

Post-socialist city development in Tirana



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Abstract

This thesis surveys how city development is contested in post-socialist Tirana, Albania. It explores how different actors contest city development in Tirana and how the concept of community informs their work. Furthermore, this study explores how socialist city development informs post-socialistic city development. Contestations in post-socialist city development are studied through a theoretical framework formed by a combination of two theoretical approaches: A discursive governmentality theory by the sociologist Nikolas Rose, and a theory of social practice in the political field by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Previously, articles and texts on post-socialist city development offer a limited starting point from which to analyse contestations in city development. Therefore, to analyse contestations between practicing actors involved in city development, the research localises the rationalities, techniques and the produced social and physical patterns which are created through socialist city development. To examine how and which actors emerge in post-socialist city development, the above perspective is supplemented with Bourdieu's theory of the political field. This is finally combined in a situated case study, where the positioning between different actors is examined along with the question of how some rationalities of city development become more legitimate than others. Methodologically, the thesis takes as its empirical basis four methods: Qualitative interviews, participant observations, a case study and historical documents. Through employment of these methods, the thesis reveals how city development is articulated and practised among the central actors of city development in Tirana. The thesis concludes that legacies of socialist city development are present in post-socialist city development and that governmental techniques of socialist urban planning like the yellow line and voluntary work are re-emerging as important. In contestations to the placing of a casino, it is also evident that the state is still the dominant actor, and even the civil society organisations challenging the state in the political field, reinforce the state as the actor with the ultimate responsibility to create proper conditions for the citizens through city planning. The paradox for the position of civil society organisations on the opposing side is that they try to be more moral than the state representative. By entering in urban politics they though exhibit how fighting can lead your competitors into condemning you for having extra-territorial allegiances, and delegitimizing you as corrupt and unrepresentative of the citizens.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Arriving in Tirana

Upon my arrival in Tirana, it was immediately obvious that the city was undergoing dramatic changes and that city development was a central issue. Travelling from the airport to the city centre, I passed a large area of illegal settlements. During the 1990s, the population of Tirana quadrupled due to an enormous migration from the countryside where the economic opportunities for maintaining daily life were practically non-existent. There were still a lot of construction activities going on, not so much to provide new places of residence but more to improve the first simple houses. Closer to the centre, big apartments from the communist period were newly painted in a variety of colours and patterns. There was construction work everywhere: The streets were like one big muddy building site and colourful and fancy buildings called 'business centres' appeared around every corner. One of my informants later told me that he had a mail box in the central post office because the postmen had encountered considerable difficulties finding the right address due to all this construction work, and his mail had been lost several times.

Albania has undergone extreme changes throughout the last hundred years. It went from being a Turkish colony to being occupied by the Italians, under Mussolini, and from the Second World War until 1991 the country was governed by Enver Hoxha's Communist regime. The city of Tirana retains legacies from these different periods of its history which physically express themselves in the widely varied architectural forms: Muslim mosques and bazaar-like street markets; squares designed in the manner of Italian fascist architecture; and Communist architecture like the Palace of Culture and parade grounds (Aliaj 1995).

Zooming in on the centre of Tirana, and taking a further look at Rinia Park, situated just 500 metres from the central square, gives us a vivid illustration of how city development has changed throughout recent history.

The city centre park, Rinia Park, was constructed under the socialist regime in 1950. Besides trees, grass and benches, a café and restaurant complex was also built there. The state-owned café and restaurant complex in Rinia Park was named Taiwan because its construction was completed at the point of Albania's break with China. After breaking ties with China, Albania recognised Taiwan as a sovereign nation (being the first country in the world to do so) and named the new structure in the middle of Tirana 'Taiwan' to show their support (www.ourmanintirana.blogspot.com/2005/12/in-rinia-park.html).

During the 1990s, after the total collapse of the country's economy, citizens of Tirana began squatting in the public spaces between houses and in public areas like parks, where they started private businesses like restaurants and bars, small shops or kiosks to be able to gain a living (Aliaj 2003b:69). During that period, Rinia Park was transformed into a commercial area with bars and restaurants - locally called "the Jungle". The area with illegal but high quality constructions had become a popular spot for meeting friends and having a coffee or a pizza (Nientied 1998:43).

In 2004, Tirana worked its way to the World News when the mayor of Tirana, Edi Rama, won the City Mayor's World Mayor 2004 contest for having improved the inner city of Tirana. His first act was to demolish all of the illegal constructions like bars, restaurants and kiosks, which had developed in all public spaces in the centre of Tirana after 1991. Rinia Park was also 'cleaned' in this renewal process. Rama's perception of Rinia Park before the renewal was that it *"used to be filled with illegal structures - kiosks, stores, even three- and four-story buildings - and was the focus of criminality, prostitution, and drug dealing in the city (...) The illegal constructions were connected to strong men and protected by various politicians, but we knocked them all down, all 148 of them, without favouritism to anyone"* (Woodard 2005). After cleansing the city of a large part of illegal buildings, he orchestrated the painting of all of the grey concrete apartment buildings and public institutions dating from the communist time. With help from international artists, he turned Tirana's architecture into a patchwork quilt of blue, green, orange, purple, yellow and red, and the city itself into an abstract painting (Kramer 2005, Munk 2005, Kyrø 2005). The mayor announced that these changes to the centre of Tirana were a symbolic act. It was articulated as a sign to show the citizens that the communist times were over and that

people needed to eradicate the communist mentality and work together to develop modern Albania. At the same time, the mayor described it as the beginning of the reinstating of a sense of public space. CO-plan, an Albanian NGO working with city development, commented on this renewal process, accusing the mayor of employing methods too brutal and stating that the mayor had exhibited a 'lack of vision in not seeing these squatters as creative entrepreneurs' and legalising the area instead of giving them the opportunity to work elsewhere (Aliaj 2003b:71).

Today Rinia Park is neatly rearranged, with green grass, trees and benches. The café and restaurant complex, which is still going under the name 'Taiwan', has been restored, and now some of Tirana's most expensive cafes and restaurants are to be found there. On December 1, 2005, a big casino was opened on the second floor of the complex. There was no opening ceremony, no commercials outside the place – nothing. It just started up. For one year, civil society organisations, citizens and politicians had been involved in a discussion on this question: Will the placing of a casino in the centre of the capital of a country which has earlier suffered in relation to their experience with pyramid schemes and 'anarchistic capitalism' send out bad signals?

Implicit to this description of Rinia Park is an illustration of how city development is not an innocent or a-political matter decided only by planners and then received and applied by the citizens in accordance with how it was planned to function. City development is always full of contestations and contradictions, as this thesis will show.

In the city development of post-socialist Tirana, two main actors have positioned themselves in opposition to each other: Civil society organisations on the one side and state or local government employees on the other. These main actors work according to similar and diverging visions of what kind of city Tirana should be and which concepts and governmental techniques should be employed to get it there.

All around the world planners, politicians, private developers and citizens commonly ask the same question: Can we make the city we want? (Fainstein 1999). Implicit in

this question lies the fact city development is always a contestation between different visions and interest. Regarding Tirana, these contestations about visions for urban development have been dominated by the ruling class' perception of qualities of urban life versus rural life. Should nation building and economic development start in the centre of Tirana and from that point spread to all corners of Albania? Or should urban development include qualities of rural life? In European urban theory, the sociologist Georg Simmel was one of the first to state that metropolises were catalysts for modernity. Urbanisation was associated with emancipation from traditional forms of social domination experience in the rural life of 'gemeinschaft' (small town) (Simmel 1950: 418). However, the extensive urbanisation and industrialisation in the western world also produced huge industrial cities with many people living very close together in dwellings of a poor quality (Engels 1845). This led a movement of anti-metropolitans, promoted by the artist John Ruskin and urban planner Ebenezer Howard in Britain, and the landscape architect Frederik Law Olmsted in the US, to attack the mass industrial metropolises, calling them a social disaster. They urged government and local authorities to build new 'garden city communities' within reach of the big cities, but surrounded by big belts of green parkland and pasture¹ (Parker 2004:6)

In Albania, as in other countries, the way the metropolis and the 'urban' is perceived has changed several times. Today, all around the world, cities and especially capitals are seen as having a potential as growth engines for nation development (Ærø & Jørgensen 2005).

Globally, urban politics is informed by different rationalities of development. One of these trends is to see cities as part of a world economy and having more in common with other cities in the world than with the nation state. In this classification, they seek to establish themselves as 'world class cities' competing with other cities on the global market for the economic benefits of company location, conferences, sporting events, tourists (Sassen 1996, Rose 1996:338). Another trend is to focus on cities as empowerment instruments where marginalised citizens can be socially developed by

¹ The architect Le Corbusier and his disciples in the architectural school that was to become known as the Modern Movement were in favour of such parkland cities (Parker 2004:6).

re-establishing connections to each other through local community development programmes (Amin and Thrift 2002: 135, Rose 1996).

In order to explore these more general questions, I have chosen Tirana, the capital of Albania, as my field of investigation. Post-socialist city development in Tirana provides an exemplary illustration of how ambiguous notions of ‘community development’ and ‘world class city’ are, and how these rationalities inform local power struggles.

1.2 Formulation of the research question and structure of thesis

The question analysed in this thesis is:

How and to what extent does the concept of ‘community’ shape how different actors contest urban development in post-socialist Tirana?

In order to answer the research question, the question is divided into three sub-questions:

- 1) Which concepts of socialist urban planning were practiced in socialist Tirana?
- 2) How do notions of urban development as urban politics emerge in post-socialist Tirana and who become the new actors to contest and define city development?
- 3) How is urban politics practised and how do the positions of the different political actors inform their potential to define and contest city development?

Answering this research question gives the opportunity to explore: How politics are perceived by local actors; how ‘community’ is understood by local actors; and the ways in which socialist urban planning rationalities and practices are present in post-socialist urban planning.

By adopting the concept ‘post-socialist’ in my research question, I recognize that urban development in Tirana is just as much affected by the socialist past as by new ideas and concepts of city development.

Throughout this thesis, three very closely related terms will be employed: Urban planning, urban development and urban politics. Cities are not only created by architects or city planners, but also by politicians debating and making strategies, and by citizens using the 'planned space' of the cities and thereby consuming it in a way that creates new functions for the planned space (Pløger 2002a:64). With this point of departure, the term 'city development' will mainly be used, which encompasses both of the other two terms. However, the term 'urban planning' will be used when I want to make it clear that the focus is on physical planning, and the term 'urban politics' will be used when analysing mainly actors of city development and how they contest city development. Politics I understand not only as party political power struggles, but also, more broadly, as public contestations and ways of stabilising particular concepts or the objects around which local power struggles revolve. The effects of these kinds of political contestations are not only discursive but also material, as those able to define and stabilise particular truths gain access to and might even control the flow of resources (Hansen 1999).

By 'different actors', I mean the political actors who engage in contestations of city development. These are commonly actors like civil society organisations, political parties etc. The point of departure of this analysis is how political actors contest in defining and stabilising the concepts and strategies to be used in the development of inner city Tirana. This thesis will not elaborate much on how ordinary citizens see their city, city development or the political actors. This would be an interesting question to explore, but it is not within the framework of this study.

I will analyse which concepts of city development are stabilised and contested through a situated analysis of power struggles over the locating of a casino in the centre of Tirana. I have chosen to analyse a specific case because I understand social practices and processes as situated in space (and time) and consisting of a spatial aspect (Simonsen 1994:7 In: Pløger 1997:13).

To understand the power struggles in city development in post-socialist Tirana, we need to understand the urban planning of socialist Tirana. To understand the political contestations in Tirana during the year 2005, we need to understand which categories, concepts and rationalities were legitimate under socialism, and which actors became

the ones to enforce development. We also need to understand how these categories and concepts are partly challenged and partly translated to a new reality of post-socialist Albania. With the change to democracy in 1991, and the implementing of capitalism, these development ideas and strategies are also informed by international aid organisations.

In the second part of this thesis, the focus is on exploring how city development is organised in post-socialist Tirana, and how new actors and organisations emerge and connect to these new rationalities in contestations over who should represent and define city development in post-socialist Tirana.

In section 1.3, I will introduce the two theoretical approaches by the sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and Nikolas Rose, who can provide answers to how we must understand the conceptual issues which are empirically important for the research question of this thesis.

1.2.1 Structure of thesis

The following is the structure of the thesis chapter by chapter:

Chapter 2: Socialist Tirana (1944-1991)

This chapter is the first part of the three-tiered analysis. Here I explore which concepts, strategies and techniques of urban planning were employed to develop Tirana as a socialist city. Included in this chapter will be an exploration of how the concept 'urban' was perceived, how cities were governed and by who. The objective of this chapter is to answer the first sub-question: *Which concepts of socialist urban planning were practiced in socialist Tirana?*

Chapter 3: Post-socialist city development and the configuration of the political field

In this chapter, the second part of the analysis will unfold. The analysis will primarily focus on which concepts of city development emerge in the transition period, and how these are informed by global development discourses introduced by foreign aid organisations. The second subject for analysis in this chapter will be the new actors

and organisations which enter the arena of city development with different solutions to the problems Tirana faces. The second sub-question which will be answered in this chapter is: *How do notions of urban development as urban politics emerge in post-socialist Tirana and who become the new actors to contest and define city development?*

Chapter 4: Moral civil society and casino capitalism

This chapter is the third and final part of the three-tiered analysis. Here I will explore how power struggles unfold in an actual case of city development in Tirana: The contestations surrounding the construction of the first casino in the centre of Tirana. This slice of chaotic reality will show us how politics are practised in Tirana. The socialist or post-socialist concepts and practices of city planning that inform these power struggles will be analysed. Through this chapter the third and last sub-question will be answered: *How is urban politics practised and how do the positions of the different political actors inform their potential to define and contest city development?*

Chapter 5: Conclusion and the wider picture

In chapter 5 I will make conclusions on my research question and describe the knowledge gained through my analysis.

1.3 Theoretical perspectives

In this section, the idea is to unfold a methodology and theoretical framework within which one can understand my field of investigation. First, I will introduce other academic literature examining post-socialist city development and urban politics, then I will put forward a theoretical framework for understanding the conceptual issues important to this thesis.

1.3.1 Post-socialist city development and my field of investigation

Academic literature on post-socialist urban development focuses on the problems for the urban planning system in the transition period. The professor of urban planning, Zorica Nevodic-Budic (2001), describes how the major obstacle to the reinstatement of

the planning profession is the general misperception of the incompatibility between planning and the free market system (Nevodic-Budic 2001). This is further added to through a lack of public participation in planning processes, which is the result of the distrust of the government's planning and construction work during the years of the communist regime (Nevodic-Budic 2001:46). The geographer, Ulrike Sailer-Fliege (1991), discusses the main parameters, processes and problems related to the ongoing process of post-socialist urban development. She finds that although responsibility for urban planning has shifted to the level of local self-government, the scope of the local authorities remains narrow in reality. On the one hand, this is due to the tight budget of most local authorities, but on the other hand it is a consequence of the general mistrust of planning among the population. By way of explanation, she describes the problems with the yet unaccustomed protracted bargaining processes in the new political balance of power within the cities (Sailer-Fliege 1999).

This thesis will contain unique knowledge about city development in Albania due to the fact that there are very few existing studies on Albanian city development. Anthologies of socialist or post-socialist city development normally lack experiences from Albania, probably because of the lack of resources for this kind of investigation in present day Albania, coupled with the fact that the archives were difficult to get access to under the isolation politics of the Enver Hoxha's regime. My research design provides me with the opportunity to understand the logic of the practice of city development in Tirana evolving around how different actors, organisations and institutions perceive each other and work together. Compared with other studies of post-socialist city development, this study does not focus too much on specific problems for planners and the discipline of urban planning, but more on which rationalities and concepts inform city development and who has the power to define post-socialist city development in Tirana.

This thesis is about post-socialist city development in Tirana, but with a focus on how city development can be seen as a series of power struggles between citizens or groups in order to gain access to resources. I therefore turn to anthropological research on post-socialism to get a further understanding of how post-socialist city development can be seen through the perspective of contestations over privileges. The anthropologist Chris Hann has edited two anthologies with contributions from

different anthropologists writing about the transition period in the former Soviet bloc (Hann 1996, 2002). Here post-socialism is described as ‘the shock of the new’. The contributors explored how people tried to cope with the new and unclear standards for finding their place in the world, establishing new criteria for good taste, and demarcating themselves vis-à-vis others as ethnic groups, citizens or classes (Sampson 2002:297). As anthropologist Steven Sampson reminds us, the label ‘post-socialism’ is helpful for several reasons. It serves to remind us that the socialist past is very much a part of the after-socialist present (Sampson 2002:297). However, anthropologist Caroline Humphrey reminds us that it is important to recognize that changes in post-socialist countries are not simple and unidirectional (Hann 2002:13).

None of the contributors write any specific studies on city development. However, studies of how civil society was understood before and after the fall of socialism (Buchowski 1996), studies of transfers of western models of civil society (Sampson 1996), and papers on elite configuration in post-socialist societies (Sampson 2002) have inspired and shaped my understanding of the field of city development in Tirana. Steven Sampson in particular has inspired me with his analysis of how global discourses of development have changed the power relations between actors and organisations of civil societies and state institutions in the politics of Albania.

Looking at other studies on contestations in city development, both the geographer David Harvey and the anthropologist Steven Gregory provide interesting perspectives on how to understand contestations in urban planning cases.

In his article “Social justice, postmodernism, and the city”, Harvey discusses how to solve urban problems where contradictory interests exclude each other and make a solution based on consensus impossible (Harvey 1992). It is not the aim of this thesis to discuss solutions to urban problems, but rather to show how different interests become visible in the contestations to city development in Tirana. Nevertheless, Harvey still provides an interesting perspective on the logic of urban conflicts and the different discourses integral to them.

Taking his point of departure in the conflicts over Tompkins Square Park in New York, Harvey describes how different users have a completely different perception of

what the space is for and how it is to be managed (Harvey 1992: 588-591, Albertsen 2002:46). Harvey also analyses a case of planning a highway project going right through the centre of Baltimore. His purpose is to see how the arguments (or discourses) for and against the highway were utilized in the discussions and to question whether coalitions could be built in principle between seemingly disparate and highly antagonistic interest groups via the construction of higher order arguments (discourses), which could provide the basis for consensus (Harvey 1992:593). He found that there were seven types of argument for and against the highway:

- 1) *An efficiency argument*, with stress on the elimination of traffic jams which would make the transportation of goods and people in the region and city easier.
- 2) *An economic growth argument*, with the focus on a growth in investments and employment opportunities in the city due to an improvement in the transport system.
- 3) *An aesthetic and historical heritage argument*, which objected to the way this section of proposed highway would either destroy or diminish urban environments deemed both attractive and historical.
- 4) *A social and a moral order argument*, which held that prioritizing highway investments and subsidizing car owners rather than, for example, investing in housing or health care was morally wrong.
- 5) *An environmental/ecological argument*, which considered the impact of the proposed highway on air quality, noise pollution and the destruction of certain valued elements of the environment.
- 6) *A distributive justice argument*, which dwelt mainly on the benefits to business and to predominantly white middle-class suburban commuters as opposed to low-income and Afro-American inner-city residents.
- 7) *A neighbourhood and communitarian argument*, which considered the way in which close-knit but otherwise fragile and vulnerable communities might be destroyed, divided or disrupted by highway construction (Harvey 1992:592).

He explains that these separate arguments can be described as discourses, each with its own logic and imperatives. Behind these discourses, he sees particular 'communities of interest', which articulate a particular discourse as if it were the only one that mattered (Harvey 1992). However, it is not clear how he connects the interest groups and the arguments and which political action needs to be taken in order to gain dominance with your argument. In addition, he doesn't delve into the argument to

understand how this argument came to be in conflict with other arguments in the context of a historical struggle. This thesis will attempt to add to this perspective.

The article “ Placing the Politics of Black Class Formation” by anthropologist Steven Gregory (Gregory 2003) describes how a civic association of the community East Elmhurst, New York, tries to stand up against the New York Community Board’s decisions to construct a light rail running through their neighbourhood. This describes how identity, place, power and politics are connected. He uses the social scientist, Michel de Certeau, to illustrate how local citizens perceive their place of living. First of all, the places where people live are like the presences of the diverse absences. What can be seen designates what is no longer there. People refer to what can no longer be seen as just as much a part of how they see the place, as the present shape or use of the place (de Certeau 1984:108). However, as the case shows, identities of people not only relate to place. Class identities and their constituent social implications are formed and reformed through political and cultural practices which occur on multiple sites in community life (Gregory 2003:141). The case also shows how this community group are very much aware of which arguments count and which don’t when they have to stand up against the Airport Commission wanting to implement the railway project. The civic association of Elmhurst join forces with neighbouring civic associations to avoid using a NIMP (not-in-my-backyard) response in the urban development project, and to opt instead for an environmental argument, which in this case (on both sides) is a more legitimate argument. Through the analysis in chapter 4, creating legitimate arguments in city development will be further explored.

In order to make a theoretical framework which will help the reader to grasp city development as contestations with focus on how certain arguments (discourses) or justifications emerge in the city politics of post-socialist Tirana and connect with different actors wanting to represent different groups, I have decided to combine the theoretical methodologies of Rose and Bourdieu. In the following section, I will introduce these two approaches through which I will seek answers as to how we must understand the conceptual issues of community, representation and politics, which are empirically important to the research question of this thesis. Although the two theoretical methodologies in many ways conflict in relation to their way of seeing objects in the world (ontological level) and how you gain knowledge about the world

(epistemological level), they also augment each other in very productive ways to give different perspectives on the politics of city development. In this thesis, they will both be applied as social constructivists. Although neither Rose nor Bourdieu work with an actor perspective, I have chosen to employ this in my analysis of city development in Tirana. This is done to give a better idea of how specific actors in specific situations deal with the 'community' concept, and to not attribute these particular practices of city development to a higher principle. The casino case analysed in chapter 4 is not only an apt illustration of this, but it is also a demonstration of how actors (not positions) live with their (often conflicting) norms, and how they manipulate these norms and the choices open to them.

Studies of post-socialist city development mainly focus on how the transition period affects the practice of urban planning. The focus of this thesis is on the social perspective of urban planning. Anthropological studies of post-socialism such as Sampson's investigation of exporting western models of civil society organisations to Albania, and his study on the new elite configuration in post-socialism, provide a good basis on which to understand Albanian Society and how power struggles are conducted under post-socialism. Finally, this section has given examples of urban theorists' perspectives on contesting urban problems, which are fundamental to developing a new methodology and theoretical framework through which I will form an understanding of my empirical data on city development in Tirana.

1.3.2 'Community' as political rationality and technique of city development

The civil society organisations and NGOs of Tirana have evoked the notion and concept of community in city development. In their work with different development projects, mainly financed by international aid organisations, they refer to their work as 'community development' and 'community participation'. The concept of community has even entered contestations of inner city renewal projects as is evident in the casino case, which I analyse in chapter 4, where civil society organisations see a casino as damaging to the community.

'Community' is given meaning through the way it is discussed and practised. In Tirana, like many other places around the world, actors in the political field (public

planners, citizens and other central actors) use the term strategically. The outcome of these power struggles over a concept like 'community' is not only discursive but also material, as those able to define and stabilise particular truths gain access to and might even control the flow of resources. The polyvalence of the concept makes it powerful. The term can be seen as an empty signifier – a signifier without defined content. It is also connected to clusters of buzzwords like 'active citizenship', 'citizens participation', 'civil society development' etc.

In his article "The death of the social?" (Rose 1996), Rose argues that 'community' has been politically exposed as the new arena for social problems, their causes and solutions. Rose suggests that a new field of governmental interventions has crystallised around the community to an extent that it has become a territory of the government. Where the community used to be regarded as either hostile to the state or an object of state intervention, the focus has changed. With the emergence of a neo-liberal discourse in the 1960s, governmental interventions became expert and technocratic, and were redirected towards areas like 'community development' 'community policing' and 'community health' (Rose 1996). Neighbourhood regeneration projects are a good example of how this also affected the field of city development. Community was no longer 'simply the territory of government, but a means of government: its ties, bonds, forces and affiliations were to be celebrated, encouraged, shaped and instrumentalised in the hope of producing consequences that are desirable to all' (Rose 1996:335). Rose writes: "*The term community, of course, has long been salient in political thought; it becomes governmental however, when it is made technical*" (Rose 1996:332). With this he proposes that some indirect government mechanisms are constructed in 'the community' so that the state acquires the opportunity to govern the community from a distance (Rose 1996:350). As Rose describes working through the community and enabling neighbourhood participation, local empowerment and engagement of residents in decisions over their own lives constructs the citizens as active, responsible and self-governing (Rose 1996:335). With the new strategies for city development, new ways of understanding your position took place, classifying and activating the subjects into generating new ways in which people could be governed by others, and advising them on the ways in which they could govern themselves. This led to a recoding of dividing practices, revising the distinction between the affiliated and the marginalized (Rose 1996:340).

To make it clear how ‘community’ can be understood as a political rationality and technique, I will now delve a little bit deeper into Rose’s theoretical toolbox in order to describe what is a political rationality and what is a governmental technique.

Foucault's work on governmentality implies that we can identify specific political rationalizations emerging in precise sites and at specific historical moments because they are underpinned by coherent systems of thought. It also suggests that we can show the different kinds of calculations, strategies and tactics which were linked to each (Rose 1999:24). Political rationalities are discursive fields characterized by a shared vocabulary within which disputes can be organised, by ethical principles that can communicate with one another, by mutually intelligible explanatory logics, by commonly accepted facts, by significant agreement on key political problems (Rose 1999:28). Rationalities are always in competition and as Harvey states above, there are several rationalities competing in cases of city development.

Rationalities have a moral form, an epistemological character and a distinctive language (Rose 1999:26-27). The moral form implies that all rationalities are normative and define which actions, values and knowledge is understood as good and bad (Rose 1999:26). An epistemological character is one which assumes a certain implicit worldview. Finally, rationalities have a distinctive language and become part of the objective world through discourses (Rose 1999:27).

These rationalities are translated into specific techniques of government. Translation is a process that makes government possible by transferring rationalities to a micro-level. In Rose's own words: “*Translation links the general to the particular, links one place to another, shifts a way of thinking, from a political centre – a cabinet office, a government department – to a multitude of workplaces, hospital wards, classrooms, child guidance centres or homes....*” (Rose 1999:51). In this thesis, we will see how a civil society organisation translates international donor societies’ political rationalities of community into its own practice of development work. Here Sampson provides us with some concrete research on how civil society was implemented in Albania and how employees translate western models from NGOs into an Albanian context.

Thoughts become governmental to the extent that they become technical and attach themselves to a technology for their realisation (Rose 1999:51). A governmental technique consists of concrete physical practices and methods connected to modes of perception, practices of calculation, vocabularies and types of authority (Rose 1999:52). Technologies are analyzed as the assembly of forms of knowledge that the actors in city development put into practice with a variety of devices oriented to 'produce a certain outcome in terms of conduct of the governed' (Rose 1999: 52).

The rationalities behind the political actor's perception of government affect the choice of techniques of government. An example of a governmental technique used in city development is mapping. The activity of mapping exemplifies the ways in which spaces are made presentable and representable in the hope that they may become docile and amenable to government. As Rose argues, to govern, it is necessary to render visible the space over which government is exercised (Rose 1999:36). Mapping implies the work of collecting information and knowledge on houses and inhabitants. An example given by Rose clearly illustrates this process: The maps which the sociologist Charles Booth drew up of London in the late nineteenth century, depicting the class of inhabitants' dwelling places street by street and house by house, were definitely practices of a kind of disciplinary expertise whose special concern was to identify and locate dangerous and demeaned subjects (Rose 1999:37). It is also a way to connect knowledge and power, because they make themselves the experts with the tools to address and solve urban problems.

In the city development of Tirana, civil society organisations working according to the principles of the political rationality 'community', apply techniques such as public opinion polls, which construct the people living in Tirana as democratic citizens with the right to voice their opinions on the political decisions that rule them (Rose 1999:37).

To understand why the political rationality of community becomes important in Albanian city development, it is important to understand it in relation to other political rationalities both in recent society and in history. This necessity encouraged me to undertake a historical analysis of political rationalities and techniques in socialist Tirana and to analyse how these rationalities and techniques change with the

fall of the socialist regime. In this thesis, the argument is that rationalities of socialist city development shape which rationalities become legitimate in post-socialist city development. This also gives a theoretical framework through which to understand transition. In this thesis, transition is understood as both changes and continuities of rationalities. Discourses of transition are also strategic when used in power struggles of present day city development.

When exploring how organisations perceive and work with concepts of ‘community’ in Albania, it is important to see ‘community’ in relation to its antithesis. As Rose has quite rightly noted, community is promoted as an antidote to the combined depredation of market forces, remote central government and insensitive local authorities (Rose 1996:335). What is interesting with ‘community’ is that it is often believed to be beyond politics as something sublime, while politics are seen as profane. Rituals are practices that differentiate the sacred from the profane. In my analysis it will be exemplified how civil society organisations seek legitimacy within a moral realm and construct the state as having profane dimensions being irresponsible and corrupt (Hansen 2001:225-26). In Albania corruption almost get a character as being the antithesis of community. In the political contestations, corruption is used as a political tool to delegitimise others. The professor of Social Science, J.P. Olivier Sardan, noticed that the borderline between what constitutes corruption and what does not fluctuates and depends on the context and the position of the actors involved (Sardan 1999:34). Anthropologist Akhil Gupta, added to this in his assertion that analysing stories of corruption gives us insight into how different actors construe and construct which state actions are considered legitimate (Gupta 2005:7). He also states that any discussion of corruption necessarily assumes a standard of morally appropriate behaviour against which ‘corrupt’ actions are measured (Gupta 2005:7). This thesis shows that when politicians are constructed as corrupt, the civil society is simultaneously constructed as a moral community.

When taking the point of view that ‘community’ in disputes over city development takes form as a political rationality, it is not to determine it as a new concept or to suggest that no communities existed before. Religious communities, bloodline communities, etc existed and still exist, but communities are addressed in a new way and divide the Albanians in new ways. What is so interesting about looking at the

fuzzy logic of practice, is that in reality people are not so easy to govern. As the social scientist Thomas Blom Hansen states the identity claims and identity strategies have to be constantly reformulated because they never fully produce the categories, groups, or individuals they claim to represent (Hansen 1999:19). This is also the argument for not applying Rose throughout the analysis, when analysing the practice of city development, he doesn't give us the analytical tools to understand the paradoxes of politics. Here Bourdieu provides better tools for grasping the practice of politics.

1.3.3 Political actors contesting city development

In this thesis, I see city development as taking place within a political field. In line with Bourdieu's general theory of the political field, it is structured by a number of rules, which in turn are defined by dominant discourses that set the agenda for how political actors navigate inside the field.

The limits of the field can only be defined empirically by studying which agents have access to the field and who are excluded (Bourdieu 1996:88). All actors inside the field who are involved in the game, recognise that it is worth playing (Bourdieu 1991:180). Political actors only have a relational existence and it is pointless to define what they are and what they profess independently of what their competitors in the same field are and profess (Bourdieu 1991:184). In the methodological perspectives section, 1.4, I will further explain how the informants of this thesis were found. Steven Sampson describes which types of political actors become dominant in the political field of the post-socialist Balkans. How this new configuration of elites, his term for political actors, operates depends on the major master narratives of development and their associated practices among others influenced by the international society (Sampson 2002:305). This will be illustrated in chapter 3.

1.3.3.1. Political actors representing communities

How actors behave in the political field, depends on their position in it and their relation to the people represented outside of the field. A mutual dependence exists between the representative and the represented. On the one hand, the represented group does not exist as a visible political entity before it is represented, and on the other hand the representative is dependent on the trust and recognition of the

represented. Bourdieu asserts that in order to consecrate himself as a necessary interpreter, the intermediary must produce the need for his own product. And in order to do that, he must produce a difficulty that he alone will be able to solve (Bourdieu 1991:210). Bourdieu argues that the representative receives recognition from the represented because the latter wishes to uphold their option of having a political spokesman (Bourdieu 1991:204-205). On the other side it is only those who truly sacrifice for the 'the people' deserve to be their representative. The logic behind this belief resembles what Bourdieu has termed the oracle effect: *"It is in abolishing himself [the representative] completely in favour of God or the People that the priest turns into God or the People. It is when I become Nothing – and because I am capable of becoming Nothing, of abolishing myself, of forgetting myself, of sacrificing myself, of dedicating myself – that I become Everything."* (Bourdieu 1991:211). This will be illustrated in chapter 4, when the civil society organisation MJAFI represent themselves as moral, apolitical and without any ulterior motives.

1.3.3.2 The Game of Politics – making yourself stronger and the other weaker

The representative is dependent on the recognition and trust he gets from other actors. It makes him fragile to gossip, which can destroy this recognition and trust he is awarded (Bourdieu 1991:192-193). Although the representatives are driven by egotistic motives such as getting a better position than others, they try to expose themselves as altruistic and without any interests other than those of the represented group (Bourdieu 1991:183,193).

The political agents inside the field attempt to gain a monopoly of politics by professionalizing the field. As Bourdieu states, this professionalization of politics increases the efficiency of the practical mastery of the political actors by putting at their service rational techniques, such as opinion polls, public relations and political marketing. However, it also tends to legitimize it by giving it a scientific appearance and by treating political questions as matters for specialists, whose responsibility it is to answer in the name of knowledge and not of class interests (Bourdieu 1999:177). This adds another dimension to Rose's notion of techniques. Bourdieu describes how techniques used in the political field are applied in order to make politics a discipline

for the elite.

The capital delegated to a political authority is like that of a priest or a teacher: The product of limited and provisional transfer of a capital is held and controlled by the institution and by it alone (Bourdieu 1991:194). Institutions invest in those who have invested hard work and loyalty to the institutions (Bourdieu 1991:195). This is certainly the case in Albania. Foreign donors invest in those who are able to change their mentality toward new paradigms of western development rationalities. This is mainly the young Albanians.

Inside the field, the actors are dependent on each other in terms of maintaining the monopoly they seek to represent. The political field is structured by a number of rules for the field that sets the agenda for how to operate inside the field. It also means that some are in more of a position to define the rules than others. The political is unique and is governed by logics, political common sense (political *doxa*) and expectations, which either concretely or abstractly, are not comparable to the conditions and set of rules which govern other fields (Bourdieu 1996: 85). Political *doxa* is a widely dispersed, fuzzy, and yet pervasive and naturalised sense of what politics is about, how it should be properly performed, what a good leaders is, what true justice is, and so on (Hansen 1999:27-28). In their strategies for positioning the political actors are very dependent on these informal rules and underlying condition which the actors in the field tacitly accepts without being conscious of it.

A combination of the theories of Rose and Bourdieu functions as the main methodology of this analysis. Throughout the thesis, I also employ other theories when I find it fruitful to developing arguments or posing interesting analytical questions. These theories will be considered in the context of each chapter of my analysis.

1.4 Methodological reflections

The purpose of this methodological section is to describe and discuss how I have empirically attained knowledge to address my research question.

To understand the rationalities and practice of political actors in urban politics of Tirana, I have employed a host of data collection techniques. I have used: Semi-structured interviews with political actors in city development in Tirana; participant observations; official documents from organisations visited in Tirana; maps and photos and historical sources.

1.4.1 Urban study in Tirana: Semi-structured interviews, a case study and participant observations

In December 2005 I spent three weeks in Tirana holding interviews with relevant actors, finding an exemplary case and collecting documents.

To pinpoint the political actors and the political field of Tirana, the snowball method was applied. Before visiting Albania, I gained knowledge of the actors, organisations and institutions of city development in Tirana mainly through academic literature on Albania and the Internet. All relevant actors were contacted before my arrival in Albania. In Tirana, I located the political actors by asking the informants who I had arranged meetings and interviews with if they could recommend other important or interesting actors working within my field of interest. It was important to my selection of informants to find people who represented different discourses of city development who were in one way or another actually involved in city development. I interviewed people from the public, private and the voluntary sectors (see table 1 for further details on the informants). My motivations for my selection of informants were based on Bourdieu's theory of the political field described in section 1.3.3. The field can only be defined empirically by studying the agents who have access to the field and those who are excluded. Another guiding principle is that all actors inside the field, who are involved in the game recognise that it is worth playing. First of all, I looked for the limits of the field, secondly I used his relational approach in order to keep in mind to ask each political actor about their relation and perception of other actors in the field.

Through my interviews, I wanted to acquire knowledge of how the different actors, organisations and institutions worked with city development, which narratives they used to describe their work, what they found important in city development, what they

thought of the work of other actors within city development (see appendix 1). 15 of the 18 interviews conducted were done so in English. One characteristic of the political actors of Tirana is that almost every one of them speaks comprehensible English. For the rest of the interviews, I used a translator. The interviews are recorded as soundfiles placed on the Cdrom, which comes with this thesis. I refer to them as (interview with x, date). When interviewing political actors and visiting their organisations, I made participants observations. It gave me a more thorough understanding of their working environment (see the observation guide, appendix 2).

Table 1: Informants divided into sectors

<p>Civil society organisations</p> <p><u>Leart Kola</u>: Youth coordinator in the Youth movement MJAFT. Responsible for the civic action.</p> <p><u>Endri Fuga</u>: Director of communications in the youth movement MJAFT.</p> <p><u>Vezer Muharremaj</u>: employee in the NGO, Co-Plan, working with city development</p> <p><u>Sotir Dhamo</u>: employee in the NGO, Co-Plan, working with city development</p> <p><u>Raymond Pengu</u>: employee in the NGO, Co-Plan, working with city development</p>	<p>The public sector:</p> <p><u>Genç Selenica</u>: Architect working at the office of the Regulatory Plan in the municipality of Tirana.</p> <p><u>Architect</u>: Architect working at the office of the regulatory Plan in the municipality of Tirana.</p> <p><u>Arta</u>: Architect working at the Office of Legalisation and Regularisation in the municipality of Tirana.</p> <p><u>Laureti Omeri</u>: Director of public relations in the municipality of Tirana.</p> <p><u>Mayor of Unit 2 Office</u>: In the municipality of unit 2 of Tirana</p> <p><u>Politician from the Democratic Party</u>: Albanian Parliament</p>
<p>Private</p> <p><u>Edwin</u>: Co-owner of the Backpackers' Hostel in Tirana. Journalist at the news station: News 24.</p> <p><u>Richard Gibson-Shaw</u>: Journalist at the newspaper Tirana Times.</p>	<p>Others:</p> <p><u>Local leader</u>: Informal Area unit 2</p> <p><u>Dolora Gjokutaj</u>: Training manager in the field of local government at the Training Institute for Public Administration, TIPAA.</p> <p><u>Alket Jaupi</u>: Legal Adviser at the People's Advocate Albania.</p> <p><u>Fatos Lubonja</u>: opponent and writer. Ex. political prisoner.</p> <p><u>Finn Theilgaard</u>: The Danish Ambassador.</p>

My interviews were supplemented with a lot of informal (unrecorded) conversations, mainly with ordinary Albanians met on streets or in bars when socialising with my assistants Admir, Edwin and Fiorialba. It was here that I was able to listen to a lot of gossip and rumours about political actors and true-life stories and viewpoints on the

situation in Tirana and Albania. Informal conversation or gossiping discloses information which would never come to light in official interviews, for example, narratives about corruption. In the hostel, the owners contributed to widening my perspectives and knowledge of Albanian politics by bringing me the latest news of Albania everyday and discussing or explaining it to me – one of the owners worked as a journalist at a local news television station. My assistant, Admir, also took me on a city walk. This gave me an idea of how people perceive Tirana. Throughout my stay in Tirana, I also took daily walks, which gave a good idea of the layout of the city and the context for the power struggles

Whenever possible, I went with the informants on fieldtrips or observed them in working situations. It was much more difficult to procure this opportunity than I first thought – they didn't wanted me 'spying' on them. Twice I went on fieldtrips with the NGO Co-plan (working on the development of informal areas) to see them conducting workshops to create regulatory plans in two minor towns of Albania, Elbasan and Fier. I also undertook a fieldtrip with two employees of the legalisation and regularisation unit of the municipality. This gave the opportunity to see how political actors practise city development rather than how they talk about practising it. Spending time together also gave me an opportunity to listen to gossip, less glamorous stories about their work, and viewpoints on working relations with other actors in the field.

1.4.1.1 Selection of a case study

While interviewing political actors in general, I was on the lookout for a case study. The idea was to find a case, where it would be possible to gather information on how city development was practised. The way of handling and presenting ethnographic data in this thesis is inspired by the anthropologist J. Van Velsen's (1967) methodological article on the extended-case method and situational analysis. A situated case study results in data on the discrepancy between people's beliefs and professed acceptance of certain norms on the one hand, and their actual behaviour on the other (van Velsen 1967:143).

Data on cases within a situational frame of reference was collected on the basis of the following principles: Firstly, the area or project used as the case should consist of a

limited number of people. This gives you the opportunity to get to know them and understand their background (age, education, family history, duration of residency in Tirana, marital status etc.) and relations to each other and thereby their position in the field. Secondly, it is important to get divergent perceptions and opinions on the themes studied and inform them with the critical, opponent views from other informants. This involves asking them questions about the 'case theme' and finding out their views on the past (to see the case as part of a process). Thirdly, of the total context of the cases, as much as possible should be recorded. The case should be presented situationally and the actors should be specified. Detailed observations should be undertaken describing: Physical settings, social setting, formal interaction and informal interaction (Van Velsen: 1967:147). Finally, the case material should be supplemented with historical data to see your case as part of a wider context.

While in Tirana, I was on the look out for cases that could give me a deeper understanding of the power struggles of city development, and the logic and paradoxes of practice for the people involved. In light of this, I decided that my case study should focus on discussions of the placing of a casino in the centre of Tirana. I chose the casino case because it was a hot topic while I was there, and a lot of political actors and citizens proved to have an opinion on the casino. It was not only a discussion of where the casino should be located, but also a question of whether the Albanian state should take on the role of intervening in order to preserve the moral order. I was not an eyewitness to the complete planning process of the casino, but I have supplemented participant observations with on the spot with interviews and newspaper articles about the chronology of the process of the casino case to get material on the events which occurred before my fieldwork began.

1.4.2 Documents, maps and photos

Official documents, maps and photos were collected during my stay in Tirana. This was done in order to supplement information gained through interviews and observations.

1.4.3 Archive

The archive includes secondary and primary sources on socialist city development in

Tirana. I have used 16 articles and books about city development in Tirana between 1941 and 1991, and analyses and descriptions of the political strategies and discourses of socialist Albania. Because of my inability to read in Albanian, only a few of the sources used were written by Albanians (Aliaj, Deda, Nepravishta). The majority of the sources were constructed by foreign researchers, journalists, sociologists and geographers with a thorough knowledge of Albania based on the fact that they have worked and lived in Albania or visited the country several times to do their research. Several of the sources are historical texts written and published after 1991. The variety of sources on socialist Tirana is also supplemented with material on city development in other socialist countries, mainly in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. This archive consists of 6 books and articles.

1.4.4 Quality and relevance of data collection techniques

The methods for data collection have been chosen in order to acquire knowledge on the field of research. Interviews with political actors give me the opportunity to learn to understand the way they present themselves and their rationalities and practices in city development. Participant observations give me the opportunity to see how they practise city development. By supplementing interviews with participant observations, it becomes possible to compare what the political actors say and what they do. A situated case study's relevance is its ability to disclose this discrepancy between people's beliefs and professed acceptance of certain norms on the one hand, and their actual behaviour on the other. The relevance of the collection of historical sources, official documents, maps and photos is to get a wider perspective of the context of city development in Albania.

Post-socialist city development in Tirana is sparsely investigated. The research design shows its relevance by producing primary data on this sparsely investigated field. I have not employed many quantitative techniques for data collection. Employing quantitative techniques like, for example, surveys or questionnaires would not have proved relevant to my research question. If I had only analysed official documents on city development in Tirana, I would not have been able to discover contesting rationalities of city development. Not many documents have been written about city development in Tirana. The only organisation with a collection of documents on city

development in English is the NGO Co-plan. The majority of these were written by their own researchers or foreign guest researchers.

The choice of theories and methods employed to answer my research questions, affect the extent to which my conclusions of this thesis can be generalised. A situational analysis integrates the particular with the general. Employing a synchronic analysis of general structural principles which is closely interwoven with a diachronic analysis of the operations of these principles by specific actors in specific situations, affords me the opportunity to generate a general understanding of how governmental interventions are construed and negotiated through urban politics and how political subjects are produced (van Velsen 1967:140,149).

1.5 The strategy for analysis

The strategy for analysis shows how the research question is to be answered theoretically and empirically: *How and to what extent does the concept of 'community' shape how different actors contest urban development in post-socialist Tirana?*

1.5.1 Analysis part one: rationalities, strategies and governmental techniques under the socialist regime

To understand how city development is practiced and contested in contemporary post-socialist Tirana, I need to understand how it was practiced and contested in the former socialist regime. As other investigations on post-socialist societies show, there are still legacies from the socialist past. By making a historical analysis, I learn how categories and policies in city development change significance over time, and how ideas and notions are recycled as the 'truth', meaning, the way to develop the city and the citizens. Making a historical analysis affords me the opportunity to denaturalise those categories and concepts that are given to our present experience as if they were timeless, natural, and unquestionable. Through the employment of a Foucauldian line of analysis, I will study the rationalities of socialist city development in Tirana and the governmental techniques which were utilized to understand, classify and act on citizens in order to produce socialist citizens. The empirical material comes from secondary historical sources. I will supplement this material by drawing on theories of

socialist city planning, and experiences with socialist planning from Tirana and other (former) socialist cities.

1.5.2 Analysis part two: Political rationalities under the post-socialist regime and political actors' representation of these rationalities in city development

First, I will analyse which political rationalities emerging in post-socialist city development, and I will consider how these are influenced by international aid organisations. To do this, I will apply Rose and Sampson. To understand the emergence of rationalities of 'community,' I will add theories on corruption by Gupta, Sardan, Comaroff and Comaroff. This part of the analysis will be based mainly on interviews, observations and documents collected during my fieldwork and supplemented with secondary literature on contemporary politics in Albania.

1.5.3 Analysis part three: the practice of contestations of city development

Finally, I will analyse the rules of the game of the political field of city development in Tirana by describing one actual case: The contestations to the construction of the first casino in the centre of Tirana. Through this situated ethnography of city development, I aim to acquire an understanding of the opportunities for the actors to play the game of city politics. I will analyse the emergence of the youth movement group MJAFT as a new agent in city development, and I will consider the ways in which they perform their role as the heterogenic agent in the field trying to change the logic of the game of local politics by referring to civil society participation as the road to good governance. I will finally analyse the limitations of their position when trying to encourage the participation of civil society in city development. When analysing the casino case, the idea is to present some of my empirical data so that the reader is in a better position to evaluate the researchers' analyses not only on the basis of internal consistency, but also by comparing the ethnographic data with the inferences drawn from it (van Velsen 1967:140). The sources for that analysis are based on a combination of field notes, interviews and newspaper articles collected during my fieldwork in Tirana.

Chapter 2: Socialist Tirana (1944-1991)

2.1 Introduction

To understand present discussions about city development in Tirana, we need to understand the development of socialist Tirana. To understand political contestations after 1991, we need to understand which categories, concepts and rationalities were legitimate under socialism and which actors became the ones to enforce development.

In socialist regimes as well as capitalist regimes, urbanisation has been crucial to the aspired modernisation of the economy and social life (Sailer-Fliege 1999:8, Simmel 1950). Modernisation processes in both types of regimes have typically been based on industrialisation. What makes socialist urban development different from modernisation strategies in capitalist regimes is mainly the hegemony of the state in defining and controlling the urban development. Most modern countries have experienced great problems due to the over-population of their main cities, which in several places has produced social problems and dynamics of change (Davis 1965, Engels 1845). Socialist planning principles included ideals of an optimum city size, though in practice, the size has been hard to manage. No other Eastern European country has succeeded in controlling urbanisation to the same extent as Albania, which has a state monopoly of all areas. This was among other things informed by the change from a Stalinist urban planning strategy toward a more Maoist strategy. In Tirana, as in other socialist cities, the goal of urban planning was to correct the ills inherited from the era of capitalism and to develop a new pattern for the city that reflected a classless society. The basic principles were egalitarianism and planned urbanisation (Enyedi 1996). A classless society could be achieved by providing equal living conditions for different social classes (with the final goal of only having one class: the working class), which encompassed urban and rural areas along with all regions (Aliaj 2003a:29, Nedovic-Budic 2001:42).

In this chapter, I will analyse the urban planning of Albania through the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. The political rationality of socialist urban planning is achieving a classless

society. This was prevalent in all three decades. The strategies and governmental techniques employed were varied. Therefore, each period of the history of urban planning in Albania will be analysed in relation to the strategies and techniques employed, and the social patterns they consequently created.

2.2 Tirana as the leading city in the modernisation of Albania – urban planning of the 1950s

In 1945, the Albanian Labour Party (APL) won the national elections and in the newly elected assembly, Albania was proclaimed 'a People's Republic'; the monarchy was abolished and citizens were given equal rights (Prifti 1978:53, Biberaj 1990:19, Saltmarshe 2001:168).

As soon as they seized power, Albania's communist leaders took steps to nationalize the basic means of production and to establish control over the central planning. The first to be nationalised were the factories, which occurred in December 1944. The rest of the nationalisation process was carried out quickly and with no compensation to the expropriated parties. According to the APL, the overthrown classes, and lords and capitalists organised several uprisings against the new communist government and in collaboration with foreigners, they participated in the sabotage of 'the people's economy' (Prifti 1978:53). Between 1945 and 1956 an estimated 80,000 political arrests were made (out of a population of less than two million), and 16,000 of those arrested subsequently died in prison (Hall 1994:57).

When the country was taken over by the communist partisans² in 1944, Tirana was still a small city of 50,000 inhabitants and the capital of a largely undeveloped country. Agriculture was primitive and a manufacturing industry was virtually non-existent (Carter 1986:272). Approximately 87% of its people derived a living from agriculture (Prifti 1978:52). To develop Albania as a socialist country, the main strategy was industrialisation, as it was in any other Eastern European communist country at that time. Industry was considered the leading branch of the economy and agriculture its basic branch (Aliaj 2003a:25, Schnytzer 1982:37). APL's desire to

² During the 1930s communist groups financed by Comintern were started in Albania. For the most part they were composed of craftsmen, students and intellectuals (Saltmarshe 2001:57).

modernize Albania was rooted in communist dogma. Albania's leaders were striving to faithfully carry out Vladimir Lenin's doctrine that “communism is Soviet [or people's] power plus electrification (Prifti 1978:27). With a backward, semi-feudal social and economic order, Albania in 1944 was the furthest removed of any European nation from the industrialised, capitalist society that Karl Marx believed to be prerequisite for transition to socialism and communism (Prifti 1978:22).

As in any other socialist regime of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Bloc, cities in Albania were regarded as the focal point for the realisation of the aspired modernisation of the economy and the development of a classless society. To create a classless society, it was important to shape the physical space in a new way. The main strategy was industrialisation and urbanisation. Tirana was perceived as the leading city in the modernisation of Albania. Albania had a close relationship with the Soviet Union, who was helping them to establish the heavy industry etc. The urban planning of the 1950s was also highly inspired by Soviet socialist urban planning.

2.2.1 Tirana - an industrial city

Tirana was the first city to be transformed after the Second World War, due to the expansion of industry and a growing bureaucracy. Industries such as the ‘V.I. Lenin Hydroelectric Power Station, the ‘Stalin’ Cotton Textile Combine, the ‘Enver Hoxha’ metal working factory’ etc. were established on the periphery of the city. In the early 1950s Tirana was developing into the country’s most important industrial centre in this period (Carter 1986: 273-274). Tirana grew as a result of rural-to-urban migration, not only from the surrounding mountain areas, but also from other towns peripheral to Tirana, most people finding work in industry and in the governmental system (Carter 1986:276).

The organisation of the socialist state was hierarchical and in practice the government, the courts and the People’s Army all formed the executive branch of the APL. The irony of this hierarchy was stressed with the fact that from the time of the 1950 Constitution, which formalised the ‘controlling’ position of ‘the Party’, the relationship between the government and the APL was demonstrated by the name of the Party always being mentioned before the State (Saltmarshe 2001:168). The nature

of both party and state was profoundly influenced by the system of nomination (*nomenklatura*) whereby it was ensured that candidates for all positions of significance even down to village-level, were approved at an appropriate level by the party (Saltmarshe 2001:170). The Party prohibited the creation of any group or organisation outside of its control, ensured that political behaviour was overtly conformist, and left no avenues for public participation in decision-making (Biberaj 1999:71). The state prevented any emergence of civil society organisations or dissident groups throughout its regime (Sampson 1996:132).

During the post-war period (1946-1959), the communist government tried to consolidate power by promoting the establishment of the so-called 'working class'. Due to their communist ideology, the APL needed a working class to represent. When they took control in 1944, there were few workers, with almost the whole country depending on agriculture. They therefore had to construct the group that they represented (Bourdieu 1991:214). A substantial and permanent increase of urban population took place. During the first half of the 1950s, practically the peak of urbanisation, the national annual growth of urban population was 1.4% (Aliaj 2003a: 28, Danermark 1993:78).

The APL did not only need to construct the group they represented, but they also needed to construct themselves as legitimate representatives of the working class (Bourdieu 1991). In order to preserve 'ideological purity' and revolutionary orientation while simultaneously strengthening its working class base, the APL was constantly preoccupied with the question of the quality of its members. Candidates in many cases were selected not according to party criteria – character, moral, spirit of sacrifice, and ideological and political maturity, – but rather on the basis of 'nepotism, family relations and friendship'. In order to rectify this situation, from time to time the Party carried out purification-of-rank campaigns, which resulted in the expulsion of thousands of members and candidate members from the Party. The leadership sought to increase the percentage of workers in the party at the expense of intellectuals, students, and bureaucrats who were regarded as less reliable politically than members of the working class. As a result of strenuous efforts of the party and the swelling of the ranks of industrial workers with the gradual development of the nation's industry, the membership of workers in the party increased from 15% in

1945 to 37 % in 1976 (Prifti 1978:35).

2.2.2 The centre of Tirana – symbol of a socialist nation

In 1947, the country's first institute of urban research and design, including Town Planning design (later to become the Institute of Town Planning and Architecture) was established in Tirana. Albania had little experience with planning at that time and the enterprise was established with Soviet aid. A town planning and architecture section was also established in the University of Tirana to train cadres and conduct research (Hall 1990:387). The institute had town planning and design branches in each of the country's administrative districts to assist the people's district council in their urban planning. These branches were to plan the layout and modify the external designs of the standard plans, according to local conditions. Within the framework of the five-year plan encompassing targets for construction and services, each town had its own regulatory plans, which were continuously updated through consultations between the regional administration, branch offices of the institute of Town Planning and Architecture, and central ministries (Hall 1990:388).

The Institute of Town Planning and Architecture introduced the first 'socialist' regulatory plan for Tirana in 1957, which was highly inspired by Soviet city planning principles (Aliaj 2003b:57). Some of the principles included the emphasis of the political-cultural role of the capital city and the central cores of other cities, at the expense of commerce. Other important features of socialist urban planning were regulation of city size, importance of the urban historic heritage, uses of squares and boulevards as organising foci, self-contained residential neighbourhoods with services and workplaces, standardization of architecture for a classless society and to reduce costs, and adequate provision of green areas. These principles, though often used in capitalist societies, were more effective under socialism because greater enforcement powers allowed planners to ignore site-rental values and transportation costs in locating enterprises (Rugg 1994:4). Although main cities like Shkoder, Durrës, Vlorë, Elbasan and Korce exhibited some of these characteristics, Tirana as the capital became the most socialist in appearance.

Also, the first steps to change the outlook of the centre of Tirana began (Aliaj

2003b:57). The cultural-political core of Tirana was and still is Skanderbeg Square. Skanderbeg square was designed for political rallies, public manifestations and ideological events (Aliaj 2003b: 58-59). Here a huge statue of Enver Hoxha was erected and another one of the national hero Skanderbeg³. Also located here were the municipality, other government buildings and ministries, and the bank of Albania. This was once the location of the old bazaar, which was torn down and a Palace of Culture was built in its place in 1960. A museum of National History was also built here. The Heroes Boulevard, formerly part of Stalin Boulevard, runs like a north-south axis through the square from the railroad station to the polytechnic. Residential neighbourhoods line the northern section of the boulevard; to the south and west are typical socialist parks and other structures housing public institutions; and on the east are buildings for the arts, education, and government, as well as the Datji hotel (a state owned hotel housing foreign diplomats) (Rugg 1994:4-5, Sørensen 1974:67).



Picture 1: Skanderbeg Square

The centre of Tirana was conceived by planners as a ‘monumental space’ that would represent the ‘force and rebirth’ of Albania, the Albanian nation and state. To achieve this goal, legacies from the past like the old bazaar, the city hall, the orthodox Cathedral, an old ensemble of shops, hotels, bars, and a group of traditional houses,

³ Skanderbeg was fighting for independence under the Ottoman invasion of Albania

were torn down and replaced by socialist monuments and architectural structures. The only historical buildings that were spared were the Mosque of Ethem Beu, the Clock tower and the complex of ministries (Aliaj 2003b:57). Street names were changed and monuments of Stalin, Lenin and Hoxha were placed along the main boulevard and on Skanderbeg square, communist slogans were sited on walls of apartment buildings – all in order to legitimate and institutionalise the ideology of revolutionary socialism (Gloyer 2004:71, French and Hamilton 1979:6, Light et al 2002).

Given the importance of capital cities as centres of state power and national unity, particular attention is paid to 'marking' or 'signifying' urban space in capitals with particular values and meanings. This can take a variety of forms of which the most common are the erecting of statues, monuments and memorials. By commemorating significant events or personalities from the past, such monuments play an important role in the construction of a shared 'national' history, and - since history is an integral component of national identities – they also play an important role in nation-building and state formation (Light et.al 2000, Anderson 1996). Another way, in which the political power is expressed in the urban landscape, is through monumental architecture and urban planning (van der Wusten 2000, Light et. al. 2000).



Picture 2: The Museum of National History.

In a study of the history of street names in socialist Bucharest, Light et. al. (2002)

give us examples of how changes to street names were elaborate in order to construct a revolutionary identity among citizens. Just as street names were changed, the same happened to the names of parks, markets, shops, factories, schools, cinemas, theatres, sport stadiums, university residences and even bakeries. Streets were named after pre-war socialist activists, key dates in the history of Romanian or international communism, and ideological proclamations (like work, revolution and agricultural reform street). To amplify the impact of street names, the most 'important' names were allocated to up to 10 different streets in the capital, which of course caused some confusion among citizens. In the former rural areas (where the streets had sometimes previously not even had names), which were now becoming part of the expanding city, another strategy was used to amplify the impact of the revolutionary ideology through naming. Here street names of high ideological resonance were clustered together. For the residents of that area, the presence and agenda of the regime would have been difficult to miss (Light et al 2000).

To create a socialist city centre with new socialist symbols was also a way to create a centre of the Albanian nation. The APL stated that the main problems of Albania were clan division, regionalism, and primitive living which they saw as legacies of the many years Albania was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. Religion⁴ was also presented as the reason why Albania had been a backward country for so long (Prifti 150-166). Religious symbols like the bazaar and mosques were demolished. Although religion was not actually prohibited until 1967, religious leaders were persecuted from 1945. Religion was seen as a Trojan horse for alien influences and potentially hostile foreign powers (Hall 1994:45).

2.2.3 Socialist urban lifestyle: Creating governable communities through residential units

By the end of World War Two, over 62,000 houses in Albania – possibly a quarter of the total stock – had been damaged or destroyed (Hall 1994:95). To provide new space for housing, old urban areas were torn down and new residential areas were constructed consisting of 3 or 4-floor apartment blocks with an extremely low

⁴ According to a religious census taken in 1945, 72.8 percent of the population were Muslims, 17.1 percent Orthodox Christians and 10.1 percent Catholic (Prifti 1978:150).

architectural quality and inadequate construction (Aliaj 2003b:57). Production of housing was very expensive. Foreign aid was used for industrial purposes, but not for the urbanisation process (Aliaj 2003b:26). The residential blocks made for the new working class were named according to the socialist ideology, according to the strategy analysed above (section 2.2.1). The blocks were named: Laprakë, Allias, the 'Partizani block', the Vasil Shanto block, 'Ali Demi', 'Profarma' and 'Dinamo'.

In Tirana blocks of flats became the main form of accommodation. The residential neighbourhoods in Tirana were organised according to a Soviet model called 'micro districts', which meant that they were more or less self-contained with the necessary services to reduce commuting, and with a strong stress on access to factories, schools, health-care facilities, and cultural sites (Rugg 1994:4).

In the Soviet Union experiments with this form of housing had been carried out during the early 1960s and the 'micro districts' had proved to be successful both economically and ideologically. It became the basic unit for the planning of residential areas. Due to the Soviet planning, an ideal size for a 'micro district' ranged in population from 10,000 to 12,000 people, and in area from 30 to 50 ha. Besides providing a dwelling place, each unit also catered for daily needs through stores, laundries, cleaning and repair shops, restaurants, schools, and pre-school facilities.

The city was structured in accordance with the layering system designed for the needs of the socialist citizens. The logic of the layering system is based on the idea that the frequency at which citizens require access to different activities varies. Nurseries and schools are used on a daily basis, and thus found at the level of the micro district. Museums or official institutions are only occasionally visited, so these facilities are situated in the city centre (French and Hamilton 1979:61).

Ideologically, the micro-districts exemplified the ideal communist residential community, where what was previously the domain of the family, like cooking and laundering etc., was now performed locally and communally (French and Hamilton 1979:60-61). Many women worked outside of the home to supplement the low wages of their husbands. Subsidised day-care nurseries with opening hours from 06.00 to 18.00 were set up to make it easier for mothers to work, but also gave the regime an

opportunity to start indoctrinating the children early on (Hall 1994:84, Sørensen 1974:32). To assist women in combining their roles as workers and mothers, canteens were established at both workplaces and local residential units, as were laundrettes and other labour saving devices (Hall 1994:86).⁵

The architectural vision and style behind the type of apartment blocks and the design of the micro-districts was based on 'functionalism'⁶. The city ideals in functionalism are that the city structure and architecture should satisfy four fundamental needs: functional housing, the need for recreation areas, the need for transport, and the functional needs of work (Pløger 2002b:9). The idea is that you can shape the form, content and values of the social life through the design of the physical environment (Pløger 2002b:10). In functionalism some specific human needs are presupposed regardless of social class, context, experience and socialisation. Functionalism as a design vision is not unique for socialist planning but is in fact widely used in both capitalist and socialist countries. The design of our physical environment is a signal of the society and architecture's preferred norms and values of what constitutes 'a good life' and how to live together (Pløger 2002b:9). The residential unit was supposed to provide a 'worker' with everything he could need and socialize him to public life with neighbours using service facilities such as state restaurants, public baths etc. The following table, elaborated by urban planners in the former Soviet Union, shows how communist planning tried to regulate everyday life through the collection of knowledge about how citizens spend their time, and in relation to the prescribed hours recommended by the state.

⁵ Although a survey from 1986 showed that 62 percent of Tirana families had a washing machine, 80 percent of women workers spent more than 2 hours a day on housework compared to 20 percent of male workers. Queues for collecting the rations of food or water fetching due to water shortages is part of the explanation (Hall 1994:87).

⁶ The architect Le Corbusier (1887-1965) is one of main figures behind 'functionalist architecture'.

Table 2: The weekly time-budget in a major CMEA city in 1977*

Use of Time	Actual hours	Recommended hours	Actual hours as a percentage of recommended hours
Sleeping, washing, meals	64.5	70.0	92.1
Working at the place of employment	41.0	35.0	117.1
Domestic work	19.5	12.5	156.0
Cultural activities	16.0	19.5	82.1
Reading	3.7	6.0	61.7
Watching television, Radio listening, etc	6.2	5.0	124.0
Studying	4.0	3.5	114.3
Outside entertainment and museums	1.3	2.5	52.0
Hobbies and arts	0.8	2.5	32.0
Journey to and from work	11.4	10.0	114.0
Looking after children	5.9	7.5	78.7
With friends, other pastimes	5.2	4.0	130.0
Physical education, sport, countryside trips	0.7	6.0	11.7
Public, social, and political work	1.0	2.5	40.0
Unplanned	2.8	1.0	280.0
	168.0	168.0	100.0

*The original source indicated this to be a city of approximately 500,000 inhabitants in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. An average worker was one who was employed in a 'normal' occupation, which meant one without extraordinary duties or hours. Source: Moscow News (1977) 49, 2 In: French and Hamilton 1979:267)

The residential units also became administrative units. Albania was administratively divided in twenty-six districts or regions. These were subdivided into localities, made up of a number of villages constituting a territorial unit (Hall 1990:360). Larger cities, like Tirana were administratively divided into quarters. Every quarter in Tirana had its own People's council, which carried out internal territorial administrative responsibilities in agreement with higher organs of power (Hall 1990:360). This control involved administering economic and cultural matters and ensuring the maintenance of law and order at every level. Candidates for the councils were approved at higher levels of the Party (Saltmarshe 2001:170). The People's Council met twice a year. Executive committees elected from their membership was the ones undertaken the daily work of The People's Councils (Hall 1990:360).

In addition to the state bureaucracy, with the Peoples council as the lowest administrative level, a number of mass organisations⁷ were created to serve the needs of the APL and its leadership (Saltmarshe 2001:170). These various organisations assisted the APL in monitoring, controlling and mobilizing the resources of particular sections of the national community. (Saltmarshe 2001:170-71). The Democratic Front was a mass organisation of which everyone was a member except those designated

⁷ These mass organisations were: The Democratic Front, the United Trade Unions of Albania, The Union of Albanian Women and the Association of Writers and Artists of Albania (Biberaj 1990:61-62, Magnusson 1990:315).

'enemies of the people'. The DP membership card was essential to obtain a rations card and work (Saltmarshe 2001:171).

The Peoples Quarters council implemented the politics of the government at the micro-level of the Albanian society. In relation to city development, the executive committees of the People's quarter council had an important role, which was the allocation of apartments built by state building enterprises (Hall 1990:390). The governmental techniques of allocation can be seen as a detailed bio-political intervention in the private lives of the population (Dean 2006:233). Couples about to marry needed to register with their People's Quarter Councils for a flat. Once registered, newly-weds had an automatic right to access an apartment, which was theoretically allocated within a few months (Hall 1990:375). Being married gave access to an apartment - a privilege that an individual could not achieve. It made the family the smallest unity of the society, not the individual. Another technique of allocation was the regulation of family size. The household's flats should be matched to the size of the family (Hall 1990:375). Flats were built according to an average family size. Reproduction was regulated by the government but with little success. The Albanian government not only wished to create a working class, but they also wanted to increase the birth rate to secure high manpower levels for the future military, for economic strength and for a youthful revolutionary fervour intended to submerge old beliefs. Techniques to increase the birth rate were introduced which consisted of paid maternity leave from the workplace and the Stalinist practice of presenting medals and awards to successfully fecund women on the first birthday of the eighth surviving offspring. The accolade of 'mother heroine' was awarded to such women, while third, second and first class awards of 'Mother's Glory' were bestowed upon women with between four and seven children (Begeja 1984:37 in Hall 1990:363). The pro-reproduction policy never created the effect they were aiming at. By the end of communism, the average family unit was one of less than five (Hall 1994:86). However the government continued to introduce new pro-reproduction techniques.

That the family was an important category in shaping local communities was also evident in the way whole families were punished if one member dissented from the party line. Families that were proclaimed 'enemies of the people' were maintained

and institutionalised in the communities and thereby provided examples of what would happen if anyone deviated from the party line (Saltmarshe 2001:172). These 'enemies of the people' were publicly insulted and always given the worst jobs and food. Their children were not allowed to go to secondary school. Their relatives were forbidden to visit them. They were compelled to marry within their class (Saltmarshe 2001:172).

This detailed commando system from the politics of government to the implementation at the micro-level utilized methods such as allocating apartments to married couples and rewarding fecund mothers (Dean 2006:233). This shows how socialist city development attempted to reconstruct Albanians as socialist families. Albanian politics inscribed these elements of sovereignty, like punishment and rewards, into their detailed bio-political intervention into the private life of its population (Dean 2006:233). The bio-political state under socialist regime is often justified by a reference to the aim of developing an ideal society by optimizing the quality or quantity of the population (Dean 2006:232).

2.2.4 Ideology and practice: Social segregation in socialist Tirana

Although Tirana was loaded with revolutionary ideology of a working class lifestyle, and the city planning policy was performed as a strategy to create a classless society, the reality was different.

The highest-ranking members of the leadership lived in special housing compounds commonly referred to as 'The Block', in complete isolation from the working masses. In the late 1980s Politburo members possessed at least 131 luxurious villas. The area in which they resided (about an square mile) was closed to ordinary Albanians until the fall of the communist regime. Hoxha's house and those of other top leaders were connected to a network of underground tunnels (Biberaj 1999:73). Some sources even show that there was a tunnel between Hoxha's house and the headquarters of the Party's Central Committee where Hoxha had his office (Gloyer 2004:71).

To create a loyal political class, party members and bureaucrats had certain privileges. While the majority of the population lived at the level of mere subsistence, senior

party officials enjoyed enormous wealth, luxurious living quarters for themselves and their families, villas in resort areas, fancy cars, travel and medical treatment in the West, foreign study exchanges or sabbaticals, special stores, and unlimited access to imported goods.

2.2.5 Conclusions on the new social patterns of the Albanian society in the 1950s

City planning of the 1950s was aimed at establishing heavy industry and creating proper living conditions for workers. Tirana was seen as the leading city in the development and modernisation of Albania. Along with the implementation of the strategy of industrialisation, came a new implied way to look at the Albanians. Workers were seen as the celebrated category of people, who could modernise Albania in relation to religious leaders, capitalists and other Albanians with bourgeoisie mentalities who were to be eliminated. Socialist propaganda was present in public spaces, especially in the centre of Tirana, which was seen as the symbol of a socialist nation. Neighbourhood units were built as new modern housing for the workers. Here the family was the smallest entity of the Albanian nation. Although Tirana symbolised a socialist city with equality, the nomenklatura was privileged with better housing etc. Privileging some groups of society over other groups was the technique used to create a modern socialist society.

2.3 Expanding the urban lifestyle to the countryside - urban planning of the 1960s

From 1950 to 1960, the investments in industrial development had largely been based on economic aid from the Soviet Union. The rupture in Soviet–Albanian relations caused a serious halt to economic development. Although Hoxha started working more closely with China, the financial and technical aid sponsored by China was never enough to continue the path of industrial development started during the Soviet-Albanian alliance period. Problems started to appear in the city’s production complexes and Tirana’s role in the country’s industrial production declined (Carter 1986:277). By 1960, Tirana contained over 8% of Albania’s population, placing a strain on accommodation and other services (Carter 1986:276).

The urban planning strategy after 1960 was a so-called anti-urbanisation strategy based on both Stalinist and Maoist urban planning strategies. The idea was to develop rural areas and restrain urban growth. The distribution of the population was: 1/3 in urban areas and 2/3 in rural areas (Aliaj 2003a:27). Taking its point of departure in socialist political rationality of a classless society, the urban planning aimed at reducing the existing gaps among 1) the different social classes, 2) the urban and rural areas, and 3) the different regions too. This overall goal was the same throughout the communist regime. This anti-urbanisation strategy was translated into specific techniques of government as the allocation of industrial investments to all regions, an improved physical and social infrastructure, and the creation of agricultural cooperatives and state farms (Aliaj 2003a:29). In this section the focus will mainly be on two governmental techniques: Yellow Line and New Towns.

To understand the role of Tirana in relation to the rest of Albania, and to understand the privileges of living in the capital city, we need to see it in relation to general notions of the urbanisation strategy and the way the rural versus the urban was perceived. Officially, there were three criteria for the status of towns in Albania [*qytet*]. These were (a) activity, (b) number of inhabitants, and (c) impact on surroundings. However, in practice Albanians employed a more functional definition: 'Urban lifestyle' (Danermark 1993:77). The villages were dominated by agricultural production and had no central administration in the settlement. To be labelled as a town, the settlement not only needed to be a certain size, but it also had to have an urban culture.

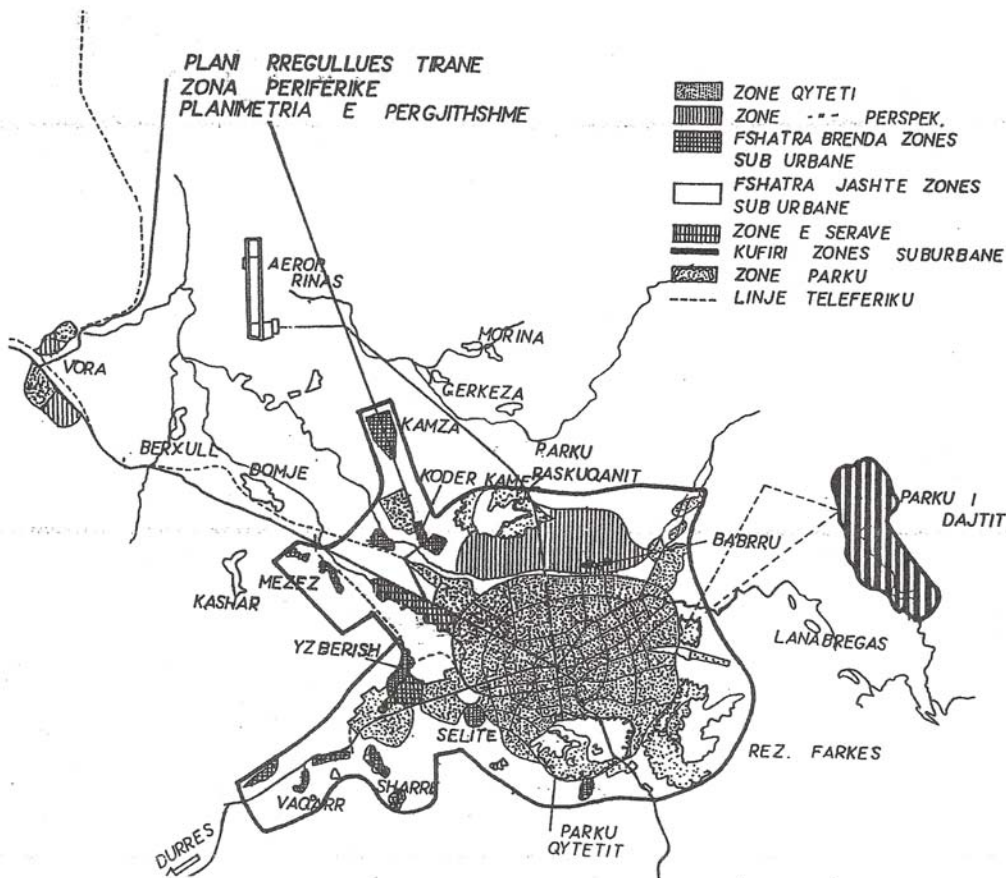
As noted earlier, cities were seen as the focal point for the realisation of the aspired modernisation of the economy and the development of the classless society. In this section, I will describe how New Towns were built in all parts of the country to create this urban lifestyle, and to transform rural dwellers into modern urbanites. The model was self-sustaining settlements in the manner of Tirana's self-contained residential units. To create these communities of urban lifestyle, two governmental techniques became salient: Yellow Line and New Towns. The logic was influential in both separating and uniting the population. Rose calls these 'dividing practices'. The governmental rationalities of anti-urbanisation indicated a re-coding of dividing

practices, revising the distinction between the affiliated and the marginalised (Rose 1996:340).

2.3.1 Yellow Line

In order to establish control over urban growth, town borders were introduced around every city, which were named 'Yellow Lines'. If the population grew at such a rate that urban development reached the Yellow Line, the overflow were directed to other pre-existing or new cities (Aliaj 2003a:27). Citizens could not freely move from one city to another without permission. Permission could only be obtained if you were guaranteed work and accommodation in the city of arrival (Danermark 1993:79). The prohibition of ownership to motor vehicles also made it more difficult as public transport was the only relocation solution. This concept of an optimum city size, partly based on the urban planner Ebenezer Howard's concept of a 'garden city' (Howard 1898), had been tested in the other East European countries and the Soviet Union, but with rapid urbanisation based on large scale plants requiring plentiful labour and skills, and enormous migration to the bigger cities, the planning concept had become a 'dead letter among socialist planners' by the beginning of the 1970s (Hamilton and French 1979:11).

The Yellow Line was a clear marking of the city (urban) versus the countryside (rural). Tirana, as the capital city, was a popular site to inhabit, and with a size regulation like the Yellow Line it was only the privileged people who were given this opportunity. Party members were the only ones who had access to internal migration and the were therefore the only ones who could cross the Yellow Lines and live where they wanted (Saltmarshe 2001:170).



Picture 3: The Yellow Line of Tirana

2.3.2 New Towns

New urban centres were developed in connection with primary resources in previously non-urbanized sites. The development of New Towns added an impetus to the growth of the country's urban population and assisted in its wider regional distribution (Hall 1990:364, Fisher 1962:255). In total, forty-one new urban centres were established throughout the whole period. This number was greater than the total of new centres in all of the Eastern European countries combined. The purpose of these centres was not only to extract the metallic minerals or energy resources of the country, but also to play a role in the development of agriculture, education and administration. The distribution of the centres confirmed the party's active role in a self-reliant development policy. Although exact data on the population is not available, all of the new centres, except for four of them, had fewer than 10,000 inhabitants. Twenty-four of the centres were mainly occupied with the extraction of metallic minerals and energy resources, eight with agriculture, four with

administration, four with industry and one with education. The regime used these centres as nodes of employment in a rural-development policy (Rugg 1994:2-3).

In many Eastern European countries, the New Towns were seen as showcases, where socialist theory was truly transformed into spatial design because here there was no existing urban complex to condition the planner's pencil (French and Hamilton 1979:6, Fisher 1962:255). The physical space of the New Towns can be understood as paradigms of how it is possible to live 'the modern urban life' (Pløger 2002b:63). The social organisation of the city works on a body of peasants and educates them in the urban lifestyle. A field study by Jack C. Fisher (Fisher 1962) on a new town, Nowa Huta, in Poland, describes how peasants with rural attitudes meet great adjustment problems in the urban way of living. The newcomers wanted to adapt their new urban surroundings to their former country lifestyle. They wanted to cultivate gardens and maintain livestock. They found no place in Nowa Huta for these activities and administrators soon found coal in washbasins and pigs on balconies. The newcomers also found the new kitchens too small to preserve the old patterns of concentrating the family life in and around the kitchen (Fisher 1962:256). In Poland and other countries these clash of life-styles were later made up for by reserving prescribed sections of the city as temporary reception areas for newcomers, during which time they were allowed time to adjust to the urban conditions while maintaining a large stock of rural habits. Finally, by the time the peasant had found a permanent job, he was fully capable of becoming part of the urban society (Fisher 1962:262).

In Albania, New Towns also had a spatial design, which facilitated an opportunity for rural dwellers to adjust to living the urban socialist lifestyle. The idea was to equalize the living conditions of all Albanians and it was based on expanding the urban design of the neighbourhood residential units to the countryside: "*Construction of blocks of flats in urban and rural areas represents and symbolises both a raising of living and hygiene standards compared to the past and emphasises aspiration of equalitarianism by producing similar internal and external residential environments for the majority of the state's citizens. By building apartment blocks in the countryside, particularly at state farm centres, differentials between town and country, both tangibly and symbolically, are seen to be reduced*" (Hall 1990:375). Service facilities in Tirana, the New Towns and smaller settlements were also standardised emphasising a public life.

These service facilities included: post offices, telephones, polyclinics, schools, nurseries or pre-schools, crèches, libraries and houses of culture, public baths, public service offices, MA-PO (people's store), 'supermarkets', other shops and at least one buffet (Hall 1990:374). The New Towns were designed like the self-contained residential units but on a bigger scale.

The distribution of New Towns and settlements throughout the countryside exhibit the attempts to transform peasants into urbanites. On the other hand, spreading the population over all regions of the country, was also advantageous in terms of defence, as APL was continually afraid of invasion from other countries (Aliaj 2003a:27). As Albania anticipated being attacked by enemies from abroad every city also was provided with several underground defensive shelters, the entrance to which may have been found in courtyards or open spaces between flat blocks (Hall 1990:374). In Albania, around 600,000 one-man-bunkers were built (Gloyer 2004:166). By the end of 1960, military training had become a part of the entire school system, and students, along with their teachers were required to engage in manual work. The main educational principles were embodied in the socialist slogans present everywhere through propaganda in the public sphere: Produce, defend, and study (Sørensen 1974:45, Biberaj 1999:212).

In perceiving the peasants as people who needed to accustom themselves to urban life, there lies a dividing mechanism where some identities were privileged at the expense of others (Dean 2006). Rural inhabitants had previously been seen as more backward than urban inhabitants. There is a saying in Albania that *'for a peasant to become a citizen, he has to change his skin six times'* (Danermark 1993:87).

In some aspects, rural dwellers managed to change their traditional lifestyle, but mostly they continued their way of living. Despite the post-war constitution guaranteeing women equal rights with men and banning the wearing of veils, many of the old social practices were not eradicated but were simply adjusted to the meet new requirements (Hall 1994:83). The patriarchal system survived as a way of life in the countryside, especially in the highlands. Marriage and divorce were regulated by the 1946 constitution. The law on marriage required a nuptial contract to be entered into before an official of the local people's council, and strong penalties were allotted to

any clergyman performing a religious ceremony before its civil equivalent had taken place (Hall 1994:83). Sociological research of arranged marriages in a rural northern region shows that pre-war marriages, were invariably arranged by the parents. In the 1960 survey, 26 (48 per cent) of the couples had chosen their own partners, 15 (28 per cent) had married on the initiative of their parents, but with their own consent, and 13 (24 per cent) were married by an arrangement between their parents without their consent (Uci 1969 in: Hall 1994:83). People continued to practise their religious beliefs despite the fact that religion was officially banned. Outwardly Albanians practised atheism, but secretly many continued practising their true religion at home (Hall 1994:45).

The majority of the Albanian population were forced to live in these communities or New Towns, and were refused permission to leave. Lack of road facilities and very few telephones in the countryside added to the isolation of each city, village or urban centre.

2.3.2 Conclusions on new social patterns of the Albanian society in the 1960s

An urban lifestyle was seen as the only way to reach the aspired modernisation in socialist Albania. This indirectly led to dividing practices along lines of living locations. Urbanities were perceived and constructed as being more modern, than rural dwellers were perceived as traditionalists. This division was created through techniques such as the Yellow Line and New Towns.

2.4 The Tirana vanguard empowering the countryside - urban planning of the 1970s

Although the anti-urbanisation strategy had been implemented to release some of the pressure on the population growth in Tirana, there was still a lack of accommodation in Tirana. One of the main problems of socialist city planning in Albania, as in many other socialist countries, was the lack of adequate housing (Sailer-Fliege 1999). Under

the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969)⁸ a new governmental technique emerged to make amends for the housing problem in Tirana, which was intertwined with governmental thoughts on how to create loyal socialist conscious citizens. The new governmental technique was centred on the ideal type 'the socialist man'.⁹ The overall goal of the Cultural Revolution was to stamp out 'bourgeois and revisionist ideas' from the consciousness of the Albanian masses and to imbue them instead with a communist outlook and morality. The 'socialist man' was one who placed the collective interest of his people above his personal interest and shuns no sacrifice in his efforts to build a socialist society (Prifti 1978:147,149).¹⁰ The idea was to create a vanguard of 'socialist men' that could seize and develop the rest of the Albanians. The strategy was mainly based on a Maoist urban planning strategy of anti-urbanisation

2.4.1 Producing the socialist man through voluntary work

Citizens were organised within their residential area or place of employment to build housing. This was categorised as 'voluntary work' and emerged when a pioneer's programme was inaugurated in Tirana during the country's Cultural Revolution (Magnussen 1990: 320). Although the concept of voluntary work had been used as early as the 1950s to construct roads etc, it expanded greatly in the late 1960s. The state through the People's district council provided the building material, and technical assistance was made available by state building organisations (Pajcini 1983: 376 In: Hall 1990: 376).

The definition of voluntary donations of labour and services appeared to be a rather loose one in the Albanian context, and it owes its origin both to the pre-war *corvée*¹¹ system and to Stalinist methods of Mass mobilisation, whereby both 'volunteers' and other groups were employed on major construction works. The

⁸ The Cultural Revolution in Albania can be seen as a parallel to the Chinese Cultural Revolution. I will not go into the details of the Chinese Cultural Revolution here.

⁹ Some sources call this ideal type 'the new socialist man,' others call it 'the communist man'.

¹⁰ More visions and strategies on how to create 'the communist man' are described by Ernesto Che Guevaras (Guevara 1968).

¹¹ Under the feudal system, compulsory, unpaid labour demanded by a lord or king and the system of such labour in general.

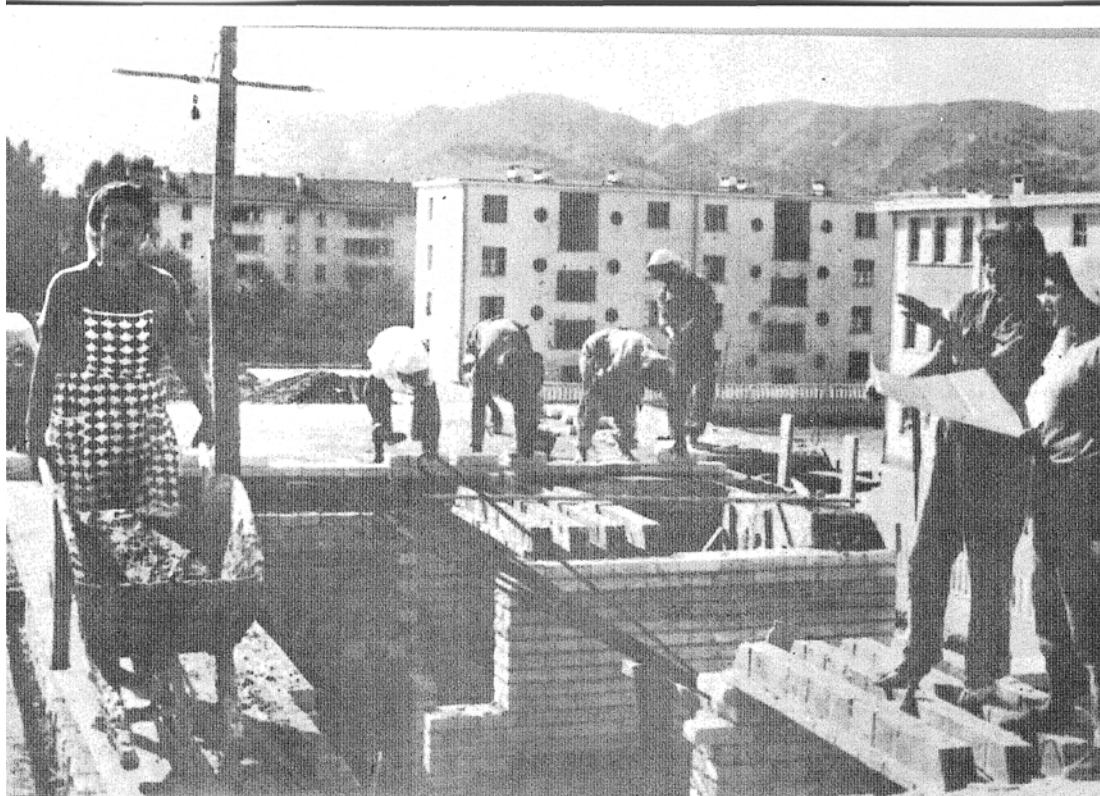
principle involved in voluntary construction efforts was similar to the Soviet Gorkii method and the later (from 1971) Cuban micro-brigade system, but it also differed in some significant aspects. Groups of volunteers were organised within their residential area or place of employment. Unlike the Cuban system, where voluntary workers undertake such construction during their normal working hours, the Albanian voluntary principle depended upon construction being undertaken by comrades in addition to their normal work patterns – that is to say, entirely in their ‘free’ time (Hall 1990:376).

Using voluntary work to develop the communities and enforce a sense of community feeling was one of the main governmental techniques of the 1970s. Albanians underwent voluntary service enforcement by the regime, in order to develop the country. Voluntary work was extended to all kinds of improvement projects within the local communities, for example, the so-called ‘voluntary’ weekly cleaning process for the areas surrounding apartment buildings (Deda 2000:108).

For the urban apartment built by voluntary labour, allocation decisions were undertaken at the workplace – usually a service or production enterprise – where the volunteers were organised. The existing living conditions of each worker, his/her contribution to the construction efforts, and other ideological related factors were taken into consideration when deciding who should have the possibility to move into one of the new apartments (Hall 1990: 390). Now housing was not only distributed according to your marital status but a good ideological biography was also required. It was not only in questions of housing that this governmental rationality was employed. Those individuals that did not have a good biography could not pursue studies beyond high school or climb the social ladder (Biberaj 1999:212). This example makes the main dividing practice of the socialist regime explicit: the affiliated being those who are truly loyal to the Party, the marginalised being those who show resistance towards the Party, not being loyal or not performing loyalty to the Party. Being affiliated means putting a lot of effort into showing your engagement in building Albania as a socialist society.

Using voluntary labour for construction work only lasted until 1971, maybe because of its inefficiency. As other socialist societies have found, while mass mobilisation

may be ideologically important and sustaining, resultant poor work quality and productivity tended to see such methods phased out (Hall 1990:376). The new apartments made by voluntary labour were often inhabited before services and outer facades were completed, and quality control was a scarce resource (Hall 1994:99, Sørensen 74:66).



Picture 4: Voluntary house construction in Tirana

Up until the introduction of the Cultural Revolution, the family was treated as the smallest unity of the socialist society. The focus on families rather than individuals was a continuation of life before communism, but in the early decades of socialism, this was still the main regulation technique. With the advent of the Cultural Revolution, several policies were implemented to improve women's rights. To help women achieve equality within the family, efforts were made to eliminate the 'bourgeois concept' of the family that, according to the Albanian leadership, was based on private property and empowered man to treat woman like a house commodity (Prifti 1978: 99). Hoxha suggested that husbands turn over their wages to their wives and allow them to administer the family budget (Prifti 1978:99). The Family Code of 1965 established equality of access to divorce for either spouse. Although resulted in a rising trend in divorces, in practice, the person suing for

divorce had to present her or his case to a council of the People's Court and answer in public any question put to them, thereby reflecting a lack of domestic privacy and embodying the 'snooping' nature of the state (Hall 1994:84).

It was also important that family members were not more loyal to their family than the Party. There was an everyday fear of being informed on because of not having the correct ideological behaviour – even by your own family. Saltmarshe describes how an old man from the village where he carried out his fieldwork was so afraid that he never expressed his thoughts to his family in case his children talked to their friends and brought trouble on him (Saltmarshe 2001:171). As one villager said, 'You had two mothers, your natural one and the Party' (Saltmarshe 2001:206).

2.4.2 Empowering underdeveloped regions through voluntary work in the country side

Voluntary work was not only used to form communities in Tirana and other cities. Voluntary work was also used to develop all parts of the country, by using mainly the 'vanguard' of Tirana to educate and assist the rural population in their work.

Throughout the communist regime, some regions were seen as falling behind, especially in northern Albania.¹² Some of these remote rural regions never developed according to the plan. This was explained by the government as being due to their 'mentality' and their tendency towards the traditional way of life. As the elaboration of the governmental technique of New Towns also implied (section 2.3.1), there was an idea that peasants were ignorant to modernisation, therefore more efforts were made to turn them into modern urban citizens.

Volunteers, mainly from Tirana, were also sent to the regions for a stay of one or two years to assist the local inhabitants in developing their area. In the beginning, the group of volunteers consisted of academics and specialists in health and education

¹² Albania's physical geography has contributed significantly to the cultural separation of Albanians into two sub-groups divided by the Shkumbini River (Hall 1994:26). To the north of the river in the remote mountain area lived the Ghegs and south of the river Tosks dominated. Ghegs were living in small disperse settlements and organised according to strong tribal codes like blood feuds etc. Exposed to the both the East and West from their vulnerable lowland villages Tosks maintained international influences (Hall 1994:26, Blumi 1997:2).

(Danermark 1993:83). The government had a total control over the distribution of highly skilled people. University studies were “free” but after graduation, the students were forced to move to a region and stay there practising for about three to four years (men about one year longer than women). The number of specialists needed in each district was presented to the students by the ministries. The decisions about who should move where, were made by the students themselves during the last year of the 1980s, and before that the decision was made by the respective minister (Danermark 1993:81, 86). The Union of Albanian Working Youth had earlier been engaged in organising labour brigades, but now the youth was forced to work voluntarily for several years (Biberaj 1990:62, Saltmarshe 2001:172).

In some areas the Cultural Revolution in Albania and the one in China had much in common. Both Chinese and Albanian leaderships showed a deep distrust of intellectuals¹³, whom they regarded as an unreliable element, easily influenced by alien ideology and propaganda. Several dozen Albanian writers and artists were sent to the countryside to work and live there and become close to the labouring masses (Prifti 1978:147).

‘Voluntary work’ and a rhetoric of rustication of the urban population were also used as argumentation in getting rid of groups of people from Tirana that didn’t fit into the image of the successful revolutionary government. In this way the ‘gulag strategy’ used, for the taking of political prisoners became the overall strategy for the creation of one nation of socialist men and women.

Also, groups labelled ‘inefficient bureaucrats’ by the APL were being deported because they were reported as becoming too ‘snobbish’ and as believing that deskwork was more important than hard psychical labour. Party cadres with their privileges, were not eager to leave the town and work in the countryside (Prifti 1978:37). This led to the over-staffing of bureaus of the state and mass organisations of party cadres. Especially under the Cultural Revolution, the growing bureaucracy was discussed and criticized. In the APL, there were continuous debates about the

¹³ The national leader of Albania, Hoxha, was himself an intellectual. He had studied in France and had worked in Brussels. He was fluent in French, and had knowledge of Russian, English, Italian and Serbo-Croatian (Prifti 1978:33-34).

conduct of party representatives, and Hoxha publicly complained about the problem of local and regional party leaders being addicted to 'thievery, favouritism, bossiness towards subordinates, and indolence,' and of them being unwilling to frankly discuss the problems they faced in the regions (Prifti 1978:37). Now it was not enough to be a party member, now your personal behaviour as a loyal, responsible and active communist became important. Not even the privileged nomenklatura could feel safe from criticism. However, in reality, although these policies had been implemented by the government, the great majority of nomenklatura and citizens loyal to the regime continued living in Tirana.

Other steps actually taken since the Cultural Revolution as a means to overcoming the bureaucratization, included the reduction of personnel in state organisations, as administration workers and intellectuals were required to do physical labour for one month or more a year; and increasing 'workers' control' by giving the working masses greater power in the management of the economy and a wider role in the work of the state apparatus. All these measures aimed at bringing the regime closer to the people by making the government more responsive to their needs and aspirations and by strengthening the bonds between them and the party. Another step along this line was the suggestion that more attention be given to electing 'the best people' to office, people who were honest, courageous, hard workers and 'revolutionaries' who understood the problems of the people, and who lived and worked with the people (Prifti 1978:39).

Over the time the party organs like Politburo and the Central Committee became selected and purged to reflect a small predominantly Tosk clan who would be trusted by Hoxha. The Central Committee in 1948 consisted of 31 members of whom only 9 survived until the mid 1960s: 14 were executed and eight were forced to retire. In the early 1960s, there were five married couples and no less than 20 people related to each other in the 61-person Central Committee (Saltmarshe 2001:170, Danermark 1993:75). During the regime, Hoxha used the dismissed officials as scapegoats for the country's problems, especially economic failures, invariably accusing them of sabotage, espionage, and anti-party activities.

The politics of voluntary work also showed Tirana as the 'city of the vanguard' using

workers from the capital to empower peasants in underdeveloped areas. The rural areas were not only urbanised and given equal conditions like housing and services, but they were now also taught by the Tirana vanguard how to become ‘good socialist’ men and women. According to the government, the motivation behind relocating people was to carry the ‘working-class spirit’ to the four corners of the land and to strengthen ‘the leading role’ of the workers in the construction of the socialist economy (Prifti 1978:60). This strategy of voluntary work disclosed deep ambivalences in Albanian politics. Hard manual work was favoured as the work of socialist men and women and therefore they had to move to the countryside to show their loyalty to the revolution.¹⁴ However at the same time, peasants were considered ignorant and needed further education.

With this great distribution of citizens to the countryside, families were widely divided, being sent to work in different places in Albania. To possess private vehicles was prohibited and public transport was restricted so it was very difficult to go back to your ‘home town’. Not only were especially young people sent to do work in the countryside, explicit policies also aimed at encouraging intermarriage and intermigration between different regional groups were pursued, in order to overcome long-held local and regional loyalties, and to eradicate traditional distinctions, despite very limited individual mobility. One of the most notable of these policies was the use of directed labour on major construction projects, such as railway building, and the very explicit intermixing of groups – particularly young people of marriageable age – from different regions of the country in such projects. These youthful workers were also meant to pursue the role of ‘revolutionising’ the citizens of the areas through which the railway lines were built (Hall 1994:29).

2.4.3 Conclusions on new social patterns of the Albanian society in the 1970s

With the introduction of voluntary work, a division was created between active socialist citizens who formed a vanguard of Tirana and the less developed – for example rural dwellers of undeveloped regions in northern Albania. This was not only

¹⁴ The pioneers wore scarves and emblems with a rifle and a hoe along with the inscription: “Voluntary worker” (Sørensen 1974:61).

a governmental technique which applied to ordinary Albanians, but the nomenklatura and bureaucrats also needed to prove their loyalty and socialist biography to stay in their seats. A division between men and women was created, with the rhetoric of women being exploited by the males. Family members were divided and sent to work in different parts of Albania – so with the cultural revolution the family ceased to function as the smallest unity of a socialist nation, and the position was taken over by the vanguard – active and loyal socialist men and women. This was done in order to create one nation of socialist people where identification with families, clans, regions, religion etc. was eliminated in order to create a deeper affiliation with the nation project.

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter shows how urban planning rationalities of achieving a classless society were informed by strategies like industrialisation as a road to modernisation, and an urban lifestyle as the road to social development, and strategies of loyalty were employed to ensure national unity.

One main task of city development in the communist regime was to change the physical outlook of the centre and neighbourhood sections of Tirana in order to establish Tirana as the cultural and political centre of Socialist Albania. This I see as part of the nation's building strategy. During the communist regime, Tirana was the number one city, where the elite lived. Tirana was perceived as the catalyst for the development of the rest of the country. However, in the 1970s, due to inspiration from Maoist China, the Albanian Labour Party promoted the countryside as the place to work and live if you wanted to prove your loyalty to the state.

In Albanian urban planning, an 'urban lifestyle' was seen as more modern than a 'rural lifestyle'. Governmental techniques such as the Yellow Lines and New Towns were applied to expand urban lifestyle to the countryside. The Yellow Line created a physical and symbolic distinction between what was urban and what was rural. And by limiting the number of people who could live in the capital city, it became even more attractive to live there. The New Towns were a technique to modernise the

countryside. You could live in the countryside but still live the urban life in functional apartment blocks like in the cities. Voluntary work, on the other hand, was a technique to change the minds of the people and turn them into good socialists. First, it was used in Tirana as a way of finding a solution to the lack of housing and creating unity in the neighbourhood units. Later, voluntary work was decentralised to the underdeveloped parts of Albania bringing academics from Tirana to assist the farmers in developing their regions. It was inspired by Maoist strategies of an agrarian revolution. However, voluntary work also functioned as a technique for deportation. Social groups who potentially could have formed an anti-government fraction, like intellectuals, artists and even some members of the political classes, were sent to the countryside to learn to live the life of the 'working people'. With the Cultural Revolution, the regime tried to split up families to create more identification with the nation. Similarly, the regime also tried to eliminate other communities of identification and interests such as religious and regional ones.

I see this discrediting of some groups in relation to crediting other groups as a way of stabilising and creating 'a vanguard of socialist citizens'. The Albanians who showed loyalty to the party or joined it or in some other way acted according to the ideals of the socialist men and women, were rewarded with privileges such as education, better housing, the opportunity to relocate the lives of their family to Tirana, etcetera.

Chapter 3: Post-socialist city development and reconfiguration of the political field

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will analyse how city politics is articulated and performed in post-socialist Tirana. To understand post-socialist city politics, it is important to understand the first years of transition. This period of the 'shock of the new' – the first experience with democracy and capitalism - gives us an insight into how city development in Tirana takes shape later on. The social patterns in the immediate post-socialist period were marked by unclear lines: The 'us' and 'them' were fluid (Sampson 2002:302). As Sampson reminds us, talking about new social patterns or differentiation, is another way of talking about conflicts, of diverse ways by which people pursue their life projects.

A general tendency that shapes the contest of city development is the increase of the amount of actors in the political field. This creates a competition between state, local government and civil society organisations over who are the ones to truly represent different groups and communities of citizens. Community development and creating a new sense of public space in the centre are new rationalities of city development emerging in this period and changing the balance of power between the political actors. As a way to deal with the distribution of new privileges in post-socialist Tirana, narratives and accusations of corruption becomes a political tool to discredit others in the fight over privileges.

This chapter has two objectives: Firstly to describe economic and political changes in the immediate transition period with reference to the subsequent social patterns created; secondly to analyse how different actors in the political field attempt to represent these social groups and how they perceive the problems and solutions of post-socialist city development.

3.2 Post-socialist city development: Toward a dual city

The objective of this section is to analyse city development in the immediate transition period along with the new social patterns and spatial divisions this created. City development in Tirana didn't occur due to any overall coordinated planning but unfolded as a more anarchic process effected by power struggles between the two main parties, and by migration to Tirana due to the economic collapse of state cooperatives and industry, and the intervention from foreign aid organisations.

In 1991, Albania officially transformed into a democratic republic. The first election with candidates from more than one party running for seats was held in March 1991, only four months after the regime had permitted the formation of opposition parties (Biberaj 1999:95). The two parties that influenced the politics in the transition were the Socialist Party (SP) and the Democratic Party (DP). Seeking to polish the Communists' tarnished image, APL changed their name to the Socialist Party and replaced the Politburo with an eighteen member Presidency, and the Central Committee with an eighty-one-member Steering Committee. Fatos Nano was elected Chairman of the Party (Biberaj 1999:105). The Democratic Party was created by the former private doctor of Hoxha, Sali Berisha, together with former members of the APL, intellectuals and students who were active in the revolts against the socialist regime. Berisha announced that the goal of the DP was to establish a Western-style democracy (Biberaj 1999:66).

No country in Eastern Europe had ever embarked on the path of economic reform against such a catastrophic collapse of the economy, as did Albania in 1992. Since 1978 Albania had been physically isolated and economically self-sufficient, due to the rupture of their ideological and commercial alliance with China.¹⁵ Between 1989 and 1992, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fell by more than 50 percent. Industrial and agricultural production declined by as much as 60 percent and 30 percent respectively – by far the sharpest drop in production in any former Communist country. Inflation topped 237 percent annually, while unemployment reached alarming proportions as virtually all factories, enterprises and cooperatives shut down (Biberaj 1999:188).

¹⁵ The official argument for ending this collaboration was that Albania could not approve China's new economic relations with the U.S. and their improvement of relations with Yugoslavia (Biberaj 1990:28-29).

With support from the World Bank a 'shock therapy' was implemented to change the economic structure of the society (Hall 1994:224).

3.2.1 Get rich quick: Experience with the new capitalism

Mainly it was the former nomenklatura that took advantage of the privatisation process by using their positions, contacts, skills and experience to acquire state property. While the communists were gradually losing political power, they were reasserting their hold on the economy (Biberaj 1999:122). Narratives of corrupt and greedy politicians are part of everyday conversations in Tirana. Although everyone in Albania has routine experience in dealing with corruption (and the like) this being part of the social landscape, the narratives focus nearly only on corruption in the political field (Sardan 1999:28). The experience with the pyramid schemes¹⁶ in the 1990s, shows how ordinary Albanians attempted to get rich by investing in pyramid schemes. The pyramid schemes show evidence that the borderline between legal and illegal economic activities fluctuated along with definitions of what was corrupt and what was not, and that the definitions depended on the contexts and the positions of the actors involved (Sardan 1999:34).

Any discussion about corruption assumes a standard of morally appropriate behaviour against which 'corrupt' actions are measured. In an Albanian context corrupt actions are not solely described as corrupt because they fail to meet legal standards but because they are seen as lacking social or moral purity. At the same time, Albanians draw a line between citizens doing it out of necessity (small scale corruption) and the nomenklatura doing it despite being rich beforehand (big scale corruption). This contributes to upholding the differentiation between party-elite and the masses (Sampson 2002:302).

The first pyramid schemes started as early as 1991, primarily in Tirana. Initially, the

¹⁶ In a typical pyramid scheme, a fund or company attracts investors by offering them very high returns; these returns are paid to the first investors out of the funds received from those who invest later. Encouraged by the high payouts, still more people are drawn in, and the scheme grows until the interest and principal due to the early investors exceeds the money paid in by new investors. When investors try to get their money out, they discover the truth about the scheme (Jarvis 2000).

schemes made little headway because the economy had practically collapsed and the population lived in extreme poverty. The pyramid schemes companies started out as nothing special, just small enterprises buying some properties and collecting money. The owners were simple people, nobody knew them. Vebi Alimuci, the president of the largest pyramid scheme, was for example a low-ranking army officer (Gross 1998). But as Albania embarked on the road to economic recovery, the Pyramid schemes gained ground (Biberaj 1999:202). Between 1991 and 1996 there were at least nine companies¹⁷ operating as pyramid schemes. Some of the companies had substantial real investments like investments in supermarkets, food processing plants, tourist centres, ferry lines and mines (Biberaj 1999:202). Some of them were widely believed to be engaged in criminal activities (in collaboration with the Italian Mafia and other foreign crime rings), including violating United Nations sanctions by smuggling goods into the former Yugoslavia, and these activities were thought to be the source of the high returns they paid (Jarvis 2000, Biberaj 1999:317).

The pyramid schemes expanded drastically in the summer and fall of 1996 (Biberaj 1999:317). Two events set the stage for the pyramid-scheme mania of late 1996. First, at the end of 1995, the United Nations sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were suspended, eliminating an important source of income (smuggling) for the companies. Second, the uncertainty created by approaching parliamentary elections, which were to be held in May, prompted the companies to raise their rates again, this time to 8 percent a month, or an actual annual rate of well over 100 percent. Many impoverished Albanians sold everything they had, including homes, farms, livestock and belongings, in the expectation of doubling their cash in a matter of weeks (Biberaj 1999:317). According to a resident who experienced the atmosphere in Tirana during that period, Tirana smelled and sounded like a slaughterhouse, as farmers drove their animals to market to invest the proceeds in the pyramid schemes (Jarvis 2000). The writer Fatos Lubonja describes his impression of the period like this: People investing in Pyramid schemes just relaxed in cafés, waiting for the rewards of their investments. He explained, “I have met with those who were trying to build new firms. They said, ‘It’s a big problem. We cannot find good workers.’ The good workers, they put \$1,000, let’s say, into the pyramid funds

¹⁷ The names of the most important of these companies were: Vefa Holding, Gjalica, Xhaferri, Populli, Kamberi (Biberaj 1999: 202).

and they could get \$70 or \$80 a month, which was much more than any salary they could earn. And everyone sat in the coffee shops”(Gross 1998). In Albania, the pyramid schemes escalated in miraculous dimensions for some poor investors (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000:313). The pyramid schemes were by many Albanians seen as a great opportunity to get rich quick and were widely accepted as the new rule of capitalism. The magic of the pyramid schemes was that they promised unnaturally large profits – to yield wealth without production, value without effort (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000:313). As with the rest of the post-socialist block, the change to capitalism brought with it the prospect that everyone would be set free to accumulate and speculate, to consume, and to indulge repressed cravings in a universe of less government, greater privatization, more opulence, and infinite enterprise (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000:316).

In January 1997, most of the pyramid companies collapsed. One billion dollars of personal savings (equivalent to a third of the GDP) were lost by as many as 300,000 Albanians (Jarvis 2000). Not only did the government fail to warn citizens of the dangers of investing in unregulated pyramid companies, but it also provided its own stamp of approval by maintaining close links with the companies (Biberaj 1999:203). During the 1996 elections, several of the companies made campaign contributions to the ruling Democratic Party. When it was suggested that some companies might be surviving by laundering money, President Berisha came to their defence. Press and public reactions were mostly negative: the IMF was accused of trying to close down Albania's most successful firms. In November, in response to outside pressure, the government set up a committee to investigate the schemes. The committee never met (Jarvis 2000). In February, parliament passed a law banning pyramid schemes (but not defining them). The widespread anger of the Albanians was directed towards the collusion between pyramid entrepreneurs and the DP government. Many in the army and police force had deserted, and one million weapons had been looted from the government armories. Armed groups took control of the south of the country. The Socialist Party was heavily involved in the revolt and outrage against the government. There was a collapse of state power and more than 3000 people were killed and many injured in the widespread conflict in the spring of 1997 (Saltmarshe 2000a:135).

The first reaction, when the pyramid schemes collapsed, was one of blame. The

Albanians started to see the pyramid schemes as an amoral activity, for which they mainly blamed the government. The collaboration between pyramid managers and politicians, to them, proved evidence that the government was ready to bet and gamble with national security in order to get rich. This shows something of the logic of justification of illegal activities. The Albanians saw themselves as having been involved in a scam due to their lack of experience with capitalism. This experience with capitalism taught them the hard learned lesson: In capitalism you cannot only make money; you can also lose money. The politicians, on the other hand, were seen as part of the scam and therefore corrupt, because the state was seen as a body that should protect the people against amoral activities. As Comaroff and Comaroff described, *[Gambling] was until recently treated by Protest ethics and populist morality alike as a 'pariah' practice*. Casinos were set apart from the working world. They were situated at resorts, on reservations and riverboats: liminal places of leisure and haunts of those (aristocrats, profligates, “chancers”) above and beyond honest toil. Living off the proceeds of this form of speculation was, normatively speaking, the epitome of immoral accumulation (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000:295). The socialist state had previously protected the Albanians against the amoralities of casino capitalism.

The accruing of wealth from nothing, or the occult economy as Comaroff and Comaroff call it, was as a response to the world gone awry (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000:316). With high unemployment rates and the fading out of the state as the only provider of 'common goods', people were looking for other survival strategies.

3.2.2 Aid through the community development

State, market and civil society underwent a renegotiating process and foreign donors influenced this distribution of power. In most post-socialist societies, the main result of immediate transition and the effects of global forces have been to reduce the function of the state by transferring its economic functions to private enterprises, and its welfare functions to the market or the emerging civil society (Sampson 2002:301).

Due to the woeful economic situation, Albania received a large amount of foreign aid (Biberaj 1999). The foreign emergency aid contributed to forming a 'civil society' in

the modern western sense. Albanian villages certainly have a tradition of family and voluntary aid, but under the communist regime, the emergence of any civil society organisation was prevented. The Italian government and European NGOs established Albanian affiliates and worked with Albanian volunteers, often groups of students or women. These groups came to form the first Albanian NGOs, so that foreign aid and civil society became inextricably linked (Sampson 1996:132).

NGOs obtained a lot of funding for public social service projects, which were earlier only provided by the state. Many officials were clearly upset that western aid should go through NGOs instead of the government. The tension generated from the fact that aid to Albanian NGOs still had to be approved by the Albanian Prime minister's office (Sampson 1996:135). The installation of a 'civil society organisation' challenged the monopoly of the political elite and they became highly competitive in their efforts to accrue the same resources (Sampson 2002).

3.2.3 The new social patterns of the Albanian society in the 1990s

The total lack of respect for public property was unique to post-socialist city development in Albania in the 1990s. Illegal occupation of public land for housing mainly on outskirts of Tirana, and for commercial purposes in the centre of Tirana, widely shaped the urban landscape of post-socialist Tirana (Nientied 1998). Many Albanians have described the invasion of public space, and the similar process with the attacks at public buildings, schools, hospitals and roads as an expression of the citizens' revenge on the state and the collective crimes of the past (Rama 2003).

In the early 1990s, Albanians started moving to Tirana from the mountainous regions and settled on the outskirts of the city. This free movement of the population from rural to urban areas, particularly to the capital city was stimulated by a mixture of political, social and economic factors of the transition period (Deda 2000:109). With the collapse of the economy in cooperatives, state industries and state farms, there was almost no employment in the countryside. This obliged many people to move to urbanised areas to seek work. The social and physical infrastructure deteriorated particularly in the rural north. The health system collapsed and doctors left, schools closed because of the shortage of teachers and pupils, and roads deteriorated leaving

small settlements in isolation. Another factor was that they now had the option to freely move and choose for themselves where they wanted to live (which had been restricted under the socialist regime) and had visions of a better future in Tirana (Deda 2000:109). Extended families (clans) functioned as the organisers and nucleus of an informal and often illicit sector of housing construction on the outskirts of Tirana (Hall 1994:101, Aliaj 2003c: 168). As we saw in chapter 2, the communist regime attempted to split up families by forcing them to do voluntary work in different regions of the country. This was done to create one nation and decrease the feeling of belonging to certain clans and regions. The counter effect of this strategy though was a much stronger feeling of regional identity and family commitment.



Picture 5: Informal settlements in the outskirts of Tirana

During the absence of the state in the mountainous areas, traditional village life re-emerged with *kryeplaks* (village chiefs -mainly old men), blood feuds and the customary law, the *Kanun*¹⁸. Coupled with the great migration to Tirana taking place at that time, these traditions also managed to permeate the city. King Zog, the first autocrat of the independent Albania, sought to diminish the influence of the Kanun, just as Hoxha had sought to extinguish it during the communist regime. Religious

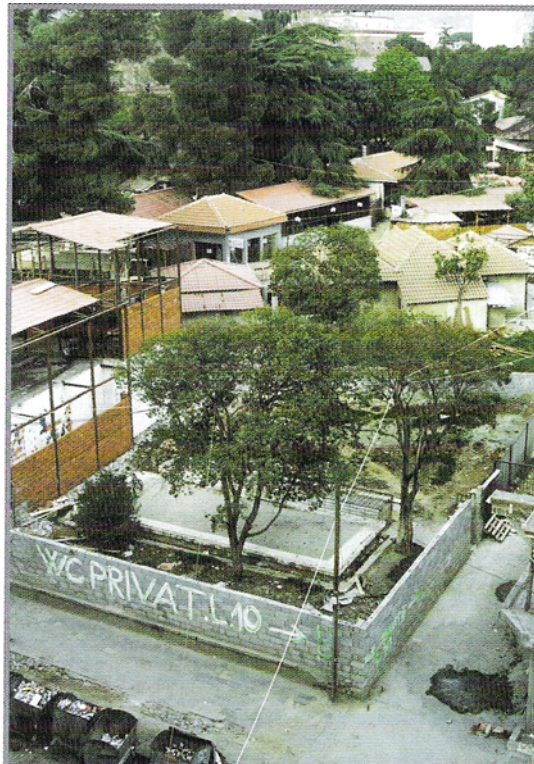
¹⁸ The Kanun regulated a range of issues including land, water, rights of way, marriage, assault and theft. Integral to the Kanun was also the definition of the circumstances surrounding the operation of the blood feuds (Saltmarshe 2001:53).

bodies have also tried to undermine the Kanun since it symbolises a very Albanian interpretation of morals and cosmology and thus threatens their authority (Saltmarshe 2000a:137). The expansion of northerners living on the outskirts of Tirana served to bring the *kryeplak's* traditions to Tirana (Saltmarshe 2000b:329, interview mayor unit 2).

The DP, who was in the government, did not do much to prevent this invasion of public land. The DP regarded the northerners as an underprivileged group who had suffered under the communist regime (Biberaj 1999). A Dutch urban planner described how the Albanian planners at that time talked about these illegal land occupations as “buildings without permits” not as informal or illegal settlement (Nientied 1998:43). The SP argued at that time (and still does) that DP didn't really address the problem in order to win popularity and votes (Kramer 2005:4). However, land and property ownership remained a key problem, which was never fully solved and is still a big issue in Albanian politics today.

In the same period, due to the lack of internal space, the ‘original’ citizens of Tirana living in the apartment blocks started to build illegal extensions in the public open spaces to cater for the lack of rooms such as bathrooms, toilets, storerooms, kitchens and living rooms. Wherever possible, the spaces around the residential buildings were divided into private courtyards occupying common space. Most of the extensions were carried out without building permits (Nepavishta 2003:205).

A significant number of the citizens of Tirana also began squatting in the public spaces between houses and in public areas like parks, where they started private businesses like restaurants and bars, small shops or kiosks. (Aliaj 2003b:69). All over Tirana, people with small companies erected “buildings” where they could conduct their business. The structures varied from simple caravans for the sale of consumer articles, to solid two/three-storey restaurants, and they were placed right in the heart of the inner city (Nientied 1997:43). This development completely destroyed the architectural presupposition of the reciprocity between public and private space, between the houses and the green lawns (Kaviraj 1997:106).



Picture 6: Illegal constructions in Rinia Park

The construction industry became the most powerful and successful businesses during the transition period (Aliaj 2003b:85). Many people who invested in the speculative pyramid schemes had invested in projects that required architectonic designs and ideas (Aliaj 2003b:87). In the absence of a consolidated banking system in the country, many domestic businessmen and investors (ordinary individuals as well) thought it better to invest in real estate. (Aliaj 2003b:87). At least 70 percent of constructions made in Tirana following 1990 were without building permission (Aliaj 2003b:67). Many small businesses such as cafés and stores and even big financial centres and luxurious apartment buildings started to erect structures in the city centre of Tirana (Aliaj 2003b:88). Criminal groups involved in drug trafficking, money laundering and smuggling owned many of these new businesses (Biberaj 1999:201).

Since 1990, the population of the Tirana municipality has almost doubled, and the region of greater Tirana has tripled (Aliaj 2003b:84). The social patterns of Albania that the APL had intended to change reappeared in post-socialist Albania. The family ties became even more important. The regional division especially between north and south took on new dimensions when they immigrated to Tirana and grouped on

illegally occupied land on the outskirts of Tirana outside of the Yellow Line. As described in chapter 2, the Yellow Line, was the line with specified and controlled the maximum size of the city. If the population of Tirana expanded beyond the limits, the surplus people were moved to a new city. Now the Yellow Line took on a symbolic power dividing Tirana in two: The real citizens of the original city of Tirana, and the newcomers in the slums outside of the Yellow Line. Though the population were fragmented – the notion of a ‘nomenclature’ or political actors versus the masses still remained as a division created in the socialist regime.

3.3 Actors in city development in Tirana - solutions to the problems

Throughout the 1990s city development was a field where different actors fought about new rights and privileges in a new societal structure based on democracy and capitalism. This process linked categories and privileges in a new way. These contestations circled around who was able to seize the opportunity to define problems and propose solutions. As Bourdieu asserts about the logic of representation, in order to make himself a necessary intermediary between 'people' and politics, the political actor must produce the need for his own product. And in order to do that, he must create a difficulty that he alone will be able to solve (Bourdieu 1991:210).

Steven Sampson, in an article about the elite configurations in the Balkans (2002), describes how the group of political actors which he defines as the elite, changed during the transition period. At first, the dominant actors in the political field of transition were the technocratic and cultural elites. The first group was the former nomenklatura - party leaders, technocrats or managers, who either took over the leadership of emerging political organisations or acquired ownership of economic enterprises. The second group of transition elites were the intellectuals formerly affiliated with dissident movements, people with a moral or intellectual standing. In Albania these opposing lines of elite groups have a slightly different history. Nobody could escape the communist control, which meant that proclaimed dissidents around the fall of the communist regime in Albania also had a history of affiliation with the communist nomenklatura. This means that although actors address themselves as ‘Democrats’, ‘intellectuals’ or ‘employees of NGO’s’, which are celebrated categories

in the post-socialist regime, they often have a family history of being affiliated with the socialist nomenklatura (Sampson 2002: 298-300).

The actors that I observed taking part in contestations over city development in Tirana were state and local government, NGOs and civil society organisations, construction firms/media companies and intellectuals. The two actors in city development that I mainly focus on in this thesis are state and local governments on the one side, and civil society organisations on the other. In the remaining of this chapter, I will introduce the actors on both sides and discuss how they perceive city development and the possible solutions for the problems.

3.3.1 The municipality of Tirana

Although there had been local government structures in place since 1992, the decentralisation process didn't really speed up until after 1999 when the Council of Ministers approved 'The Decentralisation Strategy and Local Autonomy' (AIIS 2003:75). The strategy was based on the Albanian Constitution and the European Charter of Local Self-government. According to the strategy, decentralisation reform has the following objectives: To increase citizen participation in local government; to improve transparency and efficiency of local government services; and to realise the subsidiarity principle that services ought to be close to the citizens that need them (AIIS 2003:75).

Under the socialist regime, which continued throughout most of the 1990s, local governmental structures existed more as administrative extensions of the state rather than as establishments with a high degree of local financial and political autonomy (AIIS 2003:71). Reforms to local government had been on their way since the first local elections in 1992, but had been a tug-of-war between the two main parties, the SP and the DP. From 1992 to 1997, when the DP were in power, they were accused of obstructing a speedy reform of self-government due to the majority held by the SP in local councils (AIIS 2003:7, Biberaj 1999). Today there is a cross-party consensus in Albania that decentralisation reform is a must, especially since it will be part of Albania's Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the European Union (AIIS 2003:75).

With all of the illegal settlements and corruption in Tirana, the question that city planners asked themselves during the 1990s was how to ‘create some order in the chaos’ through city planning. As one foreign urban planner noticed, many planners had a negative attitude towards irregular urban development, and considered it an illegal activity, which the government needed to put a stop to (Nientied 1997:43). In 2000, Tirana elected a new mayor, Edi Rama. He proposed that all illegal constructions in the centre be destroyed and the centre of Tirana be renewed to provide more public space.

During the last local elections, the issue of ‘legalisation’, which had been a taboo up until then, was officially brought up for the first time. The municipality of Tirana created a special unit to study the possibility of legalising buildings on a case to case basis (Aliaj 2003b:73). The strategy of the municipality is to turn squatters into ‘owners’ in a double sense of the word: First of all, to turn squatters into owners in order to create a property-tax base that would open credit sources for them and thereby turn ‘dead capital’ into ‘working capital’; and secondly, to turn squatters into owners as a way to create ‘ownership’ in the form of community feeling and responsibility for the city. This is especially important for the Albanians who have lived under communism, where everything belonged to the state, to take back possession of their lives – their land, their businesses, and their homes. Rama sees it as the only solution in a city with more than a quarter of a million people building illegally on its periphery. He has been constructing roads and schools and playgrounds, and laying power cables and water mains, in those outlying zones. It is a part of his plan to engage the northerners living there (Kramer 2005:4).

Under a fieldtrip to the informal areas of unit 2, with two employees from the office of legalisation and regularisation in the municipality of Tirana, I came to understand how the illegal settlers were perceived. The two employees showed me the fences the illegal settlers had built and explained to me how difficult it was to make roads and sanitation facilities in these areas because the settlers had not left any space for public or social services. Therefore they needed to demolish houses or fences to be able to build an infrastructure. As one of them confided to me, he thought that the newcomers didn’t have the right mentality to live in a ‘huge’ city like Tirana, and to ‘*move away*

from the proletarian life of a family and adjust to the social life of a huge city....”

When addressing the illegal constructions, Rama indirectly indicates which citizens he has in mind when he considers his plans for Tirana. People who destroy public places for personal gains are not welcome in Tirana. This rests on the assumption that moral/good citizens are hard-working people who do not seek to get rich from illegal activities. He announces that this distinction between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ people is his only political ideology. The experience of running Tirana has convinced him that there is nothing left or right in the way he deal with the world. He believes that the real divisions in Albania have less to do with politics than with honest in contrast to corrupt people, peaceful versus violent people, and especially with ‘the hard-working people in opposition to the people who don't respect work’ (Kramer 2005:4).

City politics in Tirana are informed by global discourses of a World Class city. A new master plan for the centre of Tirana is about to be implemented with the idea of bringing back identity to the heart of Tirana just as the socialists did when they came to power. The centre is to be renewed to form a public space for citizens with parks, shopping opportunities etc. A international contest was initiated for the planning of the new centre, and the winning design for the master plan came from the French firm Architecture-Studio, who suggested the building of ten towers which will make up ten two-hundred-and eighty-foot office and apartment buildings (skyscrapers, by local standards) to demarcate and punctuate two boulevards that run parallel to the park that has been planned for the central square, Skanderbeg Square. The jury liked the plan for its drama, the urbanists for its density. The developers liked it for the shopping spaces reserved in the towers’ lower floors. The competition for the designs of the ten towers is still in progress. The mayor perceives these towers as obelisks for a new Tirana and as having ‘a acupuncture effect’ for Tirana and the centre, which he describes as the ‘empty heart of Tirana’ (Kramer 2005:6). However, a lot of people have complained about the new city plan, saying it wouldn’t be “European” enough, that it would block their views of the mosque and the clock tower and out to Mt. Dajte, or that it would destroy Tirana’s ‘historic centre’- although the centre is, of course, long gone (Kramer 2005:6). The rhetoric around the new plans focuses on making “*the city a part of the world*”, “*making Tirana look like a European city*” (www.tirana.gov.al). As is the case with all other European cities, Tirana wants to be

a world city (Sassen 1996).



Figure 1: Plan for the ten towers in the skanderbeg square

The improvement of the inner city is also informed by a discourse of building for the community. Rama argues for focussing the development on the centre of Tirana because he asserts that in the beginning, it is important to start somewhere with the little money the municipality have and create and build small models of how the future could be. You need to show the citizens small changes, so they believe that Tirana in the future could be a nice place to live (Rama 2003). The idea is to make a public space that people are proud of and connect with a sense of ownership. *“To build a sense of belonging to the space that is in between ‘my house’ and ‘the other’s house’.”* (www.worldmayor.com/worldmayor_2004/rama_winner04.html). Rama continues the path Hoxha began by expressing changes in ideology and political power through monumental architecture and urban planning. The idea is to empower the Albanians from the heart of the nation through inner city renewal.

Rama explains how difficult it is to use the standard vocabulary of national identity and empowerment. For half a century the communists had misused all the key words of a normal social life so that terms like belonging to the country, belonging to your city, belonging to your public space, solidarity, volunteering, and other universal concepts of everyday life in democracy, were totally destroyed in their own essence

through their embellished use. People have lost the meaning of those words and even in the new political era, they equate solidarity and volunteering with communism. Telling people not to vandalise public spaces and not to throw garbage is thought of as communist expression (Rama 2003).

The municipality has developed several strategies for giving citizens a better service. They have an information centre where citizens can come with questions and permit applications. The mayor also answers questions from citizens on all issues in a weekly radio show. However, at the same time, Rama communicates a seemingly opposing view of citizen participation in decision making through his assertion that, “*it is pointless to open more ‘Tirana discussions’ to Tirana until (..) the ‘habits of citizenship’ are in place and laws respected*” (Kramer 2003).

Rama makes use of private investments in public projects, which takes the form of some kind of working partnership with the developers. Different sides have accused him of getting too close to these businessmen by offering centrally placed locations to developers in return for media coverage in the media companies owned by the same businessmen (Gibson-Shaw 2005, Kramer 2005).

3.3.1.1 State versus municipality: The overpass of Zogu i Zi

The contestations between the state and local government are evident in a dispute about the road construction in two central places in Tirana, and a construction of an overpass of a highway at an entry point to Tirana taken place by the end of the year 2005. The newly elected Minister of Territorial Adjustment from the DP put a stop to the construction work initiated by the mayor. He claimed that the mayor of Tirana didn't have permission to build it. The mayor called it a political chicane (stemming from their opposing political colours) and sought to prove his innocence through the legal system. His argument was that the national authorities had illegally interfered in the work of a local authority. He even took it as far as presenting his issues in the European Union council of local governments in Strasbourg. During the weeks when this dispute was going on, citizens were complaining about the traffic jams and how inconvenient it was to walk in the half-finished muddy streets, especially in view of the continuous electricity cuts. The civil society organisation, MJAFT, wanted to

express how ridiculous it was to have a political fight over construction work, and so they spray painted the words: “This is a socialist idea – to be destroyed!” on the half-made highway overpass.

3.3.2 NGOs and civil society organisations

Together, international aid organizations and Co-plan, an Albanian NGO, have created city development projects in the slum areas. They have created partnerships between individuals, local communities and state authorities so these partners can solve the problems together. These projects fall under the category of civil society development. They construct citizen groups, build Community Centres and conduct research based on the socio-economic needs of the community etc. Together, the NGOs and the citizens identify the spaces for public purposes in the neighbourhood (Aliaj 2003). In addition Co-plan tries to change the ‘local democracy’ of the informal areas by suggesting community councils that consists of women and young people in addition to the traditionally selected *kryeplaks* (see section 3.2.3). However, changing the political culture of the communities proves to be a difficult task. After a workshop held by Co-plan to implement an Urban Master Plan in a small town near Tirana, one of the employees confided me some of the difficulties of involvement of citizens. He described how a citizen had come up to him and asked about the size of the road that was to be planned where he lived. The employee had answered, ‘what do you think is suitable?’ and the local citizen had raised his voice in frustration, ‘but *you* should tell *me* – you are the technician.’

MJAFT [which means *enough*] is a civil society organisation formed by a group of young people in 2003, which works on changing the morals of politicians and empowering citizens to react and engage in the politics of their every day life. MJAFT will be presented more thoroughly in chapter 4.

In both organisations the employees are mainly young people. Sampson adds that this is a normal situation in Albania because the foreign donors have more confidence in younger employees, who are perceived as having a more open mentality compared to the older generation which have lived their whole live under the communist regime (Sampson 1996). As also Bourdieu suggest, the young people in the political field are

the ones who are ready to invest everything in the organisation they work for:

“This is why in the French Communist Party of the 1950s, as in the China of the Cultural Revolution, the young frequently served as symbolic warders and watchdogs. The young people, after all, do not just represent enthusiasm, naivety, conviction, everything which one associates somewhat unthinkingly with youth; from the point of view of my model, they are also the people who have nothing. They are the new entrants, those who are arriving in the field, without any capital” (Bourdieu 1991: 217).

3.3.2.2 Co-plan versus MJAFT: Squatting in the Skanderbeg Square

Disputes between MJAFT and CO-plan consist typically of how to address the informal settlers of Tirana. In November 2005, MJAFT was making a happening as a reaction against the new law on legalisation of informal areas. The government had promised the informal settlers to legalise the land they had squatted. The informal settlers was to pay the legal owners 1000 € and the government would pay the rest. MJAFT activists squatted a place on the Skanderbeg Square (a circle around the Skanderbeg statue) and announced that they had now occupied this land and that they were ready to pay 1000 € to make it theirs legally. MJAFT proclaimed about the new law that ‘this is not the way to govern a country – this is anarchy’. They said that there was no fairness in having a system where people can go and squat a piece of land and only pay a symbolic amount for it and then the law-abiding tax-payers pay the rest. Co-plan, the NGO working in the informal areas, was furious. They were angry with MJAFT because this happening had contributed to bringing the debate about illegal settlements back to where it started ten years ago as an issue of ‘somebody taking something illegally’. CO-plan had used years on convincing the municipality and government to find a legal solution to the problem and take their responsibility as state to solve a problem created by the state collapse after socialism. CO-plan criticized MJAFT by raising the question how a civil society organisation like MJAFT who claim they represent and work for the citizens of Tirana could overlook the fact that 70% of the citizens in Tirana actually live in the informal areas. ‘If MJAFT were true defenders of the community of Tirana they should have talked with the informal settlers and heard their opinion before making the happening’, Co-plan stated.

3.3.3 Conclusion on actors of city development: toward dual city politics

Above it is illustrated how the two main actors employ rationalities and techniques of 'community' in order to represent the citizens of Tirana. These rationalities are combined with visions of what kind of city Tirana should be. The municipality employs a strategy where the assumption is that to create development for the community of Tirana the development should start in the centre and from that point spread to all corners of Tirana and maybe even the rest of the country. Co-plan on the other side employs a strategy which lies on the assumptions that what needs most development is the illegal settlers living in fringe of the city. By creating various small projects, the result can maybe inspire other communities to unite and do similar developments in their own communities. MJAFT work in between these two strategies. Together these two strategies exemplifies dual city politics, both created by and creating a dual city (Andersen 2001).

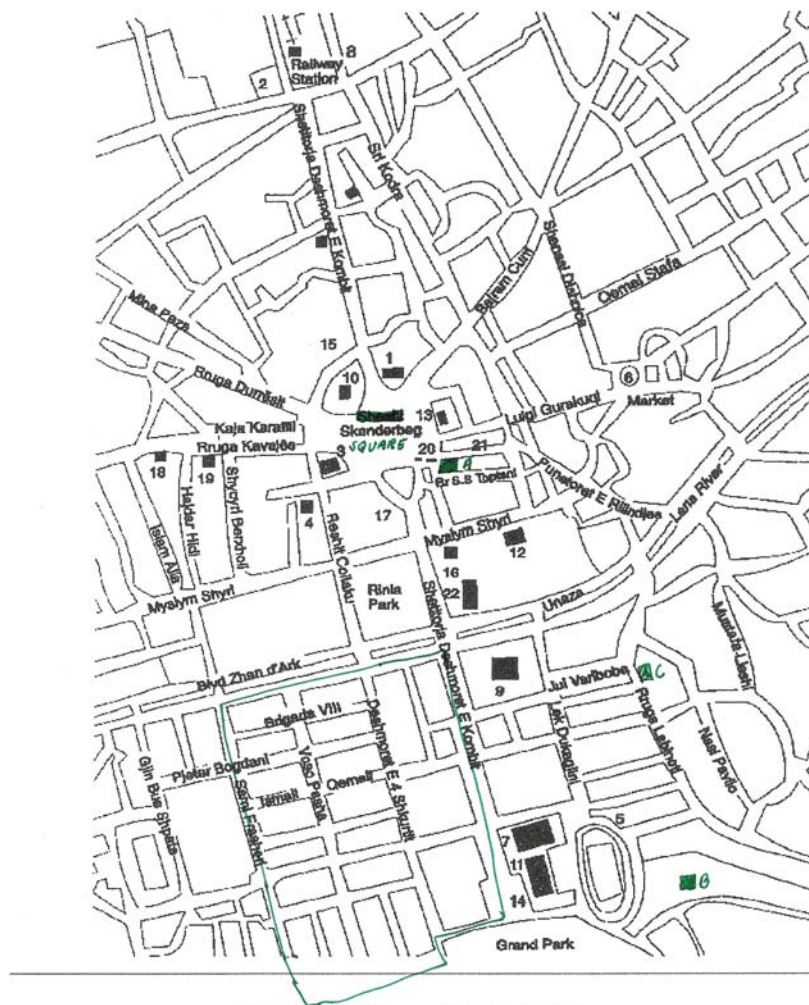


Figure 2: Map of Tirana

A: The Municipality, B: The office of the NGO, Co-plan and D: The Headquarter of MJAFT. The green line in left corner marks 'the Block area' where the nomenklatura used to live.

3.4 The political field: Corruption as a political tool

In Tirana, resources are extremely scarce and are mainly confined to construction businesses and foreign aid grants. Due to great difficulties with collecting tax money etc, the only way to make things happen is through partnerships between the initiators of city development projects and international aid or local businessmen. State agencies set the agenda of city development as they control the policy process, but due to the lack of economic resources, other political actors with resources gain influence and navigate with great skill within the field.

The political field is partly structured by a transnational hierarchy which brings with it new combinations of powers and obligations. For the political class, the new obligations are to the European institutions imposing demands on the regime, which are said to be prerequisites for becoming a member of the European union in the future. For the domestic businessmen, there are new obligations to local politicians and perhaps also export partners. NGOs and civil society organisations have obligations to international donors and to the projects. Being a political professional is inherently a middleman position (Sampson 2002:312). The four categories can private projects and reduce their conflicts through contacts within or across elite categories. Accusations of corruption and essentially illegitimate flows of resources between elites are problems, which occur when such obligations get out of hand (Sampson 2002:313).

In the political field the position of the representative depends on the recognition and trust she receives from other actors. It makes her fragile to gossip, which can destroy the recognition and trust she has been awarded (Bourdieu 1991:192-193). Although the representatives are driven by egotistic motives such as getting a better position than others, they try to expose themselves as altruistic and without any interests other than those of the represented group (Bourdieu 1991:183,193).

The political field of Albania is informed by paranoia. As Sampson writes, "*Many Albanians express the view, common in much of Eastern Europe, that private agendas*

lie behind all public or altruistic activities” (Sampson 1996:135). Whilst conducting my fieldwork, I experienced that Albanians see politics as something dirty, and actors involved in politics as corrupt. This critique of 'politics' and the 'political' in contemporary Albania hardly means that political life is ignored. Political scandals, conspiracy theories, rumours and gossip about political leaders constitute an inexhaustible reservoir of fascination and discussion. Especially in everyday conversations with Albanians, a great number of corruption stories were told.

Accusations of belonging to a 'mafia' and 'clan' are synonymous with accusations of corruption. It seems as though corruption is used as a label for every illegal economic activity.

The accusation of illegality or corruption is a political tool and does not always have something to do with legal definitions of corruption. Although a lot of rumours about corruption float around in the political field – very few are investigated. When Albanians are confronted with the question of why they choose not file a lawsuit if it is true that corruption is so visible in many city development projects, their standard response is 'corruption is difficult to prove'. The unclear legal system in Albania makes it often difficult to make a clear distinction between legality and illegality (Sampson 2002:304). Legal judges are also not generally trusted, which in many instances leads the political actors taking the law into their own hands in cases of corruption.

Looking at power struggles between political parties, accusations of corruption are commonly used to discredit each other. Months before Tirana's last mayoral election in 2003, Berisha produced a dossier of Rama's "crimes" - money-laundering, drug connections, terrorist connections, trafficking and other kinds of large-scale crimes. He also demanded a parliamentary investigation. Rama's response, in the manner of the artist Christo¹⁹, was to wrap the City Hall in sheets of paper with the accusations printed across them in big red letters. He called this gesture a "Happy April 1st from the Doctor" (Kramer 2005:2, Kyrø 2005).

¹⁹ Christo is a famous artist known for wrapping big monuments in textiles sheets.

3.4 Conclusions

With the transition to capitalism, Tirana has turned into a dual city, with inner city renewal and 'neighbourhood regeneration projects' in the informal areas on the outskirts'. The newcomers are still seen as outsiders who are more primitive than the 'original city dwellers of Tirana'. They are not a part of Tirana and are seen as living in a 'no man's land' just outside of the 'Yellow Line'. The Yellow Line is still important as a boundary between the urban and the rural. The situation of the informal settlers can be seen as the result of power struggles between the two main parties, which continue because of their lack of agreement on how to solve the problem of ownership.

NGOs compete with state employees to try and solve the social problems in Albania. They exploit the holes or gaps left by the inefficiency of the state. City politics is informed by 'community development' and different attempts to reinstall a 'community feeling' in Tirana. Although, the municipality and civil society organisation use diverging strategies to obtain their objectives both of them contributes to creating a dual city and a dual city politics.

Because of their experiences with the new capitalism symbolised by the pyramid schemes, and the growing number of actors in the political field fighting for dominance over scarce resources, many Albanians have formed the impression that democracy is tantamount to corruption. They have experienced an increase in corruption during the transition to democracy.

I have shown that the political professionals that have emerged during the city development of post-socialist Tirana are connected to the socialist nomenklatura. Some of them are more directly connected, like Berisha and Nano, and some indirectly, like many of the young people employed in MJAFT whose high education indicates their link to the nomenklatura because under communism only the 'ideological mature' people and their families had access to high school and university (see Chapter 2). Education and social advancement were strictly controlled, and those individuals who did not have a 'good' biography could not pursue studies beyond high school or climb the social ladder.

Chapter 4: Moral civil society and casino capitalism

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will analyse how city development is contested in Tirana by looking at the way MJAFT reacted to the casino case. The casino case shows how sensitive a political question gambling is, due to the experiences Albania has had with pyramid schemes and corruption, as described in chapter 3. Through the analysis of MJAFT and how they engage in questions of urban development, we are able to gauge an understanding of bigger conflicts within the area of community work.

By using Bourdieu's theory of political representation, I will analyse MJAFT as an actor in the field that constructs citizens in a new way. They enter the political field by insisting on the participation of citizens in questions regarding the city. With the way they address citizens' participation, they construct what they believe a citizen is and how citizens are to be perceived by political professionals. To be 'true' representatives of the citizens they need to present themselves as having no personal interests, they must prove they are legitimate and divide themselves from the politicians, who have ulterior motives. MJAFT, through their presentation of themselves in the political field, instils a division between the politicians, who are seen as being corrupt and uncaring of the community, and the civil society organisations regarded as the only true supporters of a moral community. This, I would argue is intimately related to the understanding of politics as both sacred and profane.

With the casino case, I will show the limitations MJAFT are facing by being part of the political game. They need to exclude part of the population of Tirana to better represent other parts of the population, and they hereby reinstate the importance of the Yellow Line as a governmental technique. 'Voluntary work' and activism, used under communist regimes to create responsible and active citizens, are recycled as a way to create development in post-socialist city development.

4.2 MJAFT - Mediating the gap between amoral politicians and weak citizens

MJAFT consists of 13 employees, 7000 members and more than 1000 volunteers. Their head quarters are in Tirana. There are 17 branches in different cities throughout the country, called civic clubs.

The vision of MJAFT is to achieve a well-governed Albania with active citizens, strong communities and a positive image in the world (MJAFT Executive Summary 2005). The mission of MJAFT is to increase active citizenship, strengthening the sense of community, promoting responsible governance and improving the image of Albania in the world through: 1) encouraging the participation of citizens in decision-making by influencing and monitoring policies at both a local and national level, 2) promoting volunteerism, and improving cooperation within communities; 3) rehabilitating a sense of protest (MJAFT Executive Summary 2005, www.mjaft.org).

MJAFT was founded in 2003. A group of friends in their early 20s met in a café of Tirana after having completed their higher education in universities in countries like England, Austria and the United States. They were sitting discussing politics and were all frustrated with the UN reports showing Albania as the country ranking second lowest in Europe, being even poorer than their neighbouring countries like Macedonia, Bulgaria and Rumania. In collaboration with Balkan Youth Link Albania and the Albanian National Debate Association, they started an awareness-raising and advocacy campaign talking with political analysts, journalists, people from different institutions, politicians and people in the streets– asking them what they thought were the main problems Albania was facing. They received answers like: corruption, blood feuds and the informal economy, organised crime, lack of education and health facilities etc. The Albanians they asked had a lot of explanations for the failure of Albania - even Albania being part of the Ottoman Empire was given as explanation. Throughout the four-month campaign, MJAFT reached out to 2.5 - 3 million Albanians in the country and abroad. With the conclusion of the MJAFT campaign, the Balkans Youth Link Albania, The Albanian National Debate Association and many other individuals joining the campaign, recognised the acute need for the continuation of MJAFT's work - this time not as a PR campaign but as an

established movement that consistently presses for civic activism and national development, and works on improving Albania's image abroad (MJAFT Executive Summary 2005, www.mjaft.org, interviews with Leart Kola and Endri Fuga from MJAFT).

MJAFT have organised many different activities during its three years of existence, such as lobbying in the parliament for increasing spending on education in the national budget; holding youth leadership training camps; and stopping the construction of a waste burning plant in the middle of a highly populated residential area by mobilising the community etc. Their scale of activities is wide, but they are mostly known for creatively mocking the government bodies and politicians for their lack of transparency in state affairs and blatant corruption in a series of civic protests; and educating Albanian voters through political debates etc. (MJAFT Executive Summary 2005, www.mjaft.org).

Through their provocative actions, they negotiate the rules for performing politics by confronting politicians and citizens and effectively holding up a mirror to the Albanians to show them how politics are performed. They recycle symbols from the socialist past and use humour to provoke and make politicians think more carefully about the Albanian political reality. Once there was a point when the government became very irritated with these young guys always protesting against them, and they wrote disparaging things about MJAFT every day in the newspaper *Zeri de Popullit*, which was the newspaper of the APL under socialism and now is the newspaper of the socialists. MJAFT staged a protest by sitting 30 people in the park reading this old party newspaper. Under communist rule, everybody was forced to spend one hour each morning reading this newspaper. On another occasion one minister accidentally gave a speech originally made for an opposition (socialist) party politician. The day after MJAFT set up a fair where they sold second-hand speeches in front of the parliament offices.

The tools they use are protest action, debates, lobbying, opinion polls etc. Through their growth as an organisation, they have developed a whole research department dealing with political questions and bringing in experts to advise them on various cases. They felt a need to not only become activists by saying 'enough' to all bad

things happening in Albania, but also to attain the opportunity to propose how things could change. To develop themselves as an organisation that truly works for the citizens and represents them properly, they have professionalized and gained more knowledge of the needs and desires of 'the people'. They have created a board of advisers, who counsel them on different issues. Recently, they have increased their quota of experts and divided their advisers into smaller boards with more specific themes like: education, economy and trade, foreign policy and the EU integration, and so on. The people who are on the boards of advisers are politically independent, respected professionals in the field that they represent and are recognised in society as having a good reputation. The writer Ismail Kadare, is one of their advisers. Before they provoke an issue, and start an initiative and campaign, they consult the board of advisers and take their suggestions seriously. They also use surveys and poles on different issues to tap into the sentiments of the citizens (Rose 1999). In several debates (at least in the casino case and in *Zogu i Zi*), they have advised politicians to elaborate referendums to involve the opinions of the people. However, it does seem that it is not specifically their protocol to always do this, as the following statement of Endri indicates: "*Depending on the issue, you can also measure the public sentiment.*" (Endri Fuga, 2005).

MJAFT forms part of an East European chain of youth-led democracy movements consisting of movements like Georgia's *Kmara* [*Enough*], Ukraine's *Pora* [*It's High Time*], Uzbekistan's *Bolga* [*The Hammer*] and Azerbaijan's *Yox* [*No*], all of which have been inspired by the Serbian movement, *Otpor* [*Resistance*]. MJAFT, like the other movements, combines non-violent resistance with modern branding, canny marketing, ironic stunts, media-savvy pranks and the exponential communications possibilities of the Internet (Mueller 2005). As Mueller states, if these groups have retained one lesson from the communist propaganda campaigns endured by their parents, it must be the power of symbols (Mueller 2005).



Picture 7: Activist from MJAFT

MJAFT receives donations from western embassies, (the Dutch, the English, the American), UNDP, Open Society Foundation Soros, OXFAM etc. There are also local businessmen who have helped the movement in different ways: their publishing-house prints their leaflets and posters with at price, some Albanian newspapers have given them free space to use for their declarations or articles, they get fuel for a reasonable price, their lawyers work with them in their free time without asking to be paid, and they rent their two-storey office at a reasonable price (Martens 2005). They also work in collaboration with Freedom House, an American NGO about which certain rumours have circulated due to the fact that Freedom House's chairman has been a director of the CIA (Mueller 2005). Albania is one of the many Eastern European countries where private American funded groups have worked to support local civic organisations (Keleman 2005). Conspiracy theories about Youth movements like MJAFT or Otpor have also stated that these groups are partly or completely creatures of the American and/or British Intelligence (Mueller 2005).

MJAFT draw legitimacy by being part of a global network (Sampson 1996, 2002). Their way of addressing Albanian politicians is often with a reference to how politics

are performed in other European or Western countries. Chapter 3 shows how civil society organisations in Albania feel a closer connection to global discourses of good governance by being trained and supported by international donor organisations.

In the political field in Tirana, MJAFT have created their own niche defending the voice of the citizens against the amoral politicians. MJAFT activists talk of the citizens as silent and passive with a feeling that they are inferior to politicians. They claim to represent all citizens in Tirana. They sometimes call the group they represent: the community, sometimes citizens and sometimes 'the people'. According to MJAFT citizens perceive politicians as having an unalterable presence and power. Like Bourdieu describes about the logic of representatives, MJAFT create or put focus on a problem or gap between citizens and politicians. This gives them the possibility and a need for their service as mediators between the two parts (Bourdieu 1991:210). An activist from MJAFT talks about this gap claiming that his movement needs to empower 'the people' to stand up against the amoral politicians. One activist explains it with this story: *"Before MJAFT was founded, it was very normal that deputies from Kukës were elected for the local council, but they never fulfilled their responsibility as deputies. One deputy didn't even step foot in his municipality for four years and so we approached him and said, 'If you don't come and make people understand what your job is and what you can do for them, we will go to your village. In many instances, the people voting for a guy like this don't even know him. So we went to his village and to those who were voting for him and said, 'if this guy doesn't come here in four years, he has no respect for you, so don't vote for him. The politicians must come to understand that they need to deal with their community. This is the kind of work we do every day."* (Interview with the activist Leart Kola from MJAFT)

MJAFT organise citizens to confront the politicians on different political issues. In relation to city development, they have been active in three cases: the placing of a casino in the Rinia Park of Tirana, the legalisation of illegal settlements on the outskirts of Tirana, and the stopping of the work on *Zogu i Zi [Blackbird in English]*, the overpass of the highway situated at the entrance to Tirana. Political contestations about these city development hotspots have all concentrated on how to cope with corruption and illegal activity. Their interaction with politicians is mostly through

protest activities and media coverage. They also invite them to debates.

4.2.1 An altruistic civil society organisation

As the global discourses dictate, civil society organisations need to be ‘autonomous, voluntary, legally registered and non-profit making’ (Sampson 1996:129). To be a community organisation it is therefore important to declare that you have and behave in the manner of one who has an a-political or autonomous status. In conversations with employees in MJAFT, they stress that ‘MJAFT is neither a political entity nor politically affiliated’. As one of the members in MJAFT says: *“For us it is not important who is in power. For us it is important that whoever is in power governs well, and if he is not doing so we are there to exert pressure and make things change or happen”* (Interview with Endri Fuga). They exemplify this by describing how they have challenged both the DP and the SP. MJAFT perceive the political game as a ‘war between politicians’ in which the citizens are the hostages and the politicians are like armies perceiving the world through categories of ‘friends and enemies’. One of the employees from MJAFT, Lert Kola, uses hooligans as an analogy to explain people’s commitment to politics. If people vote for the DP, it means that everything the party does is good and everything the SP does is bad. Politicians are also seen as childish as described here: *“From time to time our politicians behave like high school kids that have debates about who is better: Britney Spears or Cameron Dias or other such similar stupid debates, and actually we [the citizens] need to debate serious things”* (interview with Lert Kola, 2005).

Members of MJAFT have been asked to join political parties and run for election several times, but until now they have refused the offer, contending that an organisation like MJAFT is vital because not many other NGOs are covering this field, and if MJAFT no longer existed, a huge gap would be left (interview with Lert 2005). As the leader of MJAFT states about joining politics ‘it doesn’t make sense to enter a rotten game’.

The work of MJAFT is based on ‘voluntary work’. They have a base of 13 paid employees in Tirana, but the rest – over 1000 members – work voluntarily. It is sometimes difficult to make the Albanians understand the meaning of activism and

why voluntary work is important. As Lert Kola explained to me: *“Using the term ‘voluntary’ in Albania is difficult. It is difficult because the term ‘voluntary work’ was used by the communist party years before and it was badly used. You had to wake up on a Sunday and clean everything, to clean your factory (..) and they actually called the people ‘volunteers’, but you actually didn’t have the choice to do it or not (...) the first reactions [when we in MJAFT talked of being a volunteer] was ‘okay the guys [MJAFT] want to go back to the communist time. There’s no chance I want to be a volunteer’ “* (interview with Lert Kola, 2005).

It is very important for MJAFT activists to prove their altruistic motives and fight rumours that they have ulterior motives like enrichment. The communications manager assured me *“we are not doing this to get rich, people with our education can get better paid jobs; we do this because it is necessary”* (Endri Fuga, 2005). Only those who truly make sacrifices for ‘the people’ deserve to bear the emblem of a civil society organisation (Bourdieu 1991:210). They are also certain that if they didn’t exist and didn’t set up debates on everything in Albanian society, people would not know what was going on because of the biased media.

4.2.2 Conclusions on MJAFT as a representative of the community

The focus on community development and community participation has, as described in chapter 3, been re-introduced in Albania with the arrival of the international aid organisations in the 1990s. MJAFT have translated global discourses of civil society development into an Albanian context, but are continuously trying to establish and stabilise community participation as an important category in city development.

A true community organisation is constructed in opposition to narratives about other actors who claim to represent the citizens – the ‘politicians’. The narratives are based on assumptions that the politicians don’t really care about the people but use them to pursue other agendas.

Narratives in political power struggles in the area of city development in Tirana circle around several ulterior motives: corruption, not truly representing ‘the people’ and

extra-territorial allegiances.

There is a chasm between ideals of civil society organisations like MJAFT and everyday experience with political struggles. Here the performance of MJAFT is important. In the following, I will describe this unclear logic of practice in the political field in a case, which MJAFT raised and took very seriously throughout its year of existence: The casino case.

4.3 The Casino case – amoral activities in the centre of Tirana

In this section, the objective is to describe and analyse which arguments became legitimate in the casino case and which strategies MJAFT used in order to win the battle. Through theories based on Rose and Harvey, I will describe which rationalities informed the argumentation of MJAFT and other actors, and which governmental techniques they have employed to gain a better position in the contestations. Here Bourdieu is applied to describe how actors position themselves as the strong and their competitors as the weak, and what effect the position in the field has on each actor's chances of success.

4.2.1 Constructing legitimate arguments against the casino

The former Prime Minister, Berisha was the first to announce that a casino was about to be built in Tirana. In January 2005, he stated in a live programme on TV Klan, that the Prime Minister, Nano, had put at stake and lost Hotel Datji, one of Tiranas most prestigious hotels, in a casino game in Thessalonica, Greece. According to his sources, the Greek casino owner was promised a licence to build a casino in Tirana, and Nano had already signed the contract.

MJAFT reacted immediately. During an open debate with the public and the representatives of the government, leaders of MJAFT requested that the opinions of the community of Tirana should be considered before anything regarding the casino was decided.

In the protest against the casino, it became important for MJAFT to construct a legitimate argument against the casino. When I met with the MJAFT activist Leart Kola for the first time and asked why MJAFT was against the casino, his immediate answer was that a casino was not good for the image of Albania. Tirana is a very ancient place, he added, pointing at the ground “*you have a town down under this road, so it is a very ancient state with a lot of culture and it is not good that people from outside gamble in the casino. It looks like Las Vegas but Las Vegas has no history. Albania has its own history.*” Then he suddenly stopped his speech and in a more calm voice continued, “*But this was not the topic. It causes social problems and economic problems and we know that*”. Although the image of Albania might be quite important for MJAFT as an organization or Leart as a person who feels a strong commitment to the place, it seems that MJAFT don’t consider Albania’s image as a legitimate argument against the casino. Feelings about a place don’t count as much as ‘facts’.

In the process of constructing good arguments against the casino, MJAFT asked international casino experts about the effect a casino might have. The result of their investigation was that casinos have both economic and social effects. People would stake everything on gambling and people already in debt would try to win money and end up getting into more debt. Besides ordinary crime, the report claimed: Casinos have their well-deserved place in the history of mafia crime. The experts also announced that casinos offer the best and most uncontrollable opportunities for money laundering. Citizens would use their money in the casino instead of on services and leisure-activities like the theatre, cinema etc. Using international experts, gave MJAFT legitimate arguments with a scientific status because their arguments were built on social research from experiences in other countries. The knowledge gained from international experts fitted well with the Albanian experts’ view on casinos, which was very much based on their experience with the pyramid schemes in 1997. Ylli Pango, dean of the faculty of Social Science at the university of Tirana, supported this argument stating: “*Generally casinos turn into grave sources of corruption*”. The amount of cash that circulates in a casino is very large. Albanians don’t usually use banks; they don’t use cheques, or cash machines or credit cards. There is also a very high risk of money laundering involved with a casino. The Albanians’ experience with capitalism in form of the pyramid schemes, as described

in chapter 3, instilled in the Albanians a fear of the capitalism instigated by a casino. Based on this scientific evidence and experience with casino capitalism from Albania itself, MJAFT could construct a communitarian argument against the casino, with the casino positioned as a threat against vulnerable communities or neighbourhoods of Tirana.

The government addressed these investigations by proclaiming that the people who would use the casino would mainly be foreigners. They asserted that the casino would attract more tourists to the country and create a lot of jobs for local Albanians. This economic growth argument was that the casino would strengthen the city's competitiveness in the global economy.

This argument was perceived by MJAFT as being totally unrealistic. From MJAFT's point of view, the government had once again proved their ignorance on matters of global economy. MJAFT stated, 'who would come to Albania with its bad infrastructure and all of the electricity and water cuts everyday? There are better places to go if you want to play in a casino'.

This did not alter the government's decision. An international bid for the rights to build the casino was held. MJAFT tried to pressure the Ministry of Finance into cancelling the competition for the first casino in Tirana, until a public referendum was held in the city, but nothing happened. Berisha accused the Minister of Finance of not facilitating a transparent competition, but the minister of finance declared that there had been maximum transparency in the open international competition. The interested companies were: Club Hotel Loutrakki S.A. (Greek), Hyatt Hotel and Tourism Hellas S.A. (Greek), Rozafa Casino sh.a (Albanian) and Royal Palace Casino LTD, (American) and all the representatives of the media had been present. Only the two Greek companies survived the first phase of qualifiers for 'the first' casino in Albania.

It was announced that the casino was to be placed in the Taiwan restaurant in Rinia Park, the central park of Tirana (see Rinia Park on the map of Tirana, figure 2).



Picture 8: The Rinia Park. The white building in the centre is the Taiwan complex, where it was planned to place the casino.

MJAFT started organising debates with the local community in the neighbourhood of *Shallvareve*, which is the neighbourhood surrounding Rinia Park where the casino was to be placed. One citizen from the *Shallvareve* community expressed her doubt that the state was strong enough to control illegal activities linked with the casino business: “*Our government cannot control businesses such as casinos*”. She added that it was ironic to propose a casino at a time when the Minister of Finance himself had just admitted that the informal economy was at around 50%. Another citizen reacted by calling the government ‘perverted’ adding: “*Why don’t they work for offers of goods and services, instead of offers from the industry of vice?*” MJAFT, together with the local community, exhibited the state as an antithesis to the community – unable to defend the interests of the people (Rose 1996:335). They strengthened the communitarian argument by channelling the voices of the local community to be heard in public debates and in the media.

On March 14, 2005, the Minister of Finance declared that gambling businesses in the capital city and elsewhere in the country would not be allowed to continue their activities once their licenses had expired, and these licenses would not be renewed. According to Adriatik Islamaj, the adviser to the Minister of Finance, it is easier to

control casinos than the large number of other gambling entities.

In April, Hyatt Regency Hotel Tourism was announced the leading company of the gambling monopoly in Tirana. This was the very same company that Berisha had earlier assumed had a contract with Nano. Although this was publicly disclosed, no legal accusations were raised against the corrupt Prime Minister.

MJAFT had advised the government to conduct a referendum in the casino. The government had rejected this proposal stating that a referendum would be an excessive measure, because it should only be used for major issues. When they rejected this proposal, MJAFT decided to carry out a public opinion poll. The public opinion poll was conducted in April 2005 in the city of Tirana. MJAFT had hired the Institute of Public Polling to conduct the poll. People were asked what would they vote if they had to go to a referendum about the casino on that day? 64% responded that they would vote against the casino. 87% of the people believed that the casino would increase the social and economic problems.

In this first phase of the political process in the casino case, it was evident that it became an occasion for MJAFT to address the divided and politicised world of urban planning in Tirana. It evolved critically around separating the profanities of politics, understood as irresponsible and amoral from the sacred or sublime nature of the community. These rituals of differentiate the sacred from the profane in the political field is used by MJAFT to gain dominance. The 'community' was constructed by MJAFT as being an important player in the political struggles regarding the casino. They were seen as a homogeneous group that was by definition against gambling, due to their experiences with pyramid schemes. By employing casino experts and public opinion polls as governmental techniques, MJAFT created a method of grasping the ideas, desires and opinions of the community. They constructed the community as citizens who are and indeed *should* be part of the democracy, no matter what opinion the state officials hold. MJAFT's arguments against the casino are constructed as being beyond politics through the use of expert knowledge. As Bourdieu argues, this professionalisation of politics increases the efficiency of the practical mastery of the political actors, by putting at their service rational techniques, such as opinion polls, public relations and political marketing. But it also tends to legitimise it by giving it

the appearance of being scientific and by treating political questions as matters for specialists, where it is the specialists' responsibility to answer in the name of knowledge and not of class interests (Bourdieu 1991:177).

4.3.2 'Alliances with the politicians'

MJAFT was not the only actor opposing the politics of the government with regards the casino. The DP was also very critical of the government's proposition to set up a casino in Tirana. In September 2005, there was a national election in Albania.

In the election campaign, Berisha claimed, *"It is not the time to allow the opening of a casino in Albania as there are many other problems to be solved"*. And, *"A casino in the centre of Tirana is a state crime"*. Berisha continued, *"Prime minister Fatos Nano and his clans have rushed into public properties to steal, privatize and abuse,"* and added, *"Nano is gambling with Albania"*. He accused Nano of ulterior motives of self-enrichment and corruption. It was seemingly very convenient for the DP to have a case like the casino case occurring around the time of the electoral campaign as it served to discredit his biggest rival, Nano, and legitimize himself through his promises to fight corruption, and his assertions that he himself had never been corrupt. Being the prime minister under the collapse of the pyramid schemes had long since damaged his image. MJAFT never went so far as to include this in their arguments, but instead chose to focus on the communitarian argument that the casino would have bad social effects on the country. With regards using accusations of corruption as a political tool, MJAFT states that it is difficult to use, because it is hard to find proof of it.

The deputy of the electoral zone where the casino was to be placed, Gezim Karapici, promised his electors, that if the DP won the elections, they would not allow a casino to be built in his zone. He made his position against the building of the casino part of his manifesto, which was distributed in brochures to voters during the electoral campaign. He had the same arguments as MJAFT, which was that the casino would be a source of vice, where drug dealers and petty criminals would gather. He claimed that a casino gives citizens the idea that you can earn money and live without working, and that this is not the kind of idea that would be necessary in building up a

country. Karapici proclaimed, “*The casino reminds me of 1997*”. It was not only MJAFT who used the strategy of talking on the behalf of the 'community'.

The winning company made the payment to the government for the license in June and started working towards opening the casino.

MJAFT continued their open debates with the “community of Tirana” and politicians, getting wide support from the DP.

In September 2005, the DP won the national election and Berisha became the Prime Minister.

In this third phase of the political processes in the casino case, the contestations took place around the time of the electoral campaign. Between the two parties, the fights evolved around: who was the most corrupt? Who were the ones betraying the community? MJAFT’s stance was that this was simply the childish behaviour of politicians.

4.3.3 'We don't want a casino republic': Civil society organisations come together to represent the moral community

After the DP won the election in September, they did not do anything to obstruct the casino’s opening. The main target for MJAFT consequently changed. Now it was not a matter of teaching the SP to involve citizens in decisions concerning them, but to teach the DP that if you promise something in the electoral campaign, you need to do something about it. They told them that if you promise something and don't do it, then you have broken the social contract that you have with the people.

MJAFT protested on October 3, 2005, against the casino in front of the ministry of finance with a banner announcing, “*We don't want a casino republic*”. While MJAFT activists protested outside the Ministry of Finance, leaders of MJAFT went in and met with the Deputy Minister of Finance, Florian Mima. After the meeting, MJAFT leaders told the media that the Albanian government had promised to review this problem in favour of the community, and would engage in making a decision that

would respect the will of the citizens. Mima also promised to send an official response to MJAFT detailing the decision over the licensing of the casino in the centre of Tirana. Two days after, on October 5, 2005, MJAFT received an official letter from the Ministry of Finance saying that the problem was that the previous government had already granted the license. Considering the national and community interests and the fact that the company that ranked second in the competition had sued the Ministry of Finance, they would start a review of the whole practice of licence granting for casinos.



Picture 9: MJAFT protest against the casino

MJAFT started using the new strategy of forming alliances with other civil society organisations. At a meeting on October 23, 2005, in Tirana International hotel, MJAFT, representatives from the civil societies and the religious communities agreed to coordinate their activities in the future. MJAFT explained that their agenda was 'a battle of the community interests against the vice of gambling'. An article in the newspaper Koha Jonë, announced this new collaboration between civil society groups claiming that MJAFT had joined forces with the “intellectuals”. One of the new alliances was with the higher representatives of the religious communities in Albania (from all the main religions: Muslims, Greek Orthodox, Shiites, Protestants and Catholics). The religious leaders brought up arguments concerned with morals. The casino, as they saw it, would not only worsen the material poverty of the country, but also the spiritual poverty. On their own initiative, they wrote a letter to the prime minister where they requested a spirit of collaboration regarding the protection of the citizens in the context of the impending free society, where they could be tempted by offers from which they still didn't have the necessary maturity to defend themselves

(The Albanian newspaper Shekulli on October 25, 2005).

MJAFT also received help from the writer Kadaré. He combined the social and moral order argument with the neighbourhood and communitarian argument saying, “*Today Albania is experiencing a moral crisis that we all understand. A casino in the centre of Tirana would destroy the people morally*”(…)“*The citizens in general are a very important republican institution who should absolutely be asked, like in every European country, where to decide on such issue, their opinion is necessary*”. With Albania at this stage of development, a casino would not serve the community. In relation to the fact that he as a writer was participating in the debate, he stated that the role of writers is to increase the moral values of the citizens.

This moral argument against the casino provoked a journalist in a newspaper article to ask, among other questions, this: Should the state and its instruments just act ethically and responsible or do they need to intervene to preserve the moral order? He also stated that the countries which legalize gambling in special venues and under the monetary supervision of authorities, do in fact support this tolerant policy, not to justify vice, but to respect the rights of the individual.

In this third phase of the political process regarding the casino, new alliances were forged which enabled new arguments. While morals had previously been peripheral to the discussions about the casino, it was now the main theme. A clear distinction between the ‘moral community’ and ‘the immoral state’ was drawn. When MJAFT joined force with other civil society organisations, the communitarian argument was supplemented with a social and a moral order argument. At the same time, to preserve the moral order, the participation of the state was needed. Although the state was discredited as profane throughout the planning process, they also re-cycled a notion of the state as an actor that could have a character and that should protect the citizens from amoral activities through city development. It was believed that the state should be a source of ethical and civic education. The state should intervene to preserve the moral order.

4.3.4 Central Tirana is a symbol of the nation

In this part of the planning process the opponents of the casino started using the argument that it was not decent for a city centre to have a casino. A casino would be a competitor to other cultural and educational activities, which are the proper activities of a centre. As a Sazan Guri, an environmental expert and representative from the civil society stated: *“We are transforming the centre of the city of our capital from a university centre to a centre of vice. (.) No casino should be built in the centre, but a museum or a university.”*

The politician from the DP elected in the zone of the casino, added that the centre of Tirana should have only culture, concerts and artistic events, which are things that the young generation really needs.

From the original standpoint of the casino as a national problem, it was now argued that the problem is that it was to be placed in the centre. The opinion was that a city centre is the symbol of the nation and should not be used for activities like gambling. As shown in chapters 2 and 3, the centre of Tirana has been seen by the state as the pride of Albania – a place where the symbols of the nation were placed, whether it was socialist cultural palaces or 10 financial towers. Now arguments no longer evolved around the idea that a casino would have negative social effects on the citizens, but that it provided a bad symbol and image for the nation. This argument was combined with objections against how the Albanian state governed. The government was discredited for not acting like a European government. This form of argument can be seen in Kadare’s statement that *“the citizens in general are a very important republican institution, who should absolutely be asked, like in every European country.”* This was combined with the argument that performing politics in this way, would greatly hinder Albania’s admittance to the European Union. As a DP politician added, *“We have a mentality of parasitism, a mentality of easy wins, of expecting everything from fate, luck, a mentality that goes against what we need to integrate in Europe.”*

In the fifth phase of the political processes around the casino case, placing a casino in the centre was seen as being a bad symbol for the nation and one which would give

the international society the idea that Albania is a home for gangsters. MJAFT and Kadare draw legitimacy from the fact that they had knowledge on international societies, and on how things were done in other countries. This also gave them the authority to discredit the government as being non-European.

4.3.5 The final battle: 'We hope that the government will be capable of reading our message "The casino, out!'

Finally, MJAFT tried to negotiate with the government by changing their objective from fighting for no casino, to saying it would be okay to build a casino if it was placed outside of the city centre. Their argument was that on the outskirts it would be harming fewer citizens.

At the end of November, a newspaper connected to the DP was sold to the casino company for 4 times more than it was worth. MJAFT and a left-wing newspaper publicly expressed their view that this was one of the reasons why Berisha didn't do anything to stop the casino in the first place. This was a more delicate way to accuse Berisha of being involved in corruption.

The owners of the soon to be opened casino then started spreading rumours in the newspapers that MJAFT didn't want them to succeed because MJAFT had connections with the smaller casinos in Tirana. There was a network of more than hundred electronic roulettes and about five thousand electronic machines. Their argument was that it seemed very suspicious that MJAFT had never fought against the thousands of small gambling shops in Tirana. They thereby accused MJAFT of being biased or even corrupt.

The casino was opened on December 1, 2005. The new casino had 240 slot machines and 20 gambling tables. In the debates which followed, the director of the operational office of the Hayat Regency, Gosling, stated that the outcome of the public opinion poll was as it was, because of the disinformation given by the Albanian citizens. He asserted that the citizens would change their ideas once the casino was fully operative they could see how it functioned.

A Member of the Parliament from the DP justified their change of politics by claiming that a prestigious friend of the Albanian government (whose name they would not divulge) from the USA, had suggested that the government should not break their contact with the casino, because it had already passed all the phases stipulated by Albanian legislation. MJAFT responded to this explanation by proclaiming that, *“The people could no longer be impressed by the mention of the “American friends of the PM”*. From the beginning, MJAFT themselves had used international experts and secured allies in two American authorities, senator Brownback and congressman Wolf, who had openly expressed their concerns about the decision to open a casino. It seemed like a final desperate power manifestation that both parts felt compelled to bring in extra-territorial allegiances to legitimize their arguments. Now MJAFT were really drawn in the political game that they had tried to stay outside of in their use of silly arguments like: my international friends are more important than your international friends.

The final trump MJAFT played after being defeated was to organise a protest against Berisha. They decided to do it on the International Day of Corruption, December 9, 2005. They planned to go to the Ministry of the Interior and give Berisha playing cards as a gift from the citizens as a symbol of the kind of politics that he had chosen to get involved in. 'We will damage his public image', Leart, an activist from MJAFT, promised me. They had earlier tried the same with Nano, continuing to protest against him, and as Leart affirmed, the Albanian government had indeed already been changed in response.

A few days before the International Day of Corruption, MJAFT was invited to a meeting in the Ministry of the Interior where Berisha promised that they would move the casino, from the centre to somewhere on the outskirts of Tirana. It seemed that only when MJAFT were prepared to damage the political image of the Prime Minister himself, would he decide to negotiate with them.

Now, almost a year after the opening of the casino, they still haven't announced when or where to set up the casino. MJAFT claim that they are still trying to pressure the government into keeping their promise.

4.3.6 Conclusions on the position of MJAFT in the political field of city development in Tirana

The casino case shows that voicing the interests of 'the community' is not an easy task. First of all, to defend the interests of the community, it is important to gain a good position in the political field. On entering the political game, MJAFT have been drawn into a view of politics as a game of winners and losers. Alliances with other political actors are a must. Albanian politics are still based on the principle of the strongest will succeed, or the majority in the Bolshevik sense. MJAFT also needs to enter into what they have previously labelled as dirty politics, like accusing Berisha of being corrupt and orchestrating a final protest whereby they threatened him with the damage of his public image if he didn't make any concessions to MJAFT on the casino case (stop it or move it).

MJAFT try to defend the citizens of Tirana's right to be asked in matters concerning them. The casino case shows how difficult it is to insist on this when the only tools available to them are pressure and negotiations. They ended up suggesting locating the casino on the outskirts of Tirana even though it meant giving up on people living out there. It seems as if by 'the people' they mean the original citizens of Tirana excluding the northerners in the informal areas beyond the Yellow Line. In fact there are many more citizens living on the outskirts than in central Tirana who suffer even more economic problems. The irony is, that according to MJAFT's own line of argumentation, with such a bad economy, these citizens are likely to be even more tempted to stake everything on a big win in the casino. When MJAFT fights for the community's right to be listened to when they express their opinions on a concrete city development case, it is implicitly the citizens in central Tirana that they address. This tells us something about how they see the citizens living on the outskirts, who are mainly immigrants from the mountains regions in Albania living there illegally. In this way, they recycle the notion of the Yellow Line as the true limits of Tirana.

As a self-proclaimed civil society organisation (made by foreign donors), which doesn't have a traditional representative structure, they constantly need to construct and create the citizens of Tirana as a homogeneous group that they can represent. MJAFT recycle the idea that citizens should be politically active in their spare time, which has parallels with the voluntary work of the communist period. As a flash

introduction on the homepage of MJAFT instructs, *“If you think that being an active citizen is a burden, try apathy and send us a postcard from the stone ages”*.

Being affiliated with the international society as working from donations of international organisations, MJAFT gets the opportunity to delegitimize the state of not having a European standard. The other side of the token is that it also makes the state suspicious of MJAFT's intentions. There are local politicians, who claims that MJAFT might be a move sponsored by the Americans, who want the Washington influence in Albanian politics (Martens 2005).

The rules of the game were set by the state. The politicians in government were the ones with the final power to tell the casino owners to build elsewhere. Every actor in the field agrees on the same perception of the role of the state in city development as someone that should provide a place and the space for moral activities (as in the socialist regime). Although MJAFT fights the state by confronting them with their bad governance, they still contribute to recycling an imagination of the state as being the best provider of welfare and order. In ritual form, a distinction was introduced that allowed for politics and community to co-exist by positioning the community above local politics, but giving the state the responsibility to create proper conditions for the community.

4.4 Conclusions

MJAFT have created their own niche in the political field of city development in Tirana by defending the voice of the citizens against the amoral politicians. MJAFT portrays itself as a moral and altruistic civil society organisation, which does the best for the citizens, without any ulterior motives. MJAFT claim that a central issue in city planning is citizen participation. They have acquired a lot of knowledge about the citizens through experts, surveys and opinion polls. To gain dominance in their contestations of the casino, MJAFT need to give up on representing citizens in the informal areas of Tirana to better represent the people of 'old Tirana' and to have something to negotiate with. In order to establish a sense of citizenship in post-socialist city development, MJAFT recycle the idea of creating responsible and active citizens who can stand up to the amoral politicians by recycling 'voluntary work' and

'activism', which were roles employed by communist regimes to create responsible and active citizens.

Among the actors in the political field, there is a desire for a strong state that interfere in the supply of spare time activities with a notion of what is morally good for 'the people' and what is not. The state should protect the weak people from gambling. They are recycling the idea of the totalitarian communist state that controlled the lives of the population down to every detail with a vision of making them hard-working people with a communist morality. Party politics also highly shapes city development

MJAFT are forced to work in the hazy land between legality and illegality while dealing and negotiating with other actors in the political field. This can also destabilize their position as representatives of 'the people'. Being young and new actors in the political field in Tirana, forces them to allies with the really powerful people in the political field – traditional representatives and honoured intellectuals like Kadare.

It seems that at least two things are seen as local truths in the political field in Tirana – that politics are contested between old powerful men, and that to develop things in Albania, you need to start by changing the people's mentality.

Chapter 5: Final conclusion

The research question that I set out to answer in this thesis was: *How and to what extent does the concept of community shape how different actors contest urban development in post-socialist Tirana?*

Throughout the analysis, I have examined how city development has been contested and which arguments and rationalities have become legitimate. Actors in post-socialist city development distance themselves from the 'evil and uncaring' socialist regime, which has misused the standard vocabulary of development like 'community development' and 'voluntary work' among others. At the same time, post-socialist city development can in many ways be seen to perpetuate socialist notions of ideal city development. With the change to democracy in 1991, the social patterns created under the socialist regime were altered in part. The identification with region, religion and family was reinforced as a counter reaction to the communist regime. Since then, with the transition to capitalism, Tirana has turned into a dual city. The Albanians from northern Albania have migrated to the outskirts of Tirana. The division emphasised between north and south Albania has taken on a new form with the northerners living outside of the Yellow Line of Tirana. They are still seen as primitive and problematic to the 'original city dwellers of Tirana'. They are not a part of Tirana and are seen as living in a 'no man's land' just outside of the 'Yellow Line'. The Yellow Line, which was employed under the socialist regime, is still important as a boundary between the urban and the rural. City politics in post-socialist Albania is informed by different translations of the concept of 'community development': Inner city renewal and 'neighbourhood regeneration projects' in the informal areas on the outskirts'. Although, the municipality and civil society organisation use diverging strategies to obtain their objectives both of them contributes to creating a dual city and dual city politics.

The division between the masses and the political class has also survived the fall of the socialist regime. New actors entered the political class as NGOs, democrats and businessmen, all with a background connected to the former nomenklatura. The actors who are active in the contestations of city development are state and local

government, NGOs and civil society organisations, construction firms/media companies and intellectuals. NGOs and civil society organisations compete with state employees to solve the social problems in Albania. They exploit the holes or gaps left by the state.

The civil society organisation MJAFT has created their own niche in the political field of city development in Tirana by defending the voice of the citizens against the amoral politicians. MJAFT portrays itself as a moral and altruistic civil society organisation, which does its best for the citizens, without any ulterior motives. MJAFT claim that a central issue in city planning is citizen participation. They have acquired a lot of knowledge on the citizens through contact with experts, surveys and opinion polls. To gain dominance in their contestations of the casino, MJAFT need to give up on representing citizens in the informal areas of Tirana to better represent the people of 'old Tirana' and to have something to negotiate with. In order to establish a sense of citizenship in post-socialist city development, MJAFT recycle the idea of creating responsible and active citizens who can stand up to the amoral politicians by recycling 'voluntary work' and 'activism', which were roles employed by communist regimes to create responsible and active citizens.

Relations between the state and the community were not always antagonistic. The paradox of their relationship was that state and civil society organisations needed each other at the same time as they had to distance themselves from each other. The civil society organisation MJAFT asserts that they unselfishly represent the community, and they therefore portray themselves as the all-sacrificing embodiment of the moral community. However, they need to enter into dirty politics to defend the citizens. MJAFT are forced to work in the hazy land between legality and illegality while dealing and negotiating with other actors in the political field. This can also destabilize their position as representatives of 'the people'. The paradox for the position of MJAFT in the political field is that they try to be more moral than state representatives, but they also need to survive as people and institutions, where it is important to show that you can win battles like that of the casino case, even though it can lead your competitors into discrediting you as corrupt and weak representatives of the citizens and even having extra-territorial allegiances. That MJAFT are affiliated with the American democracy promoting foundations is by some state representatives

seen as suspicious. They accuse MJAFT of destabilising the Albanian society.

To gain a position in the field, MJAFT transforms their organisation from a democratic flat-structured movement to a vanguard like organisation. Being young and new actors in the political field in Tirana, forces them into alliances with the really powerful people in the political field – traditional representatives and honoured intellectuals like Kadare.

Among the actors in the political field, there is a desire for a strong state, which interferes in the supply of spare time activities with a notion of what is morally good for 'the people' and what is not. It is believed that the state should protect the weak citizens from gambling. This belief inadvertently recycles the idea of the totalitarian communist state, which controlled the lives of the population down to every last detail with a vision of making them hard-working people with a communist morality. The state, in other words, had ultimate dominance in the political field.

In ritual form, a distinction was introduced that allowed for politics and community to co-exist by positioning the community above local politics, but by giving the state the responsibility to create proper conditions for the community.

It seems that at least two things are seen as local truths in the political field in Tirana: That politics are contested by old powerful men; and that to develop things in Albania, you need to start by changing the people's mentality.

This thesis surveys how city development is contested in Tirana. However, the knowledge gained through this thesis is not only relevant in the context of post-socialist countries. To investigate how cities become dual through power struggles between various actors and how rationalities of 'community' contributes to this development also has its relevance in relation to European city development.

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Web pages:

www.mjft.org

www.tirana.gov.al

Appendix 1: Interview guide

The following are some of the standard question I asked in my interviews. These questions though varied depending on the person I interviewed. Additionally, the questions developed significantly simultaneously with the knowledge gained about city development in Tirana.

- Can you describe the organisation for me; in which way do you work with city development?
- What is your function in the organisation?
- What do you find important in city development?
- Can you describe some cases of city development you have been involved in recently?
- How do you work with the citizens?
- How is your relation with other organisations or state institutions working with city development?

Appendix 2: Guide to observations

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Physical setting</u></p> <p><i>By observing physical setting you can hereby understand how it is related to social behaviour. It is important to provide descriptions rather than evaluations or impression. Thus, rather than referring to a workshop as interesting or depressing, you should describe the location of the meeting room, the organising of the room etc.</i></p> <p>Focus:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Describe the city ✓ Describe the offices of organisations, municipality and other informants interviewed: ✓ How is the atmosphere in the room ✓ How are the chairs arranged ✓ How big is the room ✓ What is on the wall 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Social setting</u></p> <p><i>The human element will be described in the same way as the physical environment.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Social interaction of political actors mainly through the study of the case of the casino. ✓ Number of participants ✓ Which type of people participates – from which sector, how many men and women ✓ Their techniques to win dominance in the case ✓
<p>Formal interaction</p> <p><i>By formal interactions we mean those who takes place among individuals within the institutions and organizations. This could be observation of how communication takes place among various hierarchical levels, dynamic of public meetings etc.</i></p> <p>Focus:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ How does the political actor present themselves and their work with city development? ✓ How does the political actors interact with the citizens of Tirana? Fieldtrip and observation of their work with citizens. 	<p>Informal interaction</p> <p><i>Observing informal interaction is studying the ordinary, everyday behaviour. It is the observation of gossip, voice, gestures etc.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ How do the Albanians talk about the politicians and other actors in the political field? ✓ How do the different political actors talk about each other?