritarian and conservative, and it had to continuously strive for the maintenance of order and stability. The means which Zogu had employed to come to power had alienated the sympathies of the majority of the moderates of the popular and independent groups (Vickers 1995: 120).

During April, 1925 a general election took place with every appearance of tranquility. The government was victorious therefore it decided to legalize the Opposition. However, since the principal leaders of the Opposition were in exile, it was not expected that any of the minor opponents would venture to contest seats with government supporters. Swire (1971:457) argues that only a small proportion of the electors took the trouble to vote. I believe that Swire is ignoring the fact that a small number of the population was actually literate and the difficulty of penetrating the northern regions might have been reasons for the limited number of participation in the electoral.

The Albanian constitution<sup>1</sup> was modeled upon that of the United States. It contained fifteen articles related to the rights of the citizens and there is no mention of duties. The rights of the citizens are civil and political and quite naturally there is no mention of the social rights. Among the political rights are the freedom of speech (Article 128) and association (Article 131), the right to vote and be elected (Article 125); among civil rights are the right to private property (Articles 129 and 130) and the confidentiality of the correspondence (Article,

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<sup>1</sup> This is the third constitution since the declaration of independence. The first one was issued by the International Commission of Control in Albania in 1914. The second was issued by Albanian leaders in 1920. Emerson Christie. The new Albanian Constitution. The American Political Science Review. 1926.

132) (Constitution of the Republic of Albania, 1925). But despite these modern, Western, democratic laws that substituted the Ottoman civil, commercial and criminal codes, Zog continued his behind-the-scene interference in the judicial process and the regime was characterized by disregard for the legal and human rights of the citizens (Pano 1997:289). The regime pursued a policy of discouragement of the popular participation in the political process therefore it is almost impossible to talk of civic virtue in terms of participation.

As Nagy (1995:117) suggest the conditions for a modern citizenship do not exist until the concept of the subject has been replaced by that of citizen, the concept of monarchical sovereignty by that of popular sovereignty, and the concepts of constitutionalism, equality and nation state have appeared. But even though legally speaking this might be what is required for citizenship, we should not forget that practice tends to be different from theory.

Citizenship had to be internalized and Zog's propaganda methods to further his modernization project but at the same time keep his authority were carnivals and censorship. When compared to the communist period the carnival atmosphere was less earnest and censorship was more disorganized because it was not ideologically grounded (Hutchings 1992:117). Celebrations marked especially Zog's birthday but also the national independence day of Albania. For these occasions people were required to parade in the towns' streets in groups 'dressed in national costumes or new fashionable clothes' suggestive of unity and progress (Hutchings 1992:117).

Education was given priority because the illiteracy rate was almost ninety percent. When Albania gained its independence it had no state educational system because of the centuries-long Ottoman ban on the Albanian school.<sup>2</sup> It was not until 1934 that schooling was made compulsory, when school reform law stated that schools are to be built in every locality where there are 30 or more children of school age (Vickers 1995:127). The only effective educational institutions were run by religious organizations or foreigners and even though they were effective, they were not appropriate for the needs of the new state. An effort was made make education more nationalistic and less sectarian (Fischer, 1984:211-213). Tomes (2001:45-52) claims that the average Albanian knew nothing about nationality as he had always looked up the head of the tribe as supreme authority. However I think that the first part of his statement is rather exaggerated. Considered the fact that Albania had gone through two Balkan wars and one World War and was constantly fighting with the Serbs and Montenegrins in the north and the Greeks in the south the idea of being a different people from their neighbors must have been there.

Nevertheless the fact remains that the Albanians had to be gradually taught to transfer their local allegiance to the central government, therefore the emerging educational system sought to encourage admiration for the savior of the nation and the great leader of the state (Tomes, 2001: 50). Although some progress was achieved with the establishment of several primary and secondary schools and an agricultural college in Kavaje, the lack of both finance and

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<sup>2</sup> Unlike the other Balkan people, because the majority of the Albanians were Muslim, they were not recognized as different millet and therefore were not allowed to have their own

qualified teachers meant that the standards of teaching were extremely poor (Vickers 1995:121). During this period little progress was made in education and it was only after the Second World War period that the project was realized and the illiteracy rate drastically dropped.

Zog hoped that the military would serve an educational purpose; that it would help soldiers transfer their allegiances from the tribe to the central government and this step would transform them into modern citizens. He also hoped that the military would reduce brigandage and blood feuds. But because he relied on the Italians as military advisers and instructors the first goal was not achieved. The Italians rather than furthering Albanian unity and nationalism created an Italian influence by creating pro-Italian cell in the military (Fischer, 1995:39). This became quite clear in April 1939 when Italy invaded Albania and the military could not take sides.

The Zog regime was interested in female participation and an unprecedented visit by three of his sisters, fully arrayed in very modern Western dress to Shkoder, where in 1848 both Muslim and Christian women had been veiled (Fischer, 1984: 248-249). In 1937 a new law was passed that made it punishable offence for a woman to conceal her face. A civil code enabling civil marriage and divorce was instituted. The Catholic Church naturally protested this move, but Zog simply replied that he would not allow opposition parties in Albania and informed the archbishop of Shkoder that he would not tolerate the protests of the church and added that “any priests whose enthusiasm ran with him

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schools.

beyond proper bounds would soon be provided with a tree with adequate strength to support his body” (Fischer, 1984:105).

It was a major weakness in the interwar period that no striking success was achieved in economic development. Although economic development did take place between 1922 and 1944 it was extremely low and primitive base. The league of nations would not risk a loan to Albania until internal stability could be guaranteed, and so due to the appalling financial conditions the of the country, Zog had little choice but to turn to Italy, which was the only country solid enough and with strategic interests in Albania to be willing to underwrite the support to the chaotic Albanian economy (Fischer, 1995:39).

A national currency began to be issued through national accounts continued to be reckoned in gold francs. Unfortunately the world economic depression affected the economy severely during the 1929-1935 period. After 1935 all major economic indices show substantial improvement but this was mainly due to Italian loans, which enabled Italy to gain a dominant stance in the Albanian economy (Hutchings, 1992:118). A pact was signed between Albania and Italy on January 1925 whereby Italy gained a monopoly on shipping and trade concessions. In the same month a national bank of Albania was setup by Italian financiers, which issued a paper currency for Albania. Until then there had been no Albanian currency. Albania had relied on the ten-and twenty franc gold piece worth at that time around US\$ 4.00. The discontent with this policy is very well expressed by the popular saying: “True, there are no brigands in Albania, because all of them have gone to Tirana, where they can rob with authority from behind

the desks.” (Vickers 1995:117). The Society for the Economic Development of Albania was created with Italian subsidies and its function was to grant low interest loans for development programs.

The overt political ties with Italy gained intensity in November 1926 when the two states signed a pact pledging friendship and mutual support. This pact guaranteed Italian governments right to maintain the political and territorial status quo in Albania, and this included Zog’s own personal regime. In 1927 Zog’s fear of Yugoslavia increased and this pushed him to rely more on Italy. In the same year a second pact was ratified between the two countries which allowed permanent settlement of large Italian military mission to be based in Albania. In this way Italy had gradually increased her economic and politic interest in the country. (Vickers 1995:118-119)

As soon as Zog felt his position strong enough he decided to transform the political system in to a monarchy and proclaimed himself Zog I, King of the Albanians (Fischer. 1995:42)<sup>3</sup>. Zog believed that monarchy would strengthen the “sense of security that was necessary to a young country just emerging from disorder” and it would make possible the sustaining of “a stable government which would encourage people to set to work and built up the state on a firm foundation.”(Tomes, 2001:50). Tomes sustains that Albanians understood a king better than a president because the king would be a unifying chieftain of chieftains and bey of beys. (Tomes, 2001:51)

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<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that by declaring himself not king of Albania but Albanians he still hoped for a reunification of Kosovo and Albania.

The new monarchical constitution concentrated more power in the hands of the king and he was thereby able to break much of the remaining opposition. Fischer (1995:35) argues that the system that Zog created was a reasonably stable, traditional, non-ideological authoritarian government in which limited political or social reform was permitted, given that it was not a threat to Zog's position.

Zog's strivings to unify his nation embraced carrying further a process initiated by the Ottomans who in the previous century had outlawed the carrying of arms for the south of river Shkumbini people. By outlawing arm carriage in the north as well and suppressing the blood feud, which had been flourishing as recently as 1908, Zogu smoothed the path for his successors. (Hutchings, 1992:117)

Under the new administration the northern tribes were for the first time brought under the control of the central government, though they were allowed to retain their former traditional organization. Loyalty was fostered by a system of "pensions" and "salaries" connected with the granting of military titles (Vickers 1995:118; Fischer 1999:287). The usual procedure was that the beneficiaries were required to present themselves in Tirana once or twice a year to pledge their besa<sup>4</sup>. They were received by Zog, afterwards they returned home with their commissions and money and according to Fischer (1984:35) the aim was to stop both brigandage and the blood feud.

Under Zog urbanization was prevented; the peasants, especially those in the north who were basically self sufficient retrieved into themselves, they

remained isolated into the tribal pockets, wary and distrustful of outside interference and responsive only of their local leaders (Vickers 1995:121). The impact of the reforms, especially the confiscation of the arms and collection of taxes in the north, was considerable and even had unintended consequences. The livelihood in the mountainous regions of the north depended on weapons, and these measures drove some tribes from mere poverty to starvation (Fischer 1999:289). Tribes in several regions rose up against the government to protest the collection of weapons and the suppression of brigandage but the government managed to suppress the revolts.

Zog put road building on the top of Albania's needs. During his period the existing mileage was doubled. Road building can be linked to both to law enforcement: the suppression of brigandage enabled greatly enlivened trade throughout the country and to the collection of taxes in previously inaccessible areas. To accelerate the abolition of banditry and blood feuds remote valleys were opened up by a program of road building. This was a labor intensive process therefore in order to recruit labor every male over sixteen years of age was legally bound to give ten days free labor to the state. If he did not wish to do the work he had to pay some else to do it (Vickers 1995:126).

The question of land reform was brought up several times but it was never pushed too far because Zog feared to disturb his close relations with the beys and therefore their support. Much of the fertile land was in the hands of the large land owners while the less desirable regions were on freehold (Vickers 1995:121).

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<sup>4</sup> Besa means word of honor in Albanian and it is very sacred. In a well-known Albanian legend the main hero dies and then comes to life again because he has not kept his besa and can



By the 1930s the central government was recognized in most part of the country allowing Zog's administration to collect taxes and draft recruit for the army, and this contributed to the political and cultural socialization process (Fischer, 1984:304-305). Hutchings (1992) argues that in certain aspects the Zogu regime was a recognizable forerunner and a facilitator of the post-war one, despite the fact that their origins and social structure were very different.

On April 7, 1939 Italy occupied Albania. And the resistance was minimal and King Zog fled the country with a considerable fortune and this was the end of Zog's regime.

## **2.2 The communist regime**

At the end of the Second World War all other political factions, with the exception of the communists were disorganized and this made it easy for the communists to take over the government in Albania. When opposition manifested itself later in the Catholic areas of the north, the well armed communist army and security forces had no difficulty in suppressing them (Crampton, 1994:215). The support for communists was limited in country and Hoxha recognized that to gain legitimacy he had to rapidly construct an adequate political system. This was a less arduous task when compared to Zog's because of Hoxha's military power and because of the political vacuum in Albania (Pano 1997:291). Following the example of the Yugoslavs, in May 1944 an Anti-Fascist Committee of National

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not find peace in the grave, and after fulfilling his pledge he goes back to his grave.

Liberation was established and it invested itself with all the powers of the temporary government (Pollo and Puto, 1981:239).

By 1946 Albania was proclaimed People's Republic and the constitution was approved. Despite the fact that ideologically speaking it was formulated along the Stalinist lines, surprisingly the articles related to the rights and duties of the *shtetas*<sup>5</sup> are even more progressive than those of the Zog constitution.<sup>6</sup> Of all the twenty-six articles related to the rights and duties of the *shtetas*, only four of them mention the duties while the rest deals with the rights of the *shtetas* and the obligations of the state to them. Among the rights are the guaranteed freedom of speech, press and association (Article 20). The guarantee of the right to vote and be elected (Article 16), the inviolability of the person (Article 22), the right to work and pension during retirement (Article 25) and the freedom of scientific research and artistic creativity (Article 30). The duties mentioned are: the duty to consciously do their work when working in public functions or public services (Article 26), the duty to protect the common wealth (Article 35), the duty to protect the country and do the military service (Article 36) and the duty to pay the taxes (Article 37). Therefore as far as the legal status of the *shtetas* is concerned, according to the 1946 the Albanians enjoy all the rights that any citizen living under a democratic regime would enjoy. But the reality was drastically different

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<sup>5</sup> Unlike Zog's, this one does not use the word citizen. The word citizen in Albanian refers to the city inhabitants, but at the time almost eighty percent of the Albanians lived in the rural areas and they address themselves and are addressed as peasants with a different identity from the citizens, that is the city inhabitants. The word *shtetas* means a member of the state.

<sup>6</sup> The constitution of Zog regime was an adaptation of the American constitution, and the items related to the rights and duties of the citizen did not change when the political regime was transformed into a monarchy.

because in totalitarian society freedom, private as well as public, is nothing but an illusion.

Once in power Hoxha in order to stabilize his position and achieve his goals, employed both intelligence and savage brutality (Fischer. 1995:42), which is not surprising considered the fact that totalitarianism has been identified by many writers as ruthless, brutal, and, thanks to modern technology, a potent form of political tyranny whose ambitions for domination are unlimited. Among the first things done was the physical removal of those possible obstructions to the building of the new socialist state. Initially these forces were identified as “war criminals” but then the meaning was extended to mean “non-communists” and the term “fascism” became synonymous with “U.S.- British imperialism” (Fischer. 1995:43) These were the beginnings of the state of siege that was going to rule Albania for next forty years.

The new authoritarian structure allowed Hoxha to turn quickly to the pressing economic problems of the country as the war and the side Albania chose in it had had not improved in anyway the economic conditions (Vickers 1995: 176). The new communist government had to face the same economic situation that Zog had faced in 1925 and therefore it is not surprising that it pursued policies similar to Zog’ s. The difference this time was that they were carried out with much more speed and determination. The government obtained its initial operating expenses by confiscating the property of its “enemies”, by levying a large war profit tax on the bigger merchants and by forcing subscription to internal loans (Fischer. 1995:43). This was followed by a policy of total

centralization and nationalization of industry, mobilization of all trained people and a ban on exportation of any thing of value, like gold or jewels. As a result the small middle class that had existed in the pre-war period was destroyed.

Despite the economic growth during the first year of the regime, governmental costs, especially security remained high and Hoxha was aware just as Zog had been that the modernization project could not be kept up without external aid. During the war years Tito had played a significant role in the formation of the Communist Party in Albania and establishment of the existing structure of the government. Therefore Yugoslavia became Albania's economic model and the first 'benefactor' in the postwar period (Bland, 1992:125). However Albania's relation with Yugoslavia did not last long because Belgrade began to press for a unification of Albania and the Yugoslav Federation. In June 1948 the Yugoslav Communist Party was expelled from the Communist Information Bureau on the pretext that it had deviated from the Marxist-Leninist ideology line and this was the coup-de-grace for the Albanian-Yugoslav relation. The break of relations was followed with the purge of the faction<sup>7</sup> inside the Albanian Communist Party that had supported the tight relations with Tito (Bland, 1992:125).

From 1948 to 1961 Albania's closest relations were with the Soviet Union, who became Albania's second economic benefactor. This time the crisis came when the Soviet Union tried to persuade Hoxha to postpone the industrialization program and accept the division of labor within the Soviet Block, under which

Albania would supply food and raw materials to the Block and by its manufactured productions from it. At the fourth party congress the prime minister talked about the “dual adversary theory” according to which imperialism and revisionism were equal threats to Marxism-Leninism (Crampton, 1994:311). At the end of the Year Albania breached off the relations with the Soviet Union and expelled the Soviet navy from the base in Adriatic.

It is important to note that this overconfident step was possible only because it was backed by China, who was criticizing the Soviet Union of its revisionist policies and was hoping to have a chance to establish a hold in Europe (Crampton, 1994:311). This time China substituted the Soviet economic aid and advisors and this shift from benefactor to benefactor was justified on the basis of retaining Albania’s ideological purity (Fischer. 1995:45).

In the mid sixties a massive campaign was started under the name of Ideological and Cultural Revolution. Although in part inspired by the Chinese great proletarian Cultural Revolution the Albanian one was well planned and controlled by the party, and it did not mask a power struggle between rival leadership factions (Bland, 1992:128). The Cultural Revolution represented a major initiative on the part of the Albanian leadership to mobilize the masses to accelerate the nation and the state building within the Marxist Leninist framework. It was declared that “the complete construction of a socialist society will not be complete without building a new person, with new ideas, with exalted virtues and high morals. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois remnants in the

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<sup>7</sup> The leader of the faction was the rival of Hoxha in the party so the expulsion of the Yugoslav Communist Party came as a blessing because it was like hitting two birds with one

consciousness of the people make a serious barrier to the complete victory of socialism in Albania...a great effort must be made to overcome this.” (Blumi, 1999:309)

This meant that it required total one-party governmental control and tremendous human sacrifice, the elimination of free choice and individuality<sup>8</sup>, the politicization of the private sphere, including that of the family and the denial of any notion of the universality of human rights. Such well-known phenomena as brain washing, killing fields, ethnic cleansing, mass graves, and genocide, account for thousands of victims. But after all totalitarianism crushes whoever and whatever stands in its way by means of terror and proceeds to a total reconstruction of the society it displaces. The Cultural Revolution culminated in 1967 with Albania becoming the world’s first avowedly atheist state (Blumi, 1999:321).

Hoxha saw religion as divisive force in Albanian society and more importantly he saw religion as the perpetuation of the foreign control on the country. Therefore he determined that the religious element was controlled by “reactionaries, subversives, and antinationalist who represented the foreign interest.” (Fischer, 1995:45) The clergy leadership was either executed or imprisoned and in 1967 special decrees were issued that revoked the charters of the three religions and closed or transformed in to community centers (generally gymnasiums) the mosques and churches.

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stone for Hoxha.

<sup>8</sup> As Kenneth Minogue argues the rejection of individualism understood as the capacity to engage in self chosen roles is required by any project of building a perfect society. Kenneth

Education was used as the primary means by which to wean Albanians from the old social system and to encourage them in the struggle for the creation of a “monolithic unity” and a socialist state. In order to achieve greater integration and to reduce internal divisions, it was decreed that the Tosk dialect with some Gheg additions to enrich the vocabulary would be the Albanian official language (Pipa, 1992:103). This action takes more meaning in the light of the fact that the communist movement originated and was stronger among the Tosks<sup>9</sup> and that Hoxha himself was a Tosk.

The northern part of Albania, due to its geographical make-up has always been less affected and at the same time less open to change. The method used to implement compliance included economic incentives, that is those who joined the cooperatives or state farms were given benefits and those who did not had their land limited and paid more taxes. The government also hoped to undermine the isolation of the north through rural electrification, completed in 1970. Blood feuds were declared totally eradicated and this was achieved by radical measures like execution of those who participated in the blood feud violence and confiscation of their property. But despite the brutality of the totalitarian regime many aspects of the old ways survived, they did not disappear but were adjusted to the new circumstances and with the end of the system they remerged. (Fischer 1999:294)

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Minogue “Two concepts of citizenship”. In Lebach, A., Warner, D. and Dragovic C. ed. *Citizenship East and West*. London: Kegan Paul International. 1995. p. 10

<sup>9</sup> The Nazis put to their own use the age long animosity that existed between Albanians and Serbs. They mobilized Albanians from the north, especially from the region of Kosovo, asking them to fight the Communists who were Serbs and were trying to take control over Albania. This is one of the well-known explanations for the lack of support for the communists in the north, but it was voiced only after the collapse of the totalitarian regime.

The emancipation of women was a traditional theme in the communist movements and it played a central role in Albanian communist policies. The 1946 constitution enshrined the equality between the sexes, but the reality was much more complex. The constitution regulated marriage and divorce; couples were required to participate in civil ceremonies before local people's council. Women enjoyed access to education and by the seventies thirty six percent of the students at the University of Tirana were females. Equal rights meant also the requirement of having a job and the percentage of women employed doubled from the sixties to early eighties. But despite government's encouragement to spread the work load, women were rarely exempted from fulfilling every aspect of their traditional roles at home (Fischer 1999:295).

In the early seventies Albania enjoyed a period of somewhat relaxed party control and opened a little its doors to foreign tourist and television. The restrictions on the Albanian youth were eased as well and writers, artists, musicians with the encouragement of some of the party officials began to test the boundaries of their freedom (Lubonja, 2001:240). However, in totalitarian society freedom, private as well as public, is nothing but an illusion. By early 1973 because of the reports he received on the increasing school dropouts, rise in juvenile delinquency and the growing popularity of Western dress and hair styles and music among the youth, Hoxha reversed the course again. His perceived threat to the primacy of the party authority from the nation's intellectuals and youth subdued creativity in the Albanian cultural life for more than a decade and provoked resentment and alienation among nation's youth (Pano 1997:294). As



Arendt (Arendt :582.) argues totalitarianism's radical atomization of the whole of society eliminates not only free action, which is political by definition, but also the element of action, that is, of initiation, of beginning anything at all, from every human activity. Individual spontaneity in thinking, in any aspiration, or in any creative activity sustains and renews the human world but it is obliterated in totalitarianism. Totalitarianism destroys everything that politics, in the Arendtian understanding, makes possible therefore talking about citizenship is impossible. The citizens need a space beyond that of the state in order to act, and this space is commonly defined as civil society. But the Marxist-Leninist project with its vision of a perfect society in which the individual is completely absorbed in the activity of the community, no activity or identity is left outside to allow a separate existence. Because the essence of the state Minogue (1995:12) argues is that the public realm must be combined with the social and the private sphere of life and politics is about how these spheres fit together.

Bland (1992) talks about the opportunities of criticizing the system and argues that although political opposition to a socialist order is prohibited there is a great deal; of opportunity for public criticism of state departments and state officials. Every town and village had notice board where citizens can criticize short comings and the official for the department must reply the criticism within three days. However this is only a façade, it is what was taught to children in schoolbooks and what was shown in the movies of the time. The reality was very much different. There are well-known cases that are still told in Albania about

people who were condemned with fifteen to twenty years of imprisonment for having complained about the quality of the bread or for the long lines.

In 1973 because of what he regarded manifestations of liberalism in the economic sphere, Hoxha unleashed a purge of the economic managerial elites. He was distressed by reports of “experiments” that provided “workers with cash and consumer bonuses for exceeding production quotas, encouraged local initiatives in economic planning and management and established semiautonomous marketing units within various economic enterprises” (Vickers 1995:300).

The purges continued from the economic sphere, to the military where Hoxha feared the rise of a powerful, professional officer class, to the political sphere with the result of the expulsion of forty-one percent of the members of the politburo. In the aftermath, Hoxha tried to ensure the continuity of his line by announcing a new constitution in 1976. In Article 3 it declared the ruling Albanian Party of Labor as “the sole leading force in the society” and proclaimed Marxism-Leninism as the nation’s official ideology. The constitution characterized Albania as the dictatorship of the proletariat in which all the power belongs to the people. Although it promised an extensive range of human and civil rights but this time with a strong emphasis on the duties of the *shtetas*. Among the duties mentioned are the respect for the constitution and the laws, the protection and enforcement of the socialist order (Article 60), and the protection of the socialist property (Article 61). However, it limited ownership to household residence and household good (Article 23); anti socialist political activity is

prohibited and so is the practice of the religion. (Article 37); and it subordinated the army to the party under the command of the parties first secretary.

Hoxha ruled through the Party of Labor whose population did not exceed three to four percent of the population<sup>10</sup> and the masses were mobilized through mass organizations such as the Democratic Front, the overarching political organization which every Albanian of voting age was expected to join. Other examples of organizations are the Trade Unions of Albania, the Union of Albanian Women and the Union of Albanian Labor Youth (Pano 1997:296). Local and district party organs looked to Tirana for guidance, the national legislature and the judiciary was controlled by the party and in 1966 with the abolition of the ministry of justice and of the legal profession even the pretense of rule of law ceased to exist.

Despite the government's claims of ninety-nine percent of voter participation, the people became disillusioned with the political process by the end of the Hoxha era. The so much feared secret police with its ubiquitous network of informers combined with the impact of the periodic purges unleashed by Hoxha hindered public dissent even during the last years of his life (Vickers 1995:208).

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<sup>10</sup> The lowest ratio of party membership to population among European communists states according to Nicholas Pano. "The process of democratization in Albania." In Dawisha, K. and Parrot, B. ed. *Politics, Power, and Struggle for democracy in East-South Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1997. p.296

### **2.3 The Post-Communist Regime**

Hoxha died in April 1985 and his successor was Ramiz Alia, one of the few Ghegs in the inner circle of leadership, who despite the fact that had participated and backed the purges was considered one of the most enlightened members of the party at the time he came to power. Although Alia recognized the desperate need for reform in economy and social life he proceeded very slowly in the reform direction. According to Biberaj even when the reforms were introduced they intended to maintain the integrity of the existing system and especially the political monopoly of the Party of Labor (Biberaj 1991). The measures failed to have the positive effect on economy that was expected and the reason was a combination of worker apathy, bureaucratic resistance, unfavorable weather and a lack of capital that limited the impact of the reforms (Crampton, 1994: 403).

In order to win over the obvious alienation of the youth who were a significant element in the country (Pano 1997:300), Alia sought to increase recreational activities for this group and eased the regulations on clothing and hairstyle. He also promised liberalization of the curriculum reforms, and the modernization of school buildings and equipments.

Alia was confronted with the great discontent of the intelligentsia and university graduates regarding the restrictions that inhibited artistic and literary

creativity. The response to this was the signaling of the willingness to relax some of the party control on press and arts. Therefore by the late 1980s the articles critical of the economic and social situation of the country appeared in the main newspapers. Ismail Kadare, one of the prominent Albanian writers, issued an eloquent plea for a just society based on the rule of law, respect for individual rights and the freedom of expression in Albania's most prestigious literary newspaper (Pano 1997:201). However by the end 1989 there was still no organized opposition or dissident movement in Albania and Pano argues that indeed there was little enthusiasm for reform within the large segments of the society though the reforms has elicited the greatest interest and support from intellectuals and students. It is important to note that students and intellectuals were dissatisfied with the pace and scope of the reform.

The fall of Ceausescu in Romania had a deep impact on the Albanian public opinion. This fact, along with the public manifestations of dissatisfaction with the policies and the worsening of economic problems made Alia to accelerate the tempo of the reforms which focused on economy, political and legal systems, education, religion and foreign relations (Crampton, 1994:402). Lacking a well organized opposition, Alia failed to appreciate the extent of the growing popular sentiment for more sweeping economic and political change. His support among the masses declined substantially following his denigration of the approximately six thousand Albanians who fled the country in July 1990 after taking refuge in foreign embassies and the succeeding harassment of their families (Vickers and Pettifer, 1999: 46).

The event that triggered the post-communist transition was the strike of students at the University of Tirana in December 1990, protesting their miserable living conditions. The police efforts to end the strike failed and the scope of the protest was expanded to include demands on the legalization of new political parties. The initial steps to democracy were taken against a growing wave of unrest and violence in the country (Vickers and Pettifer, 1999:48). Noisy demonstrations and acts of vandalism in major cities served as the outlet of the hostility and rage that had built up for forty-five years of Communist totalitarian rule.

In the parliamentary elections of 1991 five new parties participated besides the Party of Labor, and among them the most prominent was the Democratic Party who had the support of the intelligentsia and of the students. The results of the elections did clearly confirm the rural-urban division that existed in Albania. The Party of Labor candidates won easily in the rural districts in all regions of the country, including three parliamentary seats from the district of Tropoje, the native district of the leader of the Democratic Party. On the other hand the Democrats in Tirana won seventeen of the nineteen urban constituencies, but were able to capture only one district's rural seat (Pano 1997:311).

A provisional constitution was approved on April 29, 1991 and it renamed the country as the Republic of Albania, instead of the previous People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It also included the endorsement of political pluralism (Article 6), declared Albania a parliamentary republic (Article 1) which was based on rule of law (Article 2) and it guaranteed human and civil rights to all citizens,

including the members of the minorities (Article 6). It also guaranteed freedom and practice of religion (Article 7) and it recognized and provided equal protection for the state, collective and private property (Article 11).

As far as religion is concerned, by 1996 mosques and churches had been restored or constructed where they were before 1967. Muslim religious teachers and prayer leader were retrained either in Albania or in various Islamic countries. The Albanian Islamic community continues to receive external support as it tries to restore the spiritual influence it once had (Draper, 1997:138). The Catholic Church has made significant progress in reassuming its position as well. The administrative restoration of the Catholic Church was completed in 1993 when the Pope visited Albania and consecrated four native Bishops. The historical close relations of the Albanian Catholics with Italy have contributed to the development of Italian-Albanian ties during the 1990s (Pano 1997:330).

The restoration of the Albanian Orthodox Church however was not very smooth. The situation resulted from the fact that all members of the church's hierarchy had died during the totalitarian regime and there was no-one qualified enough to fill the positions of bishopric. After a consultation with the Albanian government the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1992 appointed a Greek citizen as the Archbishop of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church until a native Albanian could assume the position. This appointment was not welcome to a large segment of the Albanian Orthodox community because they feared that the archbishop would seek to "Hellenize" the church and use its influence to support the demands of the Greek extreme nationalist for the annexation of the Greek

populated regions of southern Albania by Greece. The divisions inside the Orthodox community continue, and although the archbishop has asked the court to solve the matter, the judiciary prefers to stay out of this delicate matter (Vickers and Pettifer, 1999:104).

In October 1991 Albania joined the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and became a participating member of the European Bank for Reconstruction and development. Between 1991 and 1995 the privatization of small industrial establishments and mechanical enterprises with fifteen or less employers was achieved. The manufacturing, retail and wholesale trade and road transportation was fully privatized. In 1995 seventy percent of the total employment was estimated to be in the private sector and it accounted for the sixty percent of the countries GDP. Albania's economy has also profited from the remittances of the Albanian emigrants employed abroad, mainly Italy and Greece. In 1995 the remittances accounted for the fifteen percent of Albania's GDP (Pano, 1997:330).

During the 90s there has been a proliferation of the non-governmental organizations in Albania. There were 350 groups registered in 1995 and the majority of them are functioning. These groups cover issues like women, youth, ecology, health, cultural and professional issues, and human rights. Pano argues that although these organizations have yet to firmly establish themselves in Albania, they have the potential of laying the foundations of Albanian civil society. The Albanian press, television and radio have the potential to play a significant role in the creation of a civil society as well because they can serve as the



processor of public opinion, government watchdog and the source of factual information (Pano 1997:334).

Despite the encouraging achievements there is also a darker side of the medal. The greater personal freedom that characterizes the post-totalitarian society has also contributed to the rise of crime during the 1990s. There are people who got rich and still are getting richer through immigrant smuggling, drug and arm trafficking, and stolen automobiles. The police and the government claim that they are trying to control the situation but it is common knowledge that all the big heads of the government are corrupted.

The leaders of the Democratic Party sustain that they are radically different from their predecessors and they have managed well to hide their communist past in the international arena according to Vickers and Pettifer (1999: 267), but their personal psychology and methods of political operation do not show much difference because the politics at home are still conducted in the winner-takes-it-all fashion.

This way of doing politics did not matter in the beginning because the people were glad to see the end of the totalitarian regime the country, but as time passed and promises were not kept, discontent began to rise. By 1995 the streets of Tirana had shops selling gold and jewelry, luxury package holidays and Italian designer clothes, but in the winter there were chronic bread shortages caused by electricity breakdowns while in summer there was (is) no water supply for many hours. Albania had become “a country of organized disorganization, of every man

for himself”( Guardian International, June, 25. 1995:15, cited in Vickers and Pettifer, 1999:268)

Berisha came with the motto “free people in a free country” but this was unfortunately interpreted as “no one can stop you from doing whatever you want”. The result was that all that was once the property of the community now became the property of the first person who can put the hands on it. Consequently pieces of equipment like the telephone wires, public water taps, and even water pipes disappear as soon as they are installed.

Blood feuds over land ownership and even over less serious reasons appeared again<sup>11</sup>, both in the north and south and shanty towns of people who have migrated especially from the north have grown up around Tirana. Throughout the 1995 the pressure on the government to do something about the growth of the shanty towns has increased. In June the police took forceful action in the shanty suburbs and the result was three days of violence, the national north south road was blocked and the several dozen people were injured (Vickers and Pettifer, 1999:269).

Financial scandals have been common since the time of liberalization but now they are more overt than ever. Political favors can be bought and sold overtly. In 1998, the World Bank ranked Albania the most corrupt country in Europe. Nearly half of Albanian citizens surveyed admitted to paying bribes. Two-thirds of public officials admitted that bribery was a common phenomenon in the country. Proponents of cleaner government say that the money lost from the Albanian economy through bribes could be put to better use. Albanian workers

are among the worst paid in Europe. Official statistics put the unemployment rate at 16 percent, but independent estimates have put the figure as high as 25 percent (Mici, 2001).

The current political and to some extent economic situation in Albania has been very well summarized in by the editors of *Albania*<sup>12</sup> put it in the editorial from the March 8 edition, titled "Without Government, Without Opposition,"

"Albania has an opposition, some 52 deputies who speak and are paid on its behalf, dozens of political parties, papers, and officials.... All of these constitute the official opposition, the one that speaks when it is asked, that says what it thinks and that thinks differently from the government and makes this a politically pluralistic society. But Albania unfortunately lacks another opposition, that of an involved citizenry such as there is in Argentina—a citizenry that has the skills to ask for political and democratic compensation for the crises and the bad governance they have endured, an opposition that does not ask but turns down governments and presidents, an opposition that does not plead but demands respect for its rights." (Albania, 2002)

## 2.4 Concluding Remarks

Warner (1995: 44) defines the citizen as someone who is protected by the state and at the same time uses the state to advance his/her claims on the basis of equality with other fellows. Unfortunately there are not many people, if there are any, who fit into this definition. Citizenship cannot be artificially created through laws as Zog tried to do but its prerequisites can be destroyed as the totalitarian regime did.

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<sup>11</sup> An old in Albanian says a wolf may lose its hair but not its habit.

<sup>12</sup> Albania is an influential daily newspaper.

Pano argues that the Albanian political culture, which has been characterized by a low level of popular participation in the political activity has produced a society in which the concept of democratic government, the rule of law, accountability of the public officials and the expression and toleration of diverse opinions are not firmly rooted or fully understood by both masses and the post-communist ruling elite (Pano 1997:286).

However I believe it is not fair to blame the political culture and leave it at that, because we risk being essentialists and reductionists. It is important to keep in mind that people shape the situations and the situations shape people. Albania is not immune from the forces of globalization and therefore the combination of both internal and the external context will influence Albanian mentality and the developments in citizenship.

In the next chapter I will be discussing Turkey and the nature of citizenship in Turkey during the early republican period, the 60s to 80s period and the challenges Turkish citizenship has to face nowadays.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **CITIZENSHIP IN TURKEY**

In the previous chapters after focusing on the debates on citizenship in the West in terms of the civic republican tradition that championed the civic virtue side of citizenship, liberal-democratic tradition that championed legal status aspect, and identity that championed the identity dimension of citizenship I moved on to Albanian perspective. In Albania, I focused on three time periods starting from the early 20s to the present day. Now it is time to look at the debates on the Turkish citizenship.

I will begin with the early republican period and will outline the major debates on the construction of the Turkish citizenship during this period of state and nation building. Then I will move on to the 60s and 70s when Turkish citizenship reaches its political level and participation is at the maximum, but at the same time there is a lack of tolerance and the political tension escalates to street fights. Finally in the last part I will discuss the confrontation that Turkish

citizenship has to face in a time of interconnectedness and appreciation and even glorification of difference and of the different.

### **3. 1 Early Republican Period**

It is important to note that initially the republicanists, headed by Ataturk had not much support for their ideas. However, like every group that comes to power they also set out to establish their riches and supporters. Turkey at that time had two major strata<sup>1</sup>, the elite and the peasants. Both of the existing classes did not support the Kemalists for their own reasons; the elite supported the sultanate and the caliphate, while the peasants were fed up with wars and had become passive. So, the supporters of the Kemalists became the newly emerging stratum, the bourgeoisie (Ahmad, 1993:24).

The republicanists wanted to transform Turkey in to a modern state, which would live as an advanced and civilized nation in midst of contemporary civilizations. This meant that the nation would be secular and rational, would emphasize science and modern education and would create a modern industrial economy. Ataturk himself belonged to the provincial lower middle class whose members had seen the army as a means of upward mobility in the late Ottoman Empire. He did not want to rule Turkey by means of traditions or social convictions, but wanted to create a new ideology, which would permit turkey to

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<sup>1</sup> The social stratum is defined in economic terms, where people belong to high, middle or lower strata according to their socio-economic situation.

move fast into the progress. The ideology was to commit the people and had as a main goal the substitution of Turkish nationalism for Islam and Ottomanism (Ahmad, 1993:28). In this way the past would be effect less and less the present and the future.

In the early Republic period the legal definition of the citizenship was egalitarian and tried to benefit both from both *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* definitions of citizenship. *Jus soli* means that citizenship is defined in terms of territory that is once you are born in a certain territory you are the citizen of the country the territory belongs to. The typical example of this kind of understanding is the French citizenship. *Jus sanguinis* means that you become a citizen of a state only if you are born to parents who are citizens of the state; this means that citizenship is transmitted through blood principle. The typical example of this understanding of citizenship is German Citizenship.

Turkish citizenship was a mixture a both these understandings. According to Article 1 of the provisions on citizenship “children born to a Turkish father or Turkish mother in Turkey or in a foreign country are considered as Turkish Citizens.” According to Article 3 “those children who are born from foreign parents in Turkey can admit Turkish citizenship within three years of reaching maturity.” In the first instance Turkish citizenship was close to the French model that was based on territory with the premise that those that are affiliated to the Turkish State by citizenship are called Turks. Thus it seems that both blood and territory principles are used one beside the other.

When talking about the new Turkish citizen Ataturk says: “We must be civilized from every point of view, our ideas, our reasoning will be civilized from head to toe.”(Ahmad, 1993:29).

In this respect the new Turkey was a nation whose citizens are tied together by common language, culture and collective consciousness and ideals. However there is no reference to religion, Islam or tradition. Thus the aim was to make secularism a part of this new Turkish identity. Turkishness involved pride in the history and tradition of Anatolia, which were rediscovered and reinvented. This concept was defined in contrast by the Islamic identity with a strong emphasis on secularism.

When we consider the construction of the Turkish citizenship we see that the creation of a monolithic culture was aimed, while the ethnic and sub-cultural identities would be ignored. At the same time there is a strong emphasis on duties and responsibilities. Thus a civic- republican understanding of citizenship is favored. The construction of citizenship was carried out mainly by courses given at schools like “Information on Motherland” to children and for the elderly given at the Peoples’ Houses. People’s Houses were formed and utilized as institutions where the consciousness of the citizens is elevated (Zurcher, 1993:188). It was here that the “new citizen” would be created from head to toe. Under the slogan ‘Let’s smash the idols’ all males were made to abandon the fez and wear hats, so that the social and religious distinctions were done with. Another reform was the establishment of the Gregorian calendar, the one used by



the rest of the western world. Several years later Sunday was declared as the official holiday (Weiker, 1981:170).

But definitely the most important reform was the change of the alphabet from Arabic letters to the Latin ones. Before this day almost 92% of the Turkish people were illiterate, and the purpose for this revolutionary measure was to speed up education and literacy in the new Turkey. And the other goal of the script revolution was to get Turkey closer to Europe, which was after all, the aim at the basis of all the reforms. The reform was introduced in 1928 and by the end of the Second World War 30 percent of the people could read. Most of the regime's efforts were expended to cities and towns, and the countryside was still left behind (Weiker, 1981:179).

The central thing was the creation of a responsible citizen who was defined as passive<sup>2</sup>, had certain duties and responsibilities towards the community and the state. The rights were achieved in return for the obligations fulfilled therefore it is the community that was given priority.

Now it is time to look at the other side of the citizenship construction. Turkey is not an ethnically homogeneous country, but the creation of a monolithic culture required a homogeneous nation. The Turkish citizenship as defined was not based exclusively on biological or blood ties, therefore the newly created culture was open to non-Turkish Muslim groups who were accepted as Turkish citizens. These groups were easily integrated. However, minorities from other religious groups like Jews and Armenians were considered outsiders, even though they were of Turkish origin because they were not

Muslim (Lewis, 1955:30). Thus we have a paradox here. Although the new Turkish identity and citizenship are based on modern and secular principles, yet the division of the Millet system based on religion still persists.

We see that there is a strong emphasis on language, because speaking Turkish was seen as the essential part of nation and citizen building. Thus there was a stress on the adaptation of the Turkish language and Turkish culture from all the groups of the society regardless of their ethnicity or religion. Examples of this practice are the law on language and family names. Turkish courses were offered to minorities, like the Jews and there we signs hung in public places and people started to warn those that spoke in foreign language (Ahmad, 1993:44).

In the family name law, all names that remind ranks, post, tribe, foreign race or nationality were outlawed. And furthermore the surnames with foreign suffixes such as “yan, of, vic, dis, pulos, aki, zade, veled, bin ” etc. were prohibited and had to be substituted with Turkish surnames (Soyarik, 2000:132). Therefore during the early republican days, although in the beginning the German type of citizenship based on descent and unity in culture was not strongly emphasized a shift occurred and integration with the Turkish culture became determinant of Turkish citizenship.

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<sup>2</sup> And as and old Turkish proverb says: “Turk soylemez, soyleneir”.

### 3.2 The Period 1946-1980

1945 involves the end of an established and enduring single party system. Ismet Inonu and the Republican People's Party (here after it will appear as RPP) played a crucial role in adapting democratic principles. In his speech in 1945, Inonu stated that "... democratic principles will be gradually acquiring a larger place in political and cultural life of the country." (Ozbudun, 1998: 14)

Despite its democratization aim, it must be borne in mind that the process though which change occurred was in a top-down fashion because the initiators were the ruling elite. The first truly competitive elections in Turkey took place in July 46. In this election Democrat Party (DP) won one fifth of the seats in the parliament. Despite the fact that these elections remained controversial, as the democrats claimed a large scale electoral fraud, new laws were introduced in 1950 in accordance to the demands of the democrats.

The new elections were to be held by secret voting, and in the 1950 elections the distribution of the seats in the parliament changed drastically with the democrats winning more than half of the votes. Some scholars associate the Turkish transition with structural changes that took place in society during the RPP rule. During the RPP era etatism was not anti-business; rather it contributed in the creation of infrastructure for commercial and industrial sectors which benefited most the actors in the private sector. The RPP remained closer to the liberal democratic tradition both ideologically and organizationally (Ozbudun, 1998: 21).

So by the end of the single party rule, the Turkish society had reached somewhat a higher level of social differentiation and complexity. Consequently, domestic pressure against state bureaucracy came into existence because of the differentiation and this became most apparent in the case of peasantry and newly emerging pro-business groups. RPP was not able to include the demands of these groups while the DP achieved it because it adopted the discourse of political democracy and presented it as panacea for all ills. DP came to power as a libertarian, anti-authoritarian, anti-bureaucratic outlook (Ahmad, 1993:110).

The period between 1946 and 1980 was significant for the transformation of the understanding and conceptualization of citizenship. Turkish citizenship was constructed in the early republican period as an integral part of the nation building process. It aimed to turn citizens into the carriers of the Turkish revolution and modernization. Later it was transformed into a more western conceptualization.

The Democratic Party period introduced a new understanding in citizenship. The passive citizen of the early period leaves its place to a more active citizen who knows that can change things by the power of vote. The peasant, traditional citizen challenged the urban citizen and this was a reaction to the elitist center. With democracy, the neglected rural education and development gained importance with democracy because the rural areas contained potential votes. Thus at this point we can say that the Turkish citizenship reached its political level that is the political element became a significant element in Turkish citizenship and continued to be so afterwards.

Finally the people were mobilized in a way to feel that sovereignty rested upon them, that they could change their destiny through election. All this was facilitated to the Democratic Party propaganda “Enough! It is nations turn to speak!” (Soyarik, 2000:153)

DP came to the stage in an ambivalent era where the political alliance between the military, politic elite, landlords and the newly emerged bourgeoisie had eroded and it was impossible to continue with the status quo (Ahmad, 1993:104). DP claimed that its main goal was to advance democracy and this included greater rights to the individual while curbing the government intervention s much as possible. They emphasized populism and popular sovereignty, claimed that the political initiative emanated from the people, that is from below and DP claimed that was acting for the people in the name of the people.

However, during the mid 50s DP had abandoned its claims for more democracy and freedom. The penal code became tighter, measures against freedom of press were taken, the assets of the opposition were confiscated, and the university autonomy was attacked. Furthermore because of the favorable results of the 1954 the DP leader challenged the military by saying that he would substituted the leaders that failed to comply with him (Ahmad, 1993:114). In the late 50s the problems in economy due to the increase in the foreign debt, DP’s populist policies and Menderes’ overconfident standing resulted in the 1960 coup d’etat.

This coup was welcomed in Istanbul and Ankara especially among the students of both cities and among the intelligencia. However the rest of the country did not show much rejoicement. A group of professors from the Ankara University were asked to come together to draw the new constitution. The main aim of the authors of the constitution was to prevent a power monopoly as it was the case with DP and RPP. The national assembly was counterbalanced with other institutions and an independent institutional court was introduced with the purpose of throwing out legislation it regarded as unconstitutional. The 1961 constitution included a full bill of civil liberties and the individual was given higher value and was placed before the state.

The citizenship law of the 1961 constitution was based on three principles. First, that everyone should have a citizenship. Second, everyone should have only one citizenship. And third, that everyone should be free to choose his/her citizenship and no one should retain a citizenship s/he does not want (Soyarik, 2000:162).

The constitution extended rights and freedoms substituted the duties that were given priority during the early republican period. The rights and liberties to form associations, political parties, and trade union and thus at the same time the political participation of citizens increased. Therefore during the period 1960-1980 there was a liberal understanding of citizenship. There emerged a more active citizenship that was encouraged by the state.

Ozbudun (1998:55) suggest that the majority in the constituent assembly reinterpreted the notion of etatism in a more leftist and ideological manner,

therefore the state was entrusted with economic, social and cultural planning. The tasks included land reform, health care and housing, social security organizations and helping to assure full employment. Consequently, during this period the social element was added to the Turkish citizenship. Although the welfare state never reached the levels of the European Welfare state, still its existence is very meaningful as far as social rights are concerned.

Diversity in ethnic origins and religious differences have been a part of since the beginning of time, but in the 60s another division became evident and gained importance, that between town and country. In spite of the growth of mass communication town and village were still different worlds. Education was the chief means of social advancement. Yet, educational facilities were concentrated in the town and even though it was free, there were few peasants who could afford to keep their children in boarding schools beyond the fifth grade (Mango, 1968:118).

While religion was introduced into the curricula of the primary and secondary schools, there was no provision for either religious education or for the expression of the religious feelings of adolescents in high schools or universities. As a result, where the adolescent religious enthusiasm was not replaced by secularist or socialist enthusiasm, it found itself either in banned dervish fraternities or traditionalist nationalism, which was radical and often racial in nature (Mango, 1968:102).

Because the new constitution was more liberal than the old, it tolerated a wider spectrum of political activity than before and this was true for both the

right and the left. The 1960s were years of rapid change and there was a growing student population and a developing industrial proletariat. Both these groups could have been a natural ground of support of the modernized RPP, but this party in spite of its left-of-center rhetoric did not dare to opt for radical policies. This left an opening for more extreme leftist parties, including the militant left (Zurcher, 1993:266-7).

The same is true for the Justice party also, the successor of Democratic Party. Despite the fact that its electorate consisted of farmers and small business its policies served the industrial bourgeoisie and the big business. This left many voters dissatisfied and therefore they turned to the ultra-nationalist parties that were founded (Zurcher, 1993:267).

The political freedom resulted in political and ideological polarization and clashes. Erim (cited in Ahmad, 1993:152) and the military High Command concluded that the liberal constitution was an extravagance for Turkey, and a rapid developing country cannot afford it while striving in the road to capitalism. The constitutional amendments that followed after the 1971 half coup d'etat, were against the spirit of the 1961 constitution. It curtailed certain rights and freedoms<sup>3</sup> and restricted the review power of the courts and it increased the institutional autonomy of the military in the name of a stronger government that could safeguard public order and national security (Ozbudun, 1998: 57).

But despite these measures the situation did not change much throughout the decade. The guerrilla war which turned into terrorism, the stagnant

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<sup>3</sup> This included the closing of the Worker's Party, the restriction of freedom of the press, and the autonomy of the universities, radio and television was limited.



economy with the increasing unemployment and rising inflations became typical problems and meanwhile the government was occupying itself with the problems cause by inter party fight (Ahmad, 1993:179) but which was trifle compared with what was going on in the streets. The 80's military take over was most welcome to the majority of the population, despite the fact that most of the social rights cancelled.

### **3.3 The Post-80s Period**

Until 1980s, Keyder argues that the success of the social entitlement programs contributed to a weakening of the concept of citizenship. Populism emerged as the modality for successful penetrating the claims and the status of a strong state, and as long as the state remained strong, full citizenship could be suspended. Social rights turned into a means for the state to extend its legitimacy into population, thus dividing and creating clientelistic networks. The beneficiaries of the social programs were defined according to their group attributes-not as individuals (Keyder, 1997:42).

The 1980 coup did drastically change the understanding of citizenship in Turkey. There was a return to the cultural citizenship with a strong emphasis on Islam in the education of citizenship because Islam was considered a component of the nation, just as race, language and common historical heritage were.

Therefore the 1982 constitution came up with a strong unitary, monolithic understanding of citizenship.

However, the 80s and the 90s have witnessed a world wide death of monolithic concepts rise of discourses of difference which could not help but influence Turkey also. Therefore I will begin with some debates in the world literature and then I will come back to Turkey.

The concept of citizenship, as a building block of a unitary nation state has been challenged by in the discourse of difference and identity. Turner (1992) makes a historical description of citizenship in the west in order to provide a critique of Marshall's monolithic understanding o citizenship on one hand and in order to bring a sociological model of citizenship on the other. His model of citizenship consists of two axes. The first axis is about the public and private definition of moral activity that is the creation of a public space of political activity. The second axis consists of active and passive forms of citizenship, that is whether the citizen is conceptualized as merely as subject to an absolute authority or an active political agent.

Citizenship as participation represents an expression of human agency in the political arena, broadly defined; citizenship as rights enables people to act as agents, individually or in collaboration with others. Moreover, citizenship rights are not fixed. They remain the object of political struggles to defend, reinterpret, and extend them. Who is involved in those struggles, where they are placed in the political hierarchy, and what political power and influence they can wield will help to determine the outcomes of such struggles.

To be a citizen, in the legal and sociological sense, means to enjoy the rights of citizenship necessary for agency and social and political participation. To act as a citizen involves fulfilling the potential of that status. Those who do not fulfill that potential do not cease to be citizens. Oldfield (1990:178) suggests that in the traditions of liberalism and civic republicanism, citizenship is understood as involving respectively rights and political obligation, the former prioritizing the individual, the latter the interests of the wider community. These elements have been conceptualized as citizenship as a status versus citizenship as a practice. He further on argues that some scholars tend to regard the relation between state and democracy as intermediated by the concept of citizen, and thinking in terms of: citizenship is a good thing.

However, the concept of citizenship is still undergoing change and development due to world's social, political, economical and cultural situation, i.e. globalization and glocalization. Turner argues that we do not possess the conceptual apparatus to express the idea of global membership, but given the context specific national identity as an element of citizenship is anachronistic. Pierson (1996) sustains that the problems that are generated by the concept of citizenship are less a reflection of inadequacies in existing conceptions of citizenship than a suggestion of deeper problems that exist in the conceptualization of the state.

Besides participation and legal status, identity is the third important element of citizenship. Stuart Hall (1992:96) when writing on identity emphasizes the historical path of the decentration and dislocation of identity. He

shows how during Enlightenment and late modernity identity sutures the subject into a structure and how then in a postmodern society both identity and subject are dislocated from their monolithic center.

I think that the decentering of identity is quite possible, but that of the subject is not because you cannot decenter something that has never been centered in the first place. It is not the subject that is being decentered but the idea of a centered subject. If we pose one moment and consider the human nature we can not help but agree with Marx that human beings are creative beings. Human beings create human doings, and despite their creativeness human doings are not eternal and tend to get outdated. It is for this very reason that we are right in assuming that what has been created today will either drastically change or perish forever. Identity has changed! But this is fine, because it is its natural course. We have to worry if it is being presented as transcendental, because then there is something wrong.

But putting political philosophy aside and turning to the question of Turkish citizenship we see in the 80s and 90s the unitary definition of citizenship was challenged and was not feasible anymore to the fast changing world. Thus Turkish citizenship had to find an answer to the challenges that the 80s brought to the world in general and Turkey in particular. Dual citizenship and constitutional citizenship debates emerged.

After 1980 citizenship became a widely debated and contested issue in Turkey. Dual citizenship debates were an outcome of the ambiguous status of the large number of Turkish immigrants especially in Europe. Constitutional

citizenship debates on the other hand emerged as a suggested solution for the problems that rose due to the demands for recognition of distinct identities coming mainly from Kurds and Islamic groups.

The first problem that is dual citizenship was relatively easy to solve by amendment of new articles in the constitution. Those people who had acquired another country's citizenship were given a chance to hold the Turkish citizenship and the foreign citizenship simultaneously. Dual citizenship is seen as an increasingly important toll for the integration of the emigrants in the host society. At the same time it provides an opportunity for the Turkish state to overcome the negative consequences of the permanent settlement of its citizens abroad, while at the same time offering some practical solutions to the naturalization process of emigrants in the host country.

The second challenge to the Turkish citizenship is the rise of the rival identities to the Turkish identity, namely the Kurdish, Islamist and Alevi identity.

Kasaba (1997:16) maintains that the revival of Islam came about from peoples' inquiry about histories, institutions, beliefs, identities, and cultures from which they had been forcefully separated. This reorientation of the social compass spread to all the segments of the society, not only affecting people's political outlook but also influenced their way of dressing, the music they listened to, how they built their houses and office buildings and how they thought about the history of modern Turkey.

Moreover he argues that all ideas that initiated outside the ruling elite were perceived with suspicion and considered dangerous if they could not be

shaped in accordance with the political program that was being implemented. However in their quest to reorganize Turkish society, the reforming elite ended up isolating itself from society at large and became a close-minded and inward-looking ruling class (Mardin cited in Kasaba, 1997:29).

Both in theory and in practice there was so much stress on institutional reform and its external manifestation that we tend to forget that these reforms touched a relatively small part of Turkish society in the early twentieth century. Outside the privileged domain of the political elite stood a large number of people whose voices were rarely heard during the initial years of the republic (Kasaba, 1997:30). But it seems that they did not improve with the years because as Navaro-Yashin (1998:15) shows when talking about the Atatürkist groups that started to penetrate society in response to RP winning at the municipal elections in 1994 “early on in their activism these groups were expressing the lack of knowledge that they had of the ‘people’”. Directly or indirectly, social forces had an impact on the shapes and effectiveness of many of the reform policies even if that impact is not always recognized (Kasaba, 1997:30).

On the other hand, Onis (1997:741) and Keyman (1995:95) provides two rather different but complementary explanations while explaining the rise of political Islam in Turkey in the 80s and 90s. While not negating the importance of the uniquely historical features of the Turkish case, Onis analysis draws attention to the external dimension and attempts to conceptualize the rise of

political Islam in Turkey during the 1990s as a reflection of the far-reaching transformations that are occurring at the global level in economics and culture.

Keyman (1995:96) suggests that it is the increasing inability of Turkish nationalism to reproduce itself as a hegemonic discourse and to bring to its surface its historical dilemma that the unifying identity it attempts to construct during the post 1980 coup era depends for its self-definition upon the simultaneous acceptance and rejection of Western self. For him, the rise of the Islamic identity is inherently bound to the crisis of Turkish nationalism and through this context that we can understand the association between globalization and the revitalization of the language of difference as a resistance to secular national identity.

Onis (1997:746) emphasizes the process of intense globalization of the world which has been associated with the exacerbation of income and wealth disparities and the distribution of economic opportunities within the individual nation state to accommodate the needs of the poor, the disadvantaged or the excluded, has created a vacuum in political space. It is this void that has provided an opportunity for the proliferation of political movements organized on the basis of extreme nationalism or religious fundamentalism.

Further on Onis argues that the massive transformations and dislocations in the economic sphere tend to generate intense identity crises and a parallel search for greater certainty and control on the part of the individuals and communities that feel threatened. The urges originating from the cultural sphere, allied with the dissemination of democratic values, acceptance of diversity and

pluralism provide extended public space for groups and communities to express their identities and organize themselves around issues concerning individual and/or group identity (Onis, 1997: 746)

While for Keyman (1995:113-4) Islam could have been one of the significant articulating elements of difference by which to construct an alternative subjectivity to the unifying vision of the national identity, in an historical context where the depolarization of the social relations and the reorganization of political life in a non-participatory mode unintentionally created the possibility of thinking of political community outside the terrain of Kemalist nationalism. But The language of political Islam tends to be essentialist by promoting a fixed and coherent Islamic community against Kemalist will to civilization, this kind of language of difference turns out to be as nationalistic and totalizing as the national identity to which it is radically opposed

Onis's argument contains some contradictory points in itself. He argues that any attempt by the RP to legislate its idealized vision of Islam into action will run up against a major wall of opposition from the vast majority of population, as well as the established bastions of the republican constitutional order, including the majority of the parliament, the judiciary and most important of all, the military. The upper argument is definitely problematic. We are talking about a democratic country and where do you rely to protect your democracy? The answer should have been "the rule of law." But the one that he gives is the military.



Secondly he talks about protest from the majority of the population, if the majority protests, than how is it that RP is in power in the fist place? Third, if the majority has the power to change the constitution so easily, how about considering that there may be a problem with the constitution itself? But unfortunately these questions are not considered in Onis's essay.

For Gole (1997:80-1) the exclusion of the Islamic identity and culture, the totalizing nature of modernization reveals itself. The study of contemporary Islamic movements challenges the assumed binary opposition between tradition and modernity. Islamic movements do not express solely a politico-religious opposition, but also present a countercultural model of modernization. Kemalist reformers' efforts went far beyond modernizing the state apparatus as the country changed from multiethnic Ottoman Empire to a secular republican nation-state: they also attempted to penetrate into the lifestyles, manners, behaviors and daily customs of the people.

Throughout republican history, all kind of differentiation- ethnic, ideological, religious, and economic-have been viewed as sources as instability and threats to unity and progress. Such a perspective allows Turkish elites to legitimate their anti-liberal platform (Gole, 1997:84). She cleverly mentions the irony of history that the Turks, for centuries symbolized to Europeans the barbarian, Muslim other, and are now trying to enter the arena of the "civilized" in part by inventing their own "barbarians" in the form of first, Muslim, and second, the Kurds (Gole, 1997:85).

This takes us to the other challenge of the unitary identity and conceptualization of Turkish citizenship. Kushner (1997:224) argues that the Turkish state has not felt threatened by allowing tolerance towards the existence of separate minority communities but with the Kurds and other Muslim minorities the matters are rather different. In Turkey as in the Ottoman Empire, a group is identified as a minority if its religion is not Islam. Therefore in the republican understanding, Kurds as Muslims are not a minority and the fact that they are Muslims is a criterion for national unity (Ataya and Gunes-Ayata, 1999: 130). But paradoxically the increased emphasis on secularism and the rejection of religion as the basis of legitimacy and of citizenship has severed the essential bond between the different ethnic groups whose common denominator was Islam (Brown, cited in Ataya and Gunes-Ayata, 1999: 130).

Given the ethnic diversity within the country the Turkish state was to adopt as a territorial nationalism rather than an ethnic one with the hope that this would give citizens a sense of civic duty and loyalty towards the state. All the sections of the population were given full citizenship rights. So Kurds too were given full citizenship rights Kurds' autonomous existence was not recognized during the Kemalist period because they were considered a part of the Turkish nation and to the present day this conceptualization continues in terms of the state policy. But as Kymlicka puts it "The problem is not that Turkey refuses to accept Kurds as Turkish citizen. The problem is precisely its attempt to force Kurds to see themselves as Turks" (Kymlicka, cited in Cizre-Sakallioglu, 1996:6)

Kushner (1997:225) argues that the Kurdish uprising of the 90s is interpreted as the expression of social and economic discontent and the action of a small terrorist group. The solution therefore is seen as lying in suppressing the terrorists and accelerating the economic and social development in the region and country as a whole.

However for Cizre-Sakallioglu (1996:14) structural inequalities are not enough by themselves to explain the deep changes that have occurred in the lives and have changed the perceptions of the Kurdish people. For her social and economic conditions together with the post 1980 Turkish nationalism have contributed to the new consciousness of Kurdish identity and provided a context open to global ideas. But from that point on it is the expression of the new ethnic features into everyday life consciousness that sets the stage.

Gole (1997:113) maintains that the Islamic and Kurdish movements vividly demonstrate the force that can rise out of repression. She agrees with Keyman that the “rise of the oppressed” can be emancipatory only if it is not itself repressive. But totalization is employed in the search for an all-embracing Islamic identity liberated from corrupting and domineering effects of the Western modernity (Gole, 1997:92).

Keyder (1997:41) argues that the ethnic and religious movements would lose a good deal of their enthusiasm if citizenship based on political liberalism and genuine secularism was instituted. For ethnic separatism, this promise is clear: if the ideology of collectivist nationalism were abandoned in favor of some form of constitutional citizenship, if a credible legal system and administrative

order facilitating the creation of a public space in which cultural identity could be expressed were established, then separatist demands would probably be tamed toward the exercise of the newly gained rights.

Icduygu et. al (1999:187-208) agree with Keyder on the need of the employment of a constitutional citizenship, but further more they argue that constitutional citizenship was not fully described and theorized. It was argued that it was merely a lip service paid by the politicians especially when it was noted that Demirel was talking about it in the international meetings. Although constitutional citizenship in Turkey has been talked over, now and then, for almost fifteen years now, it continues to be a significant issue. Citizenship is still perceived within the parameters sat by early republican definitions, which civic republican understanding is still predominant. Although a more active citizen was promoted the prerequisite for this activity should be in line with the duties for the concern over the community. And the Kemalist regime was stressed again, because the military believed that it has been misinterpreted during the previous decades (Heper, 1985). He argues that the interpretation of the Kemalist discourse by military can be considered a perversion of the original because while secularism was one of the bases of the Kemalist nation building, in the 80s religion, Islam and tradition were also emphasized. The state elites recognized the unifying power of Islam and so it as an antidote against the communism and other divisive movements. Now the problem has turned in to the question of how to deal with the side effects of this antidote.

### **3.4 Concluding Remarks**

The active citizen that flourished within the society is quite different from the citizen that was designed in the early 20s and 30s. The designed citizen of the republic has been defined in terms of secular, patriotic citizens who devote themselves to the Turkish nation state and who would be protagonists of the enlightenment of the public.

The active standing of the citizen is still being defined in terms of the nation state rather than the citizen in individual identity. It is possible to argue that 1990s have witnessed the emergence of a citizen portrayed eager to question the relative positioning of the duties and authorities accorded to the state vis-à-vis the society and voices his/her demands. Therefore we can say that while in theory Turkish citizenship tries to keep its civic republican understanding of duty and responsibility emphasis, in practice we see a liberal citizenship with a strong stress on rights of the individuals and groups. Hence quite contrary from the demands coming from the society the state still tries to hold on the earlier republican principle and parameters of citizen.

In the next chapter I will discuss the similarities and differences between the Albanian and Turkish citizenship in the three time periods chosen. I will also compare and contrast these two understanding with the Western version of citizenship.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **A COMPARISON OF THE ALBANIAN, TURKISH AND WESTERN CITIZENSHIP**

In the previous two chapters I examined the individual cases of Albanian and Turkish state and their respective members. In Albania for almost eighty years now citizens have had their rights and duties state in the constitution. Some times duties were emphasized, as it was the case with the second constitution of the communist regime, other times the rights were, as it was the case with King Zog regime, the first communist constitution and with the post communist constitution, therefore we can say that the liberal democratic approach has been dominating. The fact remains that all these modern regimes have in common the fact that they did not encourage, not to say discouraged, the popular participation in politics and they were not literally accountable to the people.

In the case of Turkey I presented the debates on citizenship from the early republican period to the present day and we saw the great efforts that were made to build brand new citizens and brand new people as well. The

Turkish constitutions usually tend to emphasize duties over rights therefore take a civic republican-communitarian approach, except for the 1961 constitution. However during the political riots and the escalation of the political polarization during of late 60s and 70s the 1961 constitution was blamed for giving too many rights to the individuals.

Despite the fact that the Albanian and Turkish state chose to adopt different approaches to citizenship constitutionally speaking, there are still remarkable similarities in the practices of citizenship. In the first part of this chapter I will discuss the similarities and differences of the practices of citizenship in Albania and in Turkey, and after having compared and contrasted these two approaches to citizenship with each other I will compare them with the Western approach as well. I will also try to provide explanations for the similarities and differences in the understandings of citizenship.

#### **4.1 King Zog's Regime and the Ataturk Period**

King Zog came to power in 1924 at a time when Albania, in spite of having fought its independence war from the Ottoman Empire and having obtained international recognition as an independent state, was still under continuous threat from its neighbors. The First World War of course did not help to improve the situation at all. Therefore Zog had the dual task of protecting the Albanian territory through treaties with the neighbors and at the same time construct a modern nation that would one day join the Modern European nations.

This picture of the events is very much similar to the one that Ataturk had to face in 1923 in Turkey. He too, was striving to build a nation out of the residuals of the Ottoman Empire and had to compromise with the Great powers on the borders of modern Turkey.

King Zog and Ataturk were the domineering personalities of Albania and Turkey, respectively. They both lived in the West for a certain period of time in their lives, and both of them were influenced by the ideas of Enlightenment and modernization. Zog declared that “His goal was to civilize the Albanian People and to make them adopt Western habits and customs to reasonable extents as soon as possible” (Tomes, 2001:46). This statement is quite close to Ataturk’s aim of transforming Turkey in to a modern state, which would live as an advanced and civilized nation in midst of contemporary civilizations (Ahmad, 1993: 38).

Again similarly both Zog and Ataturk decided that they had to strongly reject the Ottoman past in order to justify and legitimate the rapid changes and developments that were taking place in the respective countries. The step taken towards modernization are also similar, they began by asking people to adopt western clothes and hoped that the people would adopt the Western minds also and in both cases ended up by alienating the population at large.

Both of them made attempts to legalize opposition when they considered that it would not harm their positions or reforms, however neither took any steps to encourage popular participation even though legally speaking this right was given to the people. A possible explanation for this is that guided by the spirit of



Enlightenment Zog and Ataturk believed that the people were not ready to grasp the meaning and relevance of politics. This possible explanation is supported by the fact that great importance was attached to education in both countries. In Albania Zog managed to make primary education mandatory, even though the quality was not among the bests because of the lack of qualified personnel and due to the economic conditions in the country in general.

During Ataturk's period People's Houses were established and their aim was to conduct cultural activities, adult education courses and health and welfare programs, and while on one hand exalted the virtues of the modern man, on the other vilified Ottoman Empire and its old traditions (Giritli, 1969:39). But while in Turkey this kind of educational method had considerable success (Weiker, 1981:4) the same can not be said about Albania, where the communist regime had to start everything from the beginning. But yet another parallel in terms of education is the fact that in both countries an attempt was made to make public education less religious and more nationalistic because it was through education that the enlightened healthy citizens of tomorrow were created.

The attitude of Zog and Ataturk towards religion was very similar. But while Zog chose the peaceful route, showing his authority only on occasions as it was the case with the divorce law that the Catholics did not want to accept; Ataturk almost openly pledged war to the various Sufi orders and even banned them as treacherous to the republic.

Another point of great likeness was the role and the image of women during this early period of nation building and modernization. In both countries

the veiling of the face is prohibited, while the turban is not banned. On the other hand everything is done to promote women in western clothes. Zog sends his three sisters to Shkoder, where in 1848 both Muslim and Christian women had been veiled, fully arranged in very modern Western dress while in Ataturk's period the first Miss Turkey is organized. And gain in both cases these are only the appearances it would take quite some time for Albanian and Turkish women to literally reach was promised and theoretically given to them in the late 20s and early 30s.

During King Zog's regime ideal<sup>1</sup> citizen is one that is educated (possibly in Western university), and who supports his regime. The citizen should not protest or engage in any activity that would embarrass the government, therefore he is a citizen who is wise but not confronting, someone who pays the taxes but does not complain when he sees things are not as they should be. He can be religious, but should be dressed in Western style clothes and goes to the cinema or the opera and above all he should love the King and the country. It can be easily imagined that the people who fit this description were very few. This ideal is very similar to the liberal democratic ideal, but in the latter's case the

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<sup>1</sup> In my comparison between the countries I do concentrate on issues that are not directly linked to citizenship, therefore to see their relevance I am describing the ideal citizen. At this point the question that comes to mind is "Whose ideal citizen?" As we get closer to our times the possible number of candidates that could answer "whose" grow. During the first periodization in both countries there is only the citizen created by the state, because citizenship is not an indigenous product of either Turkey or Albania (see chapter one for a more detailed explanation). In the second periodization there is the citizen created by the state and the hybrid, the one who bears mixed characteristics of Western thought and countries tradition. In the third period the number of candidates increases even more, because besides the state' man, there are all the other groups who challenge this image and come up with their own image. Therefore for the sake of simplicity I am choosing to describe only the (male) citizen of the state.

government work to promote the interest of one or more pressure groups, while in the former the government works to promote its own interest.

Despite the similarities in policies during the 20s and 30s in Albania and Turkey, the ideal Turkish citizen would be rather different from the ideal Albanian citizen. The ideal Turkish citizen, like the Albanian would be Western minded and of course Westernly dressed in suit and hat. He would like opera and cinema, would listen to classical music and pay his taxes. But he would also try to share with others his knowledge and work for the promotion of modern ideas in the country. This citizen would actively serve the country, because the country and the community come before the citizen. He is the new bourgeois who gives his full support to the new republic.

Up to now it seems like the ideal Albanian and Turkish citizen have a lot characteristics in common. However from this point on Albania and Turkey chose different paths to modernization, the socialist route for the former and the Western route for the later. In the rest of this part we will see how this affects the respective citizens of both Albania and Turkey.

#### **4.1.2. The Communist Regime and the 60s-80s Period**

The communist regime was established in 1946 when Albania was proclaimed People's Republic. The constitution that was approved that same year gave a lot of freedoms to the individuals. There is more mention of the

rights than of the duties of the citizens. Similarly in Turkey, the 1961 constitution was liberal and quite different from the constitution of 1924 because for the first time in Turkey's constitutional history it gave priority to the individual instead of the community. However the practices of these liberties in Albania and Turkey were very different.

In Albania the freedoms of the individuals remained on the paper. The communist regime was not very popular when it was established and the fact that it physically destroyed its opponents made it less than welcome. The revolts that from time to time were organized in the North were brutally put out. This fact and the ever existing ill feeling between the Ghegs of North and the Tosks of South make the Albanian North similar to the Turkish East. In order to legitimize its regime, the other had to be created. In the beginning the other were the Nazis, then the British and American imperialists and finally the targeted other became little bourgeoisie that was created during the pre-communist period.

Quite the contrary, in Turkey the freedoms guaranteed by the constitution were put into practice. The constitution tolerated a wide range of political activity than before and this was true for both the right and the left. However, the 1960s were years of fast transformations in politics, economy and social life there was a growing student population and a developing industrial proletariat. These new groups were not absorbed by the major left party, the RPP, and therefore an opening was there for more extreme leftist parties.

The same is true for the Justice Party, who ignored its electorate which consisted of farmers and small business and gave priority in its policies to the

industrial bourgeoisie and the big business. This left many voters dissatisfied and therefore they turned to the ultra-nationalist parties that were founded. As a result the political freedom resulted in political and ideological polarization and clashes. So while in Albania the citizens were too passive, this being a natural result of totalitarianism according to Arendt, the Turkish citizens were hyperactive during the same period.

A common feature of this period for both countries is that everything is very much full of tension. In Albania every little action is interpreted as carried out for or against the system. I can not use the word “politicized” because totalitarian governments kill the public realm of life by isolating people, and therefore they destroys people’s political capacities (Arendt, 1989:588). In a reign of terror you can not trust any one, because anything you say can be used against you by the police, and this makes politics impossible and life a misery. Actually in a totalitarian regime to talk about citizens is a contradiction of terms, because “totalitarian regimes abolish the fences of law between men” that they “take away man’s liberties and destroys freedom as a living political reality” (Arendt, 1989:582). In Turkey the situation was different. The freedoms and liberties guaranteed by the constitution were abused but the space necessary for the people to be political was not destroyed and people were citizens even though everything was politicized.

In Albania, religion was banned in 1967 during the Cultural Revolution because Hoxha thought that religion was a divisive force and was against the monolithic spirit of the nation that was being built. In Turkey, religion was

introduced into the curricula of the primary and secondary schools, but Mango (1968:102) argues that where the adolescent religious eagerness was not substituted by secularist or socialist enthusiasm, it found itself either in banned dervish fraternities or traditionalist nationalism, which was radical and often racial in nature.

During the communist regime there was a strong emphasis of the role of women in the society. The 1946 constitution safeguarded the equality between the sexes. Women enjoyed access to education and by the seventies thirty six percent of the students at the University of Tirana were females. Equal rights meant also the requirement of having a job and the percentage of women employed doubled from the sixties to early eighties. But despite government's encouragement to spread the work load, women were rarely exempted from fulfilling every aspect of their traditional roles at home (Fischer, 1999:295). In Turkey also the advancement of the social position of women was important. More women than before are enrolled in the university or work in various white collar and blue collar jobs. But this advancement of women in Albanian as well as in Turkey was very much related to the social class (Weiker, 1981:116), where the women in upper classes are closer to the equality of sexes that is promised in the constitution.

The ideal member of the state during the communist period is someone who works very hard, is a member of the party and is also a very eager activist. He is a person of the highest moral qualities, educated and atheist. He does everything for the common good and the party, and excels in whatever he

does. He is a strong activist during the Cultural Revolution, which means that he takes part in what are called “actions” in Albania. It means that he, even on Sundays, the only day of holiday in the week, together with his friends works in the name of the party. This may involve physical work, like helping to build roads or buildings (his profession may be a teacher, or a doctor or an economist) or going to the countryside to help with collecting the crops from the field. He does not listen to foreign music, especially Italian songs, or watch foreign TV channels and warns the people who do. He believes with all his heart in the system is ready to literally die for it.

In Turkey the ideal citizen is of the period is the educated urbanite, knowledgeable about politics but is not involved with extreme faction. He exercises his freedom of speech and association and is interested in the common good.

#### **4.3 The Post-Communist Period and the Post 80s Period**

In Albania the post –communist is marked by explicit expression of the social discontent of the people. For the first time in forty –five years the people can openly complain about the government, the economy and the conditions of life. The market is opened to the foreign products and everything that comes in from the West is adored. In the 80s Turkey lives through a similar period also.

The import substitution industry programs are substituted with the neo-liberal policies and the products that were once considered taboo, like Marlboro cigarettes and Levi's jeans can now be easily found in the stores.

The constitution in the post-communist Albania was a reflection of the liberal democratic tradition. It included the endorsement of political pluralism and it guaranteed human and civil rights to all citizens, including the members of the minorities. There is a strong emphasis on the rights of the citizen, like freedom of press and association, and there is very little mention of duties. It also guaranteed freedom and practice of religion and it recognized and provided equal protection for the state, collective and private property.

In matters of constitution the two countries contrasts drastically. The political polarization that escalated to almost civil war was blamed on the constitution of the 1961 that gave too many freedoms to the individuals. Therefore, the Turkish constitution of 1981 was designed in a fascisan and corporatist understanding (Parla, 1991:37). The rights and liberties of the individual and associations are very limited, while the duties are not towards society, as it was in 1961 constitution but towards the state.

A remarkable similarity in both countries is the revival of religion. In Albania, after 23 years of imposed atheism religion is remembered with nostalgia. Mosques and churches were restored or reconstructed in the exact places where they used to be, though not always in the same grandeur, Muslim imams and Catholic priests were trained abroad and began to preach in their communities on regular basis. However, the restoration of the Albanian Orthodox Church was to



some degrees problematic. During the communist period the highest member of the clergy were killed or died of old age, and as a result there was no-one qualified enough to fill the positions of bishopric. In 1992 a Greek citizen was appointed as the Archbishop of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church until a native Albanian could assume the position. But this appointment met with the resentment of a large segment of the Albanian Orthodox community because they feared that the archbishop would seek to “Hellenize” the church and use its influence to support the demands of the Greek extreme nationalist for the annexation of the Greek populated regions of southern Albania by Greece. The divisions inside the Orthodox community continue, and although the archbishop has asked the court to solve the matter, the judiciary prefers to stay out of this delicate matter (Vickers and Pettifer, 1999:104).

In Turkey also there was a revival of religion, this time encouraged by the army itself. After the strenuous years of civil war, it was believed that religion would serve as social glue because it was what everybody had in common, despite the rightist or leftist political views. However the result was a paradox. On one hand Islam is praised and treated as the bridge between nation state and society and on the other hand secularism is promoted because the one of the founding principle of the Turkish republic is secularism. The result of the encouragement of religion in the society was the flourish of the Islamist identity. In the 1990s the Turkish citizen does not have to hide itself if he does not fit the description of the secular enlightened citizen and is proud of being something other than that description. Of course it would be wrong to assume that the encouragement of

religion is the only reason behind the boom of identities in Turkey, but it also would be wrong to neglect its role in the challenge posed to the modernist, enlightened citizen of the republic.

Another point of similarity in the 90s is the topic of civil society. Both countries are engaged in the road to democracy and the role of civil society is recognized as essential because it is through civil society that the citizen becomes her true self through participation. Gole (1994:221-2) argues that in Turkey the modernization project, which had been an essential part of the republic came to an end as a leading political paradigm. Due to a number of factors such as the autonomization of economy, political groups and cultural identities there was a shift of focus from state to society. Therefore she argues the modernizing elites were replaced by technocrats who were more attentive to traditional values.

In Albania, the intermediary sphere between state and civil society was inexistent because as I have mentioned above the ruling party controlled every aspect of life. However, post-communist Albania experienced the rise of numerous professional associations, cultural organizations, environmental groups who were openly contending in the public realm (Biberaj, 1999:214). Although Albania's constitutional order provided opportunities for competing interest to be expressed, the civic organizations lacked a genuine autonomy from the state. Biberaj (1999:216) further on argues that the intellectuals who were best outfitted to organize and guide civic action moved away, engaging in political party work and the result was that an enormous gap continued to separate the public sphere from the private and a robust civil society remained a distant goal.

At the present both Albania and Turkey have to deal with pressing economic problems. In Albania, despite the good economic performance until 1996, the financial scandals of 1997 took the country to almost where it started after the fall of the communist regime. There are a lot of people who live on the remittances of the immigrants from Italy and Greece while industrial production in the country has almost stopped. Crime and corruption is at alarming rates and unemployment is high. Turkey has a good share of economic problems also. It has to deal with the problem of chronic inflation which according to Onis (1997b:34) is not a simple technical problem that can be cured by policy-makers well-read in economics but is “a reflection of the more fundamental forces at work in the society”. Cizre-Sakallioğlu and Yeldan (2000:506) suggest that the disappearance of coherent alternative political philosophies and genuine competition in the political market have issued distrust and disaffection of the part of the people. Furthermore, they argue that the economically fragile segments of the society have been fragmented into distinct rival identities based on ethnicity and religion, reflecting economic ill feeling against the nation-state. The persisting problem is how macroeconomic instability can be amended in the face of a great distrust towards political life (Cizre-Sakallioğlu and Yeldan, 2000:506).

Now, at the end of this section it would be time to the ideal citizen type in 90s in Albania and Turkey. However I find this to be impossible because it is impossible to talk about ideals. Or to put it as Deleuze and Guattari does:

“We no longer believe in the myth of the existence of fragments that, like pieces of an antique statue, are merely waiting for the last one to be turned up, so that they may all be glue back together to create a unity that is precisely the same as

the original unity. We no longer believe in the primordial totality that once existed, or in a final totality that awaits us at some future date.” (Deleuze and Guattari cited in Bauman, 2001: 21)

The ideal citizen of the state is not looked at with adoration anymore, this time the hero would be someone from the quotidian life, someone who hopes and acts for the best and waits the worst and I am at loss of words when I try to describe her.

#### **4.4 Albania, Turkey and the West**

When I began the discussion of current debates on citizenship I started with the civic virtue aspect, or to put it in other words the practice of citizenship in the form of participation on one hand, and ethics, that is it is about the duties that one has towards the community.

In the West, according to the civic-republican/communitarian approach, it is through participation that the individual learns feels what it is like to be a citizen because he is ruled and rules in turn. Therefore the citizen feels that she can affect the important political decision in her life. The list of duties towards the community includes items such as respect to the rights of others, obeying the traffic rules and having an ecological awareness. However, this is the theory; in practice both participation and the duty items mentioned above are applied with varying degrees of consciousness, depending on many factors.

In Albania, from the early 20s to the late 80s participation had been discouraged in order to suppress the possible opposition and rebellions to the regime. From the 90s on ward this has changed and is changing, but the lack of the rapid transformations promised in the beginnings of democracy and the increased rate of crime and corruption at the highest levels of government have disappointed the people. It is difficult to talk academically about the ethical side of civic virtue because of the lack of data on the topic. However, if we are to rely on the oral traditions (still very strong in Albania) the people were quite law-abiding during both Zog's regime and the communist regime, though for different reason. It is told that during Zog's regime one policeman was enough to keep order in town; probably because in a small community where everybody knows of the affairs of the others everyone keeps in check everyone else. During the communist regime disobedience to law was severely punishable and this is a very good reason to obey. At the present day unfortunately, one can break the law and get away with it by distributing the right tips to the right people.

In Turkey, similarly to Albania, participation was not very much encouraged in the early republican period because not everyone had welcomed the drastic changes that occurred in the name of modernization and Westernization. However during the 60s and 70s full liberties in the Western sense were given to the citizens. But the inability of the existing parties to absorb the demands of the people gave away to extreme polarization and street-fight. In the 80s there was considerable restriction were put on political participation, but at the present though constitutional amendments the freedom to participate has

increased and the considerable number of foundations, associations and societies is a proof of this. As far as the ethical aspect of civic virtue is concerned, Turkey is closer to the West in the meaning that it displays a wide range of practices, varying from the very strict adherence to law and the rights of the others to total disregard for them. But again, this last statement is a speculation because currently there is no field research that shows the different practices of citizenship.

During the debates on citizenship as legal status, I focused on the liberal-democratic approach and its tendency to emphasize the individual over the community, to stress rights and the unwelcome of state intervention. Especially in the 80s, with the debates on neo-liberalist policies it was argued that because the welfare state the individual has become dependent and therefore has lost his negotiating power and this has affected his self-perception. Due to political, economic and social reasons there was a downsizing of the state intervention in the economy. However in the 90s, a time when scholars (Turner 1993, Kymlicka and Norman 1994) argue that there is revival of citizenship debates, the stress is not on the individual but on the community because it is believed that through the community the political passivity can be overcome.

On the question of identity part of citizenship in the West I discussed the debates on global citizenship and group rights. While on one hand it is argued that a universal citizenship is compulsory in a world of fast growing interconnectedness and downsizing nation state, on the other it is argued that an over-

arching citizenship can do nothing to give voice to the existing differences and therefore it is useless.

Similar debates are going on in Turkey also but differently from the West in Turkey the national identity is being challenged as well. Turkish state understanding of citizenship is being challenged by the demands of the Kurds, Alevis and Islamists who want the right to claim a different modernity. The active citizens in the third republic go far beyond the designed citizen of the early 20s and 30s, because he may be patriotic, but are not necessarily secular or enlightened. Bu as we move on to Albania we see that these debates are not there yet. During Zog's regime and the communist regime has been a strong emphasis on the word "Albanian" but this hardly bothered anyone, considered that Albania is the most ethnically homogeneous country in Europe (Winniffrith, 1987), being surrounded as it is by ethnic Albanian communities that de jure are a part of the Montenegrin, Serbian and Greek state. However, in the 90s citizen's identity is being challenged, but not in the national sense. The literal meaning of citizen is being challenged. The migrations to the big cities that started in the early 90s have brought into the open the clash being the citizen (qytetar, a person who resides in the city) and countryman (fshatar, a person who resides in the countryside). Therefore the discussions are literally on the belongingness to the city, and usually the country people are scorned for being uncivilized. However, this seems like a normal reaction to the newcomers in the cases of rural migration, and slowly but not easily the new comers are integrating.

A common feature that is recognized immediately when the Albanian, Turkish and Western understandings of citizenship are compared is the constitution. Except for the last Turkish constitution, an even that is being amended in the process of integration with Europe and except for the communist constitutions which negate the concept of the citizen, the Albanian and Turkish constitution is as good as any constitution in the west. However, as Parla (1991:10) puts it when describing the way political change occurs "...firstly the word settles down, then the concept is accepted and finally the concept is applied and institutionalized. Turkey as far as the constitution is concerned is still at the first step. Time has to go by till we get to the other steps". This also does not mean that Albania and Turkey have problems settling the differences between *de jure* and *de facto* while the West does not. Bauman (2000:37-40) argues that the problem with the Western citizenship is that the individuals are too much individualized. He sustains that while in the 80s Habermas was worried about the public sphere colonizing the private, now the reverse is taking place. This means that the space for citizenship to be enacted is closed up and common problems are dealt with only as long as they become personal problems. Furthermore Bauman argues that "the individual *de jure* can not turn into the individual *de facto* without first becoming citizen". Bauman is taking a civic republican/communitarian approach to citizenship, which means that the problem pointed by Bauman would not be a problem at all for the liberal-democratic tradition, but the point that I want to make is that the differences between *de jure*



and *de facto* are not peculiar to the non-Western countries were the modern concepts such as citizenship are brought on the people from above.



## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was a comparison of the Albanian and Turkish conception of citizenship by looking at the definition, that is the legal status of citizenship; the practice, which implies civic virtue in terms of participation in the political and social community; and its perception, that is identity or the way one expresses one's membership in the community. Therefore this study had the dual mission of understanding of the common grounds and differences between the building, the application and perception of the notion citizenship in Albania and Turkey respectively and the comparison of these two conceptions.

I began by sketching the development and the debates on citizenship in the Western World. Firstly I looked at the civic republican-communitarian tradition of citizenship and the emphasis it gives to the responsibility of the citizens towards the community and the other fellow citizens. This approach also stresses political participation as the way in which the citizen reaches full maturity in her attributes. Then I move on to the liberal democratic tradition and focus on its understanding of citizenship as a legal status. In citizenship as a legal status I focused on citizenship in relation to the freedom of the individual but

also on the debates on the welfare state policies and their significance for citizenship. And then I moved to citizenship as identity where I discuss the recent challenges to the traditional male centered practices of citizenship by giving a special attention to the global citizenship issue as well as the debates on group and individual rights.

Moreover, I considered the Albanian citizenship. Starting from the period of King Zog Albanian citizenship has been clearly defined in the constitution; however the participation in politics was not encouraged. Then I discussed to the communist period where the citizens, now called *shtetas*- that is members of the state, were given rights and freedoms in theory but the space needed to practice politics was swallowed up by the party and its elite. Then I moved to the post communist regime that brings new challenges to the citizens, both in economic, political and social terms by trying to catch up fast transitions.

Further on, I discussed Turkey and the relation between the Turkish citizens and their state. I started with the understanding of the Turkish citizenship during early republican period. Then I moved to the 60 and their focus on the individual rather than on the state as it had been the case up to then. In the 60s and 70s participation was encouraged but the results were not what it had been hoped or planned for. Then I discussed the present days where the definition of citizenship in the constitution does not tolerate difference and therefore was challenged by the different rising identities that were part of different modernities from the one championed by the state.

In the last chapter I sketched the similarities and differences of the Albanian and Turkish citizenships and tried to give a picture of the common sides and differences Albanian and Turkish definitions and practices. During the first period, early 20s-late 40s extended to the beginning of 60s for Turkey, the similarities between the countries are quite striking. During this stage of nation building the leaders of Albania and Turkey decided to begin by reconstructing the outer appearances of the citizens, by westernizing their clothes with the hope that the minds will also be westernized. Education was given importance, but while Albania began by constructing a national educational system, Turkey had already two educational systems, one religious and one secular. In both cases religion was considered an obstacle to emancipation of the people, but while King Zog dealt with religion with velvet gloves, Ataturk openly banished tarikats. During this period the most stressed aspect of citizenship in both countries is the legal aspect; that is legal status.

During the second period, 50s-60s to late 80s differences are more remarkable in the beginning but by the end of the period the similarities dominate. In both cases the constitution gives great freedoms to the individuals, just as any Western constitution. But the practice of these freedoms and liberties is different, while in Turkey they are applied as it was never seen before, in Albania they remain on the paper. During this period the reaction towards religion is reversed when compared to the previous time period, while in Albania it is completely banned by the end of the 1960s, in Turkey religion courses are introduced in the primary and secondary school curriculum. In the late 70s both

countries are in a state of terror, but while in Albania this is caused by penetration of state in every sphere and the lack of the freedoms of the individuals, in Turkey it is the reverse, because the rights and freedoms of individuals are overstepped. During this period political participation; that is civic virtue, is the dominating feature in both countries, but while in Albania this is forced and obligatory in Turkey this is the result of a free will.

The last time period starts in the early 80s for Turkey and late 80s for Albania and extends to the present day for Turkey and till 1997 for Albania. This time freedoms guaranteed by the constitution and the approaches to religion are reversed in Albania and Turkey. In the 90s the constitution gives maximum freedoms to the individual, while this was not the case for the 1981 constitution in Turkey. Nevertheless Turkish constitution is being amended in the process of integration with European Union. Religion in Albania was welcome after 23 years of official atheism, but in Turkey the revival of religion in the 80s and 90s has become a challenge to the secular image of the Turkish republic. During this period the common aspects of the countries are problems with the economy and the debates on civil society. The feature of citizenship that dominates this period is identity and legal status in Turkey and participation and legal status in Albania.

The one of the strengths of this study is the fact that it is comparative. The comparison allows for each country to learn from the other's experiences and to learn from one's experiences as well. A second strength of this study is that it is based on a vast literature research for each case study, and its

implication is that it gives information on the current debates in the academia in each country with regard to the topic. And a third strength is that the conductor of the study is a native Albanian who is currently living and studying in Turkey and therefore has had close contact with both countries.

However, because the research is the first of this kind it has its good share of weaknesses. The greatest weakness is the fact that it is theoretical, and it would have been much more improved if it had been based on field research in both countries, but due to time and money limits this was not possible for the present study. A second weakness is the limited usage of Turkish sources in Turkish, which if had been possible would have improved the quality of research on Turkey.

Despite its weaknesses, this study is a unique comparison of Albanian and Turkish citizenship. I say unique because the concept of citizenship in the Albanian academia has not come to the agenda yet. The study of citizenship is very important because both countries right now aim to be members of the European Union and by looking at citizenship as legal status, practice and perception the policy-makers can understand what is wrong with the implementation of the policies in the past.

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