

# SOCIAL POLICY REFORM IN ALBANIA STUCK IN TRANSITION

MERITA PONI<sup>1</sup>

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**ABSTRACT.** This article provides an analysis of social policy regarding social protection of vulnerable groups in Albania, by screening whether the welfare state has responded to the varying needs of socially excluded citizens. The scope is to explore how the consecutive reforms of social policy have addressed the social effects of poverty and social exclusion. The analysis delves into the welfare policy official documents to discover how the vulnerable groups needs are addressed and what is the impact of policymakers, service providers, and service users on social policy shape. Social policy reforms developed after the totalitarian regime and have promoted familialism and gender regime, which have reinforced gender stereotypes of women as primary caregivers and have denied them equal access and full participation in the free labour market. During the transition period, the reforms faced conceptual barriers delaying their application. The minimalist approach of social policy offered insufficient protection to vulnerable citizens from the adversities of life. Social care services for children, elderly and people with disabilities suffer from a persistent lack of funding. The social welfare is offered through few social services provided from civil society. Due to the lack of social care services, the users of the welfare state lack the substantial means for inclusion. The welfare state policies need a reformation to offer decent economic aid and social care services.

**Key words:** welfare, state, poverty, inclusion, social justice.

## Introduction

Social policy is at the heart of the public policy in industrialised countries. Moreover, social policy importance derives from the implementation costs to the state budget. Consequently, welfare services are significant for the

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<sup>1</sup> University of Tirana, Faculty of Social Sciences, merita.poni@unitir.edu.al

state budget and country economy. Since last century, the implementation of a welfare state became essential to the survival of citizens in need for care, in the industrialised world, and it continues to be at the present days as confirmed by the Covid-19 pandemic (Stoesz, 2021). Although facing existential challenges such as demographics, institutional, and climate change, the welfare state provides a key part of the infrastructure of people lives and it helps support people in times of crisis, as seen in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis (Béland, Morgan, Obinger and Pierson, 2022).

The concept of social policy is broader than the fight against poverty and covers administration, welfare, and related expenses (Wilensky, 1975). Social policies, carried out by welfare state, target several areas such as: social insurance, health insurance, educational service, social housing and social services. Until 1970, the social policy focused on employment to avoid state intervention, but afterwards the social policy spectrum expanded to social services (Ferrera, 2021). Compared to cash transfers that target poverty, social services create opportunities for social inclusion. Social inclusion is articulated as a welfare policy component by 1990 to minimize the effects of social exclusion and since then it became the main subject of the social policy of European Union (Marlier, Atkinson, Cantillon, and Nolan, 2006). Social inclusion approach presumes that in an advancing economy, some people may lag behind, can be excluded from knowledge and skill acquisitions that are necessary for the labour market and can become vulnerable to unemployment and poverty. Therefore, social policies tackle their needs for learning new skills to reintegrate them in the paid labour market. Additionally, social inclusion policy targets even the social exclusion of vulnerable groups not benefiting from welfare delivery and having limited access to the services dedicated to them (Townsend, 1979). The objectives of the social policy aim towards redistribution, risk management and poverty reduction. Although the common scope, the social policy varies in goals, methodology and results. Social policy is only one face of societal response to the needs of population at risk, as the other one is the family and market. Public policies targeting social protection of people in need are available in all industrialised societies (Garland, 2016). With contribution from family and market, the welfare services designed by public policy compose a powerful engine of social organization in urban societies.

The welfare state shares the resources to buffer the sharp inequalities, through vertical share, and to compensate the commercialization impact of services through horizontal share. The vertical share targets poverty through access to economic support and services, while the horizontal share targets equality, such as free access to education and pension scheme. The horizontal share goes through the life cycle and it materializes via taxation of economic

activity of those who are working, gathering contribution from working people and redistributing the contribution for retirement, health, and unemployment purposes (Wilkinson, 2000). Another objective of social policy is the management of risks, caused by natural events such as childhood, aging, illness or caused by human activities, as a product of civilization, such as unemployment and impairments from work accidents (Titmuss, 1976). Additionally, in industrialised societies, the welfare state intervenes to counter the negative effects of free market commercialization and the cost of decommodification (Beck, 1992).

### **Welfare state as expression of social justice**

Social policy manages the state intervention to the benefit of citizens to achieving welfare and social inclusion (Baldock, 2007). Although the social policy aims to accomplish a higher level of social justice, this is not always the classical result. Beveridge's report about welfare state informs that social policy serves to social justice if it helps to combat negative phenomenon such as greed, ignorance, and laziness (Beveridge, 1942). Due to the high importance for social cohesion, social policy is constantly reshaped following a country's socio-economic development trends (Vickerstaff, 2012). The social policy is a composing element of the public policy serving to citizens' interests by deciding when and how should state intervene to distribute the resources. In a broad meaning of social policy, all citizens should benefit from redistribution of resources regardless economic activity, age, and health. However, social policy tackled first the most vulnerable groups of passive citizens out of labour force such as unemployed, pensioners and persons with disabilities. The human rights perspective leads the social policy towards the fulfilment of individual needs, defining social justice and welfare more in individualistic terms. It resonates with the client-centred approach which focuses on creating an enabling environment for individuals. This approach considers the individual life prone to many risks leading to economic vulnerability and dependency. The complex industrial process has increased the man-made risks such as job accidents, unemployment, and low employment rates that, in absence of the social protection, would turn the life into a lottery (Titmus, 1968). The welfare policy is taken for granted by individuals, but it is a cost for society and truly depends on collective shared values for solidarity. Social policy is an expression of the collective answer to individual needs, and a determinant factor to personal choices.

A welfare state was the best answer to the social needs in the 20th century (Hennessy, 1992). In industrialised countries the states established structures to distribute welfare, but welfare is not offered by the state only, because the

state is part of the welfare system (Wincott, 2003). Welfare states vary from one country to another because of the ideology behind the welfare, the level of citizen participation in the scheme and the regulatory frame of redistribution of welfare. Esping-Andersen outlines three models of welfare capitalism: the liberal model based on means-tested assistance, the conservative model based on traditional values and the social-democratic model promoting equality of high living standards (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Furthermore, scholars have identified two factors with strong impact for welfare state development: industrialisation and social groups' political pressure (Baldock, 2007). Industrialization gave way to new social phenomenon such as unemployment and poverty that conditioned the birth of the welfare state (Rimlinger, 1971). The political pressure from diverse social groups such as industry workers, ethnic minorities, women groups and persons with disabilities has attracted government attention on their needs, resulting in inclusion of these groups in the welfare scheme. However, it is not predictable for how long the welfare state, which is a distinctive feature of the developed countries, will continue to operate in the new set of global economy due to economic development and its impact on welfare funding. Besides economic reasons, other challenges stand in front of welfare state such as demographic change, an increase of non-working-age population which takes a considerable share of social care public expenditures in developed countries and urge for a new configuration of welfare state that encourages social justice and equality (Esping-Andersen, Gallie, Hemerijck, Myles, 2002).

State welfare targets people devoid from revenues and helps them to achieve a minimal level of welfare. There is an interest in proving social protection in respect of social and economic rights. Moreover, the societal negligence to pressing needs may lead to continued social marginalization and disintegration. Lack of solidarity contributes to a further marginalization of vulnerable population and enlarges the societal gap. Unmet survival needs create deep frustration which incites public revolt. Social unrest is often motivated more from economic factors rather than political beliefs (O'Donnell, 2002). Therefore, the social policy intervenes by providing the people in need with opportunities for self-sustainability and social integration. Social policy is the expression of solidarity translated into measures addressing both economic and social needs.

## **Methodology**

The scope of this research is to analyse the process of social policy in Albania after the fall of communism, the correlation to social justice and the impact on a fair share of resources in society. Although welfare is considered a

primarily personal responsibility, the research considers the fact that some individuals and groups may not attain personal welfare due to the lack of opportunities or skills. Therefore, the state intervenes by providing them allowances and services to attain welfare. This research investigates whether the social policy reform has contributed to the improvement of welfare conditions of people in need. The research is based on the official text analysis of social policy, encapsulating the post-socialist period after 1990. The analyses capture the responses of social policy to the citizens' needs in transition time, which span for almost three decades. The documents of social policy inform on how the state cooperated with family and market to address the needs of population at risk, to protect them from poverty and social exclusion. The analysis further extends upon the impact of social welfare upon population segments in need for social care and protection. To better understand the social reality complexity of social welfare, the research makes use of the content analysis (Bryman, 2004) of official sources on social policy. The data collected by research state how the needs are addressed by welfare, how the regulatory framework of social policy operates to deliver welfare, and what the civil society share in the provision of welfare is. The research has analysed a wealth of official documents such as strategies and legislation on welfare, including economic assistance and social services provision to understand the rationale of social policy and its impact on social justice and provision of opportunities for welfare. To reinforce the analysis of official sources, the research has made use of the triangulation technique (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2005), by comparing official texts of social policy with statistical data on welfare redistribution and beneficiaries. The interpretation of data is embedded into the cultural context and historical background of social policy from the collapse of social regime to the present day. Looking at the policy of social welfare through cultural lenses contributes to understanding why the policy is designed the way it is and how is it perceived by the beneficiaries. The aim is to reveal whether the policy serves as an empowering engine towards social inclusion or as a contributing factor to social dependency.

## **Analysis**

Poverty is the core subject of the social welfare policy. Poverty centrality is visible across all social care policy documents, such as in strategies and plans of actions dealing with social and economic development, integration into European Union, and social care for vulnerable groups. To provide a comprehensive answer to the needs of all vulnerable groups, the policy is constantly updated and

unified into a solid document of social protection. The poverty indicators are consumer-based rather than income-oriented. Both poverty forms: absolute and relative, are addressed by the social welfare policy, in line with similar documents from the Council of Europe. Absolute poverty is defined as an imaginary line of the minimal amount of goods and services which are insufficient to maintain the basic living standard. Relative poverty is defined as the condition of household income below median incomes. Remote rural mountain areas are the poorest because of the outdated agricultural technology and inability to create additional revenues outside of the ones found in the agricultural sector. The remittances have mitigated the consequences of absolute poverty for poor families. Absolute and relative poverty indicators feed the policy of social aid. The policy dedicates more funds to large families with many children and inactive workers. Poor families' individuals have less access in basic public services such as housing, food, education, drinkable water, communication, transport, and health. Therefore, the welfare policy talks about social care services besides financial aid.

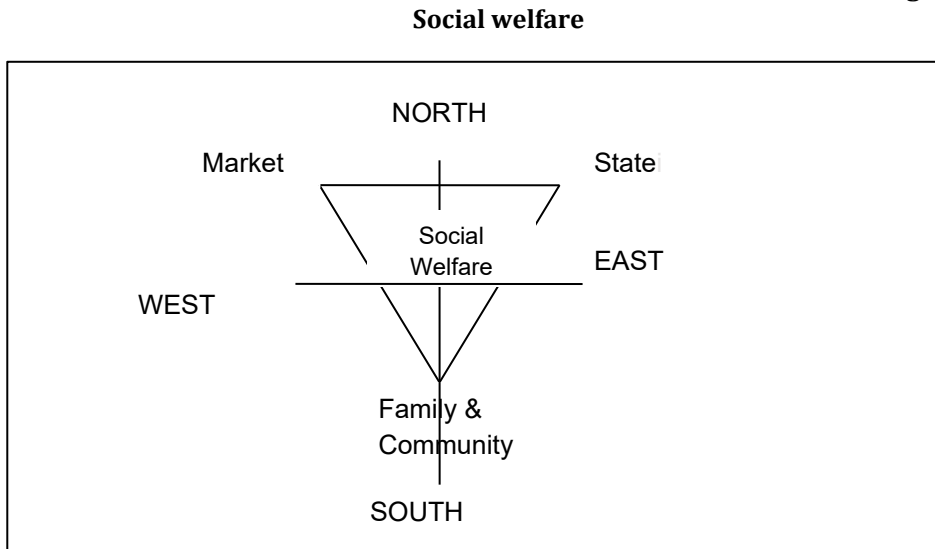
## **Results**

In Albania, since the collapse of the socialist regime, the social policy has known constant reformations which were conditioned by deep transformations of the post-90 economy. At the beginning of the transition, social policy aimed to adapt to the system changes and to create order within the new system brought about by economic, social, and political transformations (Xhumari, 2003). Social policy has aimed to address poverty and social exclusion. On one hand, the transition from central to market economy decreased the role of the state as a welfare provider and on the other hand increased the role of the state in controlling the distributive mechanisms of the welfare created by the free market forces. Another drive for a welfare policy reform came from the demand for human rights protection and social inclusion through provision of social services. As an answer to the needs for protection of socially vulnerable groups and European Union directives for membership, Albania has designed a contemporary welfare policy. However, the policy has not fully translated into results. The reforming process of social policy is still going on and depends on interaction of policy with social, political and economic factors that give way to new social needs, which impose new answers from policy makers and firm action from politicians. Social policy is not enacted by itself if not backed up by resources. The meaningful policy is not fully translated into measures that address poverty and social exclusion. In Albania, the decentralization and deinstitutionalization process of social services is slowly progressing due to the inability of public administration structures to manage the services at a local

level. The community-based services are not fully developed because the social policy is not embraced at a local policy level, due to the lack of capacity, inherited tradition of centralised services, lack of dedicated personnel and insufficient budget. The results are compromised by the inefficiency of the regulatory framework of the financial scheme.

As studies on welfare inform, the social policy objectives are achieved through administrative and financial regulations, containing rules about welfare delivery, including cash and services, provided by the state or the private sector, for individuals and families (Lewis, 2003). Following this logic, social policy depends on resources and not on declared aims, as not all aims are accomplished, while some may even be counterproductive. Some social policy standards such as disease control, mass education and employment which were achieved in socialist regime, proved to be difficult to attain during transition. The socialist state intervened to bridge the social inequalities gap through equalization of material wealth and resources redistribution. However, like in other industrialised economies, in the socialist regimes the economic and social inequalities persisted (Gough, 1979). Moreover, unlike other industrialized countries, the modest achievements in welfare in Albania are attributed to social policy rather than to economy growth. By referring to the map of social welfare delivery developed by Evers (1988), Albania falls in between the South and East Europe countries model. The map of the social policy design includes three actors in welfare delivery: state, market, and family.

Figure 1.



Data source: Evers, 1988:27

As shown in the figure, South societies are relatively poorer than Nordic and Western societies and depend on family and community for most of their welfare. Northern social-democrat regimes provide welfare which is a combination of state intervention and a free market. While in the richer western societies the market provides for the welfare base. East European post-socialist societies still depend on state support for welfare. Compared to the industrialised economies in Europe, Albania's welfare delivery position is situated in the southeast part of the map, with family as the main provider of welfare and life sources.

## **Discussion**

### ***Addressing poverty with cash transfers***

The transformation of the economy from centralized to a free-market economy brought about freedom of entrepreneurship and opportunities for personal gain, but it was associated with high risks of failure and expensive social cost. The regime change posed a threat to family survival because of an economic collapse and loss of security. Forced to overcome the devastating impact of economy collapse, many families tried out business-like activities as a way out of social and economic instability. The remittances from emigration buffered the risk of poverty. The social economic changes have been rapid, and the social policy has tried to respond to the consequences of the transition. The setup of a functional social protection system has engaged state structures, civil society, and families in provision of social care for vulnerable groups. The main scope of social policy was provision of economic aid and social care for families and individuals in need.

The embryonic welfare state represented by a minimalist social protection system tried to mitigate the poverty effects, by covering the most vulnerable families affected by poverty and social exclusion. Cash transfers targeted families and individuals whose revenues were insufficient to live. However, the beneficiaries' situation did not improve as they remain unprotected in front of economic and social adversity. Furthermore, poverty impeded access in education, health services, social care and housing. Besides poverty, the provision of social care services remains an insurmountable challenge, leaving people without support for social inclusion. Additionally, the conditioning of the economic benefits with community work does not address unemployment and the roots of poverty, but rather adjusts the attitudes of beneficiaries towards work, tempting to boost labour culture, rather than the opportunities for employment.



The social policy aimed to mitigate poverty and advance beneficiaries into stable economic living conditions. Nonetheless, it could not buffer the further deterioration of the economic situation leading to extreme marginalization. The social policy principle of universality has attempted to provide protection to all populations in need, while the principle of selectivity that provide for tailored needs-based support has not developed. The greatest preoccupation has been to reduce the number of beneficiaries rather than maximizing the benefits for users.

The means tested scheme is the principal regulation for economic aid provision to poor families. The cash transfer scheme is administered at local level after a verification of the living conditions of applicants, who are deprived of possession of properties, financial assets, remittances, or economic money generating activities. Aiming to provide a provisory aid to families, the cash transfer support is limited to 5 years, to avoid procrastination and inactivity of applicants. The time limit intends to push the beneficiaries for long term solutions to economic precarity, via employment or entrepreneurship. The cash transfers have a limited effect for poverty mitigation because the financial aid is almost insufficient to cover family basic needs for food. To boost adult participation in labour market and to increase the economic sufficiency, economic aid is conditioned with community work, which deters applicants from asking for cash.

Local authorities deliver cash transfers to the beneficiaries, through the means tested mechanism, which is highly technical and bureaucratic. The applicants should provide many documents proving the economic situation, which they get in several offices, and the process discourages them from asking for social protection. The local administration turnover, compound with subjectivity, contributes to further alienation of applicants from public service. The economic aid does not refer to the minimum living standard, since such a standard does not exist, giving way to a biased assessment of the poverty. Therefore, the level of impact of economic aid is minimal and does not address poverty. The main expenditure of social welfare goes to pensions, while social assistance targeting poverty is lower, except for disability allowance which is twice the economic aid. To conclude, although the economic aid is the principal measure against poverty, it has a minimal impact on poverty mitigation, due to the insufficient financial aid. Even the partial subvention of electric energy does not help the beneficiaries to cover energy consumption.

### ***Unaddressed needs of vulnerable groups***

The most marginalized groups are children, women, people with disabilities and Roma people. Regardless of progress in child protection, children are still invisible to social protection and vulnerable to exploitation. A biological family is the best environment for children, and when not possible, a foster family should provide care for the child. By tradition, orphan children are usually kept in kinship families. Few of them are hosted in residential centres or in foster care families. Most children hosted in social care residential state institutions are from destitute communities whose families cannot provide for basic needs and care. Few are sheltered in non-profit residential institutions funded by foreign agencies. Children without parental or custodial care are prone to human trafficking. The trafficked children are exploited for begging in and out of the country and face high risks of sexual exploitation, narcotic consumption and physical and mental abuse.

People with disabilities are another group exposed to poverty. Although they are subject to social pensions and exclusion from taxes, they remain at high risk of poverty due to the lack of access in the labour market. The employment incentives for the inclusion of workers with disabilities are not successful and employers choose to pay the fine for infringing the law rather than hiring people with disabilities. Persistent exclusion from employment contributes to the long-term dependency of the people with disabilities into social protection schemes. The absence of rehabilitation, preventive and integration social services exacerbate precarity and renders people with disabilities more vulnerable to social adversities. Only a small part of children with disabilities are treated in residential or in day care centres, while a few parents mobilise in civil society to ask for social services and their children's rights to services.

Roma community is living in poverty under the average living standard, due to social exclusion and economic hardship. The educational insufficiency impedes them from attaining jobs. Most of them live in underdeveloped areas with large families, because they cannot afford the cost of paid utilities such as energy and water. The negative stereotypes about Roma people impede them from settling in common spaces with the majority population and pushes them to find shelter in uninhabited areas deprived from public services and infrastructure. Since they live in outskirts, they are dissociated from schools, health centres and social services. They are rendered invisible and alienated from the rest of the population. The frequent change of settlement creates difficulty for administration to track them and include them in social protection schemes.

Being illiterate, they do not know the legal benefits and do not ask for. Due to inherited poverty related social problems, Roma families suffer domestic violence, child trafficking, early marriages, and teen pregnancies.

Despite the advanced regulatory framework on gender equality, violence against women and domestic violence remains a persisting social problem. Patriarchal traditional norms place barriers against women to achieve career goals. Poor women face even stronger discrimination due to dependency on abusive, violent partners. Families led by women face harsh economic and social difficulties, because of dual role of caring and working. Women have been the main target of human trafficking and sexual exploitation during the transition period, after the collapse of the socialist regime, which exposed them to economic insufficiency, massive unemployment, impoverished educational quality and high risk of exploitation. These unknown social problems found the country unprepared to respond to them effectively.

The professions dealing with social problems such as sociology, social work and psychology were banned in the communist dictatorship. These professions were allowed after 1990 and the first decade of transition was just a professional experiment to them. To the present day, the psycho-social support for trafficked women and children is still reduced into few state centres and civil society organizations. Domestic violence became a constant threat for women, culminating in femicide during the transition period. The weakness of law enforcement agencies allowed for family crime to grow with the passing of the years.

### ***Setting up the system of social care***

Social care services aim to ensure an enabling environment that provides opportunities for social inclusion and independent living. Most social care services are provided by the civil society sector with financial support from donors. The social services policy has promoted deinstitutionalization of users and decentralization of services. However, both typology of services and geographical coverage remain unaddressed. Few community-based services such as childcare, rehabilitation of people with disabilities, care for elderly and shelter for women from domestic violence are usually offered at local communities by the civil society sector. Local authorities consider the social care service provision as a responsibility of civil society and donor community. The fundraising activity and service provision conflict with the watchdog responsibility of civil society sector. The role duality as provider and watchdog undermines the advocacy work of civil society.

The social care services for children, persons with disabilities and elderly are traditionally offered in residential care institutions, which are not the best alternatives to social care because of the detachment from family and microenvironment. Congregation in residential institutions promotes social segregation and isolation from society. Moreover, long term institutionalization reduces social skill development and creates barriers to the social integration. The community-based services are at the experimental stage and suffer from low quality. Children residing in social care institutions live far from their families and the institutions do not replace family. When reaching adulthood, the institutionalised persons are unable to live independently because they lack the social skills, shared housing, and supported employment opportunities. Children raised in institutions reflect a lower level of intellectual development manifested in low educational achievements. Institutionalised women are at a higher risk for sexual abuse, early pregnancy, sex work and human trafficking. Transferral in other residential institutions destroys previous amities and places emotional discomfort for adaptation to new institutional rules and staff. Institutional staff lack professional capacity for child development, especially for children with disabilities. Institutional infrastructure is poor with few amenities and devices for children with disabilities. Alternative social care to institutionalization, such as foster care and community-based services are underdeveloped, therefore the community response is inexistent. Social care services for people with disabilities, respite care and family support are limited. Without rehabilitation services, people with disabilities face barriers in education and employment, which hampers self-sufficiency and independent living. The disabling social environment contributes to further exclusion created by infrastructural barriers. Underdeveloped professional skills for child development assessment and rehabilitation impede early interventions. Professional capacity and specialised devices are outdated. Supported and incentivised employment is not practiced which leaves persons with disabilities outside the labour market and consequently dependent on social protection. In poor conditions of social welfare, social and emotional support from the family is essential to the survival of their members. Family support is usually provided by women who care for elderly, children, adult members of family and persons with disabilities. The caring role is exclusively associated with women social role in patriarchal family, according to which women place is home-tied and their principal role is to care for others. The social expectations on women as the primary source of family care creates structural barriers for women to enjoy their economic rights in the free labour market and to be accounted for their contribution to the family members, which represent a full-time job in terms of time and engagement.

*Familialism* practices gave way to the strengthening of the gender regime by which mothers are bound to family care and impeded from participating in the labour market.

## Conclusions

In Albania, society has traditionally shown an inclination for solidarity with families and individuals in need by mobilising internal resources. The social cohesion is expressed through individual and collective support. Familial solidarity has helped the vulnerable groups to face natural disasters, economic hardship and political turmoil. After the socialist regime collapse, the volunteer civic response to the emergent need for social protection proved to be vital in absence of institutional support following the collapse. In the first decade of transition, after the economy shut down and transition from centralised to market economy, massive unemployment followed, letting the population deprived from substantial means of living. This was a shocking event for Albanians coming out of communist rule under which employment was an obligation for state. State owned economy deteriorated at the point that it was impossible to cover the survival needs. The economic and political changes conditioned the emergency of the protective social policy for the population deprived from economic activity. The post-socialist state response to the population was bound by the poor economy. The regime collapse was followed by further population impoverishment and sharp social risks associated with it. The first years' policy reform addressed the most at risk population that faced immediate survival. Providing social protection in scarce conditions of missing financial resources and professional knowhow was a very difficult mission. Lack of social support increased the risk of social exclusion. Along with state response, the self-help groups and civil society offered humanitarian aid and secured a buffer for the survival of the most vulnerable segments of society.

The social policy reforms aimed to preserve the social order, but they were constantly threatened by the clash of capitalist market rules with socialist paternalistic attitudes, according to which the state is the main provider of welfare. In the post socialist transition, the state intervened to govern the market rules to direct the redistribution of resources towards the most needed segments of the population, following the social justice principles. The reason for state intervention was justified by the obligation to protect the citizens from the marginalization imposed by the profit-making logic of the market economy. Along the transition period, the social policy reform dealt with the rationalization of the deficient economic resources to mitigate poverty risks. Regime change imposed radical transformations for the country's economy. The transition

witnessed the closing of centralized factories and unproductive industry, which was associated with massive unemployment, migration and poverty. The social and economic inequalities deepened the social gap created after regime change. Sharp impoverishment exposed the families to the risk of not being able to survive while individuals were excluded from living opportunities. After the socialist regime collapse, a new social welfare policy was designed to address poverty alleviation through cash transfers delivered to poor families and persons with disabilities. Modest achievements of social policy are noticed at the level of public administration knowledge about social care. The public administration possesses more knowledge to deal with social welfare delivery, but the welfare system is still under development. Meanwhile, the means tested philosophy of the welfare state keeps the beneficiaries distant from policy design and monitoring.

The present welfare has proven to be inefficient in providing sufficient living means. Social care services are not present at a community level to ensure social inclusion for marginalized individuals. The minimalist welfare scheme does not guide the beneficiaries towards autonomous life and self-decision. The cash transfers do not help to overcome structural barriers against vulnerable families and communities. Members of these communities are not empowered to participate in social and economic activities, as they are held back by the poverty cycle. On the contrary, they are long term users of the welfare scheme which leads them towards chronic dependency on cash transfers. Social inclusion and equal opportunities are tokenism for political correctness.

The welfare beneficiaries do not enjoy access in quality social care services, which hinders enjoyment of the basic human rights for social protection and social participation. The deinstitutionalization process is hampered by the unfinished decentralization reform of social care which is not operational at a local level. Consequently, institutionalised persons cannot be transferred to the community structures. The community based social care services are in high demand by all citizens, but the local authorities have not mobilised funds to cater for the social welfare. The decentralized competencies are not followed by a substantial budget. Absence of the community welfare structures leads beneficiaries towards institutionalised residential care, which is supposed to vanish in order to stop segregation. Due to the lack of social care services, the users of the welfare state miss the means for inclusion and are not able to escape the poverty cycle which aggravates with the passing of the time. Instead of providing for an enabling environment, the welfare state contributes to the dependency of users on the welfare, by keeping beneficiaries tight to the cash transfers and institutionalization. Besides development of social care services, the welfare state needs a reformation of the economic aid scheme to answer to the survival threshold of poor families.

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